AFRICAN AMERICAN FATHERS AND AFROCENTRIC PARENTING -

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH PARENTING OF THEIR

CHILDREN

by

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ABSTRACT

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  To provide an alternate explanation for the behavior of African American fathers in their parenting using an Afrocentric model, comparing it with the parenting behavior of the Caucasian father, who would use primarily an Eurocentric model. Using data from the National Survey of Family Growth, IV, 2002, a parenting scale was devised using specific parenting behavior that revolved around the type and frequency of interactions that the fathers had with their children, and whether the father was married, was resident with the child, neither, or both.

  Findings of this study uncovered many differences and similarities between the groups, namely, that marriage is a large factor in the parenting behavior of Caucasian fathers and the residential status is a large factor in the parenting behavior of African American fathers.

Keywords: African American, fathers, fathering, parenting, Afrocentric

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The African American male and his relationship toward his children in American history has been the subject of much debate, but until recently, with very little empirical exploration. A review of academic and nonacademic literature is hard pressed to find positive information on the African American father (Conner, 2006). Beginning with the stories of the African male slave in the 1600s, through reconstruction of the 1800s, with the landmark Moynihan report of the 1960s, and the political/socioeconomic changes to the AFDC/TANF programs of the 1980s–90s, until today, the African American male role in the parenting of his children has been in question. Many published reports, using both academic and nonacademic sources (newspapers, magazine articles, and television, to name a few) have expressed that the role of an African American father is not an active role at all. His children are unruly, have little discipline, and are raised in a female-headed household (Cole, 2001a; Wilson, 2003). In fact, at least one of these statements is true. Over 75% of African American children spend some time in a female-headed household and over 50% are born to single women (U.S. Census, 2002). The rest of the issues have little empirical support. This dissertation examines, with empirical data, the behaviors of African American fathers with their children and how this is similar (or different) from Caucasian fathers. We will do so in addressing issues such parenting style and behaviors from a more Afrocentric perspective, gathering information in which to compare the two groups. To restate, this study looks at African American fathers from an Afrocentric perspective, in what ways their parenting behavior is different from Caucasian fathers.

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In addressing our questions about the parenting style/ability of African American (Black) fathers compared to Caucasian (White) fathers, as stated previously, a major issue is the understanding of the construct of parenting and how it is perceived by each group. It is necessary for this discussion that we define the expected behaviors according to each paradigm, Afrocentric and Eurocentric. The standard of most studies looking at this question is framed around the construct of Eurocentric thinking. In this view, a father is a man who is part of a monogamous heterosexual couple that abides in a single household, living with and raising his own biological children. With this view, African American fathers are believed to have several characteristics that are more negative than their White counterparts. African American children are more likely to be born to single women, live in a single-parent home, and grow up in poverty in comparison with White children (Johnson & Staples, 2005; Staples, 1987; 1999; Sudarkasa, 2007b). We use these standards because they inadvertently state that if fathers are not present in the home, then they are missing entirely. The Eurocentric paradigm may not fit this population very well because it refers to male role performance which comes from a more male-dominated, Euro-patriarchal model. Again, African American fathers are dissimilar to White fathers, in that they have higher rates of unemployment, homelessness, and singleness as opposed to marriage (Johnson & Staples, 2005; Staples, 1987; 1999; Sudarkasa, 2007b). In this manner, you would expect fewer parenting behaviors from them. Further, in a patriarchal society, male role performance is linked to power residing in the male, with the female being in a secondary, less powerful role. In the Afrocentric paradigm, women are seen to have more responsibilities in the home and with children. This is again another difference between African American and Caucasian families.

There appears to be a significant difference in the perceived parenting activities of African American males and Caucasian American males. Prior studies have not adequately explained these differences. A few studies have attributed these differences to the dissimilarities

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in the norms with regard to parenting across racial groups (Edin, Tach, & Mincy, 2009; Hurd, Moore, & Rogers, 1995; Suizzo, 2007). Current beliefs and images of the uninvolved African American male in their parenting behaviors with their children provide disincentives and may constrain their involvement in the parenting of their children. Many of the current beliefs stem mainly from a lack of systematic research on African American males' involvement in the parenting behaviors with their children along with unverified populist views that promote negative views with respect to African American males' involvement with their children.

The current model of a nuclear family is essentially Eurocentric. Within the nuclear family, parents provide for the quality and well-being of their child by making joint decisions independent of "kith and kin." Other family types are seen as less efficient and therefore hazardous to the well-being of children while contributing to inefficiencies in the allocation of parenting responsibilities. In particular, African American families that do not fit the Eurocentric model of the family are seen as inefficient in the raising of children, with African American males seen as uninvolved in parenting. In this study I intend to examine the extent of involvement of African American males in the parenting behaviors of their children aged 5 to 18 years.

<u>1.2 Research Question</u>

What is an effective method to address the concerns of African American male involvement in the parenting of their children ages 5 to 18 years? This study uses an Afrocentric perspective on parenting behavior of African American fathers and their children in contrast with a comparison group of Caucasian (White) fathers. I compare the two groups in the areas of social parenting behavior, to see if there is any significant difference in the extent of parenting. To restate, the purpose of this study is to quantitatively examine the extent of involvement of African American males in the raising of their children compared to Caucasian fathers and also to determine the factors that influence the amount of parenting among African American males..

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1.3 Summary

In this introduction, I have addressed the significance of the research question proposed in this study. In Chapter 2, I will review the empirical literature on the general subject of the African American father and the types of interactions that he has with his children. It will also give a general historical context for the adaptive means which African American fathers have used to continue to interact with their children, even when presented with obstacles that other groups may not have had to deal with. Chapter 3 will provide a view of the theoretical underpinnings of this proposed study, with a basic introduction to the paradigms (worldviews) of Afrocentricity and Eurocentricity and how the use of each may affect the understanding of problems and solutions. A discussion of some of the theoretical contributions of most notable researchers in the area of African American families in general, and African American fathers in particular, will also be included in this discussion to further help with understanding the necessity for this study. Chapter 4 will deal with the research design for the study, with Chapter 5 providing the results of the various analyses of the data. Lastly, in summary, Chapter 6 will present conclusions, along with more questions that need further study in looking at this issue of African American fathering.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In beginning with the assumption that the normative behavior of "fatherhood" is the Eurocentric perspective of one man cohabitating with his wife (the mother of his children) in a monogamous relationship and his children, we will explore the scientific literature as it applies to African American fathers, their relationships with their children, and the parenting type behaviors that they have with them. As stated earlier, this study seeks to look at how African American fathers interact with their children in their parenting behavior and offer an explanation (from an Afrocentric perspective) of how it differs from the Eurocentric paradigm. We expect to see more similarities than differences between the two groups. It is important to set a context to understand how African American fathers have historically interacted with their children in a parenting relationship and how this context continues relevant in the present, not only for today but in also making recommendations for encouraging and supporting any positive parenting behavior. In addressing how and with what behaviors African American fathers involve themselves with their children, we have a starting context for further discussion of what may be the expected findings and how they may resemble (or not) those of Caucasian fathers (our comparison group.) This section will address a few of the different general theories used to explain the level and types of interaction between African American fathers and their children. This section will also explore the activities African American fathers engage in when they are interacting with their children. It will also critically analyze the body of knowledge for different areas that are needed as the profession of social work is engaged in serving the African American population in general, and specifically African American fathers and their children.

2.1 Search Criteria

From the outset, search terms were identified. The search terms used were African American male, African American father, African American fatherhood, African American parents, Black fathers, Black fatherhood, Black parents, and Black males. In further refinement, articles about those who identified as only or primarily African American or Black fathers (biological parents) were also chosen. The initial search yielded some 170 articles. This number was reduced by refining the criteria only to articles that specifically mentioned the above search criteria within the title or body of the article. This reduced the number of articles to approximately 90. Some of the articles led to several books and government sites that contained relevant information about African American fathers in their reference sections that were appropriate for use. Just prior to completion of this dissertation, I again ran searches for more recent information and was able to find several articles published in the last 2 years. Resources that were used in my research but not directly cited are listed in Appendix A.

Other general terms, such as parenthood, father, fathers, and fatherhood were not used because of the particular focus on African American fathers and it also led to an extremely large number of articles for consideration that proved to be an inefficient use of time.

The general academic search engines were used, such as Jstor, Ebsco, Academic Search Primer, PsycInfo, Ingenta, and PsycArticles. Several abstracts, most notably the Social Work Abstracts, were also used to identify articles for inclusion, using the above stated search criteria.

In trying to identify some primary articles that explored theoretical models as possible explanations of behavior, I decided to also examine some alternatives to European-based (Eurocentric) theory. For this, I used the above search engines to find several articles that used other theories, such as feminism and Afrocentrism, in the Discussion sections of articles on African American fathers.

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Some difficulties were noted in finding appropriate articles for use in this review. Using phrases such as "child abuse," "foster care," and "child maltreatment" in database searches to get information was as effective as using phrases such as "African American fathers," "black fathers," or "African American parenting." Many of the articles have very limited information specifically on the topic but were used because of their relevance to the topic. Other articles were much too general for use, such as those that addressed issues with fathers without any specific criteria listed based on race. A few articles were excluded because they didn't address issues related to a child being involved in a relationship with an African American father. Still other articles were excluded when the primary data was about a nonbiologically related male to children, although some of this information will be shared in the discussion about this group. Again, the main concern is for socially and biologically related African American males and their interaction with their offspring.

Another concern in searching for information was the age of most of the articles. Many articles initially found during the search were more than 15 years old, with most being within the past 11 years. For this review, the most prolific years for research were found to be 2007 (16 articles) and 1999 (15 articles.) Some of these older articles were included because they were foundational pieces (such as the work done by McAdoo), or identified and quoted in several of the most recently published articles. I was able to identify and use 36 articles that had been published within the past 5 years. As mentioned earlier, just prior to the completion of this dissertation, I was able to locate approximately five articles that were published in the last 2 years. It is noteworthy that most of the newer articles were found in one journal, *Families in Society*, a publication of the Alliance for Children and Families. Another noteworthy source, not surprisingly, were the *Journal of African American Men* and the *Journal of African American Studies* (these two journals are actually the same because JAAM was transformed into JAAS). In preparing a foundation to explore how and if African American fathers differ in their parenting

behavior from Caucasian fathers, I have grouped the current literature obtained through the methods described above into the following categories: (a) Married and (cohabiting) fathers, (b) Single (or divorced) fathers, (c) African American fathers and extended family interaction, (d) Activities of African American fathers and their children, (e) African American fathers and financial support of their children, (f) African American fathers and relationships factors with their children, (g) African American fathers and teaching activities with their children, and (h) African American father and discipline methods. These categories appeared to be appropriate divisions in that they set up for natural groupings that we will later compare, such as residential status (residential/nonresidential) and parenting behaviors/activities.

<div align="center">2.2 Types of African American Fathers</div>

2.2.1 Married (and Cohabitating) Fathers

The history of African American fathers interacting with their children is an active one (Cazenave, 1979; McAdoo, 1997; Wade, 1994; Zinn, 1995). Wade (1994) and Zinn (1995) discuss how African American men during slavery times went to extraordinary lengths to keep their families intact, and after slavery went to great lengths to reconnect to family members who may have been sold or removed from the family. This strong tie was even used as a weapon to get adults to control unwanted behavior. Not only could fathers be sold, but the threat was used against members of the elder ranks to keep control over unwanted behavior (Genovese, 1999.) Thousands of slaves ran away in freedom to be near family and when slavery was over, returned to the place where they believed family was residing (Genovese, 1999.) The expectation is that when they returned, they interacted with their children in parenting behavior.

Until the 1960s, most African American families were two-parent families, with active parenting by fathers (Wade, 1994). During the 1960s, Sen. D. Patrick Moynihan's work on poverty addressed the problems of the Black matriarchy (McAdoo, 1997; Wade,

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1994). However, during this time, it appears that the vast majority of African American homes had active fathers in residence (McAdoo, 1997; Wade, 1994.)

In addressing the likelihood of the amount of time spent and the type of activities between father and child it appears uncertain whether married fathers spend more time with their children than single fathers. Married fathers would be expected to be in the home with their children more than single fathers. However, literature that addressed the amounts of interaction time in comparison were hard to find. However, because of less rigid gender roles (McAdoo, 1997), married African American fathers are more likely to be involved in traditional child care activities than their White counterparts, such as changing diapers, feeding, homework, reading (McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000; Price-Bonham & Skeen, 1979; Sanderson & Thompson, 2002), watching television, reading a book, doing chores, or even doing homework (Hamer, 1997). This behavior seems unaffected based on the sex of the child or on the socioeconomic status of the father (McLoyd et al., 2000).

2.2.2 Single (or Divorced) Fathers

Single or divorced fathers are probably the largest group of African American fathers that has been studied. Numerous studies have been conducted using adolescent, unmarried males as subjects. Many articles and government programs have been geared toward teen fathers (Coles, 2001a). Teen fathers have the least amount of resources (physically, emotionally, and financially) compared to adult males (Cochran, 1997; O'Donnell, 1999; Wade, 1994). It is necessary to address the fact that much of the information gathered is based on young, single African American fathers with young children (Danziger & Radin, 1990; Leite & McKenry, 2006; Winstanley, Meyers, & Florsheim, 2002). Thus, the picture that emerges is one of very limited economic, educational, and emotional resources for African American fathers.

According to documents published by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, *Kids Count Data Book* (2008), 65% of African American children live in a single-parent home, an increase of 1%

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since 2006. This data does not address how many of these children are living with which parent, but we assume that most of these children are living with their mothers.

It appears that more fathers are not only interacting with their children on a more frequent basis but that they are raising them alone (Cochran, 1997; Coles, 2001b.) More African American fathers are raising their children as single parents, and the number is growing. In 1970, 2% of African American children were being raised by their biological fathers and this number increased to 5% in March, 2002. Of note is that the majority of these fathers have never been married (Cochran, 1997; Coles, 2001a).

The literature on African American fathering provides a comparison between African American fathers and their counterparts. Coles (2001b) states that noncustodial African American fathers are more likely than their Caucasian and Hispanic counterparts to visit their children and to involve themselves in ordinary care-taking duties. Coles (2001) also states that from 1960 to 1990, non-White children are more likely than White children to reside in father-only households. Coles reports that in her study of 10 fathers, they reported using corporal punishment on an infrequent basis. Sanderson and Thompson (2002) address this comparison between African American fathers and their White counterparts with the same results.

It is believed that most African American children are being born into (National Center for Health Statistics, 2006) and raised in single, female-headed households (Hofferth, 2003; U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). This phenomenon is on the rise and has been since the 1950s (Wade, 1994). It is also true that high rates of divorce, cohabitation, teen birth rates, and unmarried birth rates are affecting the African American community (Coles, 2001a; Staples, 1985). It also appears true that fathers are using various methods that may get them past dealing with any primary caretakers, such as mothers, and are not paying child support (O'Donnell, 1999.) Some of these women are on public assistance, having an effect on stereotypes that African American fathers are "deadbeat dads" (O'Donnell, 1999), implying a

lack of interaction/relationship between fathers and children. It has even been stated by some that fatherhood outside of marriage has been institutionalized in the African American community and that fathers may see no connection between fatherhood and relationships with their children's mothers (Edin et al., 2009).

2.3 African American Fathers and Extended Family Interaction with Children

In bringing up the issue of extended family, many authors noted the richness of the African American extended family (Cochran, 1997; Hamer, 1997; Hurd et al., 1995; McAdoo, 1997; Wade, 1994; Zinn, 1995) and a way for fathers to provide for their children, even if they themselves were unable to do so. McAdoo (1997) and Wade (1994) address that it was the role of the whole community in Africa to care for children and especially for men to teach boys "manhood." Zinn (1995) also mentioned in his writings of the ability of African American people to "reshape" these ties during slavery to include fictive kin into the arrangements. This is important in that it provides a structure in how African American fathers relate to their children, especially young boys. The concept of using extended family allows African American fathers the ability to positively affect the lives of their children by providing for safety and structure by others even if they were unable to do so themselves.

In keeping with this idea of extended family and interaction between African American fathers and their children, several factors seem to affect that interaction. One of the issues is whom the child resides with. It appears that if the parents are not cohabitating and the child(ren) are living in the house with a grandparent, interaction decreases (Danziger & Radin, 1990). The study does not mention whether this grandparent is a maternal or paternal relative of the child.

2.4 African American Fathers and Activities with Children

There are at least three explanations listed in the literature for understanding how fathers interact and teach their children. In the first of these explanations, Hamer (1997) identifies six

categories of functions and roles African American fathers fill in interacting with their children. They are, in order of importance to the fathers:

-Spend time with children

-Provide emotional support

-Provide discipline

-Be a role model

-Teach boys how to be men and girls to be young ladies

-Provide economic support.

Of importance here is that five of the six have nothing to do with wealth and the one that does, is last on the list. Even the fathers who were paying regular and adequate support (as defined by child support authorities) saw it as much less important than the amount of time and nature of the relationship they had with their children. This is an example of African American fathers expressing that parenting is more than just providing financial resources. For African American fathers, it is also a matter of interacting with their children in meaningful ways.

Still related to the approach of motivation for African American fathers and their interactions with their children is another identified group of five major characteristics or competencies that structure these interactions, according to a review completed by Kanc (2000) and Hurd et al. (1995) of the work done in 1972 *Strengths of Black Families* by Robert Hill. In the Kanc study (2000), a sample of 84 African American students (graduate and undergraduate) from five colleges or universities were examined using the Family of Origin Scale. In it, the author lists these competencies as extended family kinship networks, egalitarian and adaptable family roles, strong religious orientation, strong educational and work ethic, and flexible and strong coping skills. These have been expressed in earlier discussions and appears to be themes

throughout the works of others. Most notably for our discussion is the idea that in interacting with their children and teaching about "family kinship networks," fathers are sharing and supporting the idea of "fictive kin" relationships. It appears these African American fathers, by their support and encouragement of fictive kin relationships, have a twofold purpose. Not only are they enlarging the number of supportive individuals their children can depend on but they are also increasing the number of individuals who will support them (the fathers) in having relationships with their children (Kanc, 2000).

The question of how much time African American fathers spend interacting with their children is a topic of interest. Some researchers state that noncustodial African American fathers spend more time interacting with their children than their Caucasian counterparts (Demo & Cox, 2000; Risch, John, & Ekkels, 2004). Others have more closely quantified this activity by making claims of daily or at least monthly visitation (Hofferth, 2002; Sanderson & Thompson, 2002) especially for children under age 13. The Hofferth (2002) study used a sample of 1,229 children from the 3,600 children interviewed in the Child Development Supplement portion of the national Panel Study of Income Dynamics. In it, the author found that African American fathers do have a lot of contact with their children, but not as much as Hispanic or Caucasian fathers (12.76 hours compared to 15.35 hours.) This has been noted, at least by one author, to diminish after divorce (Demo & Cox, 2000). However, how much it decreased was not quantified by the author.

<u>2.5 African American Fathers and Financial Support of Their Children</u>

In dealing with issues of financial support, it is interesting that single African American fathers are much more involved financially with their children than has been previously stated in other studies. Wade (1994) stated in his research that over half of the 50 mothers in his study reported receiving some financial help from fathers. In her work, Hamer (1997) reported that although fathers may not have given consistent financial support to their children, they were

very involved in getting resources to those mothers for children in the form of diapers, shoes, and clothing. Of note, in both of these articles they state that fathers were aware of the financial needs of their families and may have added to them as they had ability (Hamer, 1997; Wade, 1994). Furthermore, Hamer (1997) also noted that these fathers had relationships with extended family that would also help to provide resources to their children.

Coles (2001b) makes the statement that although African American fathers' support payments to their children are likely to be lower than Caucasian fathers, they are more likely to regularly contribute to their support. However, this study only had a sample size of 38 men. The idea of possible limited financial resources is an issue of discussion. McAdoo (2002a) expresses that shifts in population have occurred in the past 50 years that have negatively affected the amount of resources available to families of color. These changes have been noted as "movement to non-farm labor, smaller family size, and increased educational attainment" (McAdoo, 2002a). This is further complicated by the increase of employment-ready immigrant labor (McAdoo, 2002a). These factors have the effect of limiting the job opportunities of African American fathers and their ability to find and keep employment to financially support their children.

<u>2.6 African American Fathers and Relationship Factors with Their Children</u>

McAdoo (1997), in examining patterns of African American and White fathers, saw that African American fathers may be more likely to show affection through kissing and hugging their children than their White counterparts. However, this experience is not substantiated in the work of Hofferth (2003). McAdoo (1997), Demo and Cox (2000) and Julian, McKenry, and McKelvey (1994) state that African American fathers appear to be more interested in appropriate, respectful, obedient behavior from their children rather than independent or assertive behavior. This behavior makes sense when seen in the context of racial socialization and that assertive behavior may be construed to be aggressive and threatening to others (Julian

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et al., 1994). In their study, Julian et al. (1994) had a sample size of 3,517 adults, age 18 years old and older. Of this group, only 219 were African American males. Other findings from this study were that African American fathers expected their children to "get along well with others" and be successful in team activities, such as sports.

<u>2.7 African American Fathers and Teaching Activities with Their Children</u>

The topic of what African American fathers do with their children in interacting with them is discussed far and wide. Issues such as teaching protective strategies (Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004) are discussed. Such items such as driving children to appointments and school are also noted (Hofferth, 2003). It is further specified that some skills must be acquired in learning to deal with race and ethic differences (Hofferth, 2003.) McLoyd et al. (2000) noted that African American fathers' discussions of race focus on preparing children for dealing with prejudice but not through the use of racial mistrust. Others, such as Salem, Zimmerman and Notaro (1998) do not note the activities but define it as "shared time participating in activities with fathers." Of course, the obvious activity of play must be noted (Hofferth, 2003). It is interesting that no one has specified whether this is child- or adult-generated play.

In his article "Anger in African American Men," Franklin (1998) quotes numerous sources about the effects of anger, hostility, prejudice, and discrimination on African American men and their ability to interact on any positive basis with their children. It is interesting that McLoyd et al. (2000) noted that African American (fathers') discussions of race focus on preparing children for dealing with prejudice but not through the use of teaching racial mistrust. McLoyd et al. (2000) describes that this happens by focusing the conversations on racial pride and heritage as preparation for the racial prejudice that they expect their children will have to deal with. McAdoo (2002b) agrees that African American Fathers often teach their children about race and racial socialization.

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Another issue that Hamer (1997) addresses is the idea of "teaching boys and girls" about the expectations of their roles in adulthood. This coincides with McAdoo's (1997) study about parenting roles. McAdoo (1997) addresses how fathers structure their interactions with their children in ways that will foster positive, respectful behavior. This coincides with others that have addressed "performance" in dealing with the majority culture in a way that does not attract unwanted attention (Cochran, 1997; Coles, 2001a; Peat, Pungello, Campbell, & Richey, 2006).

Equally important is the idea of spirituality. Kanc (2000) and Hurd et al.(1995) express the idea that people are spiritual beings and African American fathers attempt to pass this value on to their children. Interestingly enough, this is also a value expressed in the Afrocentric model.

The interplay of interdependence and independence is another issue that has been addressed in the research on African American fathers and what they are teaching their children. Suizzo's (2007) research with 343 parents, divided among four ethnic groups (European, African, Mexican, and Chinese American) showed that although Africans favor interdependence as a value, they don't neglect to teach children that self-sufficiency and separateness (independence) also have a place in society.

Lastly, we have African American fathers striving to teach adaptability of roles in their interactions with their children, either through information or through example. This is an example of the "give and take" of appropriate relationships, not necessarily the outcome of noninvested or overly dominant men.

2.8 African American Fathers and the Discipline Methods Used with Their Children

In their study, Strom et al. (2000) examined the 104 African American fathers of 10–14 year olds. On the issue of discipline, it was noted that most of these fathers, who now averaged a

salary of more than $35,000 (52%) and had come from less economically secure beginnings, were seen by their children as overly strict. This manifested itself in the fathers' expectations that rules need to be followed and once broken, punishment should occur.

Other discipline methods were also noted. Bradley (2000) had similar results to those found by McAdoo in 1997. Bradley's research study of 121 African American parents (44 fathers and 77 mothers) noted that African American fathers were more likely to discuss issues or withdraw privileges with their children than to use violence (hitting).

We have numerous places to begin our discussion of the information expressed in the above literature. The information expressed about those factors that affect African American fathers in their interactions with their children are most interesting. I will begin with the topic of the definition of "African American fathering."

It has been said that there is no such thing as a "standard" for African American fathers in parenting behavior with their children because interactions vary widely in type, form, and quality (Kane, 2000). Franklin and Davis (2001) address how sensitive the issue of African American fathering can be. They state that it gets to the issue of adequacy of African American fathers in a parenting role. Franklin and Davis (2001) also address the issue that African American fathers may be more likely than not to refuse help when they are having trouble, which could lead to more intense negative outcomes for them and their children.

The issue of race is very complicated. Although I have listed several sources that have identified differences in racial groups (Price-Bonham & Skeen, 1979; Sanderson & Thompson, 2002), the problem is stated but not explained. It would have been helpful if these researchers, when expressing the differences between the racial groups, had moved further to attempt to identify whether any of these differences could have been based on social factors other than racial ones. In Price-Bonham and Skeen (1979), the researchers used a survey consisting of only 60 "black" and 100 "white" fathers. We are uncertain if any of their findings could be

generalized to other racial groups or between different socioeconomic groups. In the case of Sanderson and Thompson (2002) the same was true. Of the 137 participants, only European American (90) and African Americans (47) were included. Some of these differences could possibly be due to differences in SES, where an individual was educated, or regional differences within the United States.

No discussion about African American fathers interacting with their children could be complete without dealing with the "negativeness" perceived by many in dealing with African Americans in general and African American fathers in particular. In looking at African American fathers, Gadsden and Smith (1994) note previous stereotypes, such as "Don Juan," "Mr. Cool," "super stud," and "the phantom father" as examples of the disparaging comments. The ideas of "high homicide, drug use and the underground economy, high incarceration, and high drop out" are also used in the devaluation of African American fathers (Gordon, Gordon, & Nembhard, 1994). Furthermore, the use of European American standards as the "norm" is another way in which African American fathers fail to "measure up" (Kane, 2000). Smith (2005) makes the comment that "previous research has generated a rather negative image of African American fathers" (p. 977). Such terms as "absent," "sexual predator," and "invisible father" are used to describe this group (Coles, 2001; Smith, Krohn, Chu, & Best, 2005). Lowe (2000) summarized some of the effect that this belief, as expressed in the public welfare system, has had on the African American community. Lowe's (2000) discussion about expectations in the system as it relates to African American fathers is demonstrated anecdotally on a daily basis in child welfare offices around the country, with unsupported comments by caseworkers. Although some of the listed criteria have some validity (such as the high incarceration rates), noting the behavior without the explanation of the behavior may lead to an erroneous assumption (i.e., some people convicted of crimes are innocent of the charge).

Kanc's (2000) and Hurd et al.s's (1995) review of the work done by Hill in 1972 on the work of *Strengths of Black Families* was intriguing. In this "present world of competencies," their review of the five competencies revealed by Hill is inspiring and provides a direction to programs for African American fathers to increase the amount and quality of interaction between them and their children. They broach many of the stereotypes of the African American male. Both sets of authors speak to the expectation of time. For them, the focus is on longevity, and for this reason relationships become important.

It is necessary to address the fact that much of the information gathered is based on young, single African American fathers with young children (Danziger & Radin, 1990; Leite & McKenry, 2006; Winstanley et al., 2002). This skews the data. This is also true of research related to programming to support this population (Christmon, 2006; Gavin et al., 2002; Price-Bonham & Skeen, 1979; Smith et al., 2005).

Only a few articles address the father in a marital couple and most of that was through the wife (Demo & Cox, 2000). Furthermore, the discussion of the implications of the father's moving from marriage to divorce needs further research.

Most of the research addressed in this review is not empirically based (Gadsden & Smith, 1994), which reduces the generalizability of the findings to the broader society. Most have nonrandom sampling methods for gathering information (see Table 1.) Very few come close to the rigors of experimental design, which would allow for replication of research and findings.

A concern in exploring the literature is that at times, it didn't give a context for behavior between fathers and their children, which would have been helpful. To say that African American fathers expect obedience in children without addressing safety concerns (Letiecq &

Koblinsky, 2004; McAdoo, 1997) in different types of neighborhoods and communities is at least, unhelpful. Context is important.

Still another concern is the apparent dichotomies identified in the literature. In one case, African American fathers are very affectionate (Leite & McKenry, 2006) but in another, they are not (Hoffereth, 2003). It also may demonstrate the need for better conceptualization of terms before researchers begin research projects. Based on the definitions of each, it is unclear whether they may be discussing the same behavior or if one has a much higher standard for counting the behavior than the other.

Many studies had huge sample sizes (246 –3000+ participants) but few participants were actually African American males (Amato & Rivera, 1999; Battle & Scott, 2000; Danziger & Radlin, 1990; Hofferth, 2003; Julian et al., 1994; Pelton, Forehand, Morse, Morse, & Stock, 2001; Risch et al., 2004; Smith et al., 2005), and for the most part, we are unable to glean how many of them may have been fathers.

The varied sources for information that were included was an issue. Although there is nothing particularly wrong with using various resources, some such as the Pelton e al. (2001) were designed for mother-child contact but because of the health issues (AIDS) fathers were contacted for support of the mothers and children.

What does it all mean? McAdoo's work (2002a, 2002b) expresses the strengths that are in the African American family in which African American fathers are included. Kanc (2000) states that African American fathers are teaching skills to their children that are expected to increase their ability to be successful. Salem et al. (1998) found that African American fathers' presence in the lives of their children lead to better outcomes for the children.

CHAPTER 3

THEORY AND HYPOTHESIS

3.1 Introduction to Theories

We begin this chapter with a brief discussion of the most noted theoretical views used to understand the issue of African American males in the interaction (parenting behavior) of their children 5–18 years of age. We are looking for theoretical information on explanations of how African American fathers interact with their children in their parenting behavior, and how from an Afrocentric perspective it differs from the Eurocentric paradigm. We are looking for possible explanations of the differences we see and understanding of possible similarities between the two groups, because it is my hypothesis that they are more alike than different in parenting behavior. This general discussion lays the foundation of the decision to move from the broad perspectives of several theories (or paradigms) to only two, to guide in our understanding of looking at this phenomenon of interaction between African American males and their children. This helps to further our understanding of African American fathers interacting with their children and in setting up our comparisons between them and their Caucasian counterparts as we explore the hypothesis that they are very similar in their parenting behavior.

Several authors in the literature provided alternate ways of looking at the African American father's viewpoint of parenting in a non-European way (Cochran, 1997; Coles, 2001a; Devore & Schlesinger, 1999; Hall, 2005; Hamer, 1997; Hurd et al., 1995; Land, 1998; McAdoo, 1997; O'Donnell, 1999; Taylor, 2002; Wade, 1994). In the following paragraphs we will address the findings of each before moving to a much narrower viewpoint to help us define our

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hypothesis for research in this dissertation, notably that African American fathers, in their parenting behavior with their children, are not unlike those of Caucasian fathers.

Five primary models have arisen in which to view this idea of explaining why African American fathers may interact and relate to their children in certain ways. The five are Eurocentric, Afrocentric, ecological, feminist, and exchange theory. Some have determined that the Eurocentric view is a biframed view that perceives the world as "white (European)" and "other" (Cochran, 1997). The standard for appropriate behavior is seen as "white." In looking for a description to define Eurocentrism, it is interesting that various articles referred to it but most didn't provide a description, other than by aspects that appeared to cause harm to others (Cochran, 1997; Hoskins, 1992; Lewin, 2001). For the purpose of our discussion, Eurocentrism as a worldview is neither negative nor positive. It has as its major concepts an understanding of the world that is linear and highly values education, competition, male dominance, and individuality that is directly related to ancient Greek philosophy (Kane, 2000; Smetana, 2000). In other words, as far as parenting behavior is concerned, Eurocentrism teaches children that being male, educated, and having a greater reliance on self as related to the groups as a whole are what Caucasian fathers' parenting behaviors will support more than other alternatives. This is important because, as explained further in our discussion, Caucasian fathers have a different perspective (or paradigm) motivating their parenting behavior than African American fathers with their children.

In the Afrocentric approach, all behavior is viewed through the eyes of the values and patterns found in African American communities but whose roots are in the western shores of Africa (Cochran, 1997; Hoskins, 1992; Taylor, 2002.) Afrocentric theory states that people of color who are descended from persons brought over from Africa as slaves to the United States of America, have their own perspective of life that has influences from a non-European basis. This becomes important in our looking for similarities and differences in the parenting behavior

of African American fathers and Caucasian fathers. Afrocentric theory has a nonlinear perspective, compared to the Eurocentric perspective (Stewart, 2004.) Afrocentric theory sees all things as interconnected and rooted in the unseen spiritual realm (Graham, 1999; Stewart, 2004). With this idea of interconnectedness, Afrocentricity acknowledges both material and immaterial elements in the physical world. In the realms of parenting behavior, it acknowledges that relationships other than biological or legal may be much more important in the African American community than in other communities, such as the Caucasian community. Afrocentric theory promotes self-awareness and not taking on others' expectations (Taliaferro, 2008). Afrocentric theory sees no division between the self, mind, body, spirit, and community (Graham, 1999). For this reason, Afrocentric theory looks at issues from not just a father-mother-child perspective, but also from perspectives based on several configurations, such as child-community or child-father-community. "I am because we are and I am my brother's keeper" is the way that Taliaferro (2008) defined it. It also doesn't define that a male must be in the home to have an effect on the raising of children. Of note in this perspective is that other males in the family or community may take up this idea of raising children and that children really are the responsibility of the community (Graham, 1999). Again, this will be important in our later discussion as we look at the parenting behavior of African American fathers in explaining how their behavior may be different from Caucasian fathers' parenting behavior.

In addressing the ecological approach, McAdoo (1993) stated that this would allow for better insight in working with African American fathers due to the ability to "evaluate the relationships between external social systems and internal family functioning" (p. 28). This idea is helpful in looking at how the parenting behavior of African American fathers "makes sense" even as it is different from Caucasian fathering behavior. For McAdoo (1993), the ability to look at historical, political, and social influences provided a more complete picture in which to explain and explore how different experiences may encourage or inhibit an African American father's

effectiveness with his children and the types of activities that he performs with them. Issues such as economics, slavery, and poor educational systems interact in a manner that may affect how an African American father interacts with his child.

Another theoretical model that was expressed in looking at African American fathers was the choice or exchange theory (Cochran, 1997). In this framework, both Afrocentric theory and ecological viewpoints are combined. Cochran (1997) stated that this combination was synthesized from the work done by John McAdoo in the 1990s. It has five stated components: (a) a multi-dimensional analysis, (b) allowing for viewing interactions across time, (c) African American viewpoints are addressed, (d) nonlinear observations are allowed, and (e) the ability to critically explore the choices that African American fathers make. For Cochran, this was expressed as a theory that was large enough to note both positives and negatives in looking at African American fathers while allowing for the ability to ask the question of "why the negatives?" For the purposes of this dissertation, Cochran helps to provide an understanding how African American fathers involve themselves with their children and to provide ways in which this may be comparable to Caucasian fathers in their parenting behaviors.

Last is feminist theory. For the purposes of this discussion, we focus on several core theoretical constructs, such as addressing the larger social context of African American fathers, in dealing with the fact that "the many personal issues may in fact be political in nature, reflecting the power inequities between relationships with others" (Land, 1998). For this discussion, we are especially interested in the concept of gender as it relates to power (or the lack thereof) (Battle & Scott, 2000). Since so much of the information referred to in this discussion addresses role performance and the lack of differentiation between male and female roles in the African American community, Hill (2002) found this theory helpful in explaining these differences in a positive manner. This is important in that one of the precepts of Afrocentric theory is diversity in gender roles. This is in direct competition with the primary outcomes of

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Eurocentric theory. For this discussion, the African American father's parenting behavior and activities would be opposed to the Caucasian father's goals of parenting behavior with a Eurocentric paradigm. Again, in looking at comparisons, this helps us to understand different outcomes between African American fathers and Caucasian fathers.

One challenge to Cochran's work (1997) was presented by Smetana (2000). In her article, Smetana challenged the ideas of Afrocentric theory and "it takes a village to raise a child." Smetana, in addressing the issues of parental authority, conducted a longitudinal study with a sample size of 82 middle-class African American adolescents and their parents (82 mothers and 52 fathers.) In the article, Smetana found that particularly for adolescents and their mothers, nonparental authority figures were more likely to be challenged when setting limits for that teen. A good follow-up question for this study would be what was the response of the father, since one of his roles is to help the child to "fit" into the larger community (Cochran, 1997). Smetana also found that this behavior (on both parts) was not specific to certain socioeconomic groups.

It is at this point, to use a very proactive and strength-based model, we turn our attention to using only two paradigms for this dissertation, namely the Afrocentric and the Eurocentric models. The reasoning behind this decision is multifaceted, but the primary ones are (a) Eurocentrism is the "normative" model used for much research in the topic of fathering (for both African American and Caucasians), and (b) Afrocentrism provides a model that acknowledges that African American males are interacting with their children in a meaningful manner. We will now follow up the introduction with more specific details of these two perspectives, including some of the more productive and well-known researchers using a more Afrocentric viewpoint. Of note, this discussion will provide only the Afrocentric researchers because of the relative unfamiliarity that most will have of it as a concept and as stated above, Eurocentric viewpoints are already the normative standards for research.

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3.1.1. Afrocentric Theory

 "It takes a village to raise a child." –old African Proverb

 Why Afrocentrism in a discussion on parenting behavior in African American fathers with their children? Afrocentrism is a worldview, a paradigm, or set of assumptions, beliefs, values, ideas, and behaviors that are shared by the African people in America that were handed down from generation to generation (White & Cones, 1999). It is the assumption that these Africans in America were the slaves brought over from primarily Western Africa to the United States, beginning in the late 1600s. It came into being as an understanding or alternate explanation for the behaviors of this group whose descendants continue in America. Asante states that it basically is placing African people at the center of any analysis of African people. As it applies for this dissertation, it helps to provide a structure in which to look at the behaviors of African American fathers in the interaction with their children. When we move to actually using a scale to rate parenting behavior, it helps to apply a standard for what is occurring and why it occurs. It will help to provide us with understanding as we observe, if in fact, African American fathers are more alike than unalike in their parenting behavior than Caucasian fathers.

 Afrocentrism is more than skin color, it is a philosophy (Asante, 2003). It is the idea of history, mythology, and ethos (collective personality of a people) rooted in the centrality of Africans (Asante, 2003). It asks the question, "Is it in the best interest of African peoples?"(Asante, 2003, p. 57). Again, for this dissertation, it helps to direct us in discovering why we may see certain behaviors and why those behaviors may be different for Caucasian fathers, because we would not expect them to interact with their children in a manner "that is in the best interest of African peoples" (Asante, 2003). Although it sounds very simple, it was not until the 1980s that this profound idea was implemented with much agency or vigor. Until this point, most research (what there was) was examined through the ideals of the dominant culture,

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with little to no thought of alternate explanations for the behavior in African American families (Asante, 1998).

Afrocentricity also is rooted in the idea that in its very expression, it is against all forms of oppression against any person or group (Asante, 2003). This idea is important in that Eurocentrism has no stated goals about oppression of any sort. People of African descent in America (former slaves) have at least historically had to deal with this issue. It would be expected that it would influence how African American fathers interact with their children in the types of parenting behaviors and activities that it includes. Afrocentricity was formed as an idea for social change and empowerment. Its roots come from the idea that power (self-actualization) for the African in America (primarily the descendents of slavery) would only come through an ideology that was rooted in Africa and distinctly different from Eurocentric ideology (Asante, 2003). It acknowledges as fact that while in America, Africans have always sought some way to acknowledge their human and civil rights (Asante, 1998). Basically, Afrocentricity is a set of beliefs (philosophy) that empowers the descendants of slaves to know that they have value because they exist, regardless of whether any one or group acknowledges it, and that there is value in this existence. This is necessary in this discussion because Afrocentricity gives us a point where we can establish that the behavior of African American fathers with their children may be different from Caucasian fathers, but nonetheless, still very relevant and important in the lives of their children (Coles, 2009).

Afrocentricity is part of the belief system that slaves had in Africa and transported to the American shore. It has as part of its core the importance of the family and that individuals are first part of the family or community. The basic unit of the African family (in Africa) was the kinship group (Johnson & Staples, 2005). This idea has been embraced by those who support the concept (some say fact) that Africans who came to America as slaves were not "blank slates." These people brought with them ideas and concepts from Africa that they used to help

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them initially survive the harshness of slavery, and they continue today (White & Cones, 1999). From this idea, children are seen as belonging first to the family, then to parents. In this concept, community has not only been responsible for the raising of young, it has also be responsible for the training of men in how they are to "father" their own children (Connor & White, 2006). They were able to practice on younger siblings or other family members. Of note, but not part of this proposed study, they also learned the importance of "stepping up" in the family if for some reason a father was missing from the lives of other family or community members (Connor & White, 2006).

This worldview, although defined differently by many, can be synthesized into seven primary characteristics, namely: spirituality, interdependence, holism, humanism, emotional vitality, rhythm, and oral tradition (White & Cones, 1999). Asante (1998) argues that these characteristics are not immutable, but instead fundamental to what Africans in America (descendants of slavery), as a group, have regarded and embraced. These are part of the expectations of what African American fathers may be teaching with their interactions with their children. We will address each as it applies to a basic understanding of Afrocentrism.

3.1.1.1 Spirituality

In the African perspective, spirituality permeates everything. All parts of the universe are interrelated—there is no difference between spiritual, sacred, secular, or the material world (White & Cones, 1999). What affects one affects all, and above all is the idea that all are equally relevant, meaning that the observed is no more or less important than the unseen. This has relevance in the notion that feelings and intuition are as important as facts, thoughts as important as actions (White & Cone, 1999). This is relevant in that spirituality and church attendance are part of the behaviors that African American fathers are involved in with their children. This behavior would be expected to express itself in the interactions between the two (fathers and children).

3.1.1.2 Interdependence and Holism

In the African tradition, community and family are most important. The individual is always secondary to the group. Because of this, what happens to each member is important because the collective will ultimately be affected. This is one of the reasons for the idea of elderships. It appears that because elders have had more experience, they are more competent to preside over the lives of others. Not only will they be affected by the outcomes (and have a stake in the outcome) but they have experience in seeing the long-term consequences of decisions. Again, this is behavior expected to be shared in the interactions between African American fathers and their children. It also is behavior that would be non-normative, from a Eurocentric perspective.

3.1.1.3 Humanism

Along with the above concepts, humanism is important in the scheme of life. The idea of fairness and that outcomes don't just affect things, but also have affect on people. This idea of responsibility of others and the ethical consideration of responsibility for the effects of your decisions on other people is important. People have an altruistic responsibility to others (White & Cones, 1999). Relationships are more important than power or control. It could also be said that this is another difference in the type of parenting behavior of African American fathers with their children

3.1.1.4 Emotional Vitality and Rhythm

As feelings are as important as thoughts, the idea of emotions and expression of those emotions is also important. Emotion is an expression of "aliveness," of the qualities that make living worthwhile. Festivals and other expressions of emotions are important not only for the health of the individuals, but also for the community at large because they demonstrate the ebbs and flows of life (White & Cones, 1999). Between the two concepts, it is a demonstration of the changes of life and demonstrates harmony between man and the bigger universe.

3.1.1.5 Oral Tradition

In Western Africa, there is the concept of *Nommo* (Asante, 1998). "*Nommo* is the generative and productive power of the spoken word"(Asante, 1998, p. 22). Nothing exists until someone breathes life into it by speaking it, by name or concept. It is the conversation between the person and the universe. As it is spoken, it is acknowledge by both the speaker and the universe.

Another issue about the oral tradition that is important for this dissertation is the idea that when African Americans had no consistent written language (to share between all because of the difference languages and dialect) it was the oral tradition that allowed information, thoughts, knowledge, and so on, to be passed from person to person, person to community, and generation to generation. This fact became very important in the passing of the knowledge from generation to generation.

3.1.1.6 Other General Concepts of Afrocentricity

In the discussion of Afrocentric theory, several concepts are paramount to understanding the concept. Central is the idea of complementarity of male and female roles (Karenga & Karenga, 2007). In Afrocentricity, each is not the opposite of other, but more the completion of the other. The roles are interconnected and necessary for the other. This idea of complementarity is further divided into three principles; namely, equality, reciprocity, and friendship (Karenga & Karenga, 2007). This concept sees that although the roles are different, they meld and merge together to be one whole, instead of two parts. This foundation states that there is therefore no reason for superior and inferior, or powerful and powerless. Neither partner is more or less important than the other. This figures largely in the reoccurring theme of a limited resource provision of the African American father, as stated throughout this discussion and yet another reason to look at this population from a non-Eurocentric view.

Another central idea in gaining understanding of how important an Afrocentric paradigm may be in getting answers for the questions of our hypothesis are the ideas of consanguinity, affinity, and conjugality (Sudarkasa, 2007). Consanguinity is the kinship that involves biology or "blood ties." This is the connection between parent and child. Affinity is kinship that is created by law. Conjugality is the combination of the two, such as a married couple who come together by law in the raising of family biologically related to both. From the African/Afrocentric viewpoint, many Africans brought to America came from consanguineal groups. When adults married, they became part of the larger family instead of moving on. This has an effect on all members belonging to the family group at large. This affects the proposed research in that it would support African American fathers having multiple roles that may have been defined by another member (elder) in the family. This could mean that fathers and children not being co-residential would be as not unusual, just the effect of adapting to what is deemed best and functional for the interaction between the two. Another fact of consanguinity is the idea of polygamous families. This would again be important in that multiple families for one father and his interactions with his children in these families may be seen as less "pathological" and more normal in African American families. In fact, in these families, stability in marriages (or monogamous relationships) was much less important than stability in parental/child relationships (Sudarkasa, 2007b).

In most precolonial, Western African countries, it appears that patriarchy was the pattern of community life (White & Cones, 1999). Although men were seen as the "power brokers," women were not only involved in household management, they were also involved in commerce and trading. Even though the patterns were set, the community (and family) operated under the concepts of mutual aid, reciprocity, interchangeable roles, and respect of the elders (White & Cones, 1999).

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In looking at the issues related to the definition of fatherhood in America, Connor and White (2006) address the duality of cultures, African and European. According to the two, African American fathers were faced with the Eurocentric ideal of fatherhood being "stern, emotionally insolated overseers who autocratically ruled their wives and children with an iron hand" (p. 8) being directly opposed to the Afrocentric ideal of support, mutuality, and holism. Asante (1998) states that the crisis of the Black man is trying to live under two mutually exclusive paradigms. In addressing whether the two theories ever meet, Peters (2007) states that she believes that actually African Americans, especially African American children, are socialized into both. Peters (2007) states that this is necessary to be able to function in both worlds, the world of home and the larger, outside world. Devore (1983) calls this mutuality a "duality of socialization."

For African American fathers, who had no control over the lives of themselves or their children, this caused quite an issue. As progression has occurred and the "new" standard of European fatherhood has turned to being "buddies with children, diaper changers, child-birth attendants…" African American fathers still find themselves on the outside of acceptance (Connor & White, 2006, pp 8). Afrocentrists believe African heritage and American values decreased the likelihood of patriarchy and strict gender norms among African Americans. Black fathers have rarely been granted the power and esteem of masculinity in America. As much of the research has noted, much more focus has been and continues to be placed on African American mothers than African American fathers (Hill & Sprague, 1999).

As a psychological theory, Afrocentrism has practical applicability to everyday life. Afrocentrism is holistic and it assumes that reality exists on both spiritual and material levels at the same time. It defines power as the ability to define reality instead of others dictating what it is to you (Myers, 1985). It has a perspective of personal strength and of victory (Mazama, 2001).

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Oliver (1989) defines Afrocentrism as involving the seven core values of Nguzo Saba. Nguzo Saba is a concept of communalism that is celebrated in Kwanzaa, the African American celebration that comes after Christmas. Kwanzaa was started as a demonstration of the strengths of the African in America and a time to celebrate their community and family. This celebration is demonstrated in the acknowledgments of seven values that directly relate to Afrocentricity. These seven values are *Umoja* (unity of and with the commuity), *Kujichagulia* (self-determination— the ability to define your reality and the power to meet your purpose), *Ujima* (collective work and responsibility—the connection to produce and support the community),*Ujamma* (cooperative economics— the ability to, along with others, build and work in the community), *Nia* (purpose— for the individual as it relates to the whole), *Kuumba* (creativity—to challenge to look for and at new, purposeful meaning), and *Imani* (faith— spirituality and the connection to the whole). This complements many of the ideas of White and Cones (1999).

An overarching value that keeps being repeated in Afrocentricity is spirit and the connection of the individual to the whole. The essence of life in Afrocentricity is spirit (Mazama, 2001). Mazama (2001) states,

> Afrocentricity in African experience must determine all inquiry, the
> spiritual….must be given its place, immersion is important and must be given its
> due place, immersion in the subject is necessary, holism is a must, intuition
> must be relied on, not everything that is material is significant, and knowledge
> must be liberating. (p. 399–400)

Afrocentricity states that the main problem of African American people in America is the unconsciousness adoption of European values. "We do not exist on our own terms but on borrowed European ones" (Mazama, 2001, p. 387). Afrocentricity says that Eurocentism is but

one viewpoint of many and may not be the best choice, especially for any people of African descent.

In his definition of Afrocentricity, Reviere (2001) identified two main principles, which he called *Ma'at* (the quest for justice, truth, and harmony) and *Nommo* (the productive word). From these two principles he organized five canons on which to base Afrocentric research. These five canons are (a) *Ukweli*—grounded in the experiences of the community being researched. Truth is grounded in the experiences of the community. The inclusion of the self in research; (b) *Kujitoa*—objectivity is not more important than how the "knowledge" is constructed. The researcher is to engage in self-reflection and self-criticism. The researcher is aware of how their own beliefs values and biases affect the process; (c) *Utuliva*—Justice. Strive to commit to harmonious relationships between and within groups (positivistic vs. constructionivistic); (d) *Ujamaa*—the need for recognition and maintenance of the community. Research is inspired by the community; and (e) *Uhaki*— harmony between the self and all.

3.1.1.7 Weaknesses of Afrocentric Theory

As any paradigm or worldview, Afrocentricity does have several weaknesses. Asante (1998) states that as a discipline, it must have a "regularized and orderly arrangement of procedures for inquiry, analysis, and synthesis" (p. 190). At this point it is struggling to define a more signalized view. It is more than a starting place for this dissertation's objectives. There have been many theories about families but none specifically about African American families. Some have said that there is no need for it because with so many theories, at least one should fit (Johnson & Staples, 2005).

Laubscher (2005) has many issues with Afrocentricity and is probably one of its biggest critics. Laubscher says that nothing is static, especially culture, so Africans in America have adapted to the culture, as all groups must to survive. It is also a problem in that it claims a "place" and not a people and already defines the power (or lack thereof) for a whole group of

people. It is interesting that Asante's (2003) response to these concerns is that because Eurocentricity sees itself as the "universal" perspective, it is hard to see that there are other ways to perceive culture.

3.1.1.8 Why Use Afrocentricity?

Of course, for this dissertation, Afrocentrism provides us with a perspective that helps to define alternate views of a major problem with its own naturally occurring answers that society as a whole could support. It is an issue of meeting the clients where they are, with the strengths that they may already be providing, to support the positive that is already occurring for better outcomes both for them individually and society as a whole.

3.1.1.9. Summary and Introduction to Other Researcher/Theories

To further the discussion of the basis of our analysis, we will continue with some of the critical researchers and the theoretical views that they furthered in the specific area of African American families in general, such as Carol Stack (1974), Robert Staples (1985, 1999, 2007), Robert Hill (2003), and the McAdoos, Harriet (1988) and John (1993) and the both of them (McAdoo et al, 2002). It will also be necessary to look at research in the specific area of African American men, such as conducted by Erma Lawson (1999) and White and Cones (1999). Each of these researchers and their theoretical perspectives have included a piece of the larger context, helping to answer whether our initial hypothesis is relevant. To begin with, each of these theoretical perspectives seeks a more valueless approach toward conceptualizing the role of the African American father. One perspective is the traditional nuclear family theory, which is Eurocentric, and the other is the Afrocentric.

3.1.2 Kinship Networks in the African American Community

In her work, *All Our Kin* (1974), Stack addresses the issues of relationships in general in an all-African American community of the 1960s. As a researcher, she placed herself in the very context of her subjects, interacting on a much more personal basis that just subjects that

she filled out a survey on. She lived in the community, becoming a very part of the lives of those she was studying (Karenga & Karenga, 2007; Sanders, 2007). In this way, her information was much more qualitative, with the reliability and validity issues that occur with qualitative research, in addition to a small sample size, limited generalizability, and possible decreased objectivity (from the close proximity and intense interactions.) However, she was able to give a more in-depth definition and context for some of the intense interactions (that she defined as "networks") between those she was observing (Dodson, 2007; Stack, 1974). Three of these networks have relevance for this discussion, namely kinship, biological family, and fictive kin networks (Dodson, 2007; Stack, 1974).

In the area of kinship networks, Stack identified the positions of power in the interactions between members of families. In her discussion, she illustrated that the women in the community, especially those who were middle aged and older (elders) (Karenga & Karenga, 2007), "decided" on how younger members in the community would interact and gave legitimacy to those relationships. As it relates to our hypothesis, these women could "decide" the nature of the relationship between men and children (young and old.) This would play out in such arenas as whether a man was able to spend time with, give resources to, or "claim" relationship with children in the community. This is relevant in our discussion in that, from an Afrocentric perspective, the community women legitimized a relationship between a father and his children, and the whole community recognized the connection and supported its existence (Sudarkasa, 2007). From the opposite view, if the female elders didn't recognize the relationship, the community not only didn't support it, but may actually have worked against such recognition (Sudarkasa, 2007). This support (or lack thereof) of community could have a definite effect on how and why African American fathers would interact with their children (Karenga & Karenga, 2007; Saunders, 2007).

Continuing with the work of Stack, the next network that she spoke of was biological family. Again, in keeping with the general kinship discussion above, based on the verdict of the female community elders, African American fathers would give access or legitimacy for supporting the relationship between them and their children within their own biological family. This would lead to valuable resource sharing not only between father and children, but also between the extended family, father, and children. Again, this is important in our discussion in that from the Afrocentric perspective, the relationship and behaviors of support (financial, spiritual, etc.) are widely expansive in supporting and encouraging these behaviors because of general support.

Lastly, the issue of "fictive" kin is important in that it too supports the interaction of African American fathers and their children. Per Stack, the general idea of general kinship networks includes not just the biological family, but also the "kin" that are not related by blood, marriage, or legal tie. These are members of the family that were "made" due to connection, support, encouragement, survival, and relationship (Stack, 1974). This idea of fictive kin is not new in the African American community (Dodson, 2007; Karenga & Karenga, 2007; Stack, 1974). For this discussion, fictive kinship relationships are also important in that they too are able to increase the resources available to the relationship and support of the African American father and his children.

3.1.3 Social Exchange Theory's View of the African American Family

Another pioneer in the area of general study of the African American family is Robert Staples (1985, 1987, 1999, 2007). In his large body of work, Staples examines the idea of cultural expectations of members in the group. Although not new, Staples explores the ideas related to relationships between parties through the lens of "what makes more sense based on the amount of resources at hand." In this, he sees a connection between a decreased marriage rate between African American parties as one that should be expected because marriage is

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based in pooling resources and if there are few to pool, why move toward a legal commitment such as marriage. This has resulted in a more egalitarian role division and economics (Staples, 2007). This applies strongly to the necessity of looking at parenting from a non-Eurocentric model due to one of its central ideals of marriage. Marriage may have more reasons than purely economic for its existence (such as security, shelter, child raising), and groups that appear to believe (at least through its numbers) that marriage may not make sense economically may needed a different paradigm to help explore both its positives and negatives (Livingston & McAdoo, 2007).

Economics are important in other ways that are expressed by Staples. In the area of resources, African American men have a much higher rate of unemployment (Edelman, 2007) and underemployment (Livingston & McAdoo, 2007). Expectations and allocation of parenting may not match because of lack of resources (Staples, 1985).

A scarcity of resources leaves African American fathers with much less to share with children and to use for child raising than for other groups. It also leaves a lot of African American children in poverty, needing assistance from fathers (Edelman, 2007). As explored in other areas, the idea of sharing other resources has been noted (Johnson & Staples, 2005; Stack, 1975) and this would again support the use of the Afrocentric theory as a much more effective gauge in looking at the interaction of African American fathers and their children than a more Eurocentric view.

Staples also has examined that in the context of powerlessness and adaptation, different outcomes should be expected. This would lend some creditability to the idea of viewing through a different paradigm in that even when African American families appeared more similar to White families (in the 1960s, 75% of African American children were born in two-parent homes), the reality of everyday life was still very dissimilar (Franklin, 2007). In fact, Staples gives an example of how families dealt with the lack of and manipulation of power

during slavery. Slave masters used gifts as encouragement for children to spy on parents and other adults, usurping parental authority (Johnson & Staples, 2005, p. 12). Staples believes this is one of the reasons for the standard rule of "what happens in the house stays in the house" that seems so prevalent in African American households (Johnson & Staples, 2005).

In his observation of what families from Africa were like during the time of slavery, Staples mentions some differences between them and the African American families, with some tribes having very little nonmarital sex and divorces being almost nonexistent (1999.) In agreement with the power of the eldership that has been discussed earlier, Staples also mentions that any nonmarital sex or divorces appeared to be controlled by this group (1999.) Families in America then had to adapt to the concept of little or no power and that this group of elders was unable to exercise any control over these practices. However, again addressing the issues of powerlessness and adaptation, Staples noted an example of African American males adapting behavior to meet an identified need. This took place in African American fathers' role in slavery functioning as a chaperone for young adults during courtship (Johnson & Staples, 2005). Once again, an example of looking at African American life through an Afrocentric perspective due to the origin of these transplanted African people.

In following up the idea of adaptation and "progress," Staples, along with others, mentions that until the 1970s African American family structure was very similar to that of White America, with around 75% of those families having a "nuclear" structure (two parents and children in same household) (Gutman, 1976; Staples, 1999.) However, once again he attributes many of the issues of this dissertation to economics, with families moving from the rural South to the urban North (Genovese, 1999; Staples,1999).

In addressing the issue of role performance, Staples is very concerned about children following in the footsteps of their fathers, that negative outcomes will breed further negative outcomes, that large numbers of children will follow their fathers to an early death, prison, or

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unemployment. He is also concerned about poverty setting up children to continue in urban ghettos that have a high percentage of female-headed households and out-of-wedlock births (Staples, 1987).

As stated earlier, although he has a more Afrocentric viewpoint than Eurocentric, Staples has been an advocate of exchange theory, looking at factors that reinforce behaviors. He continually addresses the issues related to having an expectation of a Eurocentric nuclear family without the resources to maintain it and the negative effect this has on African American males in interacting with their children.

3.1.4 Marital Breakdown and African American Men

In their work, Lawson and Thompson (1999) looked at the issues related to African American men and divorce. As part of the examination of previous research on this population, they found that "postdivorce adjustment was non-problematic for this group." Using in-depth interviews with 50 divorced working and middle-class Black men, she explored what issues (if any) this group experienced after their marriages failed. Of this sample, all 50 men had biological children, 68% (34) of whom had children born into the marriages that had ended. The other 32% (16) had one or two children prior to marriage. Only one of the men had custody of his children. Custody arrangements were by far a great concern for this sample. As it applies to this dissertation, Lawson and Thompson discovered that these men in fact made several changes in their lives to accommodate parenting their children. Most of the men stated that they had not begun a new relationship because of the little time they had because they needed that time to spend with their children and parenting-related activities. These men made an effort to keep any new relationships (if they occurred) from their children for fear that children may be jealous or concerned that with limited time and resources, they would have to do without their fathers. These men also used other members of their family (mothers, sisters, aunts, etc.) to

assist them in meeting these goals of parenting (such as spending time with children during visitation in case they were unable to make sure visitation occurred).

3.1.5 Strength-based Theory of the African American Family

Another pioneer in the arena of general exploration of African American families is Robert Hill (1999, 2003). In his work, he has used a more "strengths-based" view of African American families and asks questions related to showing how, in spite of racism and economical inequalities (his stated belief set), African Americans have done so well in the United States. In fact, in his introduction Hill begins with a statement about deviance. In it he reminds the reader that deviation is a departure from the norm and thus, those negative aspects that others have found in the African American family are just as much departures from the norm as they would be in looking at a White family. Hill observes that despite the many unpleasantries of slavery, with Black men being separated from families and children, African American families still endure (Franklin, 2007; Hill, 2003). Hill observes that African American fathers still interact with children and their mothers and still provided support and encouragement despite problems (Franklin, 2007; Hill, 2003). Sudarkasa restated this idea attributed to J. Aschenbrenner 1978's work," Continuities and Variations in Black Family Structure" about extended families among Blacks in stating that Black families, in slavery, must be seen in the context of historical traditions and not just as pathological (Sudarkasa, 2007a). He also placed some attention on the interpersonal relationships between parent and child (Nobles, 2007).

Hill also addresses the adaptability of roles found in the African American family. This is seen as a strength in that African American fathers can perform traditionally defined mother roles (2003). This speaks to the strength of using an Afrocentric model indentifying what parenting behavior may actually be going on in the relationship between an African American father and his children.

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Hill (1999) states that Afrocentric theorists believe that Black child rearing patterns reflect African-based norms and worldviews, which value children unconditionally as a continuity of life. He expressed concerns that Afrocentric values are not valued or included in research on child socialization which is supportive of this dissertation.

3.1.6 Social Psychological Theory's View of African American Men

In his works, White (2006) has been an advocate for the African American male. He begins with studies of African American male adolescents and how they come together to help give a sense of pride and connection to each other and their communities. White, although he doesn't necessarily take an explicit Afrocentric theoretical model, describes African American youth attempting to find some role performance criteria that is not White (Eurocentric) to express their competence in the world. As discussed by Staples, the idea of economics and lack of resources is paramount in the discussion of these young men. White describes these young men as searching for expressions of "manhood" and "maleness," with some of these expressions being manifested in "fathering" children. It is White's expressed belief that African American men are not getting credit for any of their parenting behavior, in society or academia (Conner & White, 2006). In fact, White (along with fellow author M. Connor) has added the phrase of "generative fathering" to their discussion to express the idea of African American men "fathering" not only their children, but also helping to "father" other children in the community. This is definitely a piece of the Afrocentric belief system.

Connor and White (2006) were some of the first to address the disconnect between what was being reported in the media and on "the street" and what was being found in the data that was being revealed in research data. They also noted that most of this information was being found in qualitative studies which allowed for more in-depth conversation and exploration than was being shown in the quantitative studies of others (2006). This would be expected if

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one were looking at the question from a more Afrocentric perspective, observing and looking at a belief system that is steeped in the more spiritual, nonlinear understanding of life.

In his work with Caldwell, White discussed more about the concept of generative fathering, stating that these men who are active in the process of fathering obtain numerous benefits from the behavior, including but not limited to better health and better standing in the community in "eldership"(Caldwell & White, 2006).

In his work with Cones (1999), White identified five major characteristics of African American psychology that would guide his later work. Those five characteristics are improvisation, resilience, connectedness to others, the value of direct experience, and spirituality (p. 48). These qualities were used in his expression of helping to expose the strengths of African American men in his work.

White and Cones (1999) also addressed the idea of the "existential dilemma of the African American." He postulated (p. 61) the idea that African American men in general had to deal with the ideas of inclusion/exclusion (you have a place but only what is decided for you by White America), conflicts in the work ethic (if you can get a job to take care your family expect to make less money), and what to do with rage (you have no control over what happens to you and that is what is best for you).

3.1.7 Ecological Theory's View of the African American Family

The research team of McAdoo and McAdoo, both individually and together, have had a major effect on discussions about the African American family, from both a male and female perspective. A major piece of research, for the purposes of our discussion, was the article by J. Livingston and John McAdoo (2007.) McAdoo noted that African American fathers interacted with children in a socialization role, similar to but less than mothers do (Hrabowski, Maton, & Grief, 2006). This addressed what roles these men were actually playing with families and their children.

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McAdoo also generated a list of prerequisites for fatherhood from African American men he was studying (1993). These men stated that for a man to be a success in dealing with his children he needed to have four basic skills in which he would be able to train his children: being a provider, a decision maker, a child socializer, and a marital partner.

As we have now addressed the Afrocentric paradigm and some of its more noted authors, it is necessary to discuss some of the aspects of Eurocentism. For this discussion, we will address some of the issues that encourages the need for a different type of observation of African American males interacting with their children than Eurocentrism provides.

3.1.8 Eurocentrism

Although Eurocentrism believes that all racial groups share many qualities, it believes that the most desirable qualities such as leadership, importance, and logical thinking are found in greater quantities in White (Caucasian) people and that these qualities are innate (White & Cones, 1999). It is also a paradigm (worldview) of dichotomies, easily identifiable and readily usable (White & Cones, 1999). European Americans placed value on power and achievement (Suizzo, 2007). This idea was used as a reason for the inequities of society, that everybody deserved (and earned) what they got. This idea has been used by some to state that the superiority of the White (European) group is the natural order and that any reasonable move against it and its institutions is destined to fail. European ideas (White) are considered as the standard (or normal) for all questions (Lawson & Thompson, 1999). It is seen by some to absolve those with resources from any responsibility for those who have less. Eurocentrism is also seen as "paternalistic," and is accountable for those "less fortunate" (Hunter & Davis, 1992). This, of course, is directly opposed to the principles of Afrocentrism.

White and Cones (1999) note the work of social psychologists J. Doyle and M. Pauldi 1991's Sex and Gender, who published a list of five aspects of "Euro-American masculinity."

Those aspects are:

Self reliance (real men are in control), success (men should compete and win against other men), aggression (men are expected to go for what they want and fight to win it), anti-feminine (real men are not soft and tender like women), and sexuality (men are to dominate women, who are objects of domination and status). (p. 116)

Eurocentricity believes that conflict is the driving force behind progress (Asante, 2003). Conflict is seen as a natural process in the world, not to be circumvented or denied.

Eurocentricity has at its core the belief that to become fully functional citizens in the United States, others (including African Americans) must acquire the habit and values of the dominant culture, or European thought (Asante, 1998). Asante (1998) said about Eurocentricity, "It is the idea that Europe is the teacher and that Africa is the pupil"(p. 71).

As a theory, the state legitimizes Eurocentrism (Suizzo, 2007). White men embrace their manhood as a right, whereas African American men are in a constant struggle to attain it (Lawson & Thompson, 1999). For Caucasians, personhood is given at birth, without any systematic structures set up to minimize goal attainment, as might be the case for African Americans or other minority groups (Lawson & Thompson, 1999). African Americans have to contend with the notion that even God is White (Oliver, 1989).

As a sociopsychological approach, Harris-Lacewell (2003) sites the work by Meertens and Pettigrew on racism in the Western world that states Eurocentrism seeks "to defend traditional values, exaggerates cultural differences, and sees an absence of positive emotions of outgroups (those who are non-White)" (p 225). As a sociostructural approach, Eurocentrism perceives African Americans as disadvantaged and the disadvantage manifests as inferiority. Blacks are irrelevant, the "other" and norm violators, assistance seekers (Harris-Lacewell, 2003, p. 227). Eurocentricity assumes that American ideals are free from bias, and Eurocentricity is

defined as the racial norm. Eurocentrism sees the problems of Black America as pathological (Barnes, 2001).

The Eurocentric ideal states that the ways of "knowing" a thing revolve around the concepts of rationality, objectivity, and progress (Asante, 1998). Due to its linear, logical, objective structure it fails to consider alternate hypotheses in problem solving (Harris-Lacewell, 2003).

It may be assumed that due to the differences of perspective, a Eurocentric approach, at least for African Americans, would be seen as expressing a deficit approach. In looking at the question of parenting behavior of African American fathers and Caucasian fathers of their children between the ages of 5 and 18 years and my assumption that they are more similar than dissimilar, a deficit approach would not be the most helpful; therefore, we will explore other ways of understanding. We have previously discussed the ecological approach and we will now briefly explore the idea of family systems, which is perceived as a much more strengths-based approach and complementary to an Afrocentric approach.

3.1.9 Family Systems

Still further in this exploration of fathering behavior between African American fathers and Caucasian fathers and the hypothesis that they are more similar that different, the idea of family systems helps us to further understand the issue. It is important that we look at this idea in understanding African American families and that they use both formal and informal networks (Sanders, 2007) in understanding, dealing with, and supporting parenting behavior. This is illustrated in how the individual affects the family and in turn, the family affects the individual (Sanders, 2007). This is supportive of our using the perspective of Afrocentric ideas, because it gains its understanding not in the individual and autonomy, but is much more concerned with the context, and much more wholistic and subjective (Beckvar & Beckvar, 2003; Nichols, 2004.)

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It focuses on the collective and not the individual. This again is supportive of the Afrocentric ideas previously discussed.

3.2 Hypothesis

Based on the two major perspectives that have been explored above, I propose a number of hypotheses that explain the extent of involvement in parenting among African American males. With these two perspectives as our guide, we will examine the parenting behavior of African American and Caucasian fathers with their children from the ages of 5 to 18 to test whether these two groups are more alike than unalike, which is our hypothesis.

The two perspectives indicate variables related to three important aspects of fathering. Both the Eurocentric model and the Afrocentric model suggest that family type significantly influences the extent of fathering. The Eurocentric model proposes that the nuclear family type is the most efficient family organization characterized by the presence of a married man in residence. Thus, to this extent, we hypothesize that fathers living with children have greater levels of parenting than those fathers not living with children, whether African American or not. This is important in that if these two groups are more alike than different in their parenting behavior, we expect that African American fathers who live in the same household with their children will look very similar in the type and amount of parenting activities that they involve with their children ages 5 to 18. This is supported by research, such as Shears (2007), who studied 485 resident fathers (and father figures) of low-income children who were attending a Head Start Program. Among other things, these fathers identified that involvement in activities were high on the priority list for being a good father and that being in the same household made this possible. In research conducted using 114 African American homes, Barnes (2001) found that although stress was a little higher, the financial security afforded to a two-parent family was a great asset to the raising of children. In their study of 228 resident and nonresident, mostly minority fathers, Coley and Morris (2002) found that resident fathers scored higher across

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several measures than nonresident fathers in the quantity and quality of interaction with their children. As for child outcomes, Rodney and Mupier's study (1999) of 433 adolescent males found much better academic performance in children who had resident fathers.

Staples (1985,1987) indirectly lists the negative behaviors that make a large percentage of African American males poor prospects for marriage and fatherhood (high unemployment, elevated criminal justice involvement, high stress levels with poor mental health opportunities, and poor education levels). Many of these factors can be directly linked to poverty, the lack of resources. From an Afrocentric perspective, these fathers can be seen as using their available resources to survive, with little to none left for the activities of parenting. This would agree with the above discussion of Afrocentricity that other resources may be used, such as additional community or family support, in the raising of children. This would also support the ideas of Afrocentricity that parenting is more that just the "two parents, with children," which is the perspective of Eurocentricity. Given these factors, we can hypothesize that based on the group as a whole, African American fathers are likely to have lower degrees of involvement of parenting than Caucasian fathers. This idea does not negate our expectations that the two groups were be similar in the parenting behaviors, but we don't necessarily expect that they will be exactly the same.

In further addressing what may be an expected finding, in their secondary analysis of 2,531 children and families, Hofferth (2003) found that resident fathers interact with their children more than nonresident fathers and among resident fathers, married fathers interact more with their children more than unmarried fathers. Since we have many sources that Caucasian fathers are more likely than African American fathers to be married to the mothers of their children and have residential status with their children (U.S. Census, 2002), we can hypothesize that married fathers are more likely to have higher degrees of involvement in parenting than unmarried fathers. It would also be expected that Caucasian fathers will have

higher levels of parenting behavior than African American fathers in general, especially since they are more likely to be married. However, we would still expect that the parenting behavior between the two would be similar between the two groups if both are married.

In continuing the above statements, the expectation is that if you live in the home with your children, you are more likely to interact with them (Hofferth & Anderson, 2003). With the supporting documentation (U.S. Census, 2002) that more African American children are being raised in nonresident father situations and most of those are unmarried (U.S. Census, 2010), the question arises about what variables may have some effect on this. Staying with our Afrocentric perspective, it is expected that race is playing a major part in expected outcomes, at least on the surface. If African American fathers are less likely than Caucasian fathers to be married to the mothers of their children and reside with them, then it can be further deduced that race is a factor. From this it is hypothesized that there is significant interaction between race and residence status on the degree of involvement (types of behavior and activities) in parenting.

African American males are more likely to be unmarried and nonresidential with their children (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Hofferth (2003) also found that among resident fathers, married fathers were more likely to interact with children than unmarried fathers. This returns us to the fact that African American males are more likely to be unmarried and nonresident fathers. Again, the idea that African American fathers are more likely than not to reside with a family if they are married in a nuclear family brings us to our next hypothesis, that there is significant interaction between residence status and marital status on the degree of involvement in parenting.

African American fathers who have access to their children are more likely than not to interact with them on a regular basis, which living in the same household would allow. From this

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statement we get our next hypothesis, which is there is significant interaction between race and residence status on degree of involvement in parenting.

African American fathers are expected to be more nonresidential with their children than Caucasian fathers and are also more likely to be not married to the mother of their children. It is expected that these two factors will affect the level of parenting behavior of African Americans but not that our initial expectation that these fathers will be more alike than un-alike in their parenting behavior than their Caucasian counterparts, especially when we compare like group to like group (i.e., unmarried African American compared to unmarried Caucasian fathers).

Finally, in bringing all the discussions to bear, it appears that race, residential status, and marriage are all variables that have major interactional affects on African American fathers and their parenting behavior with their children. In looking at all three, African American fathers are less likely than Caucasian fathers to be married to the mother of their children and reside in the households with their children. It is important in this dissertation to look at all these factors because of our hypothesis that there are more similarities in parenting behaviors with their children between the two groups than differences. Furthermore, using Afrocentric theory, we would have possible explanations for the differences in the behavior that are less negative than would be expected from the standard Eurocentric expectations.

The Eurocentric perspective suggests that the effect of family type or family organization will depend upon race. That is, households vary extensively in terms of family types, and the level of parenting decreases from biological/residential status to nonresidential intimate partner with children. The family types in terms of level of intimacy are (a) biological-residential, (b) adoptive-residential, (c) step-father–residential, and (d) biological-nonresidential. Due to this expectation it is believed that marital status and residential status are likely to influence parenting behaviors of African American fathers more than other fathers. As for the Afrocentric perspective, we would expect that parenting is expressed throughout all the levels.

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Remember, it is our hypothesis that parenting behavior levels will be similar between the two groups (Caucasian and African American.)

In the process of our discussion as we examine the above hypothesis, we need to address what are common themes throughout both groups that may affect our findings, those factors that both groups are affected by that may skew or distract our understanding. In looking at these two groups and using a more generalized understanding of family theories, we have a number of factors that affect the parenting behavior of fathers, in general, in the interactions and types of parenting behaviors that they involve themselves in with their children. Income is a revolving factor that arises because it speaks to resources. The expectation is that the higher the income, the more resources a father has to use and the higher the level of involvement (Coles, 2009; Staples,1999.) Income is also important in that it is seen as a factor in marriage, primarily noted as having less income is directly related to less marriage in the African American community (Coles, 2001a; Coles, 2009; Hamer, 1997; Staples, 1999). Income is also important in that looking across racial categories, it appears that those who have money (resources) pay child support (Mincy & Pouncy, 2003).

Region also appears to be an important factor, as data shows that African American fathers reside overwhelmingly in urban environments, whereas Caucasian fathers are spread out across all areas (urban, suburban, exurban, and rural) (Shears, Summers, Boller, & Barclay-McLaughlin, 2006). Next, church attendance is a major issue for both groups. In the United States church attendance is seen as important. We are using the idea of church attendance instead of spirituality, as it is easier to quantify (e.g., how many times did you take your child to church last week versus how many spiritual activities did you take your child to last week.) This idea of church attendance is very important in the Afrocentric perspective as it is expected for parents, as well in the Eurocentric perspective (Kanc, 2000). For the African American community, church is also seen as an informal support for the family (Daniels, 2001). Finally,

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since both groups could be involved in parenting behavior with others who are not their children, we want only to look at parenting behavior with their own biological children.

As far as our control variables are concerned, we are looking for those variables found throughout both groups that may affect our outcomes. Although it is known that income is not equitable between the two groups (according to McAdoo in 2007, African Americans made only 62% of Caucasians' income) it is known that income has an effect on the amount of interaction between children and fathers, regardless of racial category (McAdoo, 2007). For this "universal" influence, we will control for income in this study. Likewise, we will also do the same with SES, although the two are different. Both refer to source amounts, but they classify differently how it is obtained. One can belong to one class but have an income that is not related to a legitimate job, but may be obtained from other sources, such as illegal activities, investments, inheritance, or other means.

Furthering our exploration of other outside factors that need to be addressed that may affect our outcomes, we also look at where a person resides (urban or not.) Again, as listed in the literature, we may expect to find more African American fathers in the urban environment, but the reality is that fathers live where they live, suburban, urban or exurban. Again, African American fathers may be fewer in certain areas, but they are definitely represented (McAdoo, 2007). According to Dodson (2007), some researchers state that if you control for social class, there are no major differences in African American families (fathers) and Caucasian families (fathers.) This again speaks to the need to control for both.

Last, education is another factor that is seen as across the board for both groups (representation in both groups) and that the opportunities that it provides are known to affect the resources that fathers have; therefore, it affects how both sets of fathers may interact with children in parenting behavior.

Individually or combined, these control variables were listed in several studies in previous research because of their ability to affect the findings of study data. The objective is to look at African American males' level of interaction with their children ages 5 to18 as a phenomenon, not where or how much it may be influenced (positively or negatively) by the above four variables. Although it may be an interesting question, that is not our intent and could be used as a follow-up study for a later date.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Data Set

The purpose of this study was to find empirical data to test my hypothesis that in comparing the parenting behavior of African American fathers and Caucasian fathers interacting with their children I would find that the two groups would be much more similar than different in these behaviors. For this study, the National Survey of Family Growth Database, Cycle IV, 2002, was used as the data set. The National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG), which is sponsored by the National Center for Health Statistics, United States Department of Health and Human Services, is a multi-purpose survey based on personal interviews with a national sample of women and men. The NSFG surveys were conducted in 1973 (Cycle I), 1976 (Cycle II), 1982 (Cycle III), 1988 and 1990 (Cycle IV), 1995 (Cycle V), and 2002 (Cycle VI).

The NSFG 2002 was taken from the website of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). This study is a secondary analysis of the data gathered by NSFG. As for the data it used for research, the ICPSR has a statement of confidentiality about test subject data. The following is the statement taken directly from ICPSR website.

ICPSR considers the protection of confidentiality in archived data to be of paramount importance in its service to the social science research community. Since its inception in 1962, ICPSR has routinely subjected all data deposited in the archive to rigorous examination with respect to disclosure risk. All data collections acquired by ICPSR undergo stringent confidentiality reviews to determine whether the data contain any information that could be used—on its

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own or in combination with other publicly available information—to identify respondents. Should such information be discovered, the sensitive data are altered after consultation with the principal investigator to create public use files that limit the risk of disclosure. [Section 308(d) of the Public Health Service Act (42 USC 242M), the Privacy Act of 1974 (5 USC 552a), and the Confidential Information Protection and Statistical Efficiency Act (PL 107-347)](United States Department of Health and Human Services, National Center for Health Statistics, 2002a)

Specifically for our purposes, the following information was taken from the ICPSR website about generally how the data was acquired from subjects.

Cycle VI of the National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) was conducted in 2002 by the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), with the participation and funding support of nine other programs of the United States Department of Health and Human Services. New to Cycle 6 was the introduction of the interviewing of males aged 15–44, although three (3) respondents were of age 45 in this cycle, which is what is necessary for our intended research. The male questionnaire averaged about 60 minutes in length. For most of the survey a Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) technique was used in which the interviewer entered the respondents' answers into a laptop computer. For the last section of the interview, the survey participants entered their own answers into the computer using a technique called Audio Computer-Assisted Self-Interviewing (Audio CASI). (United States Department of Health and Human Services, National Center for Health Statistics, 2002a)

For the purposes of this study, the NSFG includes questions on schooling, family background, marriage and divorce, having and raising children, religion, race/ethnicity, employment/occupation, income, and insurance.

In particular for this study, we were interested in two specific samples, namely African American males and White (Caucasian) males, who identify that they have birth children, with children from ages 0 through the age of 18 (although we are specifically interested in ages from 5–18 years). The initial sample size for each group, respectively, is 1,029 African American males and 3,470 White males. Participants received $40 for participating in the survey.

In each case, the males self-identified according to ethnic/racial constructs. The categories that they could chose from were White, African American, Hispanic, Asian, American Indian, and other. The total male sample size was 4,928. The information was divided in three datasets: male, female, and pregnancy files.

Other relevant and important information about the specific data set is that it was collected during January, 2002, through March, 2003. The unit of observation is the individual participant for which survey data was collected. A total of 12,571 in-person interviews were completed with respondents 15–44 years of age (7,643 females and 4,928 males) from a national probability sample of households in the United States. These participants were selected from 121 Primary Sampling Units. Cycle 6 of the NSFG was based on an area probability sample. The survey sample was designed to produce national data and not estimates for individual states. The response rate was 79% overall (80% for females and 78% for males.) The questionnaire for males averaged about 60 minutes, while the female interview averaged about 80 minutes (United States Department of Health and Human Services, National Center for Health Statistics, 2002b).

It is at this point that the statistical hypothesis for this study is set up, using our dataset, to directly ascertain the level of support for the proposed hypothesis, that African American

fathers, in their parenting behavior, are not significantly different from Caucasian fathers in their parenting behavior, with their children between the ages of 5 and 18. Put another way, African American fathers and Caucasian fathers are more alike that unalike in the parenting behaviors that they have with their children, who are between the ages of 5 and 18. The first question deals with the parenting behaviors of African American fathers from an Afrocentric model. The next question deals with Caucasian fathers, the behaviors that they have with their biological children, with the "standard" model of interaction that we have defined as Eurocentric (Western) with a two-parent home (our reference category). We will compare these two groups across many factors (residential status, marital status, etc.). Finally, the question is whether there is, in fact, any difference between the populations, of which again, we hypothesize there will be fewer or none.

4.2 Analysis

Initially, one of the issues with the NSFG for the sake of this study has to do with the methodology and how the questions were asked. In the total male sample ($N = 4,928$), respondents were asked whether they had children. This reduced the initial total sample of 4,928 men to 1,283 fathers. If so, then they were asked if they lived in the same household with those children. If they did, then they were asked questions about their co-residential children. After answering those questions, the fathers were then asked if they had children who didn't live with them. If so, then they were asked questions from that section, so fathers were able to answer questions about both residential and nonresidential children. The total number of fathers was found to be 1,283, with 908 who resided with their children and 375 who did not. It was then discovered that there was an overlapping group who had children in both groups. For the purposes of this study, that overlapping group (with children in both categories) was 92. We separated and dropped those fathers from this study. This had the effect of decreasing our total sample size and our sample size for each group. This was done because of concerns of nonindependent interaction. It could be assumed that the fathers who have a child in both

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categories may have the behavior toward a child in the nonresidential category affected by behavior toward the residential child.

As this is a study using human subjects, it was required that possible IRB approval may be needed. After discussion with the Office of Regulatory Service, Office of Research Administration of the University of Texas at Arlington, the decision was made that since it was a secondary analysis of information that did not include information that made each participant individually identifiable, IRB review was not necessary.

Next, the operationalization of the variables that will be tested in this proposed study must be defined. In looking at the variables that need to be measured, the definitions and codes are as follows.

For residential status, fathers can either reside in the same households as their children (which will be coded as 1) or not reside in the household with their children (which will be coded as 0.)

As it is not noted such in our dataset from NSFG, we devised a new variable called Race, which was coded by three categories. First, there will be the identification of Caucasian (European), which is our reference category. All fathers identifying Caucasian were coded 1, and not identified as Caucasian were coded 0. Next is the category of African American. The father was coded as 0 if the person identified as African American, and if they identified any other group they were coded 1. Finally, for the category of Other, if a father identified as Other he was coded as 1; if not, he was coded 0.

The next variable that needed to be defined was marital status. For this variable, there are two categories. If the father was currently married, he was coded a 1, if not, he was coded 0. It is important to acknowledge that in this category, divorced, widowed, and never- married fathers were all counted in this variable coded as 1.

Our control variables were also coded. Our first is church attendance. As identified in our dataset, if a father had attended church in the past month, he was coded as a 1, if not, he was coded as a 0. Next, the geographic area where they resided. For this variable we have two categories, Urban (or City), which was coded as 1, with all other locations (Rural, Suburban) being coded as a 0. The next variable is type of education, which we defined as having a high school diploma or GED (coded 1) or not having a high school diploma or GED (coded 0). Last was our final control variable, which is income. Due to concerns about the amount of resources fathers may have, especially African American males in this present economic climate, this variable was divided into 14 categories, beginning with less than $5,000 per year (coded 1) up to more than $75,000 per year (coded 14). Between the two, the increments were listed as differing by $2,499, from $5,000 through $14,999, hence $5,000 – $7,499 was coded 2, and so forth through category 5. At that point, the increments increased to $4,999 through category 10, which is $35,000 – $39,999. At that point, the increments increased to $9,999 for category 11 and 12. Category 13 was from $60,000 – $74,999, and category 14 is $75,000 or more. Although somewhat odd in its division, I decided to use the category as it was listed to have a more robust view of income for the group.

The next item was the creation of a scale consisting of items of activities that fathers participated in with or about their children ages 5 – 18 that were counted in the dataset of the NSFG, 2002. The activities that we used for our scale to measure the level of involvement of parenting were identified as (all needing to have occurred in the past four weeks) helping with homework, transporting to activities, attending church with them, had conversations with them, attended PTA meetings about them, and eating with them. An additional three items were added that that used a time frame of 12 months (visitation, attendance of PTA meeting, and attendance of religious services). These were combined to give us a total scale score for each father, in which we performed statistical calculations. The fathers are then divided by racial categories (African American or Caucasian), then assigned into various groups based on

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residential status (residential or nonresidential) and marital status (married or not married.) From that point, the groups are compared by scale scores.

As we generated our own scale for this dissertation, issues of reliability and validity have to be addressed. For reliability, a normative useful tool is to perform a Cronbach alpha analysis, or more precisely, calculate the internal consistency reliability between the items of our instrument (Rubin & Babbie, 2001).   As per procedure, all items must be expressed in the "positively stated." This was not a concern due to using the various items pulled directly from the NSFG, which expressed the items in the positive. SPSS was used to analyze and to generate a Cronbach alpha for the two separate sets of items, based on whether the father's residential status was with his children (either coresidential or residential.) This division of items was necessary based on the items chosen from the NSFG. Both sets of items included seven questions, again based on whether the father was coresidential with his children or not. For the scale based on the father's being residential, a Cronbach alpha standardized score of .479, with a raw score of .303 for 811 cases, was generated. For the scale based on the father's being nonresidential with their children, a Cronbach alpha standardized score of .642, with a raw score of .523 for 283 cases, was generated. Knowing that Cronbach alpha scores are sensitive to small items numbers (Pedhazer & Schmelkin, 1991) and that this scale only has seven items, the items were re-examined for issues that could depress this reliability measurement. At that point it was observed that the scale was measuring items with two different time frames, which could affect the number of times that activity could be performed (how many times a year vs. how many times per month.) The items were then observed differently, based on the time frame listed (either monthly or yearly.) In doing so, it was discovered that the three scale items measured yearly, for both residential statuses, delivered a negative Cronbach alpha score (for coresidential the scores were -.280 (raw) and -.224 (standard), with .013 (raw) and .196 (standard) for nonresidential fathers.   Alternatively, when looking at only the items with a monthly timetable, the Cronbach alpha scores increased on the four remaining items that were

measured on a monthly basis to .823 (raw) and .825 (standard) for nonresidential fathers and .631 (raw) and .666 (standard) for residential fathers.

As for the issue of validity, for our purposes we will be using the basic level of face validity. In this case, we have chosen seven items from the NSFG IV, 2002, listing activities that fathers involve themselves with their children, ages 5–18 years, during their parenting. We are basing the relationship (parenting behavior and the activities) between the two on its face" (Rubin & Babbie, 2001), expecting that parents would involve themselves in activities such as eating with, helping to complete homework with, taking to activities such as church or PTA meetings, with their children. We are also making a decision that these behaviors increase the level of parenting relationship between the child and his or her parent (father.)

4.2.1 Statistical Analysis

Now that we have our terms identified and defined, we analyzed our generated data from our dataset. For the most in-depth analysis, we completed both a univariate and multivariate analysis on the data.

4.2.2 Univariate Analysis

For the univariate analysis of the data, all the variables were analyzed to generate the mean and standard deviations of the distributions if the variables are continuous. If not, the mean and modes were generated to observe the distributions if the variables are not continuous. The skewness and kurtosis were generated of all the continuous variables to measure how they are distributed in our sample. Finally, these measures were used to report all the proportions of all the categorical variables.

4.2.3. Multivariate Analysis

After completion of the above univariate analysis, the data were analyzed using OLS (Ordinary Least Squares) regression. Analysis of covariance method was used to empirically test the proposed model.

To examine and compare differences in each of the sample populations, the following groups were generated in which to perform *t*-tests. Those groupings are:

1. Caucasian, married, residential

2. African American, married, residential

3. Caucasian, married, nonresidential

4. African American, married, nonresidential

5. Caucasian, not married, residential

6. African American, not married, residential

7. Caucasian, not married, nonresidential

8. African American, not married, nonresidential.

Based on the earlier discussions about expectations and questions that were generated by the above groups for comparisons, the following were the expected outcomes that this study expected to find. This study generated the following hypothesis in looking at the parenting behavior of fathers, broken into the following groups with the expected outcomes.

1. African American, not married, nonresidential > Caucasian, not married, nonresidential

2. African American, not married, residential = Caucasian, not married, residential

3. African American, married, residential = Caucasian, married, residential

4. African American, married, nonresidential > Caucasian, married, nonresidential

4.3 Hypothesis

And last, to further refine our hypothesis for conducting regression analysis, the following hypothesis are generated.

Hypothesis #1. The following is the formula for our first hypothesis for testing. $Y = \alpha + b_1(race) + b_2(marriage) + b_3(residential\ status) + control\ variables$(church attendance, region, income, education).

Hypothesis #2. The following is the formula for our second hypothesis for testing. $Y = \alpha + b_1(\text{race}) + b_2(\text{marriage}) + b_3(\text{residential status}) + b_4(\text{race*marriage}) + b_5 (\text{race*residential}) + b_6 (\text{marriage*residential status}) + b_7 (\text{race*marriage*residential status}) + \text{control variables}$ (church attendance, region, income, education).

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

In order to address the hypotheses that were listed in the Method chapter, we will address each of the findings from each of the questions. The basic outline that we began with was to run simple, independent t-tests, to compare the two groups, African Americans and Caucasians. We have three categories, with the final one being Other (made up of Asians, Native Americans, etc.). The overall question, broken down into a series of questions is, Do African American fathers parent significantly differently in terms of parenting involvement than non-African Americans? This question was broken down to look at the following areas; marital status (married vs. not married) and residential status (residential – living in same household with children) vs. nonresidential (not living in same household with children.) These terms were adapted from the NSFG, which themselves used the terminology marital status (married, not married) and residential status (co-residential and non-co-residential.)

Addressing this group from the aspect of race and residential status, the group comes out as shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Residential Status of Fathers

	Nonresidential	%	Residential	%	Total	
African American	108	41	157	59	265	
Caucasian	144	20	568	80	707	
Other	31	25	95	75	126	
Total	283	26	815	74	1098	

As demonstrated in table 5.1, this group has, by far, many more Caucasian fathers who are living in the home that African American fathers (568 vs. 157.) However, it is interesting that when you look at the group percentage-wise, approximately 59% of African American fathers were residential with their children, opposed to 80% of the Caucasian fathers. However, of the three categories, it appears that the Other category was very similar to the Caucasian one, being 75%. Overall, 74% of the fathers in this survey lived in the same household as their children.

Table 5.2 Marital Status of Fathers

	Married	%	Not Married	%	Total	
African American	220	83	45	17	265	
Caucasian	643	91	64	9	707	
Other	106	84	20	16	126	
Totals	969	88	129	12	1098	

Note. Figures are rounded up.

In looking at the category of marriage (Table 5.2), it was somewhat unexpected that the survey was overwhelmingly made up of married individuals (88% of the participants). The percentages were all in excess of 80%, with Caucasian fathers being 91% and African American fathers having an 83% marriage rate.

Looking at the variables that we used for our control variables, whether you reside in the Central City or not, whether you have a high school diploma or not, whether you attend church on a monthly basis, or your income, the following information is revealed in the following tables.

Table 5.3 Education Level

	No Diploma/GED	%	Diploma/GED	%	Total
African American	41	16	220	84	261

Table 5.3 – *Continued*

Caucasian	143	20	555	80	698
Other	40	32	85	68	125
Total	224	21	860	79	1084

Note. Figures are rounded up.

In the observations of education (Table 5.3), this group was overwhelmingly educated, with 79% of the participants being at least high school graduation level, either with having a GED or a high school diploma. Interestingly, the education level in this category for African Americans is much higher than reported in many areas, with the rate at a whopping 84% rate of high school graduation/GED completion. In fact, this rate was even higher than in the Caucasian category, being only 80%.

Table 5.4 Where You Live

	Not Central City	%	Central City	%	Total
African American	138	52	127	48	265
Caucasian	516	73	191	27	707
Other	74	59	52	41	126
Total	728	66	370	34	1098

In the category of residence (Table 5.4), overwhelmingly the participants lived outside of the Central City (n = 728, or 66%). For African Americans, this translates into 48% living in the Central City, as opposed to only 27% for Caucasian fathers. This means that many more African American fathers are living in the Central City than Caucasian fathers. This category was not designed very specifically in the survey to list whether the participants lived in the

surrounding area of the Central City, which would still be urban or even the suburbs. Participants in this category could live in either one of these areas or live very rurally.

Table 5.5 Church Attendance

	Less Than Monthly	%	Monthly	%	Total
African American	124	47	141	53	265
Caucasian	408	58	299	42	707
Other	67	53	59	47	126
Total	599	56	499	44	1098

Note. Figures are rounded up.

As for the category of church attendance, this group (Table 5.5) surprisingly was almost as likely not to attend church on a monthly basis as they were to attend church on a monthly basis (56% vs. 44%). African American fathers were the more likely church attendees, coming in with an attendance percentage of 53%, as opposed to Caucasian fathers who only attended about 42% of the time.

Table 5.6 Income

Total Income	Frequency	Percentage
UNDER $5000	42	3.8
$5,000-$7,499	17	1.5
$7,500-$9,999	23	2.1
$10,000-$12,499	31	2.8
$12,500-$14,999	45	4.1
$15,000-$19,999	74	6.7
$20,000-$24,999	93	8.5
$25,000-$29,999	91	8.3
$30,000-$34,999	83	7.6
$35,000-$39,999	82	7.5

Table 5.6 – *Continued*

$40,000-$49,999	130	11.8
$50,000-$59,000	91	8.3
$60,000-$74,999	118	10.7
$75,000 OR MORE	178	16.2

Income was an interesting variable to observe. The first statistic was determined by breaking the group into the 14 different categories to get an idea of how this group looked individually as well as a group. For this group as a whole (Table 5.6), the mean category for income was 9.5, meaning that the majority of the participants had an income between $30,000 and $34,999 (category 9) and $35,000 and $39,999 (category 10), but the median category (middle) was in category 10 ($35,000 – $39,999) and the mode (or most often found) was in the highest category, category 14. It is interesting that the highest income category is also the modal category for the entire group. In looking at this particular category, it also appears that 29% of this group makes less than $25,000, but the top 27% makes more than $50,000. It appears that this group is made up overwhelmingly of working individuals. Both the skewness (-.580) and kurtosis (-.522) for this distribution were low and negative.

Table 5.7 Income for African American Fathers

Total Income	Frequency	% (Rounded)
Under $5,000	13	5
$5,000-$7,499	7	7
$7,500-$9,999	11	4
$10,000-$12,499	13	5
$12,500-$14,999	14	5
$15,000-$19,999	18	7
$20,000-$24,999	31	12
$25,000-$29,999	18	7

Table 5.7 – *Continued*

$30,000-$34,999	19	8
$35,000-$39,999	17	6
$40,000-$49,999	32	12
$50,000-$59,000	19	7
$60,000-$74,999	28	11
$75,000 or more	25	9
Total	265	

Looking at just African American fathers (Table 5.7), we get the following information on income. As you can see, the mean income for this group is $18,929 (rounded number.) This would mean for African American fathers, the mean category would be Category 8 and not Category 9.5, as for the general group. Also, the mode for this group is Category 11 and not Category 14 as in the general group. This also tells us that the bottom (as for income) 29% of this group is made up of Categories 1–6, unlike the general group which also included Category 7. For African American fathers, this means that they make less than $19,999, which is somewhat lower than for the general group. In looking at the higher income levels, it appears that the top 27% of the earners make $50,000 or more, which complements the general group. For this analysis, the distribution was negatively skewed (-.338) and the kurtosis was slightly negative at (-.902).

<div align="center">5.2 Parenting Scores</div>

In the area of the scores, as was stated earlier, a scale was generated by adding up the scores from the questions related to behaviors that fathers do with their children. The questions were how many times a father participated in the following behavior with children in a month's period of time. For those questions, the areas were having a conversation with (talking to), helping with homework, taking to activities, and having a meal with. Three other questions were also asked, but with different time frames. Those three questions were how many outings did you go

on with your child, did you attend church with your child at least monthly, and attended any PTA meetings.

Table 5.8 Parenting Scale Scores

Parenting Scale Score	African American	%	Caucasian	%	Other	%
7	1	.004	0	.000	0	.000
8	3	.010	0	.000	0	.000
9	11	.040	9	.010	3	.020
10	4	.020	8	.010	4	.030
11	12	.050	6	.008	2	.020
12	15	.060	11	.020	3	.020
13	6	.020	12	.020	3	.020
14	9	.030	19	.030	2	.020
15	6	.020	13	.020	4	.030
16	7	.030	22	.030	3	.020
17	15	.060	20	.030	1	.007
18	6	.002	30	.040	5	.040
19	14	.050	32	.050	3	.020
20	13	.050	43	.060	8	.060
21	17	.060	46	.070	6	.050
22	12	.040	55	.080	5	.040
23	13	.050	60	.080	11	.090
24	23	.090	52	.070	16	.130
25	12	.040	61	.080	11	.090
26	10	.040	61	.080	6	.050
27	16	.060	45	.060	8	.060
28	13	.050	37	.050	10	.080
29	8	.030	26	.040	4	.030
30	8	.030	16	.020	3	.020
31	6	.020	15	.020	3	.020
32	2	.008	2	.003	1	.007
33	1	.004	2	.003	1	.007
34	0	.000	2	.003	0	.000
35	2	.008	2	.003	0	.000
Total	265		707		126	

Note. Percentages are rounded up.

Looking at the percentages, we find the highest percentage for African American fathers was a score of 24, which was a percentage of 9. For Caucasian fathers, the highest percentage score was a 26, which was a percentage of 8. However, this percentage score was not only for a real score of 26, but was also repeated at 25, 23, and 22. In looking at ranges, African American fathers scored from 7 to 35, with Caucasian fathers having a range of 9 to 35. Both African American fathers and Caucasian fathers had "perfect scores" by two fathers, with

African American fathers scoring the higher percentage of perfect scores with .008 percent versus .003 for Caucasian fathers.

Table 5.9 Parenting Scale T-test

		General	African Americans
N	Valid	1,098	265
	Missing	0	0
Mean		21.8825	20.4906
Median		23.0000	21.00
Mode		24.000	24.00
Skewness		-.476	-.175
Std. Error of Skewness		.074	.150
Kurtosis		-.333	-.900
Standard Error of Kurtosis		.148	.298

For this group in general (Table 5.09), we find that the overall mean score was 21.88. For African American fathers the mean score was 20.49, with an *SD* of 6.5018 with both a negative skewness (-.175) and kurtosis (-.900.)

Table 5.10 T-test Comparison AMR and CMR

	N	*M*	*SD*	Std. Error Mean
AMR	34	24.5588	4.60034	.78895
CMR	67	22.6866	4.61292	.56356

Note. AMR = African American, married residential; CMR= Caucasian, married and residential

In looking at the following groups and performing *t*-tests between the African American and Caucasian groups, the following were the identified test categories with the following outcomes (Table 5.10). All tests were conducted with a 95% confidence interval. The two groups were Caucasian fathers who are both married and residential with their children and African American fathers who were married and residential with their children. In Table 5.10, the first of our *t*-test analysis, using African American fathers (*n* = 34) and Caucasian fathers (*n* = 67) who are both married and residential with their children, we find little differences, using *m* = 24.5588 and *s* = 4.6003 with a *t*(1.29), *df*(99) and *p* = .57.

Table 5.11 T-test Comparison CMNR and CMR

	N	M	SD	Std. Error Mean
CMNR	17	14.1765	4.26080	1.03340
CMR	67	22.6866	4.61292	.56356

Note. CMNR = Caucasian, married, and nonresidential; CMR = Caucasian, married, residential

Looking for the differences between the groups of Caucasian, married, and residential fathers (CMR) compared to Caucasian, married, and nonresidential fathers (CMNR), we find the largest differences of all, with 8-point difference that is significant. This is demonstrated in the mean for the Caucasian fathers is shown in Table 5.11, with t(-6.893), df(82) and p = .000.

Table 5.12 T-test Comparison AMR and CMR

	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean
AMNR	11	15.2727	6.46670	1.94978
CMR	67	22.6866	4.61292	.56356

Note. AMNR= African American, married and nonresidential; CMR = Caucasian, married and residential

When we compare Caucasian, married fathers who are residential and African American fathers who are married and nonresidential with their children, we find a 6-point difference in mean scores that is significant. This is demonstrated in the mean for the Caucasian fathers is shown in Table 5.12, with t(-4.654), df(76) and p = .000.

Table 5.13 T-test Comparison CNMR and CMR

	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean
CNMR	591	23.9374	4.10883	.16901
CMR	67	22.6866	4.61292	.56356

Note. CNMR = Caucasian, not married and residential; CMR= Caucasian, married and residential

When we compare the Caucasian married, residential father (CMR) to the Caucasian not married, residential (CNMR) father, we find a 1-point difference that is significant. This is demonstrated in the mean for the Caucasian fathers in Table 5.13, with $t(8.110)$, $df(223)$ and p = .000.

Table 5.14 T-test Comparison AMNR and CMR

	N	M	SD	Std. Error Mean
AMNR	123	23.3496	5.42004	.48871
CMR	67	22.6866	4.61292	.56356

Note. AMNR = African American, married and nonresidential; CMR = Caucasian, married and residential

Looking at the Caucasian, married, residential fathers (CMR)with the African American, non-married, residential fathers (ANMR) we find only a 1-point difference and find that the difference is nonsignificant. This is demonstrated in the mean for the Caucasian fathers is shown in Table 5.14, with $t(.848)$, $df(188)$ and p = .398.

Table 5.15 T-test Comparison CNMNR and CMR

	N	M	SD	Std. Error Mean
CNMNR	158	17.0190	4.86698	.38720
CMR	67	22.6866	4.61292	.56356

Note. CNMNR = Caucasian, unmarried and nonresidential; CMR= Caucasian, married, and residential

When we look at the differences in the Caucasian, married, residential father and the Caucasian, unmarried, nonresidential father,(CNMNR) we do observe a 5-point difference, which is significant. This is demonstrated in the mean for the Caucasian fathers is shown in Table 5.15, with $t(-8.110)$, $df(223)$ and p = .000.

Table 5.16 T-test comparison ANMNR and CMR

	N	M	SD	Std. Error Mean

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Table 5.16 – *Continued*

	N	M	SD	Std. Error Mean
ANMNR	97	16.0309	5.26675	.53476
CMR	67	22.6866	4.61292	.56356

Note. ANMNR = African American unmarried, nonresidential; CMR = Caucasian, married, and residential

In the case of the comparison of the Caucasian, married, residential fathers and the African American, non-married, nonresidential fathers (ANMNR), we find a 6-point difference between the two and it is significant. This is demonstrated in the mean for the Caucasian fathers as demonstrated in Table 5.16, with $t(8.362)$, $df(162)$ and $p = .000$.

Table 5.17 T-test Comparison ANMNR and CNMNR

	N	M	SD	Std. Error Mean
ANMNR	97	16.0309	5.26675	.53476
CNMNR	158	17.0190	4.86698	.38720

Note. ANMNR = African American, unmarried and nonresidential; CNMNR = Caucasian, unmarried and nonresidential

Comparing African American ($n = 97$) and Caucasian fathers ($n = 158$) who are both nonresidential and unmarried, there is no significant difference in race according to their scores on the parenting scale. This is demonstrated in the mean for the Caucasian fathers as shown in Table 5.17, with $t(-3.653)$, $df(11.728)$ and $p = .003$.

Table 5.18 T-Test Comparison AMNR and CMNR with Parenting Scale

	N	M	SD	Std. Error Mean
AMNR	11	15.2727	6.46670	1.94978
CMNR	17	14.1765	4.26080	1.03340

Table 5.18 – *Continued*

Note. AMNR = African American, married and nonresidential; CMNR = Caucasian, unmarried, and nonresidential

When comparing African American (*n* **=** 11) and Caucasian fathers (*n* = 17) who are both nonresidential and married, there is no significant difference in race according to their scores on the parenting scale. This is demonstrated in the mean for the Caucasian fathers as shown in Table 5.18, with t(-3.653), df(11.728) and p = .003.

<center>5.3 Regression Equation Analysis</center>

As stated previously, we have several regression analyses that address our overall questions regarding African American fathers and their parenting ability in comparison to Caucasian fathers. Of course, these analyses are conducted to prove the assertion that parenting behavior is at least similar to that being conducted by Caucasian fathers. To test the assumption, we will use the following analysis with the following control variables identified in the Method section. Once again, those variables are high school diploma (yes or no), income (starting at less than $5,000 per year through more than $75,000 per year), where you live (Central city or not), religion (whether you go to church monthly or not).

1. Y = α + race + marriage + residential status + (control variables)

2. Y = α + race + (dummy variables) + (control variables)

3. Y = α + race + marriage + residential status + (race*marriage) + (race*residential status) + (marriage*residential status) + (race*marriage*residential status) +(control variables)

The dependant variable is parenting behavior (on the parenting scale). The scale was made up by adding the scores of the variables: (a) number of PTA meetings, (b) number of times you ate with, (c) talked with, (d) help with homework, (e) took to activities. From this a score was calculated. The range of possible scores was 0–35, the range of real scores was 7–35 and the average score (mean) was 21.88.

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5.3.1 Regression Analysis

Table 5.19 Regression of Parenting Scale and African American Fathers

	B	Std. Error	Beta	*t*	Sig.
(Constant)	14.789	.497		29.769	.000
Black	-1.010	.335	-.078	-3.014	.003
(ref = Caucasian)					
Married	-.398	.425	-.023	-.935	.350
(ref = not married)					
Residential	6.620	.325	.526	20.378	.000
(ref = nonresidential)					
Monthly Church Attendance	2.455	.274	.222	8.967	.000
(ref = less than monthly church attendance)					
Live in Central City	.206	.290	.018	.711	.477
(ref = live outside of Central City)					
Have diploma or GED	.949	.357	.068	2.657	.008
(ref = no diploma or GED)					
Total Income	.058	.040	.038	1.438	.151

The first regression equation that was set up (Table 5.19) had to generate our dependant variable, which for us was a parenting scale (pscale). As stated earlier, this scale was generated by adding up the parenting activities, such as number of attendances at PTA meetings, how many conversations a father had with his child, how many activities the child(ren) were transported to, and so on, in a month's period of time. As we now had a dependant variable, next we included the independent variables, as well as our control variables (church attendance, total income, marital status, and where you lived [Central City or not]) plus the racial category of African American. And the following estimates were generated. For our purposes, it appears that there is slightly less parental involvement and it is significant.
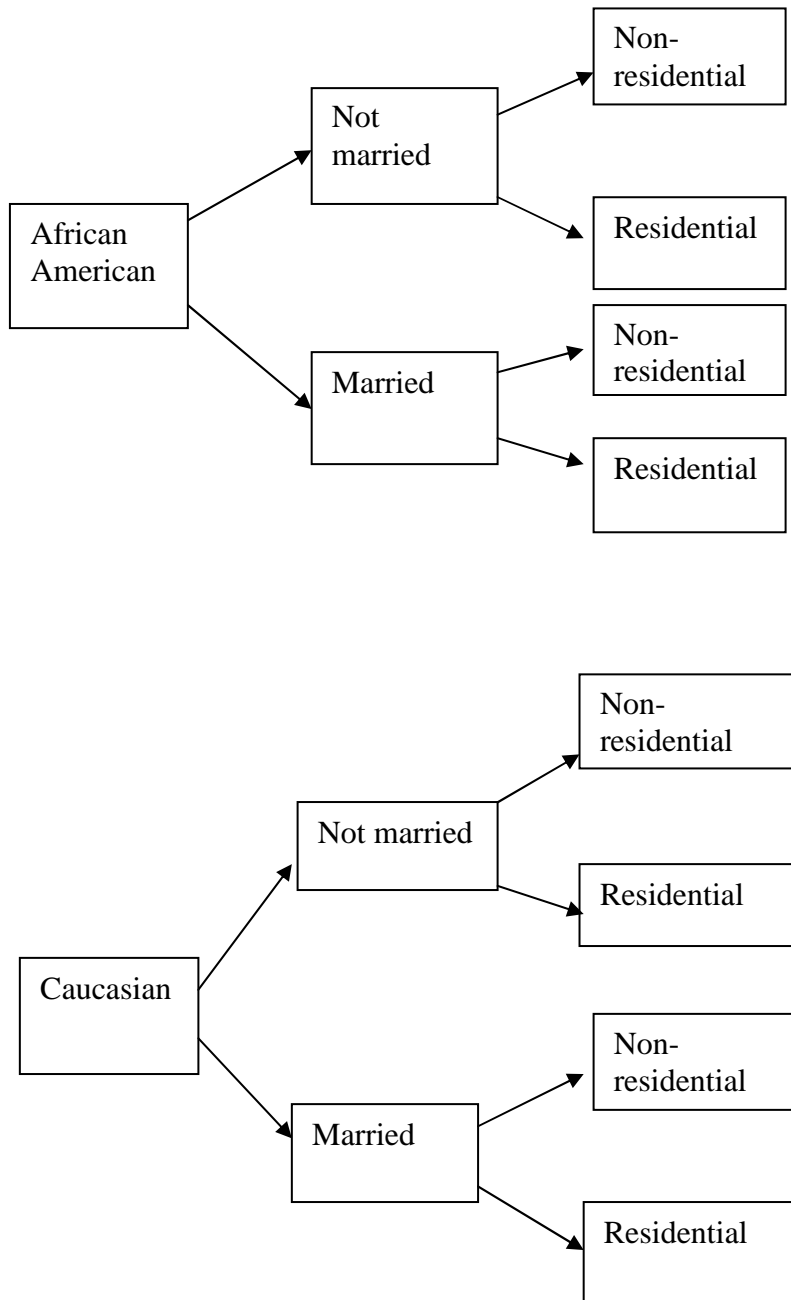
Figure 5.1 Flowchart of Subpopulations for Analysis

Table 5.20 Regression of Fathering Subpopulations

	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	20.460	.680		30.089	.000
monthly church attendance	2.48	.273	.224	9.095	.000
(ref = less than monthly church attendance)					
Live in Central city	.226	.289	.019	.782	.434
(ref = do not live in Central City)					
Have diploma or GED	.873	.357	.063	2.445	.015
(ref = don't have diploma or GED)					
Income	.061	.040	.040	1.528	.127
AMNR	-6.901	1.399	-.129	-.493	.000
ANMNR	-6.908	.706	-.357	-9.781	.000
CMNR	-7.854	1.198	-.177	-6.556	.000
CNMNR	-5.320	.644	-.339	-8.266	.000
AMR	1.786	.973	.053	1.836	.067
ANMR	-.432	.682	-.024	-.634	.526
CNMR	.985	.567	.089	1.737	.083
(ref = CMR)					

Note. Dependant variable: parenting scale

In the next regression analysis (Table 5.20), it appears that residential status makes a difference but not race. In Table 5.20, we examine the independent effects of belonging to specific subpopulations on parenting scores. These subpopulations are formed by intersecting these variables: race, marital status, and presence of children in residence or not.   In preparation of this discussion of the various subpopulations, Figure 1 is used to demonstrate the categories that we discuss for the *t*-tests and our regression analysis.

Looking closely at Table 5.20, several things appear. Looking at African American fathers who are married but nonresidential with their children, we have a significant negative effect with *t*(-4.931) with a *p* < (.05.) This relationship also shows for African American fathers who are not married and nonresidential with a *t*(-9.781) and a *p* < (.05.) This holds true for Caucasian fathers, whether married or not but who are nonresidential.

Table 5.21 Regression with African American Fathers

	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	14.974	1.210		12.370	.000
Residential with children	7.164	.727	.555	9.854	.000
(ref = nonresidential with children)					
Marriage	1.242	.926	.072	1.342	.181

Table 5.21 – *Continued*

	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig
(ref = not married)					
Live in Central city	.191	.672	.015	.285	.776
(ref = do not live in Central City)					
Have diploma or GED	-.268	1.006	-.014	-.266	.790
(ref = don't have diploma or GED)					
monthly church attendance	1.767	.687	.138	2.574	.011
(ref = less than monthly church attendance)					
Income	.017	.092	.010	.180	.858

Note. Dependant variable: parenting scale

When we ran this analysis for African Americans only (Table 5.21), it appeared that education has little effect t(-.266), with a p =.79. Also marriage doesn't make a lot of difference t(1.34) and a p =.181. Church attendance with a t(2.574) and a p < (.05) along with residential status (9.854) and a p < (.000) makes a difference. These equations were run with a .95 confidence interval.

Table 5.22 Regression Using Non-African Americans Only

	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig
Constant	14.621	.531		27.535	.000
Have diploma or GED	1.161	.368	.093	3.158	.002
(ref = don't have GED)					
Married	-1.222	.474	-.072	-2.578	.010
(ref = not married)					
Monthly church attendance	2.692	.289	.262	9.313	.000
(ref = less than monthly attendance)					
Income	.072	.044	.046	1.650	.099

a. *Note.* Dependant variable: parenting scale

With the analysis completed for African Americans only, the next analysis (Table 5.22) was completed for non-African Americans. In this analysis, church attendance, with a t(9.313) and p > (.05) makes a difference. Education (having a high school diploma or GED) t(3.158) and p > (.05) makes a difference. For this group, being married has an effect t(-2.578) and p > (.05).

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Marriage has a slight negative effect, as non married has a lower *p* -scale. On the other hand, education (having a diploma) has a slightly positive effect.

Table 5.23 Regression of African Americans without Income and Where You Live

	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig
Constant	15.092	.948		15.915	.000
Have diploma or GED	.052	.913	.003	.057	.955
(ref = don't have GED)					
Married	1.049	.905	.061	1.160	.247
(ref = not married)					
Monthly church attendance	1.049	.674	.135	2.594	.010
(ref = less than monthly attendance)					
Residential with children	7.104	.689	.541	10.309	.000
(ref =nonresidential with children)					

Note. Dependant variable: parenting scale

In this last analysis (Table 5.23), it appears that the only effect of notice is one that we have already explored and that is the effect of education.

Originally, the intention was to also perform not only the *t*-tests and regression analysis, but also to perform a comparison of the groups using the Chow test. The Chow test was developed by George Chow in 1960 as he was looking for a formula to explore whether two separate groups, as demonstrated in a linear regression, would perform similarly over a given period of time (Chow, 1960). It was believed that the two groups that were observed, African American and Caucasian, may not only differ in scores but that those differences may change over time. However, in looking at the outcomes, this behavior was not verified and so the test was seen as unnecessary regarding providing information for this discussion. It appears that for African American fathers, parenting scores were strongly influenced by residential status (whether you live with your children or not), while for Caucasian fathers parenting scores were

strongly influenced by marriage (whether you are married to the mother of your children, whether residential or not.)

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

6.1 Conclusions

I started this process with the idea of finding some explanation to deal with the negative "facts" and "fictions" about African American fathers in the parenting behavior of their children between the ages of 5 and18 years. This dissertation is the outgrowth of the desire, through empirical evidence, to express that African American fathers are not only important but also a needed element in the lives of their children. The results of this study, although small, are much different from the "wisdom" of societal expectations. I expected that African American fathers, overall, would parent their children as well as Caucasian fathers, as demonstrated by the scores of parenting activities (Coles, 2001a; Hamer, 1997; McLoyd et al., 2000; Price-Bonham & Skeen, 1979; Sanderson & Thompson, 2002) on my parenting scale. However, the data did not support this expectation. Next, I expected that the data would show that marriage was as big a factor in parenting in the African American Community as it is in the Caucasian community, and again, this idea was not supported by the data. It supported the idea by some that fatherhood outside of marriage has been institutionalized in the African American community (Edin et al., 2009). In fact, it showed that marriage was very important in the parenting behavior of Caucasian fathers, but not so much for African American fathers (Edin et al., 2009). Further, I expected to show that African American fathers parented their nonresidential children as well as they parented their residential children. Once again, the data didn't support this hypothesis. Lastly, I expected this study to confirm that African American fathers engaged in high levels of parenting. Although the data revealed definite parenting behavior between African American fathers and their children, it showed that overall, these scores were lower than for Caucasian fathers in parenting their children.

This study did find some relationships that I expected to find. Using the data from the National Survey of Family Growth, this study developed a scale of parenting behavior to quantify parenting behavior. The expectation of the scale is that the higher the score on the scale, the "better" (or at least higher expected parenting interaction) the parenting. This question is not as easily answered as expected. In reviewing the Cronbach alpha scores of my parenting scale, it appears that the four items, based on behavior measured over a month period of time, were more reliable than the three items that were measured over a yearly period of time. This fact compromises the effectiveness of the tool at this time.

This study didn't meet some expectations, while it did show some things that I didn't expect. I didn't expect to find that, overall, African American fathers parent their children similar whether they live with their child's mother or not. This would support the claim of Edin and partners (2009) that in the institutionalization of fatherhood outside of marriage, the expectation would be similar behaviors for all children, regardless of whether the father is residential or not. It is also in agreement with the Afrocentric ideal of children belonging to the community (Taliaferro, 2008). African American fathers could be using the community at large in helping to raise children, again possibly helping to minimize issues related to nonresidential status (Connor & White, 2006; Taliaferro, 2008). For African American fathers, income is not a large factor in the parenting behavior, at least according the parenting scale that was developed. This idea is supported in the work of Hamer (1997) in which the least important category for fathering was income/economic support. It also brings to light that other resources, such as family and friends, may be used to help financially with children (Coles, 2001a; Hamer, 1997). For Caucasian fathers, marriage is a fairly major factor in their parenting behavior toward their children, much more important than with African American fathers. Income is also not a major factor in parenting behavior for Caucasian fathers. Lastly, the societal expectation for the epitome of fatherhood being White, married, and living in the same household with your children has been challenged. The findings of this study, although with a small sample size ($N = 1,098$),

sheds some light on African American parenting behavior being more like than unlike Caucasians, even if the fathers are not living in the same household with their children or are not married to mother of their children.

Based on these findings, it appears that different interactions, at least initially, need to be considered to increase parenting behavior for these two groups. For Caucasian fathers, it appears any intervention that supports marriage will affect (directly or indirectly) parenting behaviors positively, whereas for African American fathers, not so much. For African American fathers, increasing residential status (living in the same household as their children) will have a positive effect, whether they are married to the children's mothers or not. For both groups, increasing church attendance (at least the ritual of attendance) may have the effect of increasing parental behavior for both groups. This possibility is supported by the Afrocentric ideal of spirituality (Hurd et al., 1995; Kanc, 2000; Mazama, 2001; Oliver, 1989; White & Cones, 1999).

As stated throughout this dissertation, the idea of an Afrocentric viewpoint was used to gain a better understanding of the data, to help provide a more positive understanding of what may be occurring between an African American father and his children between the ages of 5 and 18. Afrocentricity, as a perspective, is supportive of the idea of a not married, nonresidential parenting style by African American fathers. This gives us a possible understanding of why marriage may not be as important in the African American population as it is in the Caucasian population (or at least as demonstrated in our sample.) Although the vast majority in the sample were married, for those who were not it offers a possible explanation of why it is not as important, parenting being an entity unconnected to marriage (Edin et al., 2009). As expressed in earlier chapters, Afrocentricity is more concerned with the relationship of the child to the father and not necessarily with the children's mother (Edin et al., 2009) and the child to the community at large (Taliaferro, 2008; White & Cones, 1999). In fact, as stated earlier, some believe that fatherhood outside of marriage is an institutionalized expectation in the

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African American community (Edin et al., 2009). These ideas also serve to support the natural division in the sample group along residential status, co-residential and nonresidential. Afrocentricity also supports the issue that income is not a very important factor in African American fathers' interacting with their children (Coles, 2001; Hamer, 1997; Wade, 1994).

Afrocentricity also supports the importance of church attendance, which was a major factor in the survey data, in that it supports the central idea of spirituality (Mazama, 2001; Oliver, 1989; White & Cones, 1999).

6.2 Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study are several. One, it had a very limited scope, looking at African American fathers involved in the National Survey of Family Growth, Cycle IV, 2002, which was only 265 participants. It appears that this group were very unlike the group that is reported in the literature and also reported in popular culture. First, this was a very educated group, with the great majority having at least a high school diploma or GED (more that 80%.) This flies in the face of information about the high dropout rate of African American youth as reported in the above listed outlets. Next, this is an affluent group of men. I was expecting to find a lot of poor households, earning much below the current poverty level, which was not true. The mean income level in the NSFG 2002 for African American fathers was $18,929 (rounded number). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2002, between 23.9% and 24.1% of Blacks (African Americans) were living in poverty.   According to the NSFG, Cycle IV, 2002, approximately 16% of the group made less than $9,999, but 27% of the group made over $50,000. It is interesting to look at the extreme ends of the income levels. We have 5% of the African American fathers making less than $5,000 per year on one end and 9% of them making more than $75,000 per year. The levels of employment were also unexpected. In fact, it appears that the vast majority of these fathers were employed. It would be interesting to know how much of this income is generated in the "underground economy," that is, money made by

illegal activities, or through investment (since 9% of the group made over $75,000 a year.) Although an interesting question, it was far outside the purview of this project.

Next, this study didn't look closely at specifically how African American fathers are different from each other. For the purposes of this dissertation, we looked at this group as a homogenous group. It would be an interesting question of how economics affects one's parenting, that is, what effect more resources has on the parenting behavior, especially given the information that we had in the NSFG, Cycle IV, 2002, about income ranges. Although the theory of Afrocentric parenting was discussed, African American fathers would be expected to parent across the "universe" of the possibilities. If you have more resources, you may also embrace a more Eurocentric value system. That would bring up numerous questions, such as how this Eurocentric value system would affect the Afrocentric value system as it applies to parenting behavior. Again, although very relevant questions, they too are outside of the scope of this dissertation.

Another of our limitations is the instrument used. It had a very short length, only seven items. It has some issues related to reliability, with negative Cronbach alpha scores when using all seven items. It appeared that there was a very strong negative relationship between attendance at PTA score and the other items. However, at least on its face, one would expect that a parent would want to attend PTA meetings about their children, especially considering that another one of the items on our scale was helping children with their homework.

Last, one of the limitations of this study is that the group indentified in the NSFG, Cycle IV, 2002, is much different from expected, as discussed earlier. This affects the level of generalizability of our outcomes to African American fathers as a whole. If the group used for this dissertation is very much unlike the general population, it could compromise the effectiveness of any of our recommendations.

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<u>6.3 Implications</u>

6.3.1 Theory

Assistance in generating more applicable theoretical understandings in dealing with the African American population can be very helpful. I started this dissertation looking for a perspective that would shine light on such a huge issue in the United States today, with everyone from the man on the street, to the judge on the bench, to the child welfare worker, to even the president of the United States wanting to talk about African American men needing to parent their children. I expected this dissertation to not only give empirical data about what was actually going on in the parenting of African American fathers of their children, but also to demonstrate that they were not so dissimilar from their Caucasian counterparts. As demonstrated in numerous articles in the dissertation, the African American father was seen as a very negative character and not very supportive of his children. In fact, if you look at it from the Eurocentric perspective, many of these statements appear to be true. African American fathers are more likely than Caucasian fathers not to live in the same household as their children (U.S. Census, 2002). However, this belief may be somewhat minimized when you take an Afrocentric perspective that children belong to the community more than just their parents (Conner & White, 2006; White & Cones, 1999), and the expectation is that they will receive additional support in the raising of those children (Taliaferro, 2008).

Theory is also important in helping to design interventions. This is important in that an Afrocentric perspective would take in a much wider area for interventions, such as   the issues of inter-dependence/connectiveness. These ideas are somewhat similar to the ideas of family systems theories, in addressing that changes made to one section will have an effect on the whole. At this point, the structure of Afrocentric thought is not as specific as those such as family systems theory and could be used to help structure interventions.

In the Literature Review section, we also discussed such theories as ecological theory and social exchange theory. In his work on social exchange theories, Staples has discussed

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making decisions based on the needs of the situation and the resources at hand. Considering a reason for high nonresidential parenting, Staples' (1997) ideas of poor (limited) resources are in agreement with other findings of why African American fathers have high nonresidential rates (Coles, 2001b; Edin et al., 2009; Hamer, 1997; Taliaferro, 2008). However, the answer for each may be different based on your perspective. For Afrocentricity, living in the household with your children may not be high on your priority list if you have access to them, whereas Staple's theoretical view is that if you make him a more economically viable prospect, the children's mother may just marry him and live with him. One problem, two very different problem-solving methods, based on different worldviews.

As for the ecological view, McAdoo (1993) stated that men have four roles: provider, decision maker, socializer, and marital partner. I find it very interesting that if not married and nonresidential, an African American father could provide only half of those roles. This is very different from the national statistics (U.S. Census, 2002) and from even the 41% nonresidential fathers we found in this dissertation. Again, if you look at it from more of a strengths-based model, Afrocentricity states that there are more roles for a father (Coles, 2001a; Hamer, 1997; McLoyd et al., 2000; Price-Bonham & Skeen, 1979; Sanderson & Thompson, 2002; White & Cones, 1999) to have other than the four that are identified by McAdoo in his ecological theoretical perspective.

Last, theory building is not static, but a process. As I have heavily relied on Afrocentricity for a viewpoint to help understand a very complicated problem, others may have viewpoints that encourage a richer and deeper understanding and therefore a more helpful perspective in fostering better outcomes for African American fathers in their parenting behavior with their children.

6.3.2 Practice

The need for new intervention strategies is necessary if social work is going to provide relevant services to African American fathers. In the matter of interventions, culture is not only

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helpful but necessary. For any group, but especially for African Americans with an Afrocentric perspective, culture means not only today and tomorrow, but also yesterday. African Americans, especially the older population, may be suspicious of power. In dealing with this suspicion, it is necessary to address the historical issues the community needs to heal from, the myths that relate to it, how the community has changed from it, and how the community has mobilized to deal with it (Davis, Williams, & Akinyela, 2009). More education in social work programs on different theoretical foundations, such as Afrocentrism and feminism, would be helpful (Stewart, 2004; White, 2006). As we prepare to serve various populations, different means of understanding may be called for. The idea that the profession needs to be multi-modal in meeting the various needs of those we serve needs continued follow-up (Stewart, 2004) to help us provide the best services possible.

In addressing the numerous issues related to new and different ideas, especially those identified by children of single fathers, we need to find effective interventions to help these individuals move past previous hurts and learn more effective means to support, encourage, and interact with their children (Allen & Doherty, 1996). From an Afrocentric perspective, the idea of using the whole community as a resource will call for new and innovative ideas. The use of the church and other mutual aid support groups could be explored, since historically these groups have provided services to African American fathers and their children (Jewell,, 2001). It becomes a matter of using those resources more effectively in the community that the community has already been using.

Yet another effect serving this population could have on the profession is generating new assessment tools that are culturally relevant. In his discussion, Graham (1999) mentions that, from an Afrocentric perspective, issues such as clients not having the concept of "half-siblings" minimizes the usefulness of assessment tools such as ecomaps or genograms that try to define "half" relationships to African American clients. This research has been a step in that direction in attempting to generate a new parenting scale, but only a step. More is needed in

this area to do a more effective job in asking the relevant questions about what is transpiring in this group.

Lastly, we need to address how to identify and include the strengths identified in some fathers in our interventions to help others become more competent (McAdoo, 1993). For our purposes, we have demonstrated that African American fathers are involved in the parenting of their children, at least in the activities such as conversation, doing homework, having meals, and going to activities. This gives the profession a starting point in addressing how to use the present behavior to design interventions that will promote better parenting interactions between fathers and children.

6.3.3 Policy

The findings of this dissertation can be used in several different ways, both specifically and generally. We will look at both in this section as we discuss policy that affects and is affected by African American fathers in the parenting of their children. We will begin with exploration of two programs I found that were working with this population and then we will have a more generalized discussion of policy as it affects this group.

In looking at programs working with this population, I found two that were very relevant. Some of findings of this dissertation are supportive of some of the activities of the African American Men Project and the Concordia Project, both in the state of Minnesota.

The African American Men Project, founded in Hennipin County, Minnesota, (Cunningham, 2007) came together to address the issues of North Minneapolis, which found a high incarceration rate of African American men and a high usage of emergency shelters by African American woman and children. It was also found that $26 million was being spent by the county in supporting out-of-home placements for African American children. The group was interested in ways to correct this overutilization of resources by these two groups. The findings of this dissertation could be helpful in projects such as this that support African American fathers in not only staying in contact with their children, but in acknowledging and increasing

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those activities that support regular contact between the two generations. It also addresses that for this group, marriage may not be seen as a necessary expectation, but cohabitation could possibly be supported (although that may be difficult in today's political climate.) If fatherhood is perceived as important and it can be shown empirically that "parenting" really is occurring, officials may be more willing to explore alternatives that discourage locking up fathers and disrupting households. Also, from the Afrocentric perspective, if officials realize that fathers may be cohabitating instead of marrying the mothers of their children, removing them from the home may be connected to the high rate of homelessness (at least for temporary shelter) for mothers and children.

Still yet, the Concordia Project, also in Minnesota, started a "fatherhood training" project for family practitioners (Jones, 2007). In preparation for their program, they looked at a 1999 report completed by the National Conference of State Legislators, which found that slightly over half of all fathers owe less that $2,000 in back child support, 60% had no high school diploma or GED, and had an average wage of $6.71 per hour. This was for all fathers, not just African American fathers. The findings of this dissertation support this group's outcome of the teaching of the actual behaviors that African American fathers are involved with their children between the ages of 5 and 18 years and helping in design ways to encourage what is already transpiring between them.

No discussion of African American fathers can be complete without addressing the federal welfare programs such as Temporary Aid to Needy Families. Throughout the literature on African American fathers, programs such as TANF have been demonized because they require the absence of the male for the family to receive support. In a time of poor economics, it is thought that these policies have done much to contribute to the notion, at least in the general population, that African American fathers only have children, not raise them. The findings of this dissertation demonstrate, at least minimally, that this belief is incorrect for many families because African American fathers are in fact interacting and parenting their children. From a

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policy perspective, federal agencies have been asked to look at the positive influence fathers can have in the lives of children, and this includes African American fathers (Shears et al., 2006). If this positive influence can be seen as having as much value as money, perhaps such programs could be modified to give fathers some type of credit with the system.

Another national policy that has had an effect on the African American father and parenting his children was the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. The PRWORA was formulated to increase the parental identification with the expectation that it would decrease welfare payments by increasing parental child support payments (Wilson, 2003). On the surface, this appears to be a positive issue (making fathers financially responsible for their children), but for a group that has poor financial resources, it may have had the opposite effect of driving them away (Staples, 2007). If the PRWORA could be used to establish that the relationship is as important as income, the findings of this dissertation show that the relationship is occurring. In fact, although we have addressed that this sample is very unlike the national population, these men had resources and according to Jones (2007), most fathers are less than $2,000 behind on child support payments.

As related in a few of the articles' discussions about the effect economics can have on the amount and type of interaction between African American fathers and their children, such issues as job training, education, and opportunity for employment are relevant for discussion (Gadsden & Smith, 1994; Gavin et al., 2002; Hamer, 1997, 1998). With the percentage of African American children in the foster care system being about 45% (US Department of Health and Human Services, 1999), any ideas that may be helpful to get these children out of the system and into their fathers' care, if they are an appropriate resource, should be explored. If there is a problem with the foster care system in approaching African American fathers to take on the duties of, at the very least, having a supportive relationship with their children, the findings of this dissertation at least provide empirical data that African American fathers are interacting with their children in appropriate ways. If those are the behaviors that the system is

requiring and gets from foster parents, could information that African American fathers are taking their children to church and other activities, helping them with homework, and having conversations with them be used to support them having custody, or at least a service plan to get custody of their children? For the child welfare system, whose goal is to have children in a safe, nurturing environment (preferably with their biological parents), this information could have a positive effect. Again, society and the profession needs to look at problems from the perspective that African Americans are 12% of the general population (U.S. Census, 2000) but 45% of the population of foster care in the United States (Kid's Count Data Book, 2006).

There is a movement in the United States for African American fathers to demand more interaction and custody of their children. As addressed earlier, as more African American fathers seek out (or are sought out) to take a much more visible financial role in the lives of their children, this will have some affect on the amount of resources in the child welfare system. If this is a definite trend, economic issues come to the front in making sure that African American fathers have opportunities to make a wage that would allow them to raise a family. This not only helps African American fathers, but from a policy perspective could increase the amount of support for wages and benefits for all parents. Again, if this number is increasing, exploration of this trend is important in that we may have identified a new group needing services. Gadsden and Smith (1994) are concerned about the long-term effects that fatherhood can have on young African American fathers. They are interested in the changes in behaviors that occur in the young as they have more responsibility and pressure placed upon them.

In this day of marriage initiatives, such as the Healthy Families Initiative, the implications for policy are ripe in this area considering the number of not married African American fathers. The finding of this dissertation that other factors may be more important in the parenting behavior of a father, such as his residential status. As we address how to make families more secure and functional as a married couple with children, many African American fathers may not receive services because so many are not married. Some organizations that

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are led by minorities such as the National Center for Strategic Nonprofit Planning and Community Leadership and the Center for Fathers, Families and Public Policy have even gone as far as suggesting that marriage may be unrealistic and is not essential for good fathering (Mincy & Pouncy, 2003). On the other hand, exploration into what makes a successful marriage is needed to address this population, or better yet, what makes a successful relationship, if they are uninterested in marriage. Since so much of the research appears to be based on young, single fathers, we have limited information on what makes a successful marriage or an intimate male-female relationship. We could then place some emphasis on what skills need to be acquired to increase the likelihood of the success of either or both.

In support of the present marriage initiatives, the idea of government programs (though some minor changes have been made) usually not supporting families in which an African American father (or any man) present is an issue (Rodney & Muniper, 1999). If support programs could be modified to allow for more resources such as food stamps to be placed into the home while the father is present, this may help to keep families intact.

A public policy that could be useful to African American fathers in the parenting of their children is Public Law 103-66, the Family Preservation and Support Services Act of 1993, which earmarked federal funds for family support/preservation programs. In the definition of family, both married and not married, residential and nonresidential families could be provided services. It mandates that child welfare agencies do community planning, which using our Afrocentric approach could mean using such nontraditional services such as the church or other self-help entities that these men may already be using (Brodie & Gadling-Cole, 2008). Again, this would support the findings of this dissertation that African American fathers are involved in the parenting of their children, such as high church attendance (53%).

An area that has been identified as needing continued support both financially and politically is a movement of young, not married fathers who are coming forward to acknowledge possible paternity (Allen & Doherty, 1996). These young fathers are now asking for paternity

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testing on children that have been identified as their biological children (Allen & Doherty, 1996). This may be a proactive move to deal with child welfare issues that use this technology to force child support payments on this group (Allen & Doherty, 1996). Would it not be more helpful to use some resources to support these fathers who are apparently stepping forward to acknowledge paternity to have the right to interact with and support these children instead of forcing them to do so through the legal system? According to this research, this group needs the support because although they are parenting and interacting with their children, we see that several factors such as residential status increase their parenting behavior.

Employment opportunities are important in this discussion. Since part of an African American father's connection with his children is his ability to provide for them, programs that support and encourage job skills education and development are essential (Gadsden & Smith, 1994).

Finally, this topic has policy implications for no other reason than the sheer numbers of African American fathers being served in the correctional system. The interventions being performed today in institutions have basically not been effective (Tripp, 2001). Since most of these fathers will eventually leave the penal system and return to some community, is it not in our best interest to be proactive instead of reactive? The system appears to be collapsing in on itself. The ability to support and encourage the positive interactions, teaching, and discipline of African American fathers with their children may have a positive effect on both. This may a good intervention for both parties, increasing positive outcomes for both.

Noncustodial fathers and single fathers are the fastest growing group of fathers. As related in their article, Strug and Wilmore-Schaeffer (2003) explore this phenomenon looking at supports for governmental and nongovernmental agencies. There is an uncertainty about which supports, if any, that African American fathers use or may need in supporting their relationships with their children. Policy makers could better serve the populace by considering the familial benefits of children's well-being when making policy (Hurd et al., 1995), and if African American

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fathers are involved with their children, it is vital that this be addressed in decision making processes, such as described in the earlier programs instituted in Minnesota.

6.4 Issues for Further Research

As stated previously, this research has generated several questions about next steps or possible questions for new research or as a follow-up to this research. This research looked at Afrocentric theory as a basis of explaining differences in parenting behavior for African American fathers. This was done as a possible explanation of the differences between Caucasian fathers and African American fathers that would give a more positive view to the latter. However, how may Afrocentrism parenting be affected by Eurocentrism, especially as resources increase? This question is asked because some of the behavior in Afrocentrism may have adapted itself out of slavery, which was a condition of very limited resources for African American fathers. If resources greatly increase, how would parenting behavior be changed, if at all? Also, African Americans are not a completely homogeneous group. This would be a good topic to follow up on to see how behavior is affected.

Next is the question of how the results would differ if you lived somewhere other than the Central City. For this research, we divided the category into Central City or not. This left open many other possibilities for exploration. Do African American fathers behave much differently toward their children if they live in urban areas, just not in the central district, which is known for much higher crime rates and lower wages? Or, how would it differ if they lived in the growing suburban populations? Better yet, how would parenting behavior be different if the father lived in the newly formed gated communities of the exurban area?

Another interesting area of exploration is the factor of church attendance. Although it may appear like an unimportant piece of data, fathers' (whether African American or Caucasian) parenting behaviors increased with church attendance. Looking at this research, we adapted this variable as monthly church attendance or less. Even with just monthly attendance, these fathers appeared to have higher interaction with their children. It would be interesting to explore

why this appears to occur. Does it have something to do with the rituals involved in church attendance, or a sense of spirituality? It is an interesting question as to how this information could be used to support improved parenting behavior.

Of interest is also the question of the group that we removed early in this study, the combined category of fathers who had both residential and nonresidential children. This group was dropped from the study because of the quality of dependence (or interdependence) in the parenting behavior. This study could not rule out the effect of the behavior that interacting with one group would have on the interaction with the other group, such as a father attending a PTA meeting for his residential child not feeling more motivated to attend the PTA meeting of his nonresidential child. This idea of fairness between the groups would be a good question. The expectation would be that there is a connection and that it is a positive one, but that may not be the case. A residential father may be more likely to increase his parenting behavior for a residential child because of guilt in having nonresidential children or visa-versa.

Last, although this research was conducted to get a better idea of the parenting behavior of African American fathers and to compare it to Caucasian fathers, what about the information that was generated about Caucasian fathers? The whole idea of the importance of marriage in the Caucasian community was surprising in its effects on parenting behavior. The idea that a man living in the same residence with his children and their mother would have his behavior affected by his interaction with his children based on whether he was married or not, is interesting!

APPENDIX A

COMPARISONS OF STUDY, PURPOSE, RESEARCH METHOD, SAMPLE METHOD,
SAMPLE SIZE, AND ANALYSIS

COMPARISONS OF STUDY, PURPOSE, RESEARCH METHOD, SAMPLE METHOD, SAMPLE SIZE, AND ANALYSIS

Study	Purpose	Research Method	Sample Method	Response Rate, Sample Size	Comparison Group	Statistical Analysis
Allen and Doherty (1996)	The experience of adolescent fatherhood	Interviews	Non-random, convenience	*10 AA teenage father*	*No*	
Amato and Rivera (1999)	To test the hypothesis that positive father involvement is associated with fewer behavior problems in children	Survey data	National Probability Sample	*994*	*No*	*Structural Equation Modeling*
Barnes (2001)	To look at African American families in a non-pathological manner (for strengths)	Surveys and Interviews	Random and then Quota Sampling	*114 African American Families*	*No*	*Chi-Square, Content Analysis*
Battle and Scott (2000)	The effects of being raised in a mother-only vs a father only-family	Surveys	AA male population was drawn out of the original study of 1990, '92, and '94. Criterion???	*The AA male students who participated in the original student of 24,599 students of 1,052 schools who participated in the study. The N is not given*	*No*	*Multivariate*
Baumrind (1972)	To see how socialization in the larger social context effects black children	Structured observation of children, surveys and interview completion by parents	Non-random	*16 Black children and their families*	*No*	

Black, Dubowitz and Starr (1999)	The relationship between parental roles (regardless of residence) and the well-being of 3 yr old children from low income AA families	Longitudinal	Non-Random selection	*175 three yr old AA children and their families*	*No*	
Bradley (2000)	To examine the disciplinary techniques of AA fathers	Self-report questionnaire	Purposive sampling	*121 AA parents (44 fathers and 77 mothers)*	*No*	*Univariate*
Cazenave (1979)	An analysis of the provider role in AA middle class men	Interviews	Convenience	*54 black letter carriers*	*No*	*Multivariate*
Christmon (2006)	The relationship between self-image and parental behavior of adolescent fathers	Questionnaire	Non-random	*43 unwed adolescent father*	*No*	*Multivariate*
Cochran (1997)	Challenging the misperception of AA men not interested or actively involved in family issues	Pre-study Preparation				
Coles (2001a)	Using grounded theory, to identify the roles and goals of single, black fulltime fathers	Interviews	Convenience	*10 AA fathers*	*No*	
Coles (2001b)	Using grounded theory, to identify the roles and goals of single, black fulltime fathers	Interviews	Convenience	*10 AA fathers*	*No*	
Coley and Morris (2002)	The involvement of fathers in families by comparing father involvement and mother/father	Interviews, videotaped assessments, participant	Stratified random sample	*228 families with fathers present and not present*	*Yes*	*Basic Descriptive and HLM analysis*

	discrepancies	observation				
Danziger and Radin (1990)	To examine the effects of several predictors of father involvement in single parent, teen mother families.	Telephone surveys	Criterion Sampling	*400 adolescent mothers who get AFDC*	*No*	*Multiple regression*
Gavin, Black, Minor, Abel, Papas, and Bentley (2002)	To investigate father's involvement with their children using an ecological model	Interviews	Non-random	*181 first time mothers living in a three generation household*	*No*	*Multivariate*
Hamer (1998)	To explore what non-custodial AA fathers think inhibits and enhances their involvement with their children	In-depth interviews	Non-random	*38 non-resident AA fathers*	*No*	
Hill and Sprague, (1999)	To explore the impact of of gender, race, and class on parent's self report of immediate priorities and long term goals for children	Survey	Non-random	*Parents in 406 families (202 AA and 204 White)*	*No*	*Log linear analysis*
Hill (2002)	To explore how race and gender shape the gender ideologies and behaviors of parents	In-depth interviews	Non-random	*35 AA parents (25 mothers and 10 fathers)*		
Hofferth (2003)	The contributions of economic circumstances, neighborhood context, and cultural factors explaining differences in fathering in two parent families.	Data initially from a Panel Study of Income Dynamics	Random sampling	*1229 children living with two parents*	*No*	*Multivariate*

Hossain, Field, Pickens, Malphurs, Del Valle	African American and Hispanic parents were assessed for involvement infant care	Questionnaires		*34 mother/father dyads (18 African American/16 Hispanic)*	*No*	*MANOVA*
Hurd, Moore, and Rogers, (1995)	Strengths of African American families	Face-to-face interviews, Focus groups	Random, convenience sample	*53 people from 50 families*	*No*	*Thematic analysis*
Hunter and Davis, (1992)	"A meaning of manhood" for AA men	Interviews	Convenience Sampling	*32 AA men*	*No*	*Q-sort tecnique*
Julian, McKenry, and McKelvey (1994)	To report any cultural variations in parenting of mothers and fathers in two-parent families between Caucasians, Hispanics, AA and Asian Americans	Surveys	Probability sampling	*9,643*	*No*	*Multivariate*
Kanc (2000)	Identifying AA family dynamics	Completed Family of Origin Scale	Non-probability sample (convenience)	*84 AA college students (32 males and 52 females)*	*no*	*Descriptive*
Kesner and McKenry (2001)	To examine the relationship between single-parent family status and children's gender and social skills	Secondary analysis	Non-random	*69 pre-schoolers and their families*	*No*	*Multivariate*

Letiecq and Koblinsky (2004)	Possible explanation of how AA fathers protect children from community violence	3 Focus groups	Non-Random Selection	*18 biological and "social fathers"*	*No*	
McHale, Crouter, Kim, Burton, Davis, Dotter, and Swanson (2006)	Mother's and father's cultural socialization and bias preparation with older and younger siblings	Longitudinal	Non-random	*162 two parent AA families*	*No*	*Multivariate*
O'Donnell (1999)	Possible explanations for the low participation and identifies practice and policy changes that would increase fathers' involvement	Interviews with caseworkers	Secondary analysis	*51 caseworkers*	*No*	*Descriptive*
Peart, Pungello, Campbell and Richey (2006)	To reveal the idealized views of biological fathers of young adults	Semi-structured interviews	Longitudinal Convenience Sample	*104 of 21 yr olds who participated in the follow-up study*	*No*	
Pelton, Forehand, Morse, Morse, and Stock (2001)	Examines father-child contact in inner-city AA families	1 ½ hr structured interviews	Stratified random sample	*246 AA women (98 with HIV and 148 who are not) and their children*	*Yes*	*Multivariate*
Price-Bonham and Skeen (1979)	To identify differences and similarities in family characteristics and participation in and attitudes toward the father role between black and	Survey type interviews	Described as random selection	*160 total (100 white and 60 black)*	*No*	

	white father					
Risch, Jodi and Eccles (2004)	Closeness of father-adolescent relationships as a predictor of adolescent attitudes toward divorce	Longitudinal – the initial study started with 1498 families and involved 5 different "waves" of interviews	Randomly picked 300 from the initial group of 1498 families	*300 European and AA adolescents*	*No*	*Multivariate /hierarchical regression*
Rodney and Muniper (1990)	To answer question "is their any difference in child functioning between AA males whether a biological father is in the home or not	Interviews of youth in youth serving organizations (ie – Boy Scouts, Jack and Jill)	Non-Random sampling	*413 AA 13 –17 yr old males*	*Yes*	*Multivariate*
Ruggles (1994)	To identify if the phenomenon of high levels of single parenting in African American families is recent	Itergrated Public Use Microdata Series – Historical Databases	National Census data			
Salem, Zimmerman and Notaro (1998)	To compare psychosocial outcomes and family process, such as father involvement, for AA 9th graders	1 hr face to face interviews	Random sample	*679 AA youth (340 female, 339 male)*	*No*	*Univariate*
Sanderson and Thompson (2002)	To examine and identify variables associated with perceived paternal involvement in child care	Surveys	Non-Random sampling	*137 fathers of children between 2-6 yrs old.* *90 were European American* *47 were African American*	*No*	*Multivariate*

Shears, Summers, Boller, and Barclay-McLaughlin (2006)	The meaning of fatherhood among men identified as fathers of 24 month old children in Early Head Start	Interviews	Non-random	*16 fathers*	*No*	
Shears (2007)	To identify the self-reported fathering activities of residential fathers with their children	Interviews (in-person and telephone)	Random	*485 men who were the residential fathers of children at EHSRD*	*Yes*	*Descriptive*
Smetana (2000)	Conceptions of parental authority, ratings of parental rules, and decision making	Longitudinal	Non-random	*82 middle class families (82 mothers, 52 fathers) divided into two groups based on income level ($25,000-60,00 and $60,001 and up)*	*Yes*	*Multivariate*
Strom, Amukamara, Strom, Beckert, Moore, Strom, and Griswold (2000)	To determine how AA fathers of 10-14 yr olds viewed their assets and limitations as parents and to find out how children from this age group saw the parent performance of their fathers	Completed the Parent Success Indicator	Criterion, non-random	*102 fathers of 10-14 yr old boys.*	*No*	*Multivariate*
Suizzo (2007)	To identify the variations between majority and minority families in how much they promote inter and independence in their children	Questionnaires	Convenience	*343 parents (62 Chinese Americans, 42 AA, 98 Mexican Americans, 141 European Americans)*	*No*	*Factor Analysis, Multi-variate analysis*
Terrell (2003)	To explore the effects of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity on the self-esteem and parenting attitudes of middle class	Multiple interviews, surveys and other measures	Non-random, self selected quasi-experimental	*115 AA men participated of the 200 that were approached*	*No*	*Bi-variate and multiple regression*

	AA men					
Thomas (2000)	To examine the impact of racial identity attitudes on AA parent's child rearing beliefs	Surveys	Non-random convenience	*104 adults (35 men and 69 women)*	*No*	*Multiple Regression*
Thomas, Krampe, and Newton, (2008)	To redefine father presence in the context of feelings of closeness and frequency of father visitation	Questionnaires	Non-random, convenience	*650 adults (196 AA and 454 Whites)*	*No*	*Bivariate and factor analysis*
Toth and Xu, 1999	American fathers participation in 3 domains of childrearing for children ages 5-18 yrs	Secondary	Probability Sample	*1258 fathers (915 White, 210 African Americans, 119 Hispanics*	*No*	*ANOVA, SURE method*
Tripp (2001)	The effects of incarceration on the relationships of fathers with their children	Individual interviews and group activities	Non-random	*Originally 16 but ended up as 12 non-violent AA male offenders in prison (who were then split into 2 groups of 6)*	*No*	
White (2006)	How AA feminist father's perceptions of fatherhood and masculinity challenged traditional patriarchal models	Semi-structured interviews	Non-Random sample	*14 AA fathers who self identify as feminist*	*No*	*Multivariate*
Winstanley, Meyers and Florsheim (2002)	Examines the relationships between urban psychosocial stressors and intimacy achievement	Structured, 3-4 hour face-to-face interviews	Non-random	*59 AA, Hispanic and White adolescent fathers-to-be (20 AA,20 Hispanic,19 White)*	*yes*	*Multivariate*

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