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ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION MAPPING IN ETHNIC-RACIAL MINORITY POPULATIONS: EXPLORING THE EFFICACY OF AN INTERVENTION TO INCREASE WELL-BEING AND SECURE ETHNIC-RACIAL IDENTITY

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By

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I explore the benefits of developing an intervention entitled ethnic-racial socialization mapping. Previously, researchers have developed the importance of establishing a secure ethnic-racial identity in ethnic-racial minority populations, as it is tied with increased well-being. Additionally, researchers have called for interventions that highlight the role of ethnic-racial socialization in minority populations, as this process is connected with a secure ethnic-racial identity. I answer these calls by reviewing current research, leading to the creation of ethnic-racial socialization mapping as an identity intervention. In chapter 1, I explore how ethnic-racial identity and ethnic-racial socialization has been conceptualized, as well as why ethnic-racial socialization mapping offers a unique, visual intervention. In chapter 2, I overview my methodology for answering my hypotheses and research questions. Using a three-group pre-test posttest experimental design, I tested the efficacy of the use of ethnic-racial socialization mapping for improving participant secure ethnic-racial identity and well-being. In one treatment group, participants engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping. In another treatment condition, participants engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflected on their familial conversations about ethnicity and

race. In chapter three, I overview the efficacy of the ethnic-racial socialization intervention. I found partial support for ethnic-racial socialization mapping as an intervention. In chapter four, I examined the ethnic-racial socialization maps to see if there were different types of families. I developed a four-group typology of maps that indicate different dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization. I also compared family types ethnic-racial identity measures and well-being measures. In chapter 5, I overview discourses of ethnic-racial socialization in participant interviews. Overall, I found five themes that characterized participant experiences. Lastly, in chapter 6, I explore the implications of these findings for future researchers, as well as how family communication can move forward using these findings.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my family. My parents colored in the characters in my picture books to make sure I always felt represented. They made sure I always had positive relationships with all of my family members. My dad was always willing to talk about history with me, and taught me about all of our Irish relatives. My mom always told me about her experiences and stories. They were willing to talk about the ugly side of the world and the beautiful side. They let me push back, and explore what my ethnicity and race meant to be. They always were willing to have the difficult conversations with me, not matter what. They encouraged me to dream big, and do what I loved, although I don't think they ever thought it would be academia.

To my brother-you put up with my poking and prodding. I will never forget calling you to talk about race when I was feeling confused, and you patiently helped me. You show me how much you love me in so many little ways and I'm forever grateful for you being my brother.

I know it's not the great American novel Dad-but this is as close as you're going to get.

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To the city of Lincoln. I never thought I would fall in love with Nebraska, but here we are.

To every one of my participants. Your stories and experiences mean the world to me. Thank you for sharing, and letting me help tell your stories.

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CHAPTER 1: RATIONALE

Ethnic racial identity, or the beliefs one has about one's ethnic and/or racial identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), has been shown to enhance well-being for ethnic-racial minorities across a number of domains, including self-esteem, life satisfaction, and positive mental health outcomes (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011). A secure ethnic-racial identity is characterized by several features: (1)viewing one's ethnic-racial group positively, (2)accepting one's ethnicity or race, (3) having interest in one's ethnic-racial group, tradition, and histories, and a (4) having a positive commitment to one's ethnic-racial group (Phinney, 1991). When one achieves a secure ethnic-racial identity, particularly for ethnic-racial minorities, individuals report higher levels of well-being. Every human being is socialized into a privileged or minoritized ethnic-racial group. Therefore, it is important to understand the experience of those who are socialized into a minority ethnic-racial group, as they will be impacted by living in a racialized system in ways the majority racial group is not. Additionally, ethnic-racial identity buffers against internalized racism and discrimination (Bentley, Adams & Stevenson, 2008; Hughes et al., 2015).

In the United States, ethnic-racial minority group members experience mistreatment based on their ethnic-racial group membership, through institutional racism and discrimination, microaggressions, and daily hassles (Arbona & Jiminiez, 2014; Lukachoko, Hatzenbuehler & Keyes, 2014). Research even suggests that the act of discrimination leaves physical wear and tear at the cellular level for ethnic-racial minority members (Geronimous et al., 2010; Geronimous, 2013; Geronimous et al., 2015; Kaestner, Pearson, Keene & Geronimous, 2009). A secure ethnic-racial identity may

reduce the effects of these stressors, which Bey, Ulbricht and Persson (2018) refer to as social identity stressors, and promote higher academic achievement, self-esteem, and life satisfaction (Smith & Silva, 2011; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Creating a secure ethnic-racial identity of members of groups in improving the interpersonal lives of those historically wronged.

The process of developing a secure ethnic-racial identity is often achieved through ethnic-racial socialization which refers to the processes by which people learn what ethnicity and race mean (Hughes et al., 2006). In the early 1980's, scholars focused on the development of racial identity among African American men (Boykin, 1984), and how parents instilled a secure racial identity in children, despite negative mainstream conceptualization of Black identity. Hughes and Chen (1997) continued this work, identifying common message types among families. Furthermore, Hughes and colleagues began expanding ethnic-racial socialization literature to examine different ethnicities and races, demonstrating that all ethnic-racial minority groups participate in a similar process (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). In the mid 2000's, Umaña-Taylor and colleagues also began examining ethnic identity development in Latinx populations, and the role of familial ethnic-socialization (Gonzalez, Umaña-Taylor & Bàmaca, 2006; Rodriguez, Umaña-Taylor, Smith & Johnson, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Bàmaca, 2004 2005). This research also positioned the ethnic-socialization process as central to a secure identity development. Overall, this research highlighted the role of family as an important avenue in which ethnic-racial minority members make sense of what ethnicity and race in educational, social, political, and professional settings.

As research focusing on ethnic-racial socialization has continued, so have calls to integrate this work to develop interventions and practices that can improve ethnic-racial identity in ethnic-racial minority populations. Furthermore, scholars have called for integration of ethnic-racial socialization into parenting training practices, culturally sensitive counseling interventions, and other tools for therapists and practitioners (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson & Brotman, 2004; Evans et al., 2012). Other identity interventions have proven useful in enhancing well-being, with a process known as social identity mapping showing increasing promise in these areas (Cruwys et al., 2016). Social identity mapping involves having participants map out the relationships they have with their different social groups via a drawing activity. Informed by this research on social identity mapping, my purpose in this dissertation is to assess the degree to which a new form of mapping—ethnic-racial socialization mapping—enhances secure ethnic-racial identity and well-being in ethnic-racial minority populations. The purpose of this study threefold. First, I aim to test the utility of ethnic-racial socialization mapping as a tool to enhance well-being and a secure ethnic-racial identity in ethnic-racial minority populations. Second, I aim to identify different ways in which families approach ethnic-racial socialization. Third, since ethnic-racial socialization is a constant process, subject to changes in the sociohistorical context, I aim to examine what discourses about ethnic-racial socialization are salient for ethnic-racial minorities in this day and age. To these goals, this rationale focuses on highlighting the importance of ethnic-racial identity and ethnic-racial socialization, and why adapting social identity mapping to focus specifically on ethnic-racial minority populations would prove beneficial.

To begin, I will overview research on ethnic-racial identity, starting with how I define ethnicity, race, and ethnic-racial identity throughout this, as well as how ethnic-racial identity has been conceptualized in the literature. After highlighting the benefits of a secure ethnic-racial identity, I will explore how ethnic-racial socialization facilitates this process, overviewing different perspectives on ethnic-racial socialization and how they can inform a positive identity intervention. I then overview current research on identity interventions, highlighting social identity mapping, before explaining the planned interventions for this dissertation.

Ethnic-Racial Identity

Ethnic-racial identity (ERI) is defined as the "multidimensional, psychological construct that reflects the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic-racial group memberships" (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, p. 23) has been linked to a number of positive well-being outcomes, including self-esteem, life satisfaction, mental health, and academic adjustment (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011). While there have been positive outcomes linked to ethnic-racial identity, it is important to understand how scholars have traditionally defined ethnic-racial identity, and why this is an important area of study. Furthermore, there have been several different ways to label the positive conceptualization of ethnic-racial identity, including terms such as "secure ethnic identity" and "positive ethnic-racial affect". By exploring this history, we begin to see the mechanisms by which ethnic-racial identity is tied to positive outcomes. To begin, I define ethnicity and race, as well as explain how I use these terms throughout this dissertation. Next, I overview the literature on ethnic-racial identity, including important theoretical trajectories, as well as how scholars currently define ethnic-racial identity.

Lastly, I define secure ethnic-racial identity given its current conceptualizations, and why this is particularly important for ethnic-racial minorities in the United States.

Conceptualizing Ethnicity and Race

The terms ethnicity and race have convoluted histories, making their definitions difficult to pin down. However, James (2001) stated that when studying ethnicity and race, it is important to provide a clear definition of these terms, in order to situate scholarship appropriately. In other words, it is important to explain how you will be using the terms "ethnicity", "race" or a combination of both. The goal of this section is to define ethnicity and race and explain how it will be used in this dissertation. Critical scholars tend to agree that racism is ingrained in American life and has been used to justify the domination of ethnic-racial minorities and maintain power for White families in America (Harris, 2012; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2016). Race was first used as a distinction between freed English settlers in the United States, and "Black" enslaved Africans (James, 2001). The juxtaposition of Black Africans and White "Americans" became a useful way to delineate groups and identities based on skin color, while also justifying the treatment of biological offspring of slaves and Africans as property rather than people (Hunter, 2017). This early definition of race gives way to an understanding that "social events, both past and present, are key to the formation of any racialized context" (James, 2001, p. 238).

Race, and later, ethnicity, is socially constructed because it is not merely an "illusion" or "objective" but the joining of fiction and biological attributes (James, 2001). Race was originally referred to as differences in phenotype, while ethnicity referred to national or cultural heritage (Fenton, 2001). Early census tallies focused on "race",

dividing the U.S. originally into "Whites, Blacks, and Indians" (James, 2001). However, ethnicity and race began to blur in the 1800's with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which originally focused on "Chinese" immigration (technically an ethnicity), but later used to include Japanese, Filipino, Hindu, and other categories (Anderson & Fineburg, 1999).

The census continued to change racial classifications, as laws were developed that separated families based on appearance, and racial makeup. For example, a White woman married to a Chinese man was not considered a citizen, and children were at times categorized as "black" if they had one drop of "African" blood (James, 2001). Other times, Native American children were not classified as Native if they did not have "enough" blood. Focusing on race and ethnicity, allowed for government entities to monitor racial minorities in the United States, and justify mistreatment of groups based on "biology", citing visual differences even though there have been no studies that confirmed differences in IQ or physical ability based on phenotype (Fenton, 2001).

While ethnicity was often viewed as different than race, in the late 1990's and early 2000's, conversations began to emerge surrounding the racial construction of individuals identifying as Hispanic. The Census defined Hispanic as an ethnicity, but different views on what constitutes ethnicity and race in Latin America and the United States continued to blur boundaries. A new narrative emerged where Hispanic individuals were counted as "Non-white" (Lenhardt, 2015), even though in many Latin American countries, these individuals would be considered "White" (James, 2001). As these terms became more and more accepted, people began to blend views of ethnicity and race to refer to "Non-European" ancestry. While the true definitions of ethnicity and race are

different, for the remainder of this proposal, I will use the term ethnic-racial or ethnicity-race to focus on ethnic-racial minority families for several reasons, explored below. Similar to given current complexities in defining ethnicity and race, using one term over the other may alienate individuals who identify as an ethnic or racial minority (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Ethnicity and race have been defined several different ways, and used to classify people, institutions, and policies throughout history. One particularly salient context that has changes based on different definitions of ethnicity and race is family. As we can see throughout the history of classification in the United States, from slavery to Japanese internment, both ethnicity and race have been used as contexts to define family. Current contexts, especially with heightened rhetoric surrounding Latinx immigration in the United States, have seemingly started to blend the differences between ethnicity and race. While some people still regard being Latinx as an "ethnicity" and others as a "race", the real focus is not on the terminology, but how we can empower people who face a marginalized identity and status to embrace and see their ethnic-racial identity positively. Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) also note that changing tides of immigration, shifting demographics, and the fact that these terms are not mutually exclusive make it more difficult to distinguish between the two. Often times, ethnic identity is linked with racial identity, and ethnic identity and racial identity follow similar developmental trajectories. Second, while traditionally scholars have delineated between the two, James (2001) notes that these are not fixed subjects, and we need to understand race and ethnicity as dynamic and situational. Therefore, given the current social climate in which ethnicity and race are conceptualized and talked about at this moment in time, I use the integrated term

ethnicity-race to refer to ethnicity and race collaboratively, and the term ethnic-racial

minority groups to refer to ethnic and racial groups that currently do not make up the

majority within the United States.

Often times, when scholars discuss ethnicity and race, the implicit understanding

is that only ethnic-racial minorities are being studied. However, even ethnic-racial

majority groups (e.g., non-Hispanic Whites) have a race and an ethnicity. Everyone exists

within a racialized context, but majority ethnic-racial group members often have the

privilege of overlooking their racialized context. I am specifically focusing on ethnic-

racial minority group members, rather than ethnicity and race writ large for several

reasons. First, I feel the dominant family communication scholarship implicitly focuses

on ethnic-racial majority members, and then uses these findings to apply to the larger

field of families, without accounting for differences in racialized experiences. Second, we

know that ethnic-racial minority families face unique challenges, often created through

institutional, state sanctioned, and interpersonal means. Therefore, my focus on ethnic-

racial identity centers ethnic-racial minority members as the central focus of this

dissertation. Now that we have overviewed what "ethnicity-race" means in this

dissertation, we will review research on ethnic-racial identity.

Approaches to Ethnic-Racial Identity

To understand the importance of ethnic-racial identity, we will begin by exploring

the social identity approach, followed by the Eriksonian approach, as well as how current

perspectives on ethnic-racial identity have taken these approaches and extended

definitions and research. After reviewing these approaches, I provide an overview of how

a secure-ethnic racial identity is conceptualized, and the definition I choose for this

dissertation. I then explain the current benefits of a secure ethnic-racial identity, as well as how an intervention focused on improving a secure ethnic-racial identity

      Social identity approach. The social identity approach stemmed from research on how group memberships influence our identity and well-being (Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Tajfel and Turner (1986) argue that human interaction ranges from purely interpersonal to purely intergroup, wherein intergroup interactions are derived from our social identities. Social identity refers to the identity derived from one's group memberships and refers to the social categories that informs one's self image, as well as the evaluative consequences of the groups.

      One's social identity is made up of three dimensions; cognitive, evaluative, and emotional. The *cognitive* dimension is often referred to as one's self-categorization, or one's awareness of their membership in a social group (Tajfel, 1978). For example, children begin to differentiate between race and ethnicity, including their own and others, usually around ages three to six (Quintana, 1998). While these differentiations are usually based on physical attributes, and remain neutral, children start to develop a cognitive understanding of the differences in one's race and ethnicity. The *evaluative* dimension refers to the negative or positive value connotation attached to their group membership, or group self-esteem (Tajfel, 1978). When children begin to grow, they become aware of different perspectives about race, both positive and negative, from parents, peers, and schools, which informs how they feel evaluate their racial or ethnic group (Quintana, 1998). Lastly, the *emotional* dimension refers to one's emotional involvement with the group (Tajfel, 1978). Typically, adolescence is seen at a time wherein ethnic-racial minorities begin to develop a sense of ethnic identity and is where emotional attachment

to their ethnic-racial group becomes important (Quintana, 1998; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

While one's social identity, particularly in regard to race and ethnicity, involves developments of different dimensions, social identity theorists argue that these developments hinge on social processes, and group comparisons. People desire a positive conceptualization of their in-group, which is linked to positive self-esteem. When a person's in-group conceptualization is negative, they may engage in strategies to change their in-group (Reid, 2012). A person may leave their in-group via *social mobility*. This tactic was sometimes used when people' ethnicity or race was ambiguous enough that they could "pass" for another racial-ethnic group and achieve a more positive identity. However, this strategy is not available for all members of ethnic-racial groups. *Social competition* refers to trying to best or emphasize the positive qualities of one's group over another (Reid, 2012). For example, a study of 200,000 American's implicit biases showed a positive evaluation of their own racial or ethnic groups most favorably, followed by a hierarchy that placed White Americans as most positive, followed by Asian-Americans, Black Americans and Hispanic Americans (Axt, Ebersole & Nasek, 2016). People derive their positive conceptualization of their ethnic-racial group and identity through comparing and pitting their groups against other groups. Another example draws from the allusions to Asian-Americans as a "model minority", when compared to other ethnic-racial groups (Museus, 2008). Lastly, when people are presented with negative conceptualizations of their in-group, they may utilize *social creativity* to regain a positive identity (Reid, 2012). Social creativity refers to the process wherein group members change what constitutes a positive group identity. Hughes,

Kiecolt, Keith & Demo (2015) argue that African Americans may re-write negative

conceptualizations or perceptions of their racial identity to increase well-being and

challenge stereotypes.

Overall, early research on ethnicity and race focused on using the social identity

approach as a way to understand how people develop an understanding of ethnic-racial

identity and integrate this identity into their self-concept. Primarily, researchers examined

how social belonging influenced perceptions of ethnicity and race. As the social identity

approach became widely accepted in psychology and communication studies, researchers

also began to focus on identity development as a lifelong process. However, scholars also

began to note that this process was more salient at certain life stages (Arnett, 2004;

Erikson, 1994). Erikson (1994) started to look at adolescence as a time of identity

development, and how ethnicity and race may play a central role in changing perceptions

of identity, paving the path to the Eriksonian approach on identity.

Eriksonian approach. Erik Erikson (1994) extended identity development by

looking group membership across the lifespan. He also examined how certain stages

impacted identity development. Furthermore, Erikson (1994) saw that identity ranged

from "synthesis", wherein one's identity is made up of different identity facets such as

religion, race, and political preference form a cohesive ego-identity, to "confusion"

wherein one cannot integrate different facets of one's identity into a cohesive framework.

Overall, identity was made up of one's personal identity and social identity, including

country of origin and racial background. To reach a synthesized identity, Erikson (1994)

saw reflection on one's identity, particularly in adolescence, as a critical process. Identity

develops through constant reflection and observation. While this process is lifelong,

Erikson (1994) centralized adolescence and young adulthood as a time of critical importance. He often argued that a stabilized identity marked the end of childhood.

While the majority of research using the Eriksonian approach focused on identity development in general in adolescence, Erikson (1994) did additionally focus on influences of ethnicity, race, and culture. Erikson (1994) noted that for marginalized groups, particularly those who are culturally marginalized, historical trauma could permeate identity development. Erikson (1994) argues that social factors permeate marginalized groups, including Native Americans and African Americans, and historical trauma could influence the development of identity. Furthermore, Erikson (1994) contended that structural oppression and internalized oppression work in tandem to prevent a full integration of identity. In other words, one cannot separate ideology and history for identity development from groups that have been traditionally marginalized. However, Eriksonian approaches are at times critiqued for focusing too much on adolescence and not taking a life-span approach (Phinney, 1996). While adolescence is seen as a time of critical approaches, it is still not the only age cohort who experiences identity fluctuations and changes.

Syed and Fish (2018) contend that this view on marginalization functions as an ideological setting for identity development. Ideological settings refer to "broader societal-level beliefs and values that underlie a normative life in a given context" (Syed & Fish, 2018, p. 7). In other words, identity development, especially for ethnic and racial minorities, has to be examined within a context of historical trauma. Furthermore, we must contend that certain groups have been denied an identity for a long period of time, and therefore ethnic-racial identity has to be created and plays a unique role in these

contexts. While Erikson (1994) noted that historical trauma and sociohistorical factors impact ethnic-racial minorities differently than ethnic-racial majority group members, developmental scholars such as Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004), Quintana (1998), and Phinney (1996) began to centralize the experience of ethnic-racial identity. Current perspectives shift the narrative from ethnic-racial identity as a peripheral study, to centralizing ethnic-racial identity, as an important necessity for ethnic-racial minority group members.

Defining secure ethnic-racial identity. Social identity perspectives and Eriksonian perspectives have informed the development and study of ethnic-racial identity. While there is acknowledgement of the importance of these perspectives in informing the study of ethnic-racial identity, there are several different ways in which ethnic-racial identity is defined, separately and as one term. Cokley (2007), argues that ethnic and racial identity are two separate conceptualizations, where racial identity refers to the collective identity of a group seen to be part of a race, while ethnic identity refers to a subjective sense of ethnic-group membership including self-labeling, a sense of belonging, and a preference for one's ethnic group. To bridge these perspectives together, and continue the argument that these two types of identity should not be separate, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) define ethnic-racial identity as "a multidimensional, psychological construct that reflects the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic-racial group memberships, as well as the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop over time" (p.23). While this definition provides an overall perspective, it leaves room for negative or positive conceptualizations of an ethnic-racial

identity. Therefore, ethnic-racial identity is not an outcome. Rather, scholars should frame a certain type of relationship with one's ethnic-racial identity as an outcome.

There have been several competing perspectives for how to label a positive relationship one's ethnic-racial identity. Phinney & Ong (2007) label the desired outcome for a positive ethnic-racial identity as a *secure ethnic identity*. A secure ethnic identity is a sense of ethnic identity that is achieved through exploration and understanding about one's personal ethnicity. Phinney & Ong (2007) view the development of a secure ethnic identity in four different stages. In the *diffusion* stage, individuals have a lack of a clear ethnic identity. After diffusion, individuals can move to two different stages. They can enter a *foreclosure* stage, in which they become committed to their ethnic identity, without fully exploring or understanding what their ethnicity means to them. In the *moratorium* stage, individuals enter a period of exploration, where they investigate what their ethnicity means to them, as well as how the social world sees their ethnicity. Individuals may do this through family conversations, interrogating historical perspectives, and interacting with others who identity with their same ethnicity. Lastly, individuals can reach *ethnic-identity achievement*. Ethnic-identity achievement is characterized by a firm commitment to one's ethnic identity through exploration. The Revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale, aimed at measuring a secure ethnic identity, focuses on commitment and exploration. Phinney and Ong (2007) view a secure ethnic identity as exploring one's ethnic identity and then being committed to it, rather than simply being proud of one's ethnicity without interrogation.

Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004) saw a similar development in ethnic identity but extended the stages slightly for a more comprehensive view of the phases that can

promote or demote a secure ethnic identity. Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004) also saw

foreclosure as a stage in which individuals unquestioningly adopt the values of their

ethnic group. This stage is seen as a premature engagement with one's ethnic identity.

Individuals can also move to *moratorium*, which Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004), see as an

active struggle and exploration of one's ethnic identity without a commitment to ethnic

identity. Moratorium can be negative or positive. Individuals can also go through a stage

of *diffusion*, where one is not struggling or explore their ethnic identity and experience a

general apathy towards this process. Ideally, through moratorium, individuals can reach

the stage of *ethnic identity achievement*. One notable difference from Phinney and

colleagues' (Phinney, 1991; Phinney & Ong, 2007) conceptualization is the ability for

diffusion and moratorium to be positive or negative dependent on context.

Pahram and Helms (1981) saw racial identity developing in a different way than

Phinney and colleagues (Phinney, 1991; Phinney & Ong, 2007), and Umaña-Taylor and

colleagues (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). This work focused

on Black racial identity. Paharm and Helms (1981) saw black racial identity beginning in

the *pre-encounter* phase, where individuals have attitudes that deny or devalue their

Blackness as being central to their racial identity. Next, individuals move to the

encounter phase, when a personal or social event causes them to question the prevalence

of their racial identity. These types of events can be experiences with prejudice, or other

critical incidents that highlight their racial identity. After this encounter phase,

individuals enter the *immersion-emersion phase*, which is characterized by high Black

pride, and at times, attitudes that are unfavorable towards White individuals. Ideally,

individuals will reach an *internalization* phase, where individuals have positive attitudes

that are reflective of their Black identity without the denigration of White people. Individuals in this phase can separate racism as a system from racism as individual actions and can critique Whiteness from White individuals.

After reviewing the different stages and conceptualizations of ethnic-racial identity, Rivas-Drake et al. (2014) classified the different stages into five different areas that characterize a secure or positive ethnic-racial identity. *Exploration* refers to how individuals have thought about and explore the meaning of their group membership. *Resolution* is how individuals have resolved what their ethnic or racial group membership means to them. *Centrality* refers to the defined personal importance towards one ethnic-racial group, and *positive affect* refers to one's own evaluation towards their group and how they see themselves belonging to said group. Lastly, *public regard* refers to the perception of *other's* evaluation of ethnic-racial identity, or the understanding of how other's may see their ethnic-racial group membership.

Overall, throughout the characterization of a secure or positive ethnic-racial identity, there seems to be a few key components across research trajectories. For the purpose of this study, I will be using the term *secure ethnic-racial identity* as a positive ethnic-identity outcome. A secure ethnic identity means individuals have reached a stage of identity that has been characterized by an active exploration of what their ethnicity or race means to them. Additionally, individuals understand the difficulties and struggles that may come with being a part of an ethnic-racial minority group while still retaining pride in their membership without the denigration of other ethnic-racial groups. In short, individuals have explored what their ethnicity and race mean to them, have a positive feeling towards their group membership, understand how other's may see their ethnic-

racial membership, and are able to critique racism and discrimination as a system, rather than individual acts. This definition encapsulates the scholarship and places a secure ethnic-racial identity as a positive outcome.

Benefits of a secure ethnic-racial identity. Overall, scholars have routinely demonstrated that a secure ethnic-racial identity in ethnic-racial minority individuals has important implications for health and well-being. In their seminal meta-analysis, Smith & Silva (2011) found that across 183 studies, a secure ethnic-racial identity positively predicts overall well-being. In a later meta-analysis, Rivas-Drake et al. (2014b) that a secure ethnic-racial identity positively predicted academic adjustment and positive well-being adjustment, such as self-esteem, and negatively predicted negative adjustment in individuals, such as depressive symptoms and externalizing problems. The largest effect sizes for well-being outcomes were between a secure ethnic-racial identity and positive social functioning, lower depressive symptoms, and lower health risks. Age, gender, and pan-ethnic category did not moderate any of these effects, meaning that individuals had similar positive effects of a secure ethnic-racial identity regardless of ethnic-racial group, age, and gender. While Rivas-Drake et al. (2014b) want to note that a secure ethnic-racial identity is not a panacea, and simply having a secure ethnic-racial identity will not fix all individual problems, or solve wide spread institutional racism and systemic discrimination, there is promise to find ways to promote a secure ethnic-racial identity among adolescents that enhances well-being.

Rivas-Drake et al. (2014a) also noted that each area of a secure ethnic-racial identity had important psychological, academic and health rewards. During the exploration phase, individuals exhibited positive self-esteem and an increased interest in

learning. The resolution dimension was also more indicative of an increased interest in learning. Centrality was indicative of higher prosocial tendencies and more academic motivation. Positive affect was characterized by higher levels of self-esteem and fewer depressive symptoms. Additionally, those with higher positive affect had greater success in school, lower drug use, and greater efficacy for the refusal of unwanted sex. Lastly, public regard was indicative of fewer somatic symptoms and better academic outcomes.

Overall, research demonstrates that a secure ethnic racial identity is an important dimension in the levels of ethnic-racial minority individuals, including numerous positive effects for well-being particularly for improving social functioning and reducing health risks. Given these benefits, next steps in research should focus on how programs and interventions can promote a secure ethnic-racial identity, and what ways practitioners and researchers can help individuals achieve a secure ethnic-racial identity. It is also important to note that simply because an individual achieves the stage of secure ethnic-racial identity at one point that their process is complete. Instead, individuals can move through different identity development stages for the rest of their lives. To understand how we can promote a secure ethnic-racial identity, and help individuals negotiate this process throughout their lives, we must understand the process by which a secure ethnic-racial identity is developed, and what actions contribute to this. The process of ethnic-racial socialization helps illustrate how one develops and ethnic-racial identity.

Ethnic Racial Socialization

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is the process by which individuals develop an ethnic-racial identity. ERS is defined as the implicit and explicit process that convey to individuals what ethnicity and race mean (Hughes, Watford & Del Toro, 2016; Hughes et

al., 2006). ERS is an important process by which ideas about race and ethnicity are given life, therefore impacting the ethnic-racial identity (ERI) of children and individuals. I will begin by covering the history of ethnic-racial socialization. I then examine how scholars currently conceptualize ethnic-racial socialization, and how this research can be used to develop interventions that can increase ethnic-racial socialization.

History of Research on Ethnic Racial Socialization

Ethnic-racial socialization began simply as "racial socialization" in the 1980's and 1990's. Scholars wanted to understand how in a world that often painted young Black men as threats, parents could alter the narrative an instill positive self-esteem in children (Boykin, 1984; Stevenson, 1994; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor & Allen, 1990). Boykin and colleagues (Boykin, 1984; Boykin and Tom, 1985), conceptualized socialization through three contexts for Black families; mainstream, minority, and Black cultural. *Mainstream* contexts focused on exposing children to White mainstream values, while *minority* contexts focused on the negotiation of American racial hierarchies and developing an understanding of operating as Black in America. Black cultural orientations focused on imparting ways of living that incorporated West African culture and Black American culture. Thornton et al. (1990) also demonstrated that race was a central feature of conversations in Black families, although this varied based on environmental and demographic factors. Hughes and Chen (1997) continued work focusing on Black families, finding that parents were most likely to socialize ideas about race through cultural socialization, such as reading children Black history books, or taking the child to Black cultural events.

While original research focused on Black families, scholars began expanding research to other ethnic-racial groups. In the mid 1990's, similar work on ethnic socialization began focusing on Asian and Latinx families. This work still focused on preparing children for stereotypes and discrimination, this work additionally examined how families transmitted native culture and language. In Mexican American families, mothers' practices of teaching Mexican culture promoted children's ethnic identity (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota & Ocampo, 1993). Ou and McAdoo (1993) found among Chinese American parents, integrative attitudes that combined ethnic socialization from China, along with American ideals, promoted positive self-concept among children. Largely, parents strived to instill positive conceptualizations of their ethnicity, and maintain traditional cultural practices while still integrating into American culture.

Research on ethnic socialization in Hispanic families, Black families, and Asian families paralleled each other, and began to point to a larger picture that linked these ethnic-racial minority groups together. Ethnic-racial minority families, although having individualized histories and social contexts, all prioritized the need to explain race, ethnicity, and difference. Hughes et al. (2008) engaged in research focusing on ethnic-racial socialization across a diverse set of ethnic and racial groups, from the children's perspectives and the parents' perspectives. Socialization of cultural ideals was not strictly seen as a way to dogmatically transmit ideals about race and ethnicity, but as a way to impart knowledge and values for children. Parents wanted children to increase self-knowledge, retain cultural knowledge, and resist discrimination and racism. While there were different patterns among perceptions and types of racial socialization messages among different ethnic or racial groups, there was evidence that these conversations did

occur in all ethnic-racial families. Throughout the years, ethnic-racial socialization has proven to be a staple in all ethnic-racial minority families in the United States (Hughes et al., 2006).

Several scholars have pointed out that it seems that ethnic-racial minority members face an unfair burden in explaining racial and ethnic differences and meanings, as White families do not always feel the need to do discuss race or ethnicity with their children, believing their children will learn from other means (Hagerman, 2014; Loyd & Gaither, 2018). Typically, this is because White is seen as the "norm", particularly in the United States, and therefore engenders a type of hegemonic Whiteness (Hughey, 2008). While scholars have started to center and point out the critical implications of the (lack thereof) of White racial socialization (Bonilla -Silva, 2010), in this dissertation, I will continue to focus on ethnic-racial socialization in ethnic-racial minority populations. The interrogation and acknowledgement that ethnic-racial socialization is a process made necessary by hegemonic whiteness. However, I chose to focus on ethnic-racial minority populations as to increase the visibility of this literature within the wider communication research. As research has grown, researchers have developed frameworks encapsulating ethnic-racial socialization among many families.

Current Perspectives on Ethnic Racial Socialization

As research on ethnic-racial socialization has become mainstream, scholars have tended to examine ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) through a few different lenses: ERS as message typology, ERS as an integrative familial process, and ERS as an ecological process. By reviewing the ways in which ERS has been conceptualized, we can highlight how this research has can be integrated into interventions moving forward. Furthermore,

we can highlight the connection between well-being and ERI by understanding how ERS functions.

    Message typologies. Hughes and Chen (1997) were among the first to establish which types of messages were present in conversations of ethnic-racial socialization. Originally, Hughes and Chen (1997) established three types of messages. *Preparation for bias* messages focused on teaching children how to prepare for racism, and discrimination they may face. *Cultural socialization* messages focused on teaching children the importance of racial and ethnic pride, such as attending cultural events, or learning about history. *Racial mistrust*, later renamed *promotion of mistrust*, focused on teaching children to keep their distance from other racial groups. Later, this typology was expanded to include *egalitarianism*, which referred to messages that emphasize diversity and racial equality (Hughes, Harding, Niwa, Del Toro & Way, 2015). Overall, research has indicated that these different messages occur with different frequency across different ethnic-racial groups (Hughes et al., 2006). Message types to tend to work in tandem with each other. For example, parents who reported higher levels of egalitarianism messages often also reported higher levels of cultural socialization. Preparation for bias messages seem to occur at much lower levels compared to other cultural socialization and egalitarianism (Hughes et al., 2006).

    Scholars have found similar, but slightly different patterns, among message types. Stevenson et al. (2002) introduced the teenager experiences of racial socialization (TERS), along with the companion scale of parent experiences of racial socializations. The TERS reported five constructs of racial socialization. *Cultural coping with antagonism* refers to messages that focus on preparing for discrimination and hostility

through spiritual means. *Cultural pride reinforcement*, similar to cultural socialization, refers to messages that highlight the importance of ethnic or cultural pride. *Cultural legacy appreciation* is similar to cultural pride reinforcement, but more specifically focuses on African American history. *Cultural alertness to discrimination*, similar to preparation for bias refers to messages focusing on being ready for discrimination. Lastly, the *cultural endorsement of the mainstream* refers to messages that encourage participation in mainstream areas. Similar to earlier discussion on the mainstream approach to ethnic identity, these messages balance the underground and mainstream socialization process in regard to racial identity development. While some concepts overlap with Hughes' racial socialization measure, the TERS is more commonly used with Black families, while Hughes and Chen's measures has been more often used across ethnic and racial groups.

Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004) introduced the familial ethnic-socialization measures as a way to understand how families socialized children with respect to native culture. Original research focused on Mexican-adolescents (Umaña-Taylor, 2001), but prominent iterations included multiple ethnic groups (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Across 193 different ethnic backgrounds, familial ethnic socialization was significantly correlated with self-esteem among ethnic minority students. There were no significant results for White students. Further research centralized familial ethnic socialization, exploring under which situations families tend to utilize this type of socialization (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown & Ezell, 2007). Research demonstrated that non-white families discuss ethnic and racial heritage 1.9 to 4.7 times more often than White families, indicating that for non-White families, focusing on ethnic and racial heritage, as well as native cultural

traditions, is a significant familial conversation (Brown et al., 2007). Overall, the familial ethnic socialization measure has been used to focus specifically on cultural and ethnic/racial practices across a wide variety of families.

Lastly, other researchers have focused on multiethnic/racial identity, and how this may differ from typical measures looking at monoracial families (Nuru & Soliz, 2014). Nuru & Soliz(2014) found three dominant messages multiethnic individuals received about their ethnicity and race. *Encouragement/Egalitarianism* messages focused on messages that celebrated all of the individuals' ethnic-racial backgrounds and creating an identity that highlighted both. *Parental messages of preference*, however, tended to convey the need of the individual to identify with one ethnic-racial identity over the other. Lastly, some participants reported a *lack of explicit parental messages* or *silence*. These individuals described a familial climate where race or ethnicity was never formerly discussed.

While quantitative measures have yielded reliable results and correlations, these message typologies only capture part of the picture. While message typologies have been helpful for identifying messages common in the ERS process, Priest et al. (2014) note the need to consider implicit and explicit messages concerning ERS. As such, scholars have begun joining message typologies with larger family dynamics to understand how ERS is an integrative familial process.

Integrative familial process. While certain messages were seen as more common place than others, researchers began noticing patterns of messages that also indicated larger familial patterns. Rather than look only at certain types of messages, and if they are present, integrative familial processes look at how the family communicates

about a wide variety of topics, including racial socialization. Scholars began pushing to

not simply examine which types of messages were used most frequently, but under which

circumstances these messages seem to have the most impact (McHale et al., 2006) For

example, Neblett et al. (2008) examined the relationship of messages about race, along

with egalitarian messages, self-worth messages, and silence work in concordance. Using

latent class analyses, Neblett et al. (2008) found patterns in families. Instead of one

message type being more present than the other, certain families had patterns surrounding

racial and personal identity that were indicative of self-esteem. Similarly, racial

socialization alone does not predict better outcomes. Racial socialization, in concordance

with larger familial conversation climates, such as democratically involved parenting, can

promote positive racial adjustment (Smalls, 2008). Parental warmth is a strong predictor

of cultural socialization in Black families, meaning that for conversations about race to be

effective, family dynamics that encourage openness and relational closeness should be

established throughout the child's lifetime (McHale et al., 2006). Furthermore, extended

kin and siblings also have an impact on the racial socialization process (Caughy, Nettles

& Lima, 2010; Stevenson, Reed & Bodison, 1996; Stevenson, 1994). Most studies focus

on ERS from a parental perspective (Priest et al., 2013), but other scholars argue for the

need to look at ERS as a reciprocal and integrative process among all family members

(Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders & Updegraff, 2013). Research on ERS as an integrative familial

process allows us to account for the varying dynamics in the family, including extended

kin, that contribute to ERS. However, researchers have also noted that family as a whole

is situated in a larger world that accounts for ERS. Hughes, Watford and Del Toro (2016)

framed this as an "ecological" approach to ERS, which creates a more nuanced view of ERS as an ecological and transactional process.

Ecological process. Scholars have long noted that the necessity for ethnic-racial socialization stems from societal forces that highlight race and ethnicity as salient social groups (Thorton et al., 1990; Boykin, 1985). However, current scholars have tried to highlight this connection more explicitly in their work, and note how community, geography, and social events influence ERS (Hughes et al., 2017). ERS does not happen in a vacuum, and factors such as immigration status, socioeconomic class, and neighborhood demographics impact what types of messages individuals receive about race (Caughy et al., 2011; Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo & Lohrfink, 2006; Phinney, Romero, Nava & Huang, 2001). Ethnic-racial socialization cannot be separated into a solely family affair. When examining family dynamics, it is necessary to examine ERS in a way that allows for ecological influences. Rather than only focusing on the parent-child relationships, we should allow for a view of family that accounts for wider influences.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) developed the ecological approach to studying human development in order to account for growth and development more accurately. Bronfenbrenner (1979) argued that humans develop through their lifespan in a nested system spanning from the purely personal to the purely social. The smallest level is the "microsystem" or a person's family and immediate peers. The largest system is the "macrosystem", or the large social and institutional systems that guide public attitudes and behaviors. Since each human interacts with each system, one cannot separate family from social attitudes. Hughes et al. (2016) argue that ethnic-racial socialization processes should also be examined from an ecological perspective, integrating a person's peer

networks, schools, and neighborhoods. High risk neighborhoods seem to be correlated with negative ethnic identity, suggesting that being surrounded by negative social and environmental living conditions hinders ethnic identity development (Bennet Jr., 2006). Furthermore, individuals living in neighborhoods with a negative social climate reported higher levels of preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust, while individuals living in neighborhoods with a high social capital tend to report more racial pride messages (Caughy et al., 2006). Often times, extended family, such as grandparents, cousins, aunts, and uncles represent an individual's peer networks and neighborhoods. By expanding our gaze from solely parent-child interactions, we can start to take a more ecological approach to the family.

Beyond neighborhood, social and political climate also impacts conversations about race, ethnicity, and difference. The racially motivated death of teenager Trayvon Martin altered the way that parents talked about racism and discrimination, particularly with their Black sons (Thomas and Blackmon, 2015). Additionally, public outrage and protests over the death of Michael Brown in Fergusons also changed conversational dynamics in Black families (Threlfall, 2018). In fact, heightened publicity over police violence and the death of unarmed Black men and women have even encouraged mainstream campaigns on how Black parents have the talk about race and criminality in the United States (Whitaker & Snell, 2016). Additionally, heightened rhetoric surrounding immigration changes how Latinx families discuss race, particularly when members are undocumented (Scranton, Afifi, Afifi & Gangi, 2016). Even legal immigration impacts how Mexican families interact, changing family dynamics and conversations (Bacallao & Smomkowski, 2007). Social influences and contexts from the

macrosystem still impact the individuals. Ecological approaches to ethnic-racial socialization do not only focus on the family but take into account larger systems and social practices that influence the family.

Given the growth in examining ERS through message typologies, familial processes, and ecological processes, scholars have begun to call for ERS to be used in interventions for parenting practices. Interventions aimed at parents, as well as counselors, can help practitioners extend understanding of family. In the following section, I review calls for interventions based on ERS, and how these interventions can benefit individuals and practitioners. Lastly, I explore the ways in which my intervention, ethnic-racial socialization mapping can help parents and practitioners develop a stronger understanding of ethnicity and race, as well as how these maps can increase well-being for individuals.

Developing Interventions Utilizing to Improve Secure Ethnic-Racial Identities

One common desire of ethnic-racial socialization research is to explore the implications of this process, beyond only ethnic-racial identity, but for identity development writ large, as well as personal growth (Bentley, Adams & Stevenson, 2008). Furthermore, scholars have called for ethnic-racial socialization interventions and tools to be created for counselors and therapists, as well as patients (Stevenson, 1994; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson & Brotman, 2004). Stevenson (1994) called for this intervention, explaining that many therapists do not have the contextual knowledge about race and difference in the United States. Interventions centered around racial socialization create a mechanism for therapists and counselors to develop a more nuanced understanding of racial dynamics and the role of family. Furthermore, counselors at times confuse

colorblindness and cultural humility, highlighting the need for interventions that help patients and practitioners understand the influence of race and ethnicity in personal life (Dempsey, Ching & Page, 2016).

In other words, counselors are not always trained to be aware of cultural differences based on ethnicity and race, and how these factors may impact patients. Interventions focused on ERS can benefit both parties. Bartoli, Bentley-Edwards, Garcìa, Michael & Ervin (2015) echoed this sentiment, calling for a more detailed understanding of ERS, as counselors and therapists need a "tool to appraise clients' interpersonal difficulties based on race as a barrier" which would help counselors "engender improved coping" (p. 251). Coard, Wallace, Stevenson & Brotman (2004), also noted that many counselors desired interventions that focused on ethnic-racial socialization, as well as ways to use these interventions in parenting practice. Overall, developing interventions focusing on ethnic-racial socialization will benefit therapists, practitioners, and those seeking help.

In addition to helping counselors, therapists and practitioners better understand ethnicity and race, interventions aimed at exploring ethnic-racial socialization can improve individual well-being. Smith and Silva (2011) argued that focusing on ethnic-racial identity may enhance client outcomes for therapists. Furthermore, given the positive associations of positive ethnic-racial affect, Rivas-Drake et al. (2014) called for increased focus on how to highlight the association between positive ethnic-racial affect and well-being, and improve adolescent development. Additionally, the positive impacts of racial socialization have led scholars to note the importance of developing interventions focused on racial socialization. For example, Neblett et al. (2009) noted that

the high rate of discrimination experienced by Black children necessitates interventions that focus on mitigating discrimination as well as increase racial pride in adolescents. Furthermore, they argued that the support of different patterns highlights diverse practices which should be encouraged, rather than a "one size fits all" approach to socialization. Lastly, Neblett et al. (2009) state that policies and practices should encourage racial socialization among families, as these practices, particularly ones that encourage ethnic and racial pride, have positive impacts for adolescents.

Research has demonstrated that ethnic-racial identity is predictive of increased well-being, and that ERS facilitates this connection. Now that these findings have been established, scholars have begun to focus on ways to highlight this connection and create interventions that positively enhances ethnic-racial minority members' well-being. In particular, ethnic-racial socialization has been tied to improved youth adjustment, including self-esteem and concept (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Traditionally, ethnic-racial identity has been tied with outcomes of positive adjustment, such as self-esteem and well-being. Given the desire for integration ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity on individual well-being, the goal of this dissertation is to focus on one such intervention with well-being and secure ethnic-racial identity as important outcomes. A secure ethnic-racial identity has been tied to positive well-being, both of which are important factors in one's quality of life. I now review how interventions focusing on identity have been used as interventions to enhance well-being. I explore how interventions have been used, including visual interventions and disclosure-based interventions, as well as why an intervention aimed specifically for ethnic-racial minority members is necessary.

Developing Interventions Focused on Ethnic-Racial Identity and Socialization

Given the positive health impacts of a secure ethnic-racial identity, as well as the promise of ethnic-racial socialization's power to buffer discrimination, an intervention focused on increasing secure ethnic-racial identity is imperative. Scholars have called for identity interventions that focus on ethnic-racial minority populations, as traditional identity interventions, as well as interventions, have focused on improving mental health have been focused on White populations (Bentley, Adams & Stevenson, 2008). To make these interventions successful, the intervention cannot only focus on the individual, but important members of their social groups. Mental health interventions, that focus on ethnic-racial minority populations need to more readily incorporate family and interpersonal relationships to see a true improvement (Kalibatseva & Leong, 2014). Baikie & Wilhelm (2005) and Gortner, Rude, & Pennebaker (2006)further argue that while identity is multifaceted, for many adolescents, race and ethnicity is most likely to be primed as their most salient identity. Therefore, interventions need to focus on increasing positive understanding of one's ethnic-racial identity as well as incorporating salient personal relationships through family is justified.

An intervention focusing explicitly on improving a secure ethnic-racial identity can improve well-being in ethnic-racial minority populations has shown promise in several areas. An intervention aimed at improving ethnic-racial identity for Black female adolescents showed improvement in seeing their racial identity in a more positive light, as well as increased positivity overall (Whaley & McQueen, 2010). Additionally, there has been success in interventions addressing stereotype threat in women and ethnic-racial minority populations which changed how participants saw their identity, and how well

they performed on standardized tests (Good, Aronson, & Inzlicht, 2003). Lastly, social

identity mapping has been used to improve mental heal, well-being and social

connectedness, demonstrating that targeting and understanding salient social identities

can improve health and social connectedness (Haslam, Cruwys, Haslam, Dingle, &

Chang, 2016). While these interventions show promise for improving ethnic-racial

identity, there are still areas for improvement. Several researchers have called for

interventions that focus explicitly on ethnic-racial socialization, highlighting the need for

resources and strategies that parents and educators can use to engage in productive

discussion about ethnicity, race, and difference (Priest et al., 2014).

Visual Research Methods and Interventions

Visual research methods have been used as ways to integrate participants

experiences into research and promote change for the academy and individual lives

(Pauwels, 2011). For example, drawing has been used as a research method for children

to demonstrate intelligence, psychology, and even responses to social change (Ganesh,

2011). Using drawing as a tool allows for researchers to transcend words and

vocabularies to collect meaningful data. Subject produced drawings also allow

participants to reflect and notice nuances they may not have been aware of before

(Ganesh, 2011). Furthermore, participatory visual methods have been lauded as way to

enhance participant and researcher collaboration (Chalfen, 2011). One popular method is

photovoice, which allows participants to capture their experience using cameras and

photos (Wang & Burris, 1997). The goal of photovoice is to allow people to reflect on

their community, promote dialogue, and influence policy makers as to participants' lived

reality (Wang & Burris, 1997). Other visual research methods, although not using

cameras or photos, have similar aims in using drawing, mapping, or other visual techniques to showcase participants' experiences. A more recent visual technique--social identity mapping--has been developed as one way that can enhance well-being through research on the social identity approach (Cruwys et al., 2016).

Social identity mapping. Social identity mapping was developed as a way to highlight individuals' multiple group memberships, and enhance perceptions of social support (Cruwys et al., 2016). This technique allowed for participants to self-complete a map of their social groups. Participants illustrate the social groups they are a part of, and their importance using different sized Post-it notes. Additionally, participants rated how positively they saw their group, how important and representative they were of this group, how connected different social groups were, and how easy or difficult it was for the participant to be parts of both groups. Social identity mapping is an empirically tested, reliable and valid means of representing salient social identity constructs (Cruwys et al., 2016). Furthermore, social identity mapping has been explicitly tied to several well-being outcomes. First, Cruwys et al. (2016), found that social identity mapping positively predicted self-esteem and general life satisfaction, while negatively predicting depression. In an intervention focused on substance use recovery, social identity reduced participants' substance using identity, and strengthened recovery identity (Beckwith et al., 2019). In a study utilizing an online version of social identity mapping, Bentley et al. (2020), found similar effects, such that social identity mapping predicted lower depression and higher life satisfaction. The present literature indicates that social identity mapping can be used in an intervention to increase dimensions of well-being, including self-esteem, life satisfaction, and depression.

Overall, social identity mapping demonstrates a cost-effective measure of increasing awareness of social connections that combines qualitative and quantitative data. Cruwys et al. (2016) said that group-based relationships structure social behavior. Furthermore, awareness of one's group memberships may induce well-being outcomes and cognitive functions. The act of mapping increased awareness of group memberships, enhanced self-esteem, and highlighted social support. These findings were supported, indicating that social identity mapping may be useful as an intervention. However, several scholars argue that interventions that simply utilize drawing may not be as functional as interventions that feature disclosure, communication, and a reflective process allows them to interact and reflect on their identity more comprehensively (Kellas et al., 2017; Ramezani, Ghamari, Jarafi & Aghdam, 2019). Combining visual mapping with an intervention grounded in interpersonal communication and disclosure may lead to a more effective intervention that can improve secure ethnic-racial identity.

Pilot Study of ERS Mapping

An ideal way to create interventions that can help populations and connect with communities is to use community feedback, and partner directly with feedback (Wallerstein & Duran, 2010). Ethnic-racial socialization mapping came from my work with Black college students about their experience developing their racial identity (Minniear & Soliz, 2019). Initially, I believed that participants would predominantly discuss their interactions with parents. However, throughout the focus groups, participants discussed many different family members, including siblings, cousins, and voluntary kin. To help understand the context of what was happening, I created these

maps to understand how participants had past conversations about ethnic-racial socialization, as well as current conversations about ethnic-racial socialization.

To start, I had participants label everyone they perceive to be family on the edges of a piece of printer paper. I wrote perceived to be family, as many participants talked about voluntary kin, and it allowed them to incorporate extended family, which tends to be more prominent in Black families (Dressler, 1985; Hays & Mindel, 1973). After the participants labeled their paper, I asked them to draw different color lines from a circle labeled "self" in the middle of the paper to the people they talk to about certain issues. I started with the four primary messages of ethnic-racial socialization; cultural pride, egalitarianism, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust (Hughes et al., 2006). Next, I asked them to draw lines to the people they talk to about perceived discrimination at work or school with, as this was a prominent issue that came up in previous focus groups for racial socialization. The Strong Black Women Collective also states that women often use communication to empower each other, but that this may come at the cost of vulnerability (Davis, 2015), so I also asked participants to draw lines to the people they talk to when they need to feel strong and empowered, as well as the people they talk to when they need to express vulnerability. Given the major disparities in the treatment and access to mental health care (Cardemil, Nelson, & Keefe, 2015), I also asked them to draw lines to the people they talked to about their mental health with. Lastly, given the heightened tensions political tensions, I asked participants to draw lines to the people they talk to about current news coverage, as well as fitting in during daily social interactions.

I thought this map would serve as a way for me to better understand how participants were talking about their different experiences. However, these maps served as a way for participants to better understand their own experiences. The participants took these maps as a way to reflect on their own experiences, and how they saw their own family. It became a way for participants to look at their family and experiences in a new way. Participants often told me that this was extremely helpful, and they enjoyed drawing the maps, as well as reflecting on their experience.

These interactions were surprising to me, but as I went back into the literature, I saw that these maps were a potential way to create a positive identity-based intervention. Arts-based interventions have been shown to reduce anxiety in college students (Aaron, Rinehart, & Ceballos, 2011; Harter, 2013; Willer & Kellas, 2019). Correspondingly, social identity mapping, which involves participants drawing connections to their different social groups, increases self-esteem and belongingness (Haslam et al., 2016). Similar results were found when using the mapping technique with participants recovering from addiction (Beckwith et al., 2019). Largely, visual interventions offer a way for participants to understand and reflect on complex information. Ethnic-racial socialization mapping allows for participants to visually see their social connections in ways that are similar to social identity mapping but also pulls from art-based interventions by utilizing color.

Expanding ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) mapping as an intervention. ERS maps allow a way for participants to process different areas of ethnic-racial socialization, while also engaging in a visual activity that highlighted their connections. Given the results of the pilot study, I employed these maps as a way to increase positive ethnic-racial identity

in participants and well-being. explored the efficacy of these maps as an intervention, as well as seeing if there is a typology of their maps. It may be that the visual similarities in certain types of maps may be indicative of stronger well-being, or stronger ethnic-racial identity.

Part of the effectiveness of these maps relies on both the literature om social identity mapping, visual interventions, and ethnic-racial identity. Social identity mapping has been tied to specific positive outcomes including life satisfaction and self-esteem (Cruwys et al., 2016). Additionally, it has helped researchers understand the link between strong networks and group relationships, and likelihood of continuing substance use among those in substance use recovery (Beckwith et al., 2019). However, while these maps look at entire networks, we also know it is important for ethnic-racial minorities to look at groups that reflect their ethnic-racial identity. Therefore, focusing specifically on the networks and connections that individuals have in their own family will help participants have a more positive view of their ethnicity and race.

The literature on ethnic racial socialization indicates that the process of ethnic-racial socialization typically elicits a more secure ethnic-racial identity. Furthermore, ethnic-racial identity (ERI) has been tied to overall well-being (Smith & Silva, 2011; Rivas-Drake, 2014). Based on the aforementioned positive effects of identity-based interventions, as well as my previous work with participants completing the ethnic-racial socialization mapping, the process of completing ethnic-racial socialization mapping should increase awareness of ethnic-racial identity. By highlighting the connections that individuals have with their family, and how their family has informed their ethnic-racial identity, individuals should feel a more secure ethnic-racial identity. Similar to social

identity mapping, this process highlights the support individuals receive regarding their ethnic-racial identity, which should also enhance well-being. This leads to the following hypothesis:

> H1: Individuals who engage in ethnic-racial socialization mapping will report a (a) more secure ethnic-racial identity and (b) increased well-being compared to those who do not engage in ethnic-racial socialization mapping.

Mapping provides a cost-effective way to begin intervention. However, communication scholars have noted that it is not simply writing or drawing, about life experiences but that the act of communicating about these experiences can improve well-being. For example, Koenig Kellas, Carr, Horstman & Dillio (2017) found that while perspective taking is important, it is communicating the ways in which one takes perspective that impacts overall well-being. Similarly, Horstman (2019) found that it is not simply stories, but the act of telling stories together helps people connect and make sense of the world around them. The act of telling a story interactionally can not only promote positive feelings for the person disclosing, but also helps the listener (Itzvhakov, Castro & Kluger, 2016). Family members, especially family members who you have a close relationship with, can promote well-being. Positive family connection can also be indicative of decreased depression (Compton, Thompson & Kaslow, 2005; Matlin, Moclock & Tebes, 2011). In the following section, I review the work of disclosure and communicative based interventions.

Disclosure and Communicative Interventions

There are several ways to develop interventions aimed at improving ethnic-racial identity in ethnic-racial minority populations. The expressive writing paradigm, created

by Pennebaker, has showed success in treating trauma, lowering rumination, and helping individuals process difficult trauma and emotions by having participants engage in expressive writing(Baikie & Wilhelm, 2005; Gortner et al., 2006). Expressive Writing Paradigm asserts that the act of disclosure, particularly in writing, but also in verbal conversations, can improve health and well-being over time, as well as help individuals make sense of complicated life events (Pennebaker, 1997). Disclosure, especially written disclosure over time, helps the body process and release inhibition promotes self-disclosure. While the expressive writing paradigm may offer one way to create an intervention, little research has specifically looked at non-White populations. Using a purely expressive writing paradigm approach may work differently in non-White ethnic-racial populations (Tsai et al., 2015). The expressive writing paradigm does show promise in Asian-American populations (Tsai & Lu, 2018), but it may be better to take certain characteristic of the expressive writing paradigm, and create a communication based intervention that incorporates ideas from the expressive writing paradigm, along with interpersonal communication.

Interpersonal Communication and Interventions

For effective interventions, particularly routed in ethnic-racial minority populations, it is necessary to contextualize and adapt to different identities and cultural groups (Palmer-Wackerly, Krok, Dailey, Kight, & Krieger, 2014). While expressive writing may show promise in addressing identity-based interventions, interpersonal communication may be equally vital to look at given the mixed findings of expressive writing for different ethnic-racial minority groups. Interpersonal communication can serve as a way to process difficulty emotions and trauma (Horstman & Holman, 2018).

Interpersonal communication offers a new avenue to explore the foundation for increasing positive ethnic-racial identity, especially given the research on the role of interpersonal communication in ethnic-racial minority populations. For example, Black women use friendships and friendship communication to construct solidarity in their Blackness (Hughes & Heuman, 2006), and Black women comfort and understand microaggressions in a way that is different than White friendship networks, making interpersonal communication not just a tool for understanding, but a tool for survival (Davis, 2018). Furthermore, in Latinx families, *familisimo* is an important concept that makes the way in which family typically is constructed unique from traditional White approaches that have pervaded family communication. Given Eurocentric understandings of family, researchers need to find a way for these participants to discuss and understand family, as well as for researchers to better reflect and understand these constructs (Stein et al., 2014). An intervention utilizing communication creates an opportunity to explain and dive into socialization practices and their intricacies in a way that allows feedback and processing.

While the act of drawing the map may be useful in promoting a positive ethnic-racial identity and well-being, participants also discussed how talking about the map seemed to have positive effects. Therefore, it is important to additionally look at the act of reflecting and communicating about the maps and the process can influence ethnic-racial identity and well-being. I will additionally be exploring a condition in which participants are interviewed about their experiences, and about the map they have created.

H2: Individuals who engage in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflect on their overall communication about ethnicity-race in their family will report (a) a

more secure ethnic-racial identity and (b) increased well-being compared to those who only engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping (i.e., did not reflect on their interactions with family).

Lastly, while completing the maps themselves may result in higher well-being and ethnic identity, the maps also may show different patterns of racial socialization. As Neblett et al. (2008) demonstrated, patterns and practices of ethnic-racial socialization will vary depending on family dynamics. Overall, families have different ways of talking about race and ethnicity that may be indicative of a more secure ethnic-racial identity. Furthermore, there may be variations in family patterns based on geographic location, age, and environments, along with several other factors (Caughey et al., 2010; Thorton et al., 1990). Individuals may interact with extended family more often than others, and these differences may result in different understandings of race and ethnicity. Therefore, I propose the following research questions to analyze the patterns in ethnic-racial socialization mapping as these will indicate if there are different types of racial socialization, and if these types of maps are indicative of differences in well-being and ethnic-racial identity.

RQ1: Are there patterns in to ethnic-racial socialization mapping?

RQ2: Are certain patterns in ethnic-racial socialization indicative of better well-being and a more secure ethnic-racial identity?

Lastly, ethnic-racial socialization is a dynamic process that changes based on sociohistorical context (Thomas & Blackmon, 2015; Underhill, 2018). The way in families discuss ethnicity and race will change as families age, and understandings of race and ethnicity change. Therefore, it is also worthwhile to examine the interviews

about each person's map, and their experiences. This can lead to a more in depth understanding of how ethnic-racial socialization manifests, and what are important factors to include in future interventions and studies. This leads to the final research question;

> RQ3: What is the content and discourses within experiences of ethnic-racial socialization and family?

The goal of this chapter was to explain how a mapping activity based on ethnic-racial socialization can serve as a useful intervention in ethnic-racial minority populations. This intervention may result in increased well-being and a more secure ethnic-racial identity. Additionally, this intervention responds to calls from scholar to integrate literature on ethnic-racial socialization into counseling practices to benefit practitioners and individuals alike. However, by testing out two versions of the intervention-one with reflection, one without, I am also incorporating interpersonal and family communication tenants, to see how well-being outcomes can be manifested.

Chapter two will overview methods, including recruitment, measures, and procedures. The purpose of chapter two is to provide an overview of my participants, as well as salient well-being and ethnic-racial identity outcomes that should be predicted by the ethnic-racial socialization map, based on previous literature. Additionally, I overview the procedure for conducting this study. The purpose of chapter three is to present results for hypotheses 1 and 2. The aim of chapter four is to analyze maps for patterns based on a visual analysis, and to see if certain types of maps are associated with certain well-being and ethnic-racial identity measures. In chapter five, I examine the discourses about ethnic-racial socialization from participant experiences. Finally, chapter six explains the

theoretical and practical contributions of my dissertation, as well as reflect on the process

of recruiting a community samples, and implications for future studies focusing on

ethnicity and race.

CHAPTER 2: METHODS

Research has demonstrated that a secure ethnic-racial identity predicts positive well-being, and that the process of ethnic-racial socialization can enhance ethnic-racial identity, as well as buffer against discrimination and adverse outcomes (Bynum et al., 2007; Smith &Silva, 2011; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Therefore, it is important to utilize measures and interventions that can enhance one's ethnic-racial identity and well-being, especially in ethnic-racial minority populations. The purpose of this study is to test the utility of ethnic-racial socialization mapping as a tool to enhance well-being and a secure ethnic-racial identity in ethnic-racial minority populations. Additionally, I investigated how communication with family about ethnicity and race, as well as overall familial climate, impacts one's ethnic-racial identity and well-being. To achieve these aims, I conducted a three-condition experiment that assesses the role of ethnic-racial socialization mapping. This chapter explains the methods I utilized for this dissertation, including participants, recruitment procedures, and measurement.

Recruitment

After receiving IRB approval, I made initial plans for recruitment in several stages. At first, I recruited through personal networks, and contacted several campus organizations. Originally, participants completed a pre-test survey online, and then would be randomly assigned to another survey, which would indicate which condition they were in. I planned to continue recruiting this way through the school year. However, as data collection continued, I made several changes. Below, I outline the changes I made in bullet points.

- Originally, for the treatment conditions, participants were directed to another survey in order to complete their contact information and set up a time to meet. However, many participants did not complete the second survey. Therefore, I changed the protocol so that participants scheduled a time to meet at the lab, or in a location of their choice before starting the survey. They received reminders 24 hours and 48 hours before.

- Originally, for the control condition, participants completed surveys online. However, many participants failed to complete the control condition. Therefore, I changed the protocol for participants to schedule a time beforehand and complete the control survey in the lab or at a location of their choice.

- To further ensure participants would come to sessions, I expanded the IRB so they could choose to receive text message reminders or e-mail reminders.

- Originally, all participants were evenly assigned to the treatment and control conditions. However, as the semester continued, it proved difficulty to recruit enough people to make each condition have sufficient power. Instead of random assignment, I ordered the participation so it would be a rotation of six people in the mapping and identity reflection, two people in the mapping condition and one person in control condition.

- Lastly, I changed the location of recruitment. Originally, I only recruited from the Lincoln and Omaha area. At the end of the semester, I removed the limiting geographical boundary of only having participants in the Lincoln or Omaha area. When I went home for Winter break, I was able to recruit a few more people and increase my total participation. At the beginning of the Spring 2020 semester, I

asked all TA's to send one last call for research participation and contacted people in my personal networks one last time for participants.

Incentives

Three incentives were available for participation in the study. First, undergraduate students could receive research credits, which some Communication Studies classes either require or use as extra credit. Second, undergraduate students could receive a $10 gift card to Amazon. Students could choose between participating for research credits or choose the $10 git card. Third, graduate students or community members received a $20 gift card to Amazon. I used funds from my selection as a Phyllis Japp scholar. Additionally, I received the Diana Carlin fellowship, which provided $600 in funding.

Participants

There was a total of 31 participants. The majority of participants were female (83.8%), followed by 4 males (12.9%), and one person who identified as non-binary (3.2%). Thirteen participants identified as Black/African American (41.9%), eleven as Hispanic (35.5%), three as multiracial (9.7%), three as Asian/Asian-American (9.7%), and one as Middle Eastern (3.2%). Participants ranged from 18 to 40, with the average age being 23.6 years old (SD=4.5). The majority of participants grew up in an urban area (n=18, 58.1%), followed by suburban (n=7, 22.6%), and then rural (n=6, 19.4%).

Procedure for Experimental Conditions

Please see Figure 1 for a visual representation of each condition. Participants were provided a link through various recruitment methods. As detailed earlier, participant procedure changed slightly when updating recruitment methods. Ultimately, participants were scheduled to meet at the Communication Studies Interaction Lab, a coffee shop, or

their home. Participants were then sent a link for the pre-test. The pre-test consisted of

informed consent, measures of well-being and ethnic-racial identity, and demographics

(see below, under measures). Upon arriving to the established meeting place, I performed

the intervention if they were in Condition 2 or 3. After the intervention, participants were

given a post-test consisting of well-being measures and ethnic-racial identity measures.

If they were in Condition 1, participants filled out a series of surveys, which included

measures of ethnic-racial identity and well-being. Participants in Condition 2 and 3 were

sent a three week follow up survey, but only one person ultimately completed the survey.

A full description of each condition is provided below.
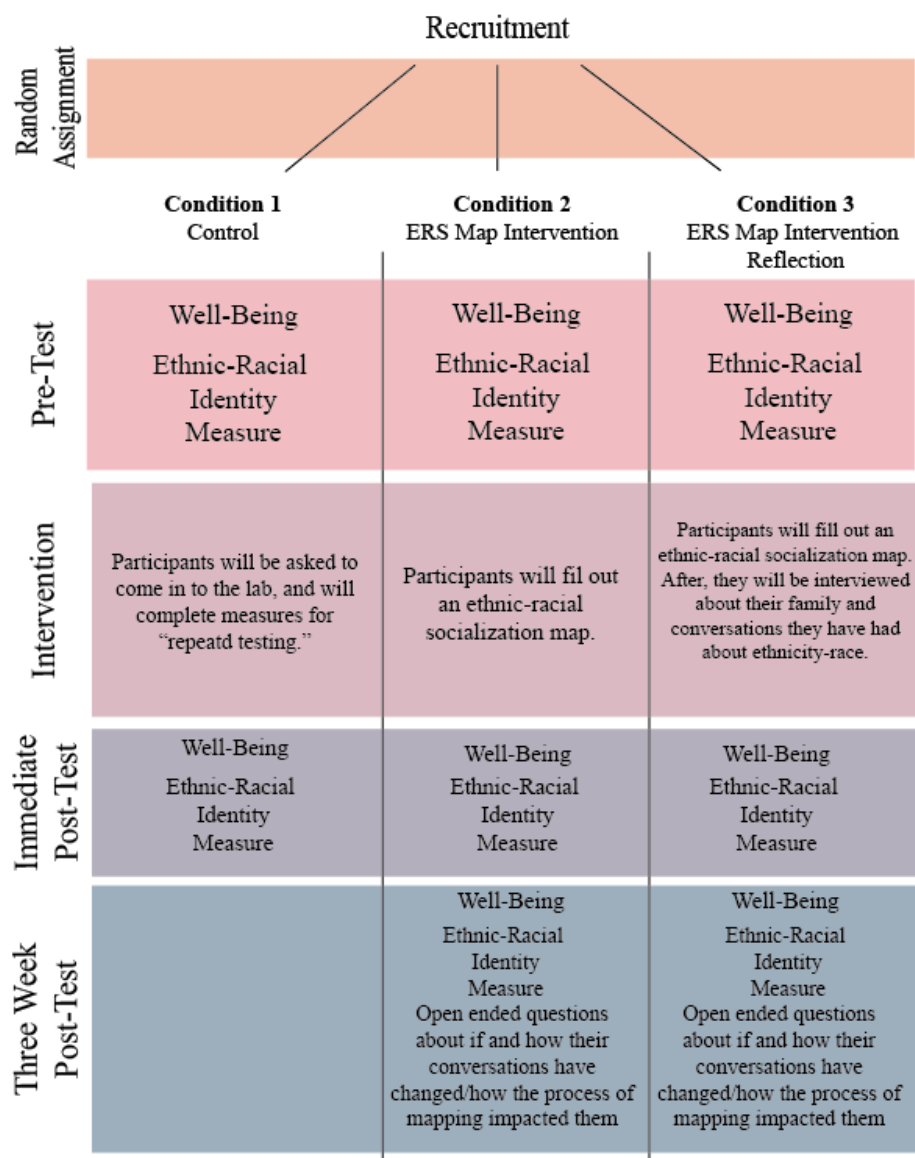
Figure 1. A visual layout of experimental procedure. This figure shows how recruitment took place and how experimental conditions differed

Condition 1: Control

There were six people in the control condition. In this condition, participants came into the lab, or meet at a pre-established location, and be instructed that they will be completing repeated measures in order to assess their validity. They were told that some measures may look familiar, while others they have not seen before, and that there are no

correct answers. They completed measures of well-being and ethnic-racial identity, along with one additional measure for the control condition. At the end of this, they were informed of the deception.

Condition 2: ERS Map Intervention

There were six people in this condition. In this condition, participants completed the ethnic-racial socialization mapping activity. To begin, participants were asked to label "Self" in the center of the page. Participants labeled the edges of the paper with everyone they consider to be family. Participants were asked to label everyone they consider to be family for several reasons. Research has demonstrated that Latinx families and Black families tend to have a larger extended network of family, and more actively interact with extended family including cousins, aunts and uncles, and grandparents (Dressler, 1985; Falicov, 2005; Hays & Mindel, 1973). Secondly, several scholars have noted that ethnic-racial socialization literature tends to focus on parent child relationships, rather than the family writ large (Priest et al., 2014). Scholars have called for ethnic-racial socialization research to integrate extended family more clearly in future research. Therefore, I focused on extended family relationships as well as well.

After participants labeled their family members, they were be asked to draw lines to certain family members depending on the type of messages they received. The first four questions I asked were based on Hughes et al.'s (2006) racial socialization categories. Participants were asked about cultural pride, egalitarianism, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Davis (2015) indicated that Black women often feel comfortable empowering each other through strength discourse but may have issues conveying vulnerability. Thus, participants to indicated who they talked to when they

wanted to feel strong and empowered, as well as who they talked to when they wish to express vulnerability. Additionally, I asked questions about who participants talked to when they encountered discrimination and struggled with fitting in during daily interactions, as well as discuss race-related news coverage. These indicators were added to understand the ongoing nature of racial socialization. A copy of the script I used is included in Appendix C, and an example of a completed map is included in Appendix D. Finally, a copy of the interview protocol used for reflection is provided in Appendix E.

After completing the mapping activity, participants filled out a post-test, consisting of measures of ethnic-racial identity and well-being. Three weeks later, participants received a follow up survey that will again assess their ethnic-racial identity and well-being. The survey will also ask open ended questions about their experience completing the map, and how they saw if useful if at all. However, only one participant filled out this posttest.

Condition 3: ERS Map Intervention and Reflection

There were 21 people in this condition. In this condition, participants also completed the ethnic-racial socialization mapping activity. After they complete the map, participants were asked to describe conversations they have had with their family, in general, and specifically about ethnic-racial identity. Interview questions were based on previous literature about ethnic-racial socialization, as well as the map specifically. I asked about their experience talking about ethnicity and race with multiple family members, as well as the familial climate overall. A script is provided in Appendix E. After this process, participants completed measures for secure-ethnic-racial identity and well-being.

Measures

A fully copy of the survey, including all measures and responses, are included in Appendix B. Additionally, descriptive statistics and alphas are included in each item description and a list of correlations is provided in Table 1.

Ethnic-Racial Identity

Ethnic and racial identity was measured by two measures; Phinney's (1991) measure of multigroup ethnic identity (MEIM) and the Ethnic Identity Scale (Umanña-Taylor, Yazeijan & Bamaca-Gomez, 2004).

The multigroup ethnic identity measure. MEIM was using the Revised multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM-R) (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM-R is a six-item scale, with three items measuring commitment and three items measuring exploration. Scores from both subscales were aggregated and demonstrated sufficient reliability during Time 1 (α = .77) and Time 2 (α = .79). Higher scores on the MEIM-R indicate higher levels of secure ethnic-racial identity. The average score at Time 1 was 4.1 (*SD*=.57) and the average score at Time 2 was 3.17 (SD=.52).

Ethnic identity scale. The Ethnic Identity Sale (EIS) is a 22-item measure from Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004). All items were aggregated for one score of EIS, with higher scores indicating higher levels of sere ethnic-racial identity. The EIS demonstrated strong reliability both at time 1 (α = .91) and time 2 (α=.99). The average score at Time 1 was 4.1 (SD=.63) and the average score at Time 2 was 4.1 (SD=.49).

Table 1

Mean, standard deviation, alpha and correlation of measures

Measure	M(SD)	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. MEIM T1	4.1(.57)	.77																
2. EIS T1	4.1(.63)	.92	.88*															
3. FSS	3.75(.7)	.93	.47**	.58**														
4. Self-Esteem T1	3.68(.8)	.9	.37*	.49**	.64**													
5. Optimism T1	3.29(.71)	.83	.26	.28	.42*	.44*												
6. PA T1	3.46(.73)	.7	.55**	.64**	.55**	.34	.26											
7. NA T1	2.55(.73)	.7	-.29	-.31	-.30	-.50	-.22	-.16										
8. SC T1	3.01(.68)	.79	.21	.38*	.28	.39	.32	.19	-.44*									
9. GLS T1	3.4(1.03)	.84	.43*	.36*	.4*	.29	.47*	.66**	-.18	.35								
10. MEIM T2	3.17(.52)	.79	.66*	.70*	.51**	.46*	.19	.53**	-.14	.3	.2							
11. EIS T2	4.11(.49)	.99	.71**	.8*	.57**	.42*	.27	.67**	-.06	.37	.36	.77*						
12. Self-Esteem T2	3.73(.66)	.88	.54**	.46**	.48**	.8**	.42*	.47*	-.44*	.32	.52**	.43*	.44*					
13. Optimism T2	3.42(.72)	.81	.51**	.45*	.26	.48*	.68**	.37	-.54**	.39	.39	.22	.38	.58**				
14. PA T2	3.37(.77)	.82	.67**	.67**	.53**	.4*	.27	.65**	-.09	.17	.53**	.44*	.64**	.5*	.37			
15. NA T2	2.36(.72)	.77	-.09	-.05	-.27	-.41*	.01	-.37	.49*	-.4**	-.25	-.21	-.20	-.30	-.25	-.09		
16. SC T2	3.12(.65)	.82	.27	.38*	.21	.54**	.55**	.27	-.45*	.84**	.51**	.31	.32	.52**	.39	.31	-.29	
17. GLS T2	3.54(1.05)	.79	.29	.19	.42*	.46*	.38	.44*	-.25	.28	.84**	.17	.2	.55**	.32	.41*	-.18	-.29

MEIM= Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, EIS= Ethnic Identity Scale, FSS=Family Satisfaction Scale, PA=Positive Affect, NA=Negative Affect, SC=Self-Compassion, GLS=General Life Satisfaction *p<.05, **p<.01, Higher scores indicate higher levels of construct

Well-Being

To measure well-being, I overviewed how scholars focused on ethnic-racial identity. After reviewing the data, I used Smith and Silva's (2011) approach to well-being, which focused on positive self-conceptualizations for several reasons. First, the majority of literature on ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity draws on positive self-conceptualization as an important dimension of ethnic-racial identity (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011). Secondly, other outcomes that have been associated with well-being such as mental health and academic achievement likely cannot be substantially improved in one intervention, while feelings of personal worth and optimism can. Therefore, I focus on three well-being outcomes that have been associated with ethnic-racial identity, and identity interventions; self-esteem, optimism and affect. I also include self-compassion as a new well-being outcome.

Self-esteem. Self-esteem refers to personal feelings of overall self-worth. Self-Esteem was measured through Rosenberg's (1965) self-esteem scale (RSE). The RSE is the most widely used self-esteem scale in behavioral sciences and consists of 10 items. This scale was measured on a five-point Likert type scale, ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. The RSE yielded an acceptable alpha at time 1 (α=.9) and time 2 (α=.88) Higher scores represented higher levels of self-esteem, with an average score of 3.68 at Time 1 (*SD*=.8) and an average score of 3.73 at Time 2 (*SD*=.66).

Optimism. Optimism is defined as "the generalized expectancy for positive outcomes" (Prati & Piertrantoni, 2009, p. 365), and is correlated with physical health and well-being (Rasmussen, Scheier, & Greenhouse, 2009; Baumeister et al., 2003).

Optimism is commonly used as an indicator of well-being. The most frequently used

measure of optimism is the Life Orientation Test (LOT) (Scheier & Carver, 1985).   I

used the Revised LOT, which uses a 10-item scale to review how optimistic individuals

feel about the future on a 5-point Likert type scale. The LOT-R demonstrated strong

reliability at Time 1 (α=.83) and Time 2 (α=.81) Participants responded to items on a 5-

point Likert-type scale. Higher scores indicated higher levels of optimism, with a mean

score of 3.29 (SD=.71) at time 1 and a mean score of 4.42 (SD=.72).

Affect. Affect is defined by Carver and Harmon-Jones (2009) as the "subjective

sense of positivity or negativity arising from an event" (p. 183). Positive affect has been

related to a number of benefits, including increased confidence, optimism and resilience

in the face difficult times (Lyumbormisky, King & Diener, 2005; Tugade &

Frederickson, 2004). Negative affect, on the other hand, has been tied to a number of

deleterious effects (Watson, 1988). To measure affect, I used the Positive and Negative

Affect Schedules (PANAS) (Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988). PANAS was measured

with 10 items, asking participants to describe how often they feel certain emotions on a

five-point scale. Positive affect yielded sufficient reliability at Time 1 (α=.73). At Time

2, positive affect did not reach a sufficient alpha, and "alert" was removed, yielding an

alpha of .82. Positive affect had a mean score of 3.46 (SD=.73) at time 1 and a mean

score of 3.37 (SD=.77) at time 2. Negative affect yielded a sufficient alpha of .7 at Time

1 and .77 at Time 2. Negative affect had a mean score of 2.55 (SD=.73) at time 1 and a

mean score of 2.36 (SD=.72) at time 2.

Self-Compassion. Self-compassion has recently been introduced as a new aspect

of well-being that should be included in global measures. Self-compassion is defined as

self-kindness, common humanity, and mindfulness (Raes, Pommier, Neff & Gucht 2010),
all of which are indicative of higher well-being. While self-compassion has not
traditionally used to evaluate well-being, several scholars have argued that self-
compassion is a more appropriate measure of well-being compared to self-esteem (Neff,
2009). Self-compassion has been shown to have more stable feels of self-worth compared
to self-esteem and had more of a negative association with social comparison, public self-
consciousness, anger, and rumination compared to self-esteem (Neff & Vonk, 2008).
Both self-esteem and self-compassion positively predict happiness, optimism and positive
affect, but self-esteem, not self-compassion, was also predictive of narcissism. I wanted
to examine how self-compassion can be an indicator of well-being. I used the Short Form
of the Self-Compassion Scale (SCS-SF) to measure self-compassion. The SCS-SF is
made up of 12 items, including "When something upsets me, I try to keep my emotions in
balance" and "I try to be understanding and patient towards those aspects of my
personality I don't like." The scale demonstrated sufficient reliability at Time 1 (α=.79)
and Time 2 (α=.82). Higher scores indicate higher levels of self-compassion, with an
average score of 3.01 (SD=.68) at Time 1 and an average score of 3.12 (SD=.65) at Time
2.

Family Satisfaction

It is possible that participants who are not close with their family, will not feel
particularly engaged in this intervention. To assess the if family satisfaction had an
impact on the findings, I included the Family Satisfaction Scale (Carver & Jones, 1992)
in order to control for family that are extremely close or distance. The item is 20
measures, including items such as "With my family, I can rarely be myself" and "I find

great comfort and satisfaction in my family". The Family Satisfaction Scale was measured on a 5-point Likert type scale with higher scores indicated higher satisfaction with family. The scale demonstrated strong reliability (α=.93), with an average score of 3.75 (SD=.7).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an overview of my participants, procedure, and measures. I highlighted how my procedures changed throughout the process of recruitment. My results are divided into the following chapters. Chapter three addresses hypotheses 1 and 2, assessing the efficacy of ethnic-racial socialization mapping as an intervention. Chapter four answers research questions 1 and 2, establishing a typology of maps. Chapter five answers research question 3, examining the discourses of ethnic-racial socialization within participant interviews. In chapter six, I discuss the implications of my results.

CHAPTER 3: EFFICACY OF ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION MAPPING AS

AN INTERVENTION

The first hypothesis in this dissertation stated that individuals who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping would report (a) a more secure ethnic-racial identity and (b) increased well-being compared to those who do not engage in ethnic-racial socialization mapping. The second hypothesis stated that individuals who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflect on their overall communication about ethnicity-race in their family would report (a) a more secure ethnic-racial identity and (b) increased well-being compared to those who only engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping (i.e., did not reflect on their interactions with family). First, I used a repeated measure ANOVA to compare the differences in pre-test and posttest scores on well-being and ethnic-racial identity between the treatment groups and control groups. I used a repeated measure ANOVA because this is the traditional and accepted way to test for an experimental design. However, I conducted several follow up tests that because of the small sample size. I compared pretest and posttest scores for only the treatment group, using a repeated measures ANOVA, which allowed me to gauge effects in my smaller sample size. Lastly, given the small sample size I combined both treatment group and used a paired samples t-test to compare pre-test and posttest scores. Given the small sample size, I utilized these analyses in order to assess the effect size, which may indicate that there is a Type II error. Additionally, examining the results in the paired samples t-test allowed for more exploratory results.

Establishing Initial Equivalence of Conditions

To begin analyses, I first compared to see if there were differences in well-being outcomes and ethnic-racial identity measures in the initial groups. Comparing the groups for these differences allowed me to establish initial equivalence of the groups. In other words, I was able to make sure one group did not dramatically differ from another. If one condition differs from the others, I would not be able to compare them, as there are inherent differences. One way ANOVAS demonstrated there were no significant effects between groups for optimism $F(2,28)=.4$, $p=.67$, positive affect $F(2,28)=.67$, $p=.51$, negative affect $F(2,28)=1.1$, $p=.35$, self-compassion $F(2,28)=.38$, $p=.68$, general life satisfaction $F(2,28)=.03$, $p=.98$, multi-ethnic identity measure, $F(2,28)=.17$, $p=.85$, ethnic identity scale $F(2,28)=.14$, $p=.55$ or family satisfaction $F(2,28)=.6$, $p=.55$. These results indicate that there were no significant differences in treatment and control groups before engaging in the interventions. Correlations between all variables are located in Table 1 in chapter 2.

Efficacy of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Mapping Intervention with Control

To begin analyses, I ran a series of 3 x 2 repeated measures ANOVA that examined differences between the control condition, the ERS mapping condition, and the ERS mapping with reflection condition for each well-being measure and ethnic-racial identity measure. Unless indicated, all interaction effects were insignificant.

Ethnic-Racial Identity Measures

For ethnic-racial identity measures, the repeated measures ANOVA resulted no main effects for MEIM ($\lambda = .96$, $F(1,28) = 1.07$, $p =.31$, $\eta^2 = .1$) or for ethnic-identity

scale ($\lambda = .99$, $F(1,28) = .39$, $p = .97$, $\eta^2 = .03$). These results indicate that there were no significant changes in ethnic-racial identity measures when accounting for all conditions.

Well-Being Measures

The repeated measures ANOVA showed various effects for different well-being measures. The repeated measures ANOVA showed no main effects for self-esteem ($\lambda = .9$, $F(1,28) = 3.24$, $p = .08$, $\eta^2 = .1$), and positive affect ($\lambda = .97$, $F(1,28) = .97$, $p = .39$, $\eta^2 = .04$). There were significant main effects for self-compassion ($\lambda = .83$, $F(1,28) = 5.6$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .12$), optimism ($\lambda = .86$, $F(1,28) = 4.6$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .4$), and general life satisfaction($\lambda = .71$, $F(1,27) = 11.2$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .29$). Scores in self-compassion increased over time across all conditions, as did scores in optimism and general life satisfaction. There was a significant interaction effect for negative affect ($\lambda = .77$, $F(2,28) = 4.14$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .23$), such that negative affect decreased for those in the mapping and reflection condition and increased for those in the control condition. There were no significant changes for the mapping only condition.

Overall these results indicate that ethnic-racial identify did not change significantly between all conditions. For well-being, self-compassion, optimism and general life satisfaction increased in all conditions, indicating that ethnic-racial socialization mapping did not immediately impact well-being. However, the significant interaction effect for negative affect indicates that those who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflected on their familial communication lowered their negative affect, while those who only engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping did not differ. To further asses if the two treatment conditions differed, I used repeated measures ANOVAS to focus only on the treatment groups, without comparing the control

group. I did this to compare effects given the small sample size. Because the sample was small, and dramatically uneven, only assessing the treatment groups allowed for clearer patterns of results to emerge. Reducing the number of groups in the ANOVA and comparing just the two treatment groups that had a similar sample size reduced the likelihood of a Type II error.

Efficacy of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Mapping in Treatment Conditions

The next analysis used repeated measures ANOVAS to compare outcomes in the ethnic-racial socialization mapping condition and the ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflection condition. Unless indicated, all interaction effects were insignificant.

Ethnic-Racial Identity Measures

For measures of ethnic-racial identity, there were no significant effects for the multi-ethnic group measure ($\lambda = .995$, $F(1,23) = .12$, $p = .7$, $\eta^2 = .01$) or the ethnic-identity scale ($\lambda = 1$, $F(1,23) = .01$, $p = .92$, $\eta^2 = .92$). This indicates there were no significant changes in one's ethnic-racial identity in the ethnic-racial socialization mapping condition, or the reflection condition.

Well-Being Measures

For measures of well-being, there were no significant effects for optimism ($\lambda = 89$, $F(1,23) = 2.89$, $p = .1$, $\eta^2 = .11$), positive affect ($\lambda = .98$, $F(1,23) = .38$, $p = .5$, $\eta^2 = 02$), or negative affect ($\lambda = .98$ $F(1,23) = .4$, $p = .53$, $\eta^2 = 02$). However, there were significant main effects for self-esteem ($\lambda = 72$, $F(1,23) = 9.08$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .28$), self-compassion ($\lambda = .998$, $F(1,23) = 4.59$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .17$) and general life satisfaction($\lambda = .824$, $F(1,23) = 4.93$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .18$). Scores on self-esteem, general life satisfaction, and self-compassion increased in both groups over time. This indicates that optimism, positive

affect and negative affect do not dramatically differ between treatment conditions when excluding the control condition. However, the main effects for self-esteem, self-compassion, and general life satisfaction indicate the possibility that ethnic-racial socialization mapping may strengthen certain aspects of well-being.

Overall, these results demonstrate that ethnic-racial socialization mapping does not have a major impact on ethnic-racial identity but does have some impact on certain indicators of well-being. However, we do not know the magnitude by which average scores differ. To understand the degree to which pre-test and posttest scores differ in the treatment group, I used a series of paired samples t-test. The paired samples t-test is much more exploratory in nature and allowed for me to combine the treatment groups to see if there were larger pattern of results. Additionally, combining the groups in the paired samples t-test allowed me to see larger effects given the small sample size.

Differences in Well-Being and Ethnic-Racial Socialization Mapping for Pretest and Posttest

A series of paired sample T-tests were run for both treatment groups, comparing well-being and ethnic-racial identity measures in Time 1 and Time 2. Both treatment groups were combined for this analysis.

Ethnic-Racial Identity Measures

For ethnic-racial identity measures, neither the MEIM (t (24) $=-.81$, $p=.84$) or the EIS (t (24)$=-.51$, $p = .61$) had significant changes between Time 1 and Time 2. These results indicate that there is no significant impact on ethnic-racial identity for participants who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping.

Well-Being Measures

Some well-being outcomes demonstrated significant changes while some did not. For positive affect ($t(24)$=-.6, p=.55), negative affect ($t(24)$=1.11, p=.23) and optimism ($t(24)$=1.5, p=.15), there were no significant changes between Time 1 and Time 2. However, self-esteem ($t(24)$=2.4, p=.004), self-compassion ($t(24)$=-2.41, p=.02), and general life satisfaction ($t(25)$=-2.4, p=.03) showed significant changes between Time 1 and Time 2. For self-esteem, participants saw an increase in self-esteem from before taking part in the intervention (M=3.45, SD=.59) to after the intervention (3.73, SD=.71). Participants also saw increases in self-compassion before taking part in the intervention (M=2.96, SD=.61) to after the intervention (M=3.13, SD=.67). Lastly, participants saw increases in general life satisfaction before taking part in the intervention (M=3.25, SD=1.11) and after the intervention (M=3.54, SD=1.1). These results indicate that ethnic-racial socialization mapping may improve certain indicators of well-being.

Overall, the results of the paired samples t-test demonstrated that those who partook in ethnic-racial socialization mapping did not see increases in their ethnic-racial identity. Additionally, these participants did not see improvements in positive affect, negative affect, and optimism. However, there were improvements in self-esteem, self-compassion, and general life satisfaction. Lastly, I review additional analyses.

Additional Analyses

While overall, there were minimal support for hypotheses, there were a few promising findings. Several findings approached significance, and effect sizes indicated a Type II error. An eta squared above .14 is considered a large effect, and an eta squared above .06 is considered a moderate effect. (Cohen, 1988; Miles & Shevlin, 2001). A

moderate to large effect size with an insignificant *p*-value indicates that there may be

power problem, or not sufficient number of participants to achieve a significant finding,

but if the number of participants increased, the result would likely be significant. When

comparing the treatment groups and control group, the multiethnic identity measure had

an eta squared of .1 and self-esteem had an eta squared of .1, indicating a moderate to

large effect size. When comparing the two treatment groups to each other, the ethnic-

identity scale had an eta squared of .92. and optimism had an eta squared of .11. These

results indicate the possibility of a type II error, given the moderate to large effect size.

Implications of the lower sample size and power analyses are discussed in Chapter 6.

Summary of Hypotheses and Analyses

Conducting these analyses allowed me to comprehensively review whether the

hypotheses were supported. However, these initial results are based off an extremely

small sample size, and interpretations of these results should be interpreted with this in

mind. Hypothesis 1a stated that those who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping

would report stronger levels of ethnic-racial identity than those who were in a control

condition. This was not supported. Hypothesis 1b stated that those who engaged in

ethnic-racial socialization mapping would report higher levels of well-being. This was

partially supported. There were no differences in self-esteem or optimism when

comparing treatment groups with the control condition. Additionally, self-compassion

and optimism increased across all conditions. However, those who did engage in ethnic-

racial socialization mapping and interview reported a decrease in negative affect, while

those who in the control condition reported an increase in negative affect. Overall,

hypothesis 1 was partially supported.

Hypothesis 2a stated that those who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflection would show increased ethnic-racial identity compared to those who only participated in ethnic-racial socialization mapping. This was not supported. Additionally, hypothesis 2b stated that those who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflection would show increased well-being outcomes compared to those who only participated in ethnic-racial socialization mapping. This was also not supported Overall, hypothesis 2 was not supported.

Conclusion

Chapter three provides an overview of the quantitative results for hypothesis 1 and 2. I used a series of repeated measures factorial ANOVAs for all conditions and the treatment conditions, as well as paired-sample T-tests for the treatment conditions. Hypothesis 1 was partially supported, such that participants who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and interview saw a decrease in negative affect, while those in the control saw an increase. Hypothesis 2 was not supported, such that there were no differences between those in the ethnic-racial socialization mapping and interview condition, and those in the ethnic-racial socialization mapping only condition. While neither hypothesis was fully supported, there were promising results when overviewing the paired samples-tests. Additionally, a number of analyses revealed a strong effect size, even though there was no significant p-value. This indicates that there is a strong possibility of a Type II error. I will explore these implications, along with the utility of well-being measures, and possible contributors to these outcomes in Chapter 6.

In the next chapter, I will explore a typology of maps in order to address research question 1. I overview how a typology was established, how I measured reliability, and possible outcomes associated with map type.

CHAPTER 4: ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION MAP TYPOLOGY

In this chapter, I address research questions one and two. Research question three asked if there was a typology of maps that participants drew, indicating different types of family approaches to ethnic-racial socialization. Research question three asked if certain types of maps were associated with different outcomes. First, I explain how I established the map typology. Then, I review that typology, answering research question three, and explaining how these maps differ from each other. Lastly, I ran a series of one-way ANOVAs to examine if different types of maps were associated with different outcomes.

Establishing Map Typology

Ethnic Racial Socialization Maps (ERSM) were initially coded based on visual similarity, a technique used in Kellas et al.'s (2008) work. First, I converted maps from hand drawn to a digital image on Adobe Illustrator, removing names and initials of family members to preserve anonymity. Second, my research assistant and I separately divided the maps into different types. We met after this process had been completed and talked about where we differed from what we saw, and where we were similar. Independent from each other, we both divided maps into four different types, with two types being very similar. We reconciled differences and grouped maps in a way we felt reflected both of what we saw, while still encapsulating the ERSMs. Third, after we discussed the discrepancies, we established a four-group typology. After we had created groups, I wrote a codebook describing the typology (see Appendix F). I met with an undergraduate student from my research methods class who served as an independent coder. Together, we initially coded 20% of the data together. After training, the student

coded the rest of the data. After they coded the maps, I ran a reliability analysis. We

established an acceptable kappa of .79 with 84% agreement.

Map Typology

Overall, I established a four-group map typology. In the next section, I overview

each type, with descriptions and examples. Table 2 includes an explanation of the type,

the number of cases in said type, and a brief description of each type.

Table 2

Map Typology, Characteristics and Number of Cases

Map	Description	Number of Cases
Type 1	• Large family network, usually over ten members • Connections to about 80% of family members • Multiple colors to multiple people	6
Type 2	• Large family network, usually over ten people • Connections to about 50% of family members • Concentrated set of connections to a few members	5
Type 3	• Small family network of only two to four people or concentrated connections with one or two members • Two to three people have many different colors connected to them	3
Type 4	• Moderate family network of roughly six to eight people • Different colors to different people • Looks very balanced	5

Type 1 Maps

An example of a Type 1 map is provided in Figure 2. Participants with Type 1

maps had a very expansive view of family, and connections with most members. These

maps are characterized by having many family members, and connections with most of

these family members. Participants included a number of extended family members, such

as aunts, uncles, cousins, as well as voluntary kin and in law relationships. Typically,

participants had connections with 80% or more of their family members. Additionally,

people drew multiple colors to multiple people. Overall, these maps seemed to

characterize people who had an expansive view of family and felt very comfortable gong

to many different people for many different situations.
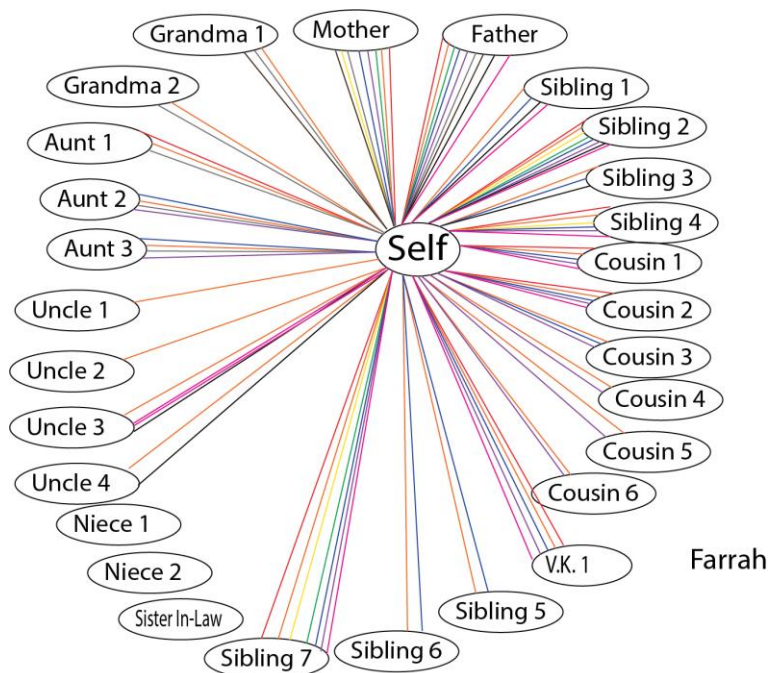
Figure 2: Type 1 Map. This figure shows a Type 1 map from participant
Farrah.

In Figure 2, we can see that Farrah has listed 28 family members, including seven

siblings, six cousins, aunts and uncles, and two grandmothers. Farrah is only missing

connections with her two nieces, who are very young, which is why she did not draw

connections with them. Additionally, you can see that there are different colored lines to

each person. While some people, such as sibling 7, mother, and father have all the

possible lines, there seems to be an acknowledgement that she felt comfortable going to

different family members for different needs. For example, she could go to her

grandmother for one kind of conversations, and her aunts and uncles for different kinds

of conversations. Even though not all family members have all of the possible lines, she

has a variety of different family members she can go to for different purposes.

Type 2 Maps

An example of a Type 2 map is provided in figure 3. People with Type 2 maps

also had expansive views of family. They typically listed upwards of 15 family members,

including extended family members, aunts and uncles, siblings, voluntary kin, and even

pets in some cases. Similarly, to Type 1 maps, participants had a very expansive view of

family that was not limited to the traditional nuclear family. However, unlike Type 1

maps, participants only had connections to about 50% of the family members listed.

Participants tended to have more colors directed to fewer family members. Even though

these participants saw family as wide and encompassing many types of people, they also

seemed to realize they only had access or close relationships with a smaller set. There

seemed to be a more condensed network within their family that they felt they could truly

talk to about a wide variety of members.

In figure 3, we can see that Tanya 38 family members, but only had lines to 14

members. While Farrah had at least one line to the majority of members, Tanya tended to

have connections to a very select set of family members. She tended to have more
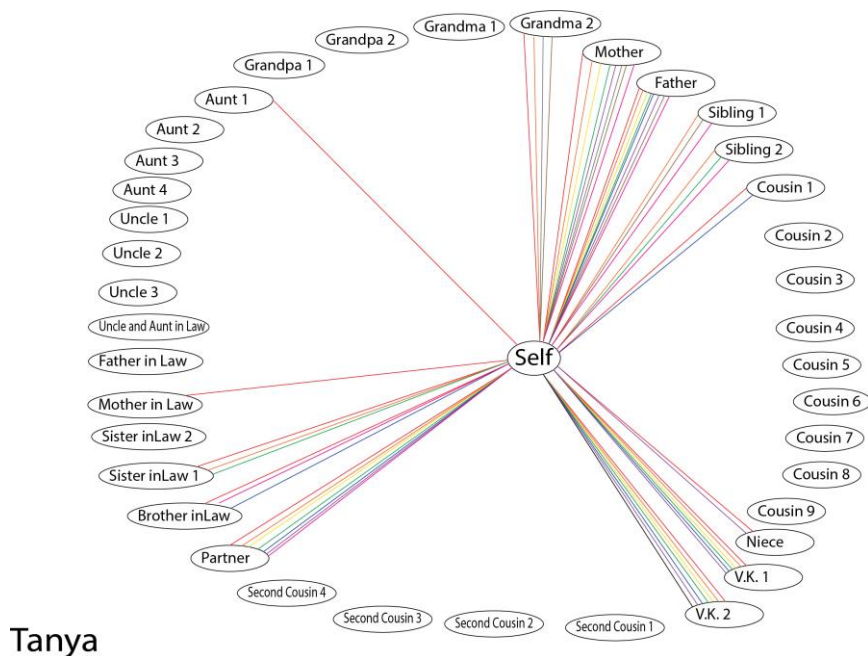
Tanya

Figure 3. Type 2 Map. This figure shows a Type 2 map from participant Tanya.

colorful lines to her mother, father, partner, and voluntary kin. Overall, her

conceptualization of her family is very wide, and she acknowledged that many people

would be included in her family. At the same time, she also noticed that she had a

relatively condensed network, noting in her interview that there was a separation of

"sides" to her family, particularly related to geography and ideological views. Tanya also

reported very close relationships with the people she had colorful lines in her map to and

noted that the map did bring an awareness to this. While her conceptualization of family

was relatively wide, her network itself, was condensed.

Type 3 Maps

Two examples of Type 3 maps are provided in figures 4 and 5. Type 3 maps were

characterized by small, condensed networks. These types of maps were exemplified in

two ways. In one way, participants reported very few family members, and were very
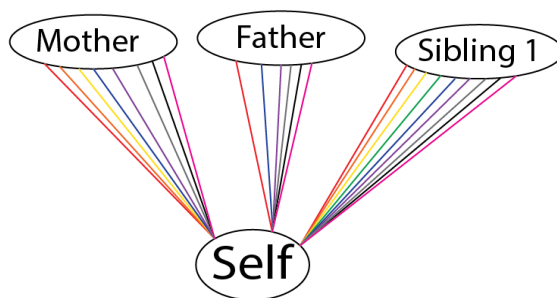
Eliana

Figure 4. Type 3 map. This figure shows one example of a
Type 3 map from participant Eliana.

close to these family members (see figure 4). These maps typically had only 3-5 family

members listed, and a very concentrated set of connections.

Other participants drew maps where they included more family members, but only had

connections with 1-3 of them. For these participants all of their connections seemed to

rely on a very small number of family members (see figure 5). These maps demonstrated

a much less expansive view of family than Type 1's and Type 2's and tended to rely on

very few family members for many different dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization.

As demonstrated in figure 4, Eliana listed three family members, and relied on

each of them for most of the dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization. This seemed to be

indicative of a very tight, close knit family, wherein her socialization truly relied on her

immediate family. In figure 5, we can see that Alicia's listed more family members than

Eliana, but most of her ethnic-racial socialization came from her voluntary kin.

Throughout our interview, she noted this, saying that her voluntary kin showed her what

it truly meant to be Black. Overall, familial networks were very condensed, and there was

a view of family as very limited, and that the lessons associated with ethnic-racial socialization came from a very small, condensed part of the family.
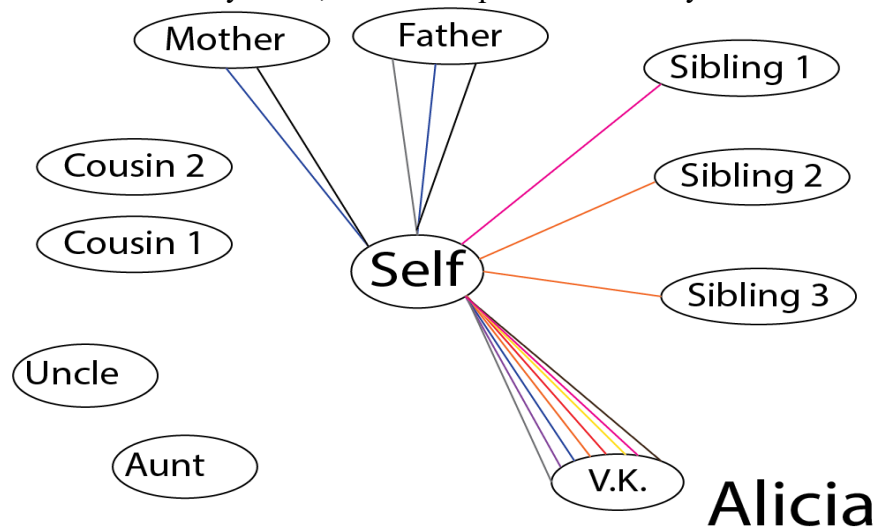
Figure 5. Type 3 map. This figure shows another example of a Type 3 map from participant Alicia.

Type 4 Maps

Figure 6 demonstrates a Type 4 family. Type 4 families presented a balanced view of family, such that in these maps, it looked like lines were evenly distributed and you could almost balance the map on one finger. Participants with Type 4 maps tended to have a moderately expansive view of family-more than Type 3, but less than Type 1's and 2's. They tended to list around six to eight family members. This usually included the immediate family, and a few members of their extended family, such as cousins, and aunts and uncles. They tended to have connections with most family members, but all of their lines did not necessarily go to all family members. Instead, they traditionally had about three to four different colored lines to each family member. They seemed to have different dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization associated with different family members.
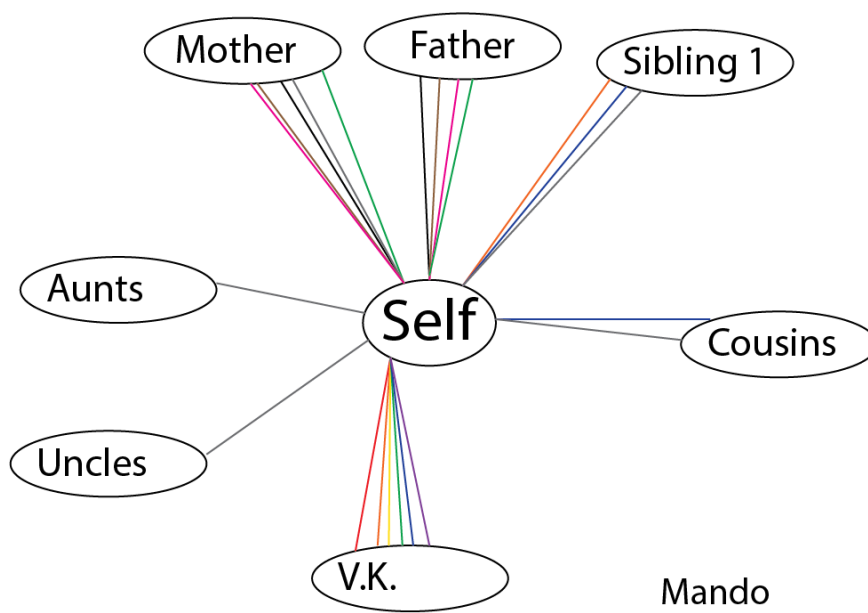
Figure 6. Type 4 map. Figure 6 presents a type 4 map from participant Mando.

In figure 6, we can see that Mando has seven family members listed. He lists his immediate members, but also aunts, uncles, and volntary kin. What is most noticeable is that he has lines to every single connection, but not the same colored lines. While his voluntary kin has five different colors, the colors that are not connected to his voluntary kin are supplemented in connections to aunts and uncles. Additionally, the connnections he has with his parents have different colored lines than his volntary kin. While there is some overlap of colors, there is a balanced spread of ethnic-racial dimensions among his familial network. In other words, there is not one person that he has to go to meet all of his ethnic-racial socialization needs.

Map Typology, Ethnic-Racial Identity and Well-Being Outcomes

Research question two asked if there were ethnic-racial identity and well-being outcomes associated with certain types of maps. To address this, I ran a series of one way ANOVAS for Time 1 and Time 2 well-being outcomes, ethnic-racial identity and familial satisfaction. Table 5 provides means and standard deviations for each measure. Table 6

provides ANOVA information for each outcome. When overviewing this information, it is important to note that the small sample size is likely contributing to these findings. Overall, there were no signficant differences for map type and ethnic-raial identity, familial satisfaction and well-being outcomes except for optimism at time 1. The one way ANOVA revealed signficant differences for map types and optimism, F (3,13) = 4.70, p =.02. I used Bonferonni to conduct post-hoc tests in order to evaluate differences. Type 1 maps were signifcantly higher in optimism than Type 2 maps (p=.03). Type 1 maps approached signficance in comparison to Type 3 maps (p=.06), such that Type 1 maps reported more optimism in comparsion to Type 3 maps. There was no difference between Type 1 and Type 4 maps in optimism. Additionally, there was no difference between Type 2's, Types 3's, and Type 4 maps in optimism compared to eah other. Additionally, self-compassion at Time 2 approached signficance (p=.08). All of these conclusions should be interpreted in light of a small sample size.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Each Map Type

Outcome Measure	Map Type	*N*	*Mean*	*Standard Deviation*
General Life Satisfaction Time 2	1	4	4.2	1.21
	2	5	3.4	.87
	3	3	3.53	.46
	4	5	2.72	1.24
	Total	17	3.41	1.09
MEIM Time 1	1	4	4.13	.89
	2	5	4.08	.62
	3	3	4.22	.67
	4	5	4.3	.39
	Total	17	4.18	.59
EIS Time 1	1	4	4.19	.89
	2	5	3.97	.59
	3	3	3.83	.87
	4	5	4.15	.39
	Total	17	4.05	.63
Family Satisfaction Scale	1	4	4.03	.54
	2	5	3.43	.29
	3	3	3.18	1.02
	4	5	3.25	.78
	Total	17	3.47	.68
Self Esteem Time 1	1	4	3.77	.82
	2	5	3.00	.40
	3	3	3.27	.15
	4	5	3.38	.78
	Total	17	3.34	.63
Optimism Time 1	1	4	4.15	.62
	2	5	2.64	.14
	3	3	2.6	.35
	4	5	3.36	.29
	Total	17	3.2	.87
Positive Affect Time 1	1	4	3.31	1.03

	2	5	3.45	.62
	3	3	3.17	1.58
	4	5	2.95	.45
	Total	17	3.22	.84
Negative Affect Time 1	1	4	2.31	1.19
	2	5	2.85	1.08
	3	3	2.33	.95
	4	5	2.65	.22
	Total	17	2.57	.86
Self-Compassion Time 1	1	4	3.5	1.01
	2	5	3.07	.22
	3	3	2.36	.6
	4	5	2.98	.3
	Total	17	3.02	.64
General Life Satisfaction Time 1	1	4	3.65	1.39
	2	5	3.52	.72
	3	3	2.6	.69
	4	5	2.48	.67
	Total	17	3.08	.98
MEIM Time 2	1	4	4.46	.88
	2	5	4.00	.29
	3	3	4.22	.75
	4	5	4.37	.48
	Total	17	4.25	.57
Self-Compassion Time 2	1	4	3.79	.98
	2	5	2.99	.24
	3	3	2.56	.65
	4	5	2.98	.35
	Total	17	3.09	.68
Self Esteem Time 2	1	4	4.08	1.03
	2	5	3.52	.75
	3	3	3.4	.2
	4	5	3.48	.87
	Total	17	3.62	.78
PANAS Positive Affect Time2	1	4	3.35	.87
	2	5	3.60	.77
	3	3	3.33	1.21
	4	5	3.24	.792

	Total	17	3.39	.81
PANAS Negative Affect Time 2	1	4	2.3	.81
	2	5	2.2	.93
	3	3	2.6	.92
	4	5	2.56	.79
	Total	17	2.4	.79
EIS Time 2	1	4	4.21	.84
	2	5	4.2	.43
	3	3	3.89	.95
	4	5	4.21	.26
	Total	17	4.15	.57
Optimism Time 2	1	4	3.88	1.11
	2	5	3.23	.87
	3	3	3.11	.25
	4	5	3.6	.48
	Total	17	3.47	.76

MEIM=multigroup ethnic identity measure, EIS= ethnic identity scale, PANAS= positive and negative affect scale, Higher scores indicate higher levels of construct

Table 4

ANOVA Results for Comparing Map Types on Measures

Outcome Measure		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	P
General Life Satisfaction Time 2	Between Groups	4.92	3	1.641	1.524	.255
	Within Groups	13.995	13	1.077		
	Total	18.918	16			
MEIM Time 1	Between Groups	.139	3	.046	.112	.952
	Within Groups	5.412	13	.416		
	Total	5.551	16			
EIS Time 1	Between Groups	.319	3	.106	.232	.873
	Within Groups	5.954	13	.458		
	Total	6.273	16			
Family Satisfaction Scale	Between Groups	1.767	3	.589	1.334	.306
	Within Groups	5.739	13	.441		
	Total	7.506	16			
Self Esteem Time 1	Between Groups	1.330	3	.443	1.127	.374
	Within Groups	5.115	13	.393		
	Total	6.445	16			
Optimism Time 1	Between Groups	6.386	3	2.129	4.793	.018
	Within Groups	5.774	13	.444		
	Total	12.160	16			
Positive Affect Time 1	Between Groups	.672	3	.224	.276	.842
	Within Groups	10.564	13	.813		
	Total	11.235	16			
Negative Affect Time 1	Between Groups	.857	3	.286	.338	.798

	Within Groups	10.989	13	.845		
	Total	11.846	16			
Self-Compassion Time 1	Between Groups	2.242	3	.747	2.226	.134
	Within Groups	4.363	13	.336		
	Total	6.605	16			
General Life Satisfaction Time 1	Between Groups	4.759	3	1.586	1.930	.175
	Within Groups	10.686	13	.822		
	Total	15.445	16			
MEIM Time 2	Between Groups	.556	3	.185	.516	.679
	Within Groups	4.673	13	.359		
	Total	5.229	16			
Self-Compassion Time 2	Between Groups	2.932	3	.977	2.866	.077
	Within Groups	4.434	13	.341		
	Total	7.366	16			
Self Esteem Time 2	Between Groups	1.121	3	.374	.569	.645
	Within Groups	8.543	13	.657		
	Total	9.665	16			
PANAS Positive Affect Time2	Between Groups	.349	3	.116	.150	.928
	Within Groups	10.089	13	.776		
	Total	10.438	16			
PANAS Negative Affect Time 2	Between Groups	.488	3	.163	.220	.880
	Within Groups	9.592	13	.738		
	Total	10.080	16			
Ethnic Identity Scale Time 2	Between Groups	.251	3	.084	.220	.881
	Within Groups	4.952	13	.381		

	Total	5.203	16			
Optimism Time 2	Between Groups	1.407	3	.469	.784	.524
	Within Groups	7.773	13	.598		
	Total	9.180	16			

MEIM=multigroup ethnic identity measure, PANAS= positive and negative affect scale, Higher scores indicate higher levels of construct

Conclusion

Chapter four answered two research questions. In research question one, I asked if there were different types of ERSMs. I establisehd a four map typology of ERSMs. To address research question three, there were signficant differences in optimism at Time 1 of the intervention between different map types. Type 1 maps were likely to report higher optimism compared to Type 2 maps. However, Type 1 maps did not sigifnicantly differen in optimism compared to Type 3 or Type 4 maps. Type 2, Type 3, and Type 4 maps did not signficantly differ from eachother on levels of optimism. I explore the implciations of these findings in Chapter 6. Chapter 5 analyzes the content of the interveiws with particpants about their experiences with ethnic-racial socialization.

CHAPTER 5: DISCOURSES OF ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

In this chapter, I address research question five. Research question five asked about the discourses of ethnic-racial socialization in participants' experiences. First, I explain how I analyzed the data, including steps I took to ensure validity. I then overview the themes that emerged from the data. There are five major themes, each characterized by a set of subthemes.

Analysis

Research question three asked what discourses of ethnic-racial socialization emerged from the interviews with participants about their ethnic-racial socialization maps. To answer this question, I engaged in thematic analysis of the interviews. Overall, there were 21 interviews, ranging from 9 minutes to 35 minutes. This yielded 158 pages of single-spaced transcripts. Although I used a computer assisted transcribing service, I listened to every interview, correcting mistakes in the transcript. While I listened and reviewed the transcripts, I made notes and impressions as I worked through the material. After finishing the transcripts, I went through the process of primary cycle coding (Tracy, 2013), wherein I assigned initial codes to the data. Using a constant comparative method (Charmaz, 2014), I constantly compared the developing to the initial codes, and changed them accordingly as I worked through the data. Through this process, I developed hierarchical coding, where certain codes became sub themes under a larger theme. Themes were categorized by Owen's (1984) criteria of repetition, forcefulness, and recurrence. Repetition was noted by participants repeating certain themes within the interview, such as repeating a word several times in a row. Forcefulness was noted by participant emphasis such as hand clapping or vocal inflection. Recurrence was noted by

themes that emerged throughout all interviews. After themes were established, transcripts were re-read to identify exemplars from the data.

To reach saturation and to verify themes, I conduced a data conference with five other scholars. I recruited several doctoral students who had expertise in family communication, and another scholar who had expertise in ethnicity and race. The aim of a data conference is to share results with other scholars, refine exemplars, and define themes in ways that reflect the participants' experience (Braithwaite, Allen & Moore, 2017). After conducting the data conferences and receiving feedback from other scholars, I finally reviewed the themes and subthemes to make sure they were representative of the participants' stories and experiences.

Results

Five major themes emerged from the data, each of which were categorized by several subthemes. Each major theme characterized ethnic-racial socialization in different approaches, showcasing the major ways in which ethnic-racial socialization was characterized by the participants. Table 5 presents the themes and sub themes overall. Table 6 presents participants' pseudonyms, age, gender, and ethnicity-race. I have recorded gender and ethnicity-race in the verbiage that the participants reported.

Table 5

Themes Emerging from Participants' Ethnic-Racial Socialization Experiences

Theme	Subthemes
Ethnic-Racial Socialization as Survival	• Fear and Frustration in the Age of the Trump Administration • Critical Incidents
Ethnic-Racial Socialization as Familial Climate	• Immersion and Cultural Surroundings • Family Rituals and traditions • Everyday Discourse
Ethnic-Racial Socialization as Storied	• Narrative Inheritance • Co-laboring • Historically and Ancestrally Situated
Ethnic-Racial Socialization as (Dis)Connection	• Choosing Family • Distance
Ethnic-Racial Socialization as a Power Struggle	• Nonhuman Socialization • Politics of Affect

Table 6

Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Ethnicity-Race
Alicia	Female	24	Black/African American
Amy	Cis-Gender Woman	20	Black/African American
Anna	Female	21	Hispanic
Billie	Female, cis	28	Biracial-Mexican American and White
Breezy	Female	24	Black
Brian	Trans male	21	Mexican-American
Canela	Female	21	Hispanic/Latino
Claire	Woman	31	Mixed, Asian/White
Derek	Male	19	Black/African American
Esmerelda	Female	20	Latina
Farrah	Female	22	Middle Eastern
Janessa	Female	21	Asian
Lola	Female	21	Latina
Maddie	Female	19	Hispanic
Mando	Male	26	Black/White
Melyssa	Female	20	Black
Motivator	Female	40	Black
Nola	Female	23	African American
Peyton	Female	20	Asian
Serena	Female	22	African American
Tanya	Female	33	African American

Ethnic-Racial Socialization as Survival

Participants viewed ethnic-racial socialization as a tool for survival in the United States. Ethnic-racial socialization was not an option; it instead was necessary to operate their everyday lives as an ethnic-racial minority. Amy described talking to her parents about being a Black woman, and how her brother would have to operate as a Black man, saying

> we talk a lot about like the things that he should do or what to do when he's, I guess, stopped by a police. And then the same goes for me and my sister. Our parents talk to us a lot about how we should maneuver within like white spaces and then also who we should maneuver around authority figures. And it's kind of stressful just because…I guess you hear, 'Oh, well you have to do this and that', so you can't, kind of can't live your life normally.

Several participants echoed this sentiment, talking about how as they grew up, their discussions surrounding what it meant to be an ethnic-racial minority in the United States was constantly changing. For participants, what it meant to be an ethnic-racial minority was constantly changing, and that even their concept of how their family functioned was subject to instability and observation. These feelings of instability and change were reflected in two themes, illustrating how ethnic-racial socialization became an act of survival. First, participants illustrated ethnic-racial socialization as *fear and frustration in the age of the Trump Administration*. Second, participants spoke of *critical incidents* in their life.

Fear and frustration in the age of the Trump administration. The election of Donald Trump and the changes in his administration, which featured several appointments of White nationalists to the upper echelons of the administration, changed the nature of how many participants saw the stability of their family and the world around them. With Trump's election, participants talked about increased worry and fear in their lives, changing the type of conversations they had with their family. Lola noted how many conversations with her family about race and ethnicity changed notedly after the election:

> especially with the whole like Trump like-like election and things like that, we do talk a lot more about race. Like before it was kind of like I learned through experiences with like obviously I grew up in a Mexican household. So there was usually like, you know like cleaning, like Saturday morning cleaning…and just like all the culture all the holidays and stuff we celebrated…whereas now we're talking a lot more about like discrimination and things like that...for example, just not that long ago, ICE hit our town where my parents work. So it was like super hectic in their plant or whatever. So that was a huge topic of like, because we're Mexican, like right away they think like we don't, we're like, we're like undocumented.

While both of Lola's parents were documented, and her father a full citizen, she still expressed fear that something would go wrong. She expressed that her mother did not always carry her full documents with her, or she feared that they would be taken anyway because of a miscommunication. These fears manifested when ICE came to her

town, and she and her parents began talking about options, and what to do in the future if these things happened.

> Tanya, a Black woman, also expressed fear after the election of Trump, saying We're still pretty scared. Like in the beginning of the presidency, we were like terrified cause we weren't sure how people would act toward us that were his supporters. You know, we were definitely afraid of, you know, what if they lash out.

Tanya relied on her partner and parents to express her fears, and she reported checking in more often with family. Fear tended to permeate her, and several other participants', surrounding, as they saw a rise in explicit racism, detention centers, and acts of White supremacy.

Even for those who had family members who supported Donald Trump, this issue became a point of contention and frustration in families. Brian came from a mixed family, with his mother's side identifying as White and his father's side as Mexican. He noted that his Mexican family members were constantly worried about whether or not their papers were in order, and if they would get arrested, while his White family members were worried about this such as "why is everybody perceiving White people as the enemy and stuff like that." Brian elaborated on this gap, saying he wish he could talk to his White family, and explain the fear that he and other family members were felling, but if he brought up these topics "it kind of always goes a different way and it kind of gets hostile. And with that, with my mom's side of the family, you cannot talk about politics really. Or like things will hit the fan."

For Brian, the election of Donald Trump made part of his family worry about their safety and well-being, while the other side of his family caused him a large amount of anxiety and hostility, making it an unsafe place to explore issues. Donald Trump and his administration represented a fear and marked change in what being an ethnic-racial minority, where many participants spoke of how they had to change the way the talked about race, and how to protect each other in these times. Maddie, whose parents both had work permits, still spoke to her parents about what she would do if something happened, as well as what would happen if her cousin, a DACA recipient, lost her status or had to return to Mexico. Maddie explained how these conversations changed her outlook saying

it's scary to think about it because I always thought about like, um, so growing up I didn't know she [cousin] was a DACA recipient, so I was like, okay, if something ever happens to my mom and dad, like I'm gonna go to like cousin 1, you know? But it's like, it's weird because if like my mom and dad are gone. Then like, so is cousin 1 so like, it's, it's kind of scary to think about it because if I'm like left alone. Like I'd be fine if it was just me alone cause it's just me I have to worry about. But obviously like I'm not gonna let them take like my brother with them because I feel like he'd have a lot more like advantages here than he would in like Mexico. So I would obviously like have to take him in and that's, it's scary like being a, like a 19-year-old and thinking you're going to be in like having to take care of like another, like teenager.

Overall, the election of Donald Trump and the accompanying change in administration and policies, threatened the safety and stability of many participants'

families. This change radically shifted the conversations to focus on safety and maintain family ties in cases of emergency.

Critical Incidents. Reflecting Cardwell et al. (2020) and Minniear and Soliz's (2019) findings, critical incidents played as significant role in shaping the experiences of ethnic-racial socialization. Critical incidents refer to moments of experiences that stood out to participants as salient moments that changed their understanding of ethnicity and race or made them reflect on their ethnic-racial socialization in a new way. Claire, for example, talked about the first time she experienced a racial incident firsthand saying "there was a Korean American kid who came up to me on like one of the first days of sixth grade, and was like, said something about how your people were mean to my people or something like that." This was a significant moment for Claire, which showcased the complexities in her identity as both Japanese and American.

Janessa spoke of moving to the United States in middle school, and how she did not realize how her classmates saw Chinese or Asian people. She experienced what she characterized as her first encounter with racism, saying

"whenever I do better in math than like average student, they ask me like 'Oh that's just cause you are Asian'. That's just how they reacted to it….I put hard work in it. I wanted to be rewarded. I want to feel like that's the grade I earned."

While Janessa wanted to make the most of her experience moving to the United States, and working hard to maximize her educational experience, her classmates continued to dismiss her success, causing her to feel isolated.

Motivator elaborated on her experience being confronted with racism in elementary school, which stood out to her over the years as a salient experience.

I was getting bullied by a White girl for a long time. She would pull my hair, just

call me names, or talk about what clothes I had on, you know, each day. I don't

know how long this went on, but I'll never forget the day I had enough….[the]

library is where we were going. And we got in the library and she just kept

picking on me and I wasn't responding. And so she called me a nigger, and that

was, I responded, and I turned her around I pushed her, and it knocked over every

bookshelf in that library. I pushed her that hard. I got in trouble. I got suspended,

but nothing happened to her. Although she kept picking on me, and the word

nigger meant nothing in the South. That was very common for a White person to

call you that and no one do anything about it.

These experiences and moments served to crystallize the conversations that

participants had with family members previously. Often times, critical incidents served as

a turning point, wherein participants understood what their family members had been

saying, and why these conversations were vital. Nola summarized this saying,

It's still kind of hard because, you know, they can tell you to be this way or to act

a certain way because of color, your skin. But when you do, once you get out in

the real world and you have to do it, do it on your own, you kinda have to learn

that on your own too.

Nola demonstrates the balance of hearing what her parents had told her with

actually experiencing it, pointing out the necessity of listening but also experiential

learning. Similarly, Tanya talked about a time she had gotten in a fight, and did not

understand her father's anger. While the fight encompassed many different people, only

her and another Black girl were suspended from school, while all of the White children were not suspended.

> "And so I remember having a conversation, well, I didn't have a conversation. My dad yelled at me, called me the N word, [laughs] well said that, not called me. Then he's like, they think of you as the N word. So yeah, I didn't understand it at that time, but as like looking back on it, I totally understand what they were talking about."

At the time, Tanya did not understand what her father meant he said the school administration saw her as the "N-word", or what that meant. However, as she got older, and moved around and had more experience and encountered critical incidents, she understood the importance of the way people perceived her and her racial identity. Critical incidents helped participants reflect on their familial conversations, and were often timed with familial or parental communication.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization as Familial Climate

While ethnic-racial socialization was framed as a survival tool for participants, they also spoke of affective messages and environments when conversations about ethnicity and race came up. Participants did not only speak of specific messages, but also spoke of establishing a familial climate wherein they could talk about these types of messages. Often times, these climates that allowed for participants to engage in conversations about ethnicity and race were centered around openness and honesty. Motivator spoke that the relationship she had with her daughters was facilitated by her "being honest and nonjudgmental with them." Claire also echoed this saying what has allowed her family to become close is that "we have a really open and communicative

relationships, so it's really easy to talk about everything with them." The three major ways that participants identified socialization as familial climate were *immersion and cultural surroundings*, *family rituals and traditions*, and *everyday discourse.*

Immersion and Cultural Surroundings. Participants often highlighted that conversations about culture and cultural pride were not explicit conversations, but something that was simply around them. In this way cultural pride or resonance was not forced upon participants, but simply surrounded them. Claire mentioned that her family did not explicitly talk about being proud of their Japanese heritage but "It was more just being around them, being proud of who they were and teaching us about how they grew up and their Japanese culture." Similarly, Canela said her parents did not explicitly tell her to be proud of her culture but it was,

> Just little things like that and then also just making sure that I lived in a Colombian household when I was growing up for 18 years. I was in a Colombian household. We're not Colombo American. We were just Colombian. And you speak Spanish. As soon as you enter the door, you eat Colombian food and like this is a little slice of our home country.

Derrick also reflected on the importance of being raised in a family where culture was put at the forefront. He explained that his family always had "like traditional, like family dinners, um, like the music that they listen to is like a part of our culture and everything. Just, I dunno, small stuff like that. Just like always being proud of who I am." Reflecting Canela's sentiments, Derrick saw the small things, and the way his family surrounded him with culture was what instilled cultural pride in him.

Additionally, participants looked for role models around them to exemplify a strong ethnic-racial identity. Participants saw the way family members acted around them as a guide for behavior. Motivator stated "I grew up always hearing you're beautiful, throughout, not just to myself, just family members to other family members. And so that meant to me black is beautiful." Similarly, Nola said that her parents helped her prepare for discrimination by watching them "react to certain things, so it just kinda helped me as well." For Motivator and Nola, it was not only important to be surrounded by cultural artifacts, but also to have positive role models that showed them the value of their ethnic-racial identity.

Family Rituals and Traditions. Family ritual and traditions were important for establishing a positive family climate. Rituals and traditions included celebrating cultural holidays, birthdays, or moments of celebration. These were important times to connect with other family members, often times with significant cultural traditions at the forefront. Brian spoke of a family tradition saying,

> I haven't been able to celebrate them in a while because I've been here, but we usually go to Nayarit [for Día de los Muertos]. It's like, it's very South….like kinda in the middle of Mexico on the coast, on the West coast of it. And so we usually try to go down there for the Day of the Dead and cause that's where like a lot of our family is born or not born well, yeah. Born to buried. So what we do is, it's just like crazy, like everybody, like in the whole city, like goes to the, the cemetery and we, we put out candles, food and we kind of, we like pretty much spend the whole night there until sunrise.

For Brian, Día de los Muertos served as an important chance to connect with family he was not physically close to, as well as his ancestors. It allowed him to be immersed in his culture in a new way, that was distinctively Mexican. Other participants echoed this sentiment, often times pointing at these rituals traditions as a time to differentiate from an Americanized holiday. Esmerelda said, "We'd celebrate like Christmas, like we'd celebrate Mexican Christmas, not like American Christmas. When we did go to church we'd go to like Latino churches. Like they were all in Spanish." For Esmerelda, this was an important differentiation. While anyone could celebrate American Christmas, her family viewed Mexican Christmas as unique, and a time to incorporate family and her culture in a unique way.

Farrah summarized feeling a similar way about highlighter her culture through tradition, but also as a way to connect with family;

> whenever we had like a holiday in our culture, we would celebrate it and like learn about it. …For example, Ramadan…. Um, it's like 30 days fasting. Um, and we celebrate that….. But whenever we celebrate that, we always have like culturally we fast from like morning to Dawn and then when we eat again, it's usually this huge ass feast. A lot of people sit around, talk, laugh and have fun.

Family rituals and traditions served as a way to incorporate family and cultural tradition into participants' lives. They were often instrumental in developing a family culture, and a cornerstone for developing a connection with family members.

Everyday Discourse. One of the most central ways that participants were able to establish a positive family climate was through seemingly mundane discourse about small things. These seemingly nonchalant conversations actually laid the groundwork for

establishing closeness and openness, similar to Breshears' (2010) findings. Often times, participants spoke of the everyday things that they talked to their family members for as being just as important as larger conversations. Canela reflected this saying,

> I call [my mom] multiple times a day about the most minuscule things. Mmm. Yeah. She's like, I always joke that she's like the little sister I never had. She steals my clothes, whenever I get my haircut, she has to get her haircut.

Additionally, Amy also spoke of the importance of conversational discourse in establishing a closer relationship with her grandmother, saying

> I usually just ask her about like how she's doing and stuff like that and just like, cause she has like a garden. Um, so we usually just talk about like her garden and getting like why she started doing it.

While this seemed like a very surface level conversation, Amy noted how this was an important part of her grandmother's life, and she wanted to know more. Additionally, these conversations she had allowed her to become closer to her grandmother and hear more stories later on. The ability to go to different family members, and enact everyday discourse laid a strong foundation for participants to feel connected and involved in each other's lives. Derrick stated

> I've always valued family as like a really important thing. So like whenever anything happens, I talk to my mom, dad, my older brother, I'm really close with, cause we're like, we're only like a year apart and like, we're both boys, so like the same like situations happen with both of us. So I've always been close to him and um, so yeah, I just talked to those three a lot about like whatever happens in my life basically.

Derrick often repeated this sentiment, especially as he discussed important moments in his life that defined his identity as a Black man. For many participants, this closeness to their family was indicative of their ethnic-racial identity, often reflecting as a way they felt different than many of their White peers.

Ethnic-racial socialization as Storied

Participants often described their process of ethnic-racial socialization as a series of stories. When asked about their favorite moments with their family, or what types of conversations they enjoyed, stories became a central feature. Billie stated that she enjoyed "hearing stories about my mom and her siblings growing up cause things were crazy in Mexico." Canela also spoke of having her parents and older siblings talk about the what it was like to live in Colombia prior to the drug wars, saying that when her parents spoke about Colombia "just hearing it just, it's like a story book almost. And there's always new stuff from it." It was not only that these stories were enjoyable, but also that they served a significant purpose for participants. Tanya spoke of speaking to her grandmother, mother and brother, saying "I learn when I hear other people's stories." In regard to her grandmother, she said "She had a long life. And just hearing her experiences and hearing her stories about how she navigated through society really taught me."

As participants continued to talk about stories, they framed ethnic-racial socialization as not just stories but spoke of how people around them turned their experiences into stories. By taking their experiences and storying them or having their family members turn their experiences into stories, families were able to explain what ethnicity and race meant, as well as situate ethnicity and race a social construction while

still building historical context. Therefore, I refer to ethnic-racial socialization as storied, not simply stories, as it was an active choice that continued and was co-constructed. Ethnic-racial socialization became a storied entity. Changing experiences of talking about and discussing ethnicity and race allowed for families to pass down ethnic-racial socialization almost as discursive inheritance, as well as co-labor the difficulties of experiencing ethnic-racial trauma and situating ethnicity and race in ahistorical and ancestral context. Three subthemes emerged that exemplified many ways ethnic-racial socialization is storied; *discursive inheritance*, *co-laboring*, and *historically and ancestrally situated*.

Narrative inheritance. Narrative inheritance refers to the process by which familial identities are passed down throughout families, as individuals collect and inherit the narratives that defined our family members (Goodall, 2005). Participants spoke of how family members found ways to package their stories and experiences and hand them down to the next generation, almost as a discursive inheritance of experiences. By doing so, families created a tapestry of ethnic-racial experiences that helped them navigate the world around them. Claire spoke of how her grandparents and mother's own experiences helped shape her understanding of her Japanese ancestry, saying:

> So my grandparents were both Japanese Americans and they were interned during World War Two and they were teenagers at the time. So, um, and then of course my mom growing up, she also experienced a lot of racism and um, and then even like being specifically Japanese.

Claire's grandparents and mother shared these stories with Claire, which Claire said was fundamental in shaping her view of the world around her. She inherited her

grandparents' struggles and experiences in a Japanese internment camp, and these experiences became part of her own story. Similarly, Tanya spoke of how her grandmother's life experiences guided her saying

> I've learned because of my grandmother's, her experiences and how proud and how she can actually, you know. I remember sitting down next to her, she's like, 'I've seen so many',[but] she was able to finally see a black president. You know, I was able to see you know,[she] lived through the whole Martin Luther King and, and even before that and just everything, just thinking about everything that she's been through.

By storying her experiences, Tanya's grandmother was able to pass down lessons and experiences to Tanya that defined the way in which Tanya held on to her Black identity. Participants also spoke of passing down these discursive heirlooms to future generations, whether that be their children, or nieces and nephews. Motivator, who spoke of being called the N word as a critical incident, storied this experience, which she talks of often sharing with her children now. While the event itself was traumatizing, she saw it later in life as an important lesson to pass on to her children. When she first told them she said her children "were kinda shocked that the girl didn't get in trouble, and I guess it went on for so long and I just, why didn't I address it right away." This story served as a jumping off point for to discuss racism in Motivator's family, and the different ways it has manifested throughout her life. Additionally, it served to remind her children of the racism people face, and how these experiences were not simply part of the past, but intertwined into the experience of those around them.

Co-laboring. Storying ethnic-racial socialization facilitated the ability for participants and family member to share and express their struggles with each other. Participants spoke of their family sharing their struggles and be able to co-labor their experiences with ethnic-racial trauma. Storying their experiences allowed for family members to express and share their difficulty together. Billie spoke of accepting a job in a mid-sized Midwestern city, and when she went to visit with her aunt and mother, as they were speaking Spanish, someone came up and told them that they were the reason Trump should build a wall. Billie was floored, but this opened up a dialogue with her aunt and mother;

> There was surprise that they said it for me cause I'm so white looking that usually doesn't happen. But she just said maybe it's going to be more common in the Midwest than it is in California because it's more diverse there. But then they kind of told me it's happened to them a lot. Especially like my tìa who has a thicker accent, they kind of talk to her like she's dumb or slow or something she has to deal with all the time.

For Billie, her experience, allowed her to connect with her tìa and mother in a new way, and hear more of their stories experiencing similar discrimination. Billie and her family members could offset some of this trauma by realizing that they all had experiences that reflected this, and it was not something they had to individually labor over. Brian also spoke of speaking with his aunt about the hardships that they both experience being Hispanic and a member of the LGBT community, saying

> Hispanic and also part of the LGBT community is like kind of 10 times harder for us. Like any, anybody of a different ethnic ethnicity, but we had a big

conversation about that and just how like to be safe and like don't, don't let like people's words like affect you because it doesn't matter how much hate is in the world, there's like people who love you.

Brian and his aunt were able to take their coming out stories, as well as their experiences, and story them together in order to co-labor the difficulties they faced as being Hispanic and members of the LGBTQ+ community. While many participants noted that they were able to share stories and experiences with family members in a way that reflected each other's life, this process did not always fix the problems of racism and discrimination. Often times, co-laboring walked the line of being co-rumination about these issues. While co-laboring allowed temporary relief, participants still felt frustrated with the lack of solutions they had. Claire illustrated this, saying

> like in those kinds of instances there isn't much, you don't have much power to do anything, especially if you're like lowest on the totem pole and somebody says something that's problematic. Or even just like microaggressions, like you can't, I guess I felt like I couldn't, there was nothing I could do so more I think just like venting and talking about my feelings.

While co-laboring was indicative of growing closer with families, and understanding their experiences, it could not fix or solve racism and discrimination.

Historically and ancestrally situated. Lastly, by storying ethnic-racial socialization, families could position ethnicity and race as something that was historically situated and created to reify differences. Storying ethnic-racial socialization highlighted the social construction of race or ethnicity, while still explaining how to move forward in the world around them. Motivator stated that in her family "we talk a lot about history.

Our upcoming(s), especially me because I'm older and I grew up in the south and so the difference on how I grew up and what world they're growing up in." Claire also said that speaking with her grandparents' experience in Japanese internment camps showed the importance of understanding history. Claire said

> They talked about it. Like my grandma kind of had this, I think she was, she was so she, I think, and she was also the youngest of 12, so yeah, they, I, and she, they, she definitely got babied. So her experience of the [Japanese internment] camps was more lighthearted. Like it's not that bad. It was, I don't think it was until after that she realized how unjust all of it was. Um, so her memories were more of like, Oh, we played baseball and you know, we ate at the mess hall and those kinds of things.

Storying ethnic-racial socialization served as a way to tie specific experiences to a historical context that at times was only discussed in history classes. Additionally, participants were able to connect history with issues and events in current sociohistorical contexts. For example, Claire tied her grandparents' experience to the coverage of detention camps on the Mexican border under the Trump administration, noting the parallels she sees, as well as how it inspires her family to campaign for change. Derrick also talked about how learning about Black history helped him realize how resilient he could be in the face of adversity. Learning history and how families were incorporated in it allowed participants to understand discrimination and racism, as well as change their future. Motivator encapsulated this, saying "if you…if you're working on your future… wanting be a better you, knowing your history will never stop you, shouldn't stop you from being that. But it should ignite you."

Ethnic-Racial Socialization as (Dis)Connection

Ethnic-racial socialization was not just facilitated in messages or family connection but was sustained throughout participants' lives by the way in which individuals chose which family members to connect or disconnect with in order to appreciate their ethnic-racial identity and live an authentic life. Participants recognized that they had the ability of choosing which family members to talk about issues regarding ethnicity and race. At times, this involved removing family members that did not facilitate healthy growth, or other times choosing voluntary kin to replace or supplement lack of family. Other times, participants allowed distance to buffer against certain family members who had discouraging views.

Choosing family. Participants often framed family as a choice, not as a biological or legal tie. For some, in order to foster growth in their ethnic-racial identity, or feel at home in their skin, they had to isolate family members, or planned on estranging from family members. Breezy spoke of her adoptive family, and a tumultuous relationship with her brother and extend family, who often made fun of her for looking different.

> I honestly feel like when my mom passes away, I'm going to cut off most of them. . Just because like my brother, you know, my nieces, besides my, my sister … it's really hard for me to be [around] them because they don't understand, you know. Like literally last Christmas, last Christmas I was home and my brother had to tell a story and he thought it was super funny because somebody got called the N word. And so for like the rest of the night, like every now and then I heard them, "Remember when you said the N word" and I was like, it's, it's like, and they were saying it. Hard R. They didn't know. They were like…'no offense'. I'm

like, but, but it's offensive. You guys are white, you don't have a, I don't even say it. Why? Why do you guys have to, you know, so like it's just, it's really complicated with my family because I can't be myself around them.

Breezy continued to illustrate her extend family's problematic behavior, speaking of how

like I used to cover myself in chalk when I was little because I was ashamed of being black, you know? And like they thought it was funny and they still think it's funny. Like 'Remember when you used to do that?' and I'm like, that's a sad story to me now. Like that's like I hated my skin so much that I felt the need to like take sandpaper to it and to take chalk to it and they think it was funny and I'm like, that's not funny. You know?

While Breezy has a strong connection with her adoptive mother, and plans to continue that relationship, she also spoke of removing the people from her family that reminded her of traumatic racial events in her life. Instead, she spoke of her best friend and sorority sister being more than just a friend, but a real sister who allowed her to be her true self. Many participants echoed this sentiment, echoing the importance of voluntary kin as family, not just friendship. Amy, after reflecting on her map, "There's a lot of people within my life who I didn't really, I guess I consider them as like close family, and it doesn't really have to, it doesn't really have to be like blood." When reflecting on how her life has moved forward, and how her identity as a Black woman has changed, Amy talked about important her voluntary kin was, saying "I feel like, if I just wouldn't have met the people that I've met, I, I don't know who I would be." Amy

described the important way her surrogate "aunt" taught her how to reflect and be proud of her Black identity during a Black Lives Matter protest.

While some participants talked about choosing to involve other people as family in their lives, or let go of members, others talked about choosing which members of their family they would go to for certain topics. When reflecting on their map, they often noticed how selective they were with going to certain people about certain topics. Anna stated "I don't talk to my cousin on like a daily basis, but I didn't realize like what I went to her for certain things when I do talk to her. Or how often I went to my grandpa for certain things cause I'm always close to my grandma and my mom." Anna realized she selectively chose which family to go to depending on what needs she needed to discuss. In this way, even though she was not as "close" to these members. Family communication became a choice, one that participants highly prized my realizing the limitations of having a close, intimate relationship with each member.

Distance. (Dis)connection from family also functioned as a way to distance participants from certain family members. Participants would site geographical distance as a reason they did not talk to certain participants, even if that same distance did not hinder them from talking to other family members who they felt closer to. While geographical distance played a part in disconnecting from family members, emotional and ideological distance from family members served a bigger function. Participants allowed distance to manifest because they felt at odds with family members. Rather than framing distance as a choice, distance was a way to allow changes between family members while maintaining a functional relationship. Billie talked about being distance with her cousins, saying "I lived in a poorer city and they grew up in [affluent subregion

of a large Western state], which is like the Beverly Hills of where I live. It was just that side of the family." Even though they were geographically a few miles away, Billie had an extremely different upbringing, which led her to have very different view on life than her cousins. While they still engaged in "Christmas" talk over the holidays, Billie did not feel particularly pushed to connect with them beyond that.

Claire also described her ideological distance with her father, when describing people she did not feel comfortable talking about ethnicity and race with, saying "he's pretty much exactly what you'd expect of like a White male liberal, you know, how things that he knows everything about feminism and racism and will tell you about it." In this way, Claire saw considerable ideological distance from her father that hindered their relationship, particularly when talking about ethnic-racial identity. Claire did not see this as a huge barrier for her relationship, and instead framed it as simply something she would not engage with her father about. Distance served the opportunity to maintain a healthy relationship with family members that could become contentions if the relationships were closer.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization as a Power Struggle.

Lastly, the stories and experiences of participants illustrated a change in trajectory from previous family literature on socialization. Participants struggled to understand the implications of power in their lives and naming the invisible forces that shaped them. This came through in two ways. First, participants spoke of the importance of *nonhuman socialization* in their lives. Secondly, participants were forced to make sense of *affective cultural responses*.

Nonhuman socialization. Participants often turned to nonhuman forms of socialization, particularly because they were often faced with "color blind" racism wherein participants were told that the individual was not racist or prejudice, but perpetuated racist ideology, as illustrated by Breezy's experience with her brother. Other people claimed not to see or be influenced by race, thus delegitimizing the participants' experiences. When this happened, participants turned to nonhuman actants, such as books, film, and television, as a way to tangibly identify their ethnicity and race. Breezy spoke of how she developed her racial identity in surroundings that reflecting a color-blind racist view, saying "I read books, I've watched movies. I talked to people. I hang out in Black as hell spaces." Breezy's interactions with non-human was cited as a way that allowed her to interact and understand her racial identity in a way that reflected her understanding. Mando also stated that a large part of his racial socialization was that "we always had books around the house, that kind of stuff." Books functioned as a way to tangibly read, hold, and touch a piece of race.

Derrick also spoke of the role of music that reflected his racial identity, and how his family shared music as a way to share their racial identity. Derrick said that his father raised him on "Tupac, Biggie, Lil Wayne. And then like as, as we grew up, we all started to like our different types of music and different artists, but we always grown up around the same music." For Derrick, music allowed something tangible that he could share and express as part of his racial identity, in a world that tried to deny his Blackness. Other participants also spoke of music, memes, and social media as connecting them to family and ultimately their ethnic-racial identity. In this way, non-human actants interacted with participants, in ways that they felt they could transport back to home or feel connected to

a larger group. Music, social media, and memes become a mediator that connects the participants to their family network, as well as their ethnic-racial network. While these non-human actants formed to stabilize the family network, they also functioned to de-stabilize larger views of family and family discourse, framing that to be functional families must be co-located, geographically close, and independent of other forces. By utilizing music, books, and even FaceTime to connect with members of their families, non-human actants disrupted networks of nuclear family discourse.

Furthermore, nonhuman actants disrupted stable views of a post-racial America, wherein racial inequalities have been eliminated, or if they are perpetuated, it is due to individual practices. Claire talked about how when her sister went to college, she was introduced to books, journal articles, and classes about race and gender issues. Claire's sister's interaction with these non-human actants taught her about her own experience

> and then brought it back to us and we were kind of like, what, like what? And then we, then my mom and I both started learning more about it too. And we were like, Oh my God, there's this whole world that we had no idea. Like, and things that we've experienced that we didn't know there were words for, you know.

Non-human actants mediated connections between Claire's family, scholars and activists, disrupting a stable view of post-racial American by providing terms, examples, and explained experiences that were supposed to "remain" invisible. Claire and her family were able to identify hegemonic racism, which is prevalent in what color-blind racist ideology, and in the current political landscape (Bonilla-Silva, 2019). By providing labels and definitions, non-human actants allowed Claire's family to identify hegemony in their everyday lives and connected them on their experiences. Nonhuman actants

helped provide a socialization experience for participants wherein they could identify discourses that were formerly invisible or denied legitimacy by majority group members.

   Politics of affect. Another prominent way in which participant experiences reflected a critical turn was through politics of affect. Affect in this sense does not refer to negative or positive emotional states, which is how it is traditionally used in the study of well-being. In this case, affect refers to a feeling that participants knew of but could not name. They often saw their ethnicity and race through politics of affect, or the way in which mainstream discourses characterized them. While they were able to identify these stereotypes, they also knew that not everyone they encountered would admit to participating in these views. However, there was this affective feeling and expected emotion tied to participants' bodies. Participant often defined their ethnic-racial identity in regard to a White majority, or had a difficult time reconciling their identity in contrast to expectations. For example, when asked about her ethnic-racial identity, Tanya responded that being Black to her meant

> Just kind of knowing who I am, knowing where, you know, acknowledging that yes, I'm an African, African American woman and I'm not, unfortunately, I'm not equal, you know? Even in the workplace I've seen it at work. I felt it where it's small things we're wearing, you know, having my hair a certain way, you know, how I feel like I can't have my curls out and poppin cause it's not an, it's not a corporate thing or I can't, you know.

Nola also spoke about her cultural identity as a Black woman was at the "bottom" of society, saying

But I just think it's about really knowing your history and knowing what's wrong

in this world and really opening your eyes to a lot of the things that are trying to

be covered in this world about being black and what it means to be black. And

how, um, honestly, the black culture is at the bottom.

Nola and Tanya displayed this affective tension of being aware of the way in

which their bodies were framed, and what emotions were tied to these bodies, in that

Black culture was not readily accepted, or at least not readily accepted on their bodies.

Motivator spoke to this paradox, of people wanting pieces of Black culture, without

acknowledging the struggle, saying "so many people want to be us but don't want the

problems we have." In this way, Motivator highlighted the affective nature which Black

bodies were "cool" if they were presented in a certain way or if the culture was reflected

on White bodies, but simultaneously dangerous when presented on Black bodies.

This drew parallel to the tension that many participants such that while they were

"American", they were not framed that way, creating a difficult understanding for them.

Maddie spoke of the difficulty she has adjusting her Mexican racial identity in opposed to

an "American" identity, which was often framed as a White identity, saying

like you've obviously never been looked at funny in a store. You've never been

like, like seen your parents question[ed] if they're like legal here, like, you know,

it's just like normal things that they don't think about that like for us it's different.

Part of Maddie's normality of her identity was being questioned, and being

followed, reflecting the belief that to be Mexican in the United States is to be a criminal,

either here without documents, or with the intention to steal. Canela also talked about the

way in which racialized emotions were projected on to her, saying "I've had a lot of, men

or boys like fetishize me because …I'm like so 'ethnic', like, 'Oh, Colombia, Shakira, Shakira, like hips don't lie', whatever." Again, Canela often contended with the idea that Latin America, or Colombia was home to either oversexualized individuals, or drug dealers. In this way, Canela often felt caught having lived her life in the United States, but often being treated as if she had not.

Many participants experienced a duality of their identities, such that their ethnicity and race were always on display and seemingly "Un-American", not matter how American they were. Janessa said to that to have a strong ethnic-racial identity

> So you're really self-aware about who we are, who we are representing. That's a strong, that's the strongest feeling in my heart every single day that if something goes wrong, it can, I can get backlash, not just on myself. It goes to my people. It goes to my parents, my family.

In this way, Janessa felt like a representative of her Chinese culture constantly, and that every action might reflect on to people's perception of China, and her family. She had to contend with a dominant culture that, despite her being an American citizen, she was deemed as a "foreigner." Billie also spoke of the difficulty in her biracial identity, caught in between both identities, and feeling as if she was failing one or another. Billie spoke of the difficulty of addressing this in her family, saying

> I just feel like everyone thinks of race and ethnicity as black and white and not, not like black African Americans or white. Like you can't be biracial. Like you're either white or you're Mexican. You can't be an identity of both. And I can't really talk to them about it like my parents cause they're one or the other. ..And like one for in the U S and one assimilated into the U S and my friend is like purely one.

So it's hard to talk about, you know, I am both but identify a little more with the other and it's like situational sometimes.

In a broader context, race and ethnicity are often framed as static entities, and someone can only be one. Billie illustrated the intangible feeling she has of being caught between both identities, in the way that emotions, and affect is projected in political ways.

These participants spoke of the way their families' interactions with others are assigned affect based on dominant understandings. In essence, to be an ethnic-racial minority in the United States meant that you could be constantly questioned as to why you do not fit a view of the typically White American. This came through participants stories of their parents being told not to speak Spanish, or constantly questioned about their legality. It also came through participants' experiences with being unable to speak in certain ways, or wear their hair in certain ways, or even walk in spaces without being subjected to expectations of criminality, or inappropriateness due to their body.

Conclusion

In chapter five, I answered research question 3, overviewing the different discourses present in familial conversations about ethnic-racial socialization. I found five themes with each theme categorized by multiple subthemes. Ethnic-racial socialization as survival was characterized by *fear and frustration in the age of the Trump administration* and *critical incidents*. Ethnic racial socialization as familial climate was characterized by *immersion and cultural surroundings*, *family rituals and traditions*, and *everyday discourse*. Ethnic-racial socialization as storied was characterized by *narrative inheritance*, *co-laboring*, and *historically and ancestrally situated*. Ethnic-racial

socialization as (dis)connection was characterized by *choosing family* and *distance*.

Lastly, ethnic-racial socialization as a power struggle was characterized by *nonhuman*

socialization and *politics of affect*. In chapter six, I discuss the implications of my

dissertation results, as well as reflect on my experience throughout my dissertation.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

A secure ethnic-racial identity is vital for the well-being of ethnic-racial minorities in the United States, as it buffers against discrimination, increases well-being, and allows for individuals to critique systems of racism and discrimination in place, improving society for the next generations. The purpose of this dissertation was three-fold. First, I wanted to test the utility of ethnic-racial socialization mapping as an intervention to enhance well-being and a secure ethnic-racial identity in ethnic-racial minority populations. Testing this intervention was essential as a secure ethnic-racial identity is paramount for the welfare of ethnic-racial minority individuals in the United States. A secure ethnic-racial identity is categorized by the exploration of what ethnicity and race mean to an individual, as well as positive feelings towards their ethnic-racial group membership. Additionally, individuals with a secure ethnic-racial identity understand how other's may see their ethnic-racial group membership, and able to critique racism and discrimination as a system, rather than individual acts. A secure ethnic-racial identity is predictive of numerous well-being outcomes, including lower depressive symptoms and externalizing problems, higher self-esteem, and positive academic adjustment (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011).

Given the importance of a secure ethnic-racial identity for individuals in the United States, many scholars have looked at how ethnic-racial socialization leads to a secure ethnic-racial identity. Ethnic-racial identity refers to the implicit and explicit processes that convey to individuals what ethnicity and race mean (Hughes et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2006). Scholars have identified specific types of messages in ethnic-racial socialization that can positively predict ethnic-racial identity (Hughes et al., 2006;

Stevenson et al., 2002), as well as overall familial processes (Priest et al., 2013; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013), and ecological processes (Caughy et al., 2011; Phinney et al., 2001) that can support a secure ethnic-racial identity.

Given these findings, scholars have called for interventions that can increase secure ethnic-racial identity in ethnic-racial minority populations (Bentley et al., 2008). Given this call, I created an intervention focused on ethnic-racial socialization, borrowing from social identity mapping (Cruwys et al., 2016), and visual research methods (Pauwels, 2011) that would increase secure ethnic-racial identity and well-being. I hypothesized that participating in ethnic-racial socialization mapping would lead to higher levels of a secure ethnic-racial identity and higher well-being. This was partially supported, showing that using ethnic-racial socialization mapping as an intervention had a small but significant change in negative affect, suggesting that there may be utility in using this intervention in the future with a few changes. Drawing from literature about the importance of communication and disclosure in creating interventions, I also hypothesized that those who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflected on their familial communication would report higher levels of a secure ethnic-racial identity and well-being. This hypothesis was not supported.

The second purpose of this study was to identify different ways in which families approached ethnic-racial socialization. Ethnic-racial socialization does not happen once-it is a lifelong endeavor. While most studies focus on ethnic-racial socialization from parents (Priest et al., 2016), family is not defined only by parents and children. Extended family, siblings, and voluntary kin plan an important role as well (Caughy et al., 2010; Cardwell & Soliz, 2019). Furthermore, scholars have argued that ethnic-racial

socialization is a reciprocal process, with each member influencing each other, not merely coming from parents to children (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). Therefore, I asked if there were different patterns within the ethnic-racial socialization maps that may be indicative of different family types. I found four different types of families drawn by individuals. I also asked if the different familial types were suggestive of varying levels of secure ethnic-racial identity or well-being outcomes. There were no differences in ethnic-racial identity. Type 1 families had higher levels of optimism than Type 2 families. However, there were no other differences in family types.

The third purpose of this dissertation was to explore the discourses about ethnic-racial socialization from participant experiences. This was important given that ethnic-racial socialization is a fluid process, and often times is influenced by time, geography, and sociohistorical contexts. Overall, there were five dominant themes that emerged from participant discourses, each characterized by several subthemes. The first theme was ethnic-racial socialization as survival, which was characterized by fear and frustration in the age of the Trump administration and critical incidents. The second theme was ethnic-racial socialization as familial climate, which was characterized by immersion and cultural surroundings, family rituals and traditions, and everyday discourse. The third theme was ethnic-racial socialization as storied, which was characterized by narrative inheritance, co-laboring, and historically and ancestrally situated. The fourth theme was ethnic-racial socialization as (dis)connection, which was characterized by choosing family and distance. The fifth theme was ethnic-racial socialization as a power struggle, which was characterized by nonhuman socialization and politics of affect.

In this final chapter, I explore the implications, methodological considerations, and future directions for each of these purposes. I begin by overviewing the efficacy of the ethnic-racial socialization mapping intervention, focusing on the implications for interventions using ethnic-racial identity measures, methodological considerations for the future, including Type II errors and conceptualizing well-being, and then lastly explaining how to move forward. I then overview how the map typologies have implications for the ideology of intimacy, and how visual interventions can add to methodology in communication studies. Lastly, I explain how these map typologies, when used with family communication standards, can move the study of ethnic-racial socialization forward. After discussing the map typologies, I explore the implications of narrative inheritance for people of color, and how critical interpersonal and family communication can provide methodological tools for understanding ethnic-racial socialization, ending with how the fluidity of ethnic-racial socialization can be useful direction moving forward. I then conclude the chapter by discussing the lessons I have learned from the recruitment of ethnic-racially diverse areas.

Assessing the Efficacy of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Mapping Interventions

The first hypothesis stated that participants who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping would experience increases in a secure ethnic-racial identity, ad increases in well-being. This was partially supported. Participants who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflecting on their familial communication experienced a decrease in negative affect, while those in the control group saw an increase. Hypothesis 2 stated that those who engaged in ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflected on their familial communication would experience increases in secure ethnic-racial identity

and increases in well-being. This was not supported, as there were no differences between the ethnic-racial socialization mapping only condition and the ethnic-racial socialization mapping and reflection condition. However, all of these findings were based on a small sample size that did not reach the recommended size based on my initial power analysis. I now overview the implications of these findings in regards to ethnic-racial identity measures, considerations for methodology in the future, particularly for Type II errors and well-being conceptualizations, as well as how to move forward.

Implications for Interventions Focusing on Ethnic-Racial Identity Measures

Hypothesis one and two stated that participating in ethnic-racial socialization mapping would increase well-being and ethnic-racial identity, and the mapping paired with reflection of ethnic-racial socialization practices would result increase well-being and ethnic-racial identity even more. While negative affect did change, there were no changes conditions for ethnic-racial identity. These hypotheses came from research demonstrating that ethnic-racial identity is a strong predictor of well-being and that positive experiences with ethnic-racial socialization lead to stronger ethnic-racial identity (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011). However, upon reflecting, ethnic-racial identity is built over time from practices. One interaction with family will not automatically induce a positive ethnic-racial identity. Instead, ethnic-racial socialization is a lifelong process, and it takes interactions and practices throughout one's life to establish a secure ethnic-racial identity or an insecure ethnic-racial identity. Therefore, the idea that one intervention over a shortened period of time can fundamentally induce a secure ethnic-racial identity may be overly ambitious.

The intervention shows promise in increasing well-being, which may be a better focus. An intervention that increases secure ethnic-racial identity may take a longer intervention over several weeks. Instead, this intervention should focus on specific well-being outcomes, as those seem much more likely to change. Reflecting on ethnic-racial socialization through this mapping exercise allowed people to reflect on how their family is connected, and what they have talked about throughout their life. It allowed them to reframe conversations, which are more likely to change participant's affect and optimism, which are more likely to be influenced by external factors than their ethnic-racial identity. In sum, future endeavors may benefit from focusing on which well-being measures are influenced by day to day changes, such as discrimination, politics, and the surrounding world, and which of these measures are important to buffer the negative effects of discrimination.

Assessing Methodological Considerations for the Future

When assessing methodological considerations from this study, I focus on two areas. First, I overview the potential for Type II errors, and then I address possible implications for conceptualizing well-being for populations of color.

Type II Errors

A power analysis indicated that to get true effects for the measures tested, I needed a total sample size of 145. However, due to difficulties in recruitment, I only had a sample of 31. While the difficulties of recruitment will be discussed later in the chapter, I want to address the possible implications of Type II errors. The majority of ANOVAS run had insignificant p-values. While the p-values were insignificant, there were large effect sizes. For example, in the first series of 3 x 2 factorial ANOVAS, the MEIM had

an effect size of .1, and self-esteem had an effect size of .1. While self-compassion, optimism, and general life satisfaction showed only main effects, this may be due to the unequal distribution of people in each condition. The control condition has the lowest amount of people, while the ethnic-racial socialization mapping and interview condition has the highest at 21. This condition was highest so I could capture meaningful data from the interviews when it became apparent that I would not be able to reach the ideal sample size. The high effect sizes indicate that there is the possibility of significant findings if the sample size was higher. This is likely a Type II error, where there is an effect we may be missing due to sample size. Also, the fact that there were any differences indicates there is likely a Type II error. Moving forward, I intend to continue collecting data until I hit the proposed sample size. This will provide more information on the utility of the intervention, as well as show if there was a Type II error.

Reconceptualizing Well-Being

When overviewing the quantitative results, I noticed that while self-esteem measure was slightly higher than the "neither agree nor disagree" option, with the mean at Time 1 being 3.68 (SD=.8) and the mean at Time 2 being 3.73 (SD=.66). However, self-compassion was lower, and closer to the "neither agree nor disagree" option, with the mean at Time 1 being 3.01 (SD=.68) and mean at Time 2 being 3.12, (SD=.65). Self-esteem at time 1 had higher variability, while self-compassion tended to have less variability at time 1. Constantine and Sue (2006) argue that measures such as self-esteem may not be the best predictors for people of color when measuring well-being. For example, self-esteem stems from how one measures one's self-worth, or whether or not they are a worthy person (Coopersmith, 1967). James (1890) characterized self-esteem as

comparing one's self-worth against a uniform set of standards. Scholars have begun to critique the use of self-esteem as a universal measure of well-being, or a panacea, stating that a better measure of well-being should be established. Additionally, measures of self-esteem may not function the same for ethnic-racial minorities. Schmitt and Allik (2005) found differences in self-esteem between collectivist and individualistic countries. Furthermore, Cai, Brown, Deng, and Oakes (2007) found that within a Chinese sample, participants had the same levels of self-liking as United States participants but were less likely to evaluate themselves in the same way.

Moving forward, it may be worthwhile to evaluate which well-being measures may best be applied to ethnic-racial minorities in the United States. In regard to self-esteem, I argue self-compassion is a better indicator of well-being than self-esteem particularly for ethnic-racial minorities. First, many scholars have begun to critique the use of self-esteem, arguing that self-compassion is a more comprehensive measure. Self-compassion measures self-kindness, common humanity, and mindfulness. In the participant interviews, several participants talked about the difficulty of feeling as a representative of their race, and if they mess up, or do something wrong, they are letting down a large sum of people including their family. The also felt compelled to compare themselves to their forebearers and remind themselves of the resiliency they came from. While this could be motivating, it also poses a threat of participants feeling that they need to perform to a higher standard, and when they fail to meet that standard, they could be relatively unkind to themselves.

I do not want participants to look at themselves in terms of self-worth compared to others-participants seemed to already view themselves as capable individuals. Instead,

I think a more important outcome is for participants to treat themselves with kindness. Treating oneself with kindness is an especially important outcome for ethnic-racial minorities in the United States, as ethnic-racial minorities face systemic discrimination, microaggressions, and even explicit verbal and physical assaults (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Harris et al., 2018). I view self-compassion as more indicative of people's ability to handle a world that is fundamentally unkind to them. Mindfulness, a dimension of self-compassion, has already been shown to reduce depression in Ghanaian college students (Cole et al., 2015).

Additionally, when considering what well-being means to ethnic-racial minority populations, ego resilience may also be a better indicator of well-being. Constantine and Sue (2006) argue that optimal human functioning for ethnic-racial minorities in the United States should be conceptualized looked at through cultural values, beliefs, and practices interact with strength developed through adversity. In this way, ego resilience, or the ability for people to resourcefully adapt to internal and external stressors, may be indicative of higher well-being, and a positive well-being outcome itself. Additionally, ego resilience is positively correlated with traditional measures of psychological well-being and physical health (Klohnen, Vandewater & Young, 1996). Utsey et al. (2008), found that ego resilience was positively predictive of optimism, and life satisfaction in Black college students. Additionally, racial pride positively predicted ego resilience. Utsey et al. (2008) argue that this may demonstrate the utility of ego resilience as a more apt measure of well-being for ethnic-racial minorities in the United States.

Overall, two major methodological considerations stemmed from this dissertation. First, there was a high probability of Type II errors. Secondly, results suggested there

may be a need to re-assess well-being outcomes for ethnic-racial minority populations. In the follow section, I address how future studies can address these issues, as well as re-visit interventions that focus on ethnic-racial identity.

Future Directions

First, in order to avoid Type II errors, I plan to continue collecting data until a sufficient sample size is reached. The quantitative results for this dissertation should only be interpreted keeping the small sample size in mind. Future studies focusing on this type of recruitment should prioritize incentives for participants, as well as a time frame that is conducive to recruiting a large amount of people. This includes considering the demographic makeup of the area from which you are recruiting, as well as developing partnerships with other universities and community centers.

Second, when creating interventions, particularly focused on identity, time is a major consideration when making meaningful change in changing one's identity. Successful interventions most likely take place over a longer period of time. For example, Whaley and McQueen's (2009) intervention focused on enhancing Black adolescent's ethnic-racial identity took place over a 30-hour curriculum. My intervention lasted roughly 45 minutes to an hour. When assessing this intervention in the future, I should reconsider how effectively this may improve one person's ethnic-racial identity, which is built over years, compared to well-being.

Third , moving forward, I believe it is important to focus on several questions when creating interventions and measuring subjective well-being for ethnic-racial minorities. First, we need to ask what well-being looks like for these populations, and how that might differ for White populations and ethnic-racial minority populations.

Secondly, we should evaluate which outcomes are relevant, and how to update measures that reflect a changing world. Lastly, we should examine how well-being may change, and ask if our measures need to be updated, to include indicators such as self-compassion and ego resilience.

In this next section, I overview what implications for communication studies we can draw my proposed family typology, as well as methodological considerations and future directions.

Establishing Family Typologies based on Ethnic-Racial Socialization Mapping

The first research question asked if there were differences between different types of map (see Chapter 4). My research assistant and I coded the maps based on visual similarity, and used an independent coder to validate our categories. We established a four-group map typology. Type 1 maps were characterized by a very expansive view of families, with upwards of 12 family members listed. Additionally, participants had connections with at least 80% of their family members, and often had multiple colored lines to multiple people. Type 2 maps were characterized by a similarly expansive view of families, with a list of upwards of 15 people. However, these maps tended to have connections with only 50% of the family members. While they had a very expansive view of family, they tended to have. Small network of families they talked to about these topics. Type 3 maps were characterized by small, condensed networks in two ways. Either the person only listed three to five family members, and had very concentrated connections, or the person only had connections to a few family members, and most connections seemed to be centered around one to three members. Type 4 maps presented

a very balanced view of families, with lines and colors seemingly evenly distributed among family members. Participants tended to list around six to eight family members.

The second research question asked if there were differences in ethnic-racial identity and well-being among. There were no significant differences in ethnic-racial identity or familial satisfaction between map types. There was one significant well-being outcome in optimism at Time 1. Type 1 maps were significantly higher than optimism at Time 1 compared to Type 2 maps. Type 1 maps approached significant when compared to Type 3 maps, such that Type 1 maps reported higher optimism. There was no difference between Type 1 maps and type 4 maps.

I now overview the implications of the map typology, and how these maps trouble the ideology of intimacy. I address how visual mapping can aid communication scholars in the future, and how this methodology can be used. Lastly, I address how these maps can further family communication scholarship, particularly when paired with family communication standards.

Implications of the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Maps for the Ideology of Intimacy

The ideology of intimacy, or openness, stems from the belief that we have treated closeness in our personal relationships as a panacea to well-being. The closer we are to our family, the better our relationship is and the happier we are. The more we disclose, the closer we will become. However, this ideology, Parks (1995) argues, is problematic, in that not all intimate relationships are "good" relationships. In fact, too much disclosure can breed rumination, or anxiety (Afifi et al., 2015). Other times, estrangement may be a more functional and healthier alternative (Allen & Moore, 2017), but this goes "against" our ideology of openness even if is healthy. similarly, it may be tempting to assume that

certain types of families have better communication about ethnicity and race. Families with more connections to everyone would therefore be the healthiest, most satisfied families.

However, in terms of conversations about ethnicity and race, families cannot be responsible for fixing these problems. While ethnic-racial socialization can buffer discrimination, and conversations can help alleviate stress, closeness and disclosure does not fix a systematic and institutionalized system that promotes racism. As Canela and Claire both noted, there are times when sharing too much, or co-laboring, verges on the edge of rumination, and these conversations can be frustrating. More importantly, as noted in these maps, people have multiple members in the familial network with who to talk about these issues with. The ideology of intimacy would argue that each person should have an equal amount of lines with each family member, indicating comfort with each member in talking about anything. In reality, participants, particularly in Type 2 and Type 4 families, have different lines to different people, hinting that they acknowledge the affordances of certain family members, and limits of others.

It may be healthier to actively distance oneself from certain family members or recognize the limitations of disclosure for every family member. Perhaps a healthier family, or a family better suited to discuss ethnic-racial socialization, is one where people can go to different members to discuss different dimensions, saving members from bearing the brunt of being the recipient of all worries and frustrations. Particularly when looking at ethnic-racial socialization, participants seem to value an ideology of balance, not intimacy. While studies have looked at the frequency of certain messages in concordance with parents (Priest et al., 2014), future studies should focus on wider

conceptualizations of family, or how families manage these conversations among multiple members, rather than focusing on amount from only two family members.

Methodological Uses for Visual Mapping in Communication Studies

Using ethnic-racial socialization mapping was not only beneficial for participants, but also became beneficial to me as a researcher. By drawing out their family networks, it allowed me to see how people think of family. Many people had a much more expansive view of family, with one person even including their pets. When reflecting on family communication and ethnic-racial socialization, as mentioned in the previous section, we often focus on parents and child as the holy triad. However, the process of visual mapping allowed for me as the researcher to revisit my assumptions of what family is, and its importance in each person's lives.

This insight is important as we revisit how family communication scholars study and define family. While using surveys as a methodological tool can be beneficial, it is important that we are not overly relying on these methods to assess family functioning. Visual maps of families allow the participants to more wholly reflect on their experience, and often allowed the researcher to have a tactile, visual drawing of how people are defining and understanding family. This is immensely helpful as family scholars continue to move forward and include extended family networks into their researcher.

Future Directions and Family Communication Standards

Caughlin (2003) argued that families varied in their expectations for family communication, and that families did not have to meet a rigid view of family in order to have familial satisfaction. Instead, it was more important that family members set standards for how they would communicate. In other words, families that are not open or

close are not immediately dysfunctional. Instead, people's familial satisfaction changes when their agreed upon standards are not met. Within the family map typologies, four different kinds of families emerged. While there were differences in optimism at time 1, there were not drastic differences in well-being and no difference in family satisfaction. Furthermore, in participant interviews, there was wide variation in family satisfaction, particularly in regard to communication about ethnicity and race. Type 1 maps did not automatically mean that they were completely satisfied with their relationships, nor did it mean that Type 3 maps were completely dissatisfied with their relationships.

Building off family communication standards, ethnic-racial socialization seems dependent on familial network and expectations of family. While there has been the prevalence of quantitative explorations of ethnic-racial socialization, indicating some messages as being more indicative of better well-being, these maps illuminate an alternative idea. First, we need to consider the familial climate and overall type of family one has. Then, we need to look at what expectations about these conversations each person has. There was variability in participant experiences, and with discussions of ethnicity and race being contingent on social situations, many participants addressed how their need to talk or even understanding of conversations changed throughout their life. Family communication standards may be once lens by which to analyze these discrepancies and build a more complete understanding of familial climate and ethnic-racial socialization.

Overall, my map typology allows us to assess our assumptions of the ideology of intimacy in ethnic-racial socialization, as well as utilize visual maps to have a better concept and understanding of family. Additionally, re-visiting family communication

standards allows us to fully assess our assumptions of how ethnic-racial socialization functions in families, and how we assess how families "should" behave. In the following section, I review implications, methodological considerations, and future directions when overviewing the discourses of ethnic-racial socialization.

Discourses of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

My final research question asked about discourses of ethnic-racial socialization within participants' experiences of ethnic-racial socialization in their families. Five major themes emerged, each characterized by separate sub themes. The first theme was ethnic-racial socialization as survival, which was characterized by fear and frustration in the Age of the Trump Administration and Critical incidents. The second theme was ethnic-racial socialization as familial climate, which was characterized by immersion and cultural surroundings, family rituals and traditions, and everyday discourse. The third theme was Ethnic-Racial Socialization as Storied, which was characterized narrative inheritance, co-laboring, and historically and ancestral situated. The fourth theme was ethnic-racial socialization as (dis)connection, which was characterized by choosing family and distance. The final theme was ethnic-racial socialization, as a power struggle which was characterized by nonhuman socialization and politics of affect.

I now overview the implications of these findings for ethnic-racial socialization, highlighting the fluidity of ethnic-racial socialization and narrative inheritance for people of color. I then address methodological considerations for studies moving forwards, particularly for incorporating humanities-based theories into research on ethnicity and race. Lastly, I review how this work can move forward.

Implications of Narrative Inheritance for People of Color

Narrative inheritance has been studied as a feature of international adoptive families re-constructing their family stories (Ballard and Ballard, 2014), and how narrative inheritance can construct a network of lies and deceptions within families (Goodall Jr., 2005). In both of these examples, narrative inheritance is located within the immediate family. However, for participants in this dissertation, narrative inheritance did not only occur in their immediate families, but narrative inheritance occurred throughout history. Participants inherited these stories, not only as an example for how to function in the world, but as a way to complete the stories of their ancestors. Narrative inheritance showcased the complexity of being an ethnic-racial minority in the United States in several ways.

First, narrative inheritance illustrated complexity of intergenerational trauma. As participants told stories of their ancestors and the hardship they encountered, the issue of historical trauma, or "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences" (Yellow Horse Brave Heart, 4, p. 7). Claire went as far in our interview to label the suffering her grandparents went through in Japanese internment as intergenerational trauma, noting all of the mental health implications in her extended family. While narrative inheritance often was packaged with messages of positivity and moving forward, there was still the implication that familial history was plagued with darkness and difficulty. In this way, narrative inheritance showcased the struggle for individuals to conceptualize their family. While slavery, Japanese internment, and racism were learned in school, participants also had these strands woven through their family. These were not

concepts that happened to people. These were legacies of sadness and difficulty that were woven into their family history, and they inherited. This illustrates the implications of narrative inheritance for ethnic-racial minorities. Families must contend with multiple types of family narratives-their personal narrative along with the narrative of their ethnic-racial groups.

Second, narrative inheritance illustrated the struggle to re-tell legacies for those who have had them taken away. Often times, because of the trauma and difficulty that participants felt their ancestors had encountered, there was often the goal of re-telling narratives of ancestors or completing unfinished legacy. For ethnic-racial minorities, there may be an additional burden when inheriting these narratives of feeling the need to represent their entire ethnicity or race and reconstruct what being an ethnic-racial minority looks like. As Davis (2015) notes, Black women often empower each other, but this may come at the cost of vulnerability. Similarly, the awareness of past suffering may make ethnic-racial minorities feel as if they have a responsibility to rise higher to make up for those who did not have the same opportunities. Canela alluded to this saying,

> I often feel like because I wasn't the one who immigrated here and I didn't do any of the work to like establish my family or anything like that, that a lot of the work was done for me. And so I feel like I get to use my privilege now as like a first generation American who is still able to speak Spanish and be biracial and bicultural, bilingual, all of these things and use that to help people like my family. So like that's why I volunteer and interpret is because like these people are in the same exact position that my parents were in 25 years ago. And I often get families who are like, set up exactly like my family was when they arrived here originally.

In this way, Canela explains that her family stories equip her to help other families. Furthermore, she has a debt to make up for, as her family did the hard work. Canela works as a volunteer in a free clinic and interprets health documents for people who only speak Spanish, while also studying to become a doctor. This is not so say this is bad or negative. Instead, while her work is needed and important, narrative inheritance functions in such a way that she feels it is her responsibility to do so, in a way other people without that narrative inheritance may not be emboldened to work that same way. Canela's work is retelling her ancestor's legacy and continuing her story so that her parents and families can see their story as immigrants have a happy ending. In other words, Canela is using her positionality to make her parents' story have a moral, even if it makes taking on more work than her peers. Many participants had part of this reflection-their duty was to create a positive "moral" to their ancestor's struggle and make the story "worth it."

Lastly, narrative inheritance demonstrated the muddiness of narrative momentum for redefining history. Narrative momentum is defined as a sense of movement created from family storytelling that allows us to carry the past to the future (Ballard & Ballard, 2014). As one continues to tell family stories, they function to create a new narrative, propelling the family narrative forward and creating a new identity. However, the narratives that my participants inherit are not only aimed at moving the family forward. There also seemed to be, underlying a sense of responsibility, a desire to shift narrative history for their entire ethnic or racial group. The ability to shift a dominant narrative that exists in the social world is not just one person's responsibility, nor is it necessarily the responsibility of those who have been unfairly treated. However, as part of their narrative

inheritance, many participants felt this burden. While Ballard and Ballard (2014) were able to take their narrative inheritance and move it towards narrative momentum, participants did not see the ability to do that as quickly or efficiently. Instead, they felt caught in the positionality of seeing where the narrative could go if the world was perfect, while still dealing with dredges of unfairness in their narrative inheritance.

Contributions of Critical and Interpersonal Family Communication to Developing Ethnic-Racial Socialization Methodologically

Two themes established through ethnic-racial socialization reflected theories and beliefs from humanities based theoretical traditions.

Nonhuman socialization. Many participants spoke of the role of nonhuman actants in the process of socialization. The study of nonhuman actants as important roles in the facilitation of communication has been explored in rhetoric at length and is seeing a revival in critical interpersonal and family communication (CIFC). A nonhuman turn in CIFC centers the agentic roles of nonhumans in the constitution of social realities (Allen & Allen, 2019). Building on organizational communication scholars, Allen and Allen (2019) argue that material forces shape human interactions, and socio-materialism functions as human and nonhuman actants work together to construct reality. This is not to say non-human actants have cognition. Rather, non-humans communicated by exerting agency and shaping relationships and constituting identities. In the United States, the tendency to adopt a "color blind" approach to racism complicates the relationship many ethnic-racial minorities have with race. While race and ethnicity are a social construction created by the majority group, racism has changed from "Jim Crow" racism to what Bonilla-Silva (2015) refers to as new racism. New racism is characterized by more

covert forms of racial discourse and practice, such as microaggressions, avoidance of direct racial terminology, subtle mechanisms that recreate racial differences, and re-articulation of past racial practices (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Participants often faced with "color blind" racism wherein, participants were told that the individual was not racist or prejudice, but perpetuated racist ideology, as illustrated by Breezy's experience with her brother. Other participants claimed not to see or be influenced by race, thus delegitimizing the participants' experiences.

Because this racism was often concealed and denied, or participants were informed that there were no longer racial differences, non-human actants played a significant role in developing participants' ethnic-racial identity. By often being told that racism and discrimination are no long "an issue" by the majority group, participants were forced into spaces where families had to create meaning, which often came from non-human actants. Non-human actants created a tangible way that participants could touch and interact with their ethnic-racial identity, and their understanding of ethnicity and race often came from non-human actants. Humans and nonhumans interact to constitute networks, including the network of their own family, their ethnic-racial group membership, and the world writ large (Allen & Allen, 2019). Mediators function as a way to connect different actants in creating a network and can stabilize or de-stabilize networks. Families often reached out to non-human actants as way to stabilize their familial networks and their ethnic-racial networks.

Politics of affect. Another prominent way in which participant experiences reflected a critical turn was through politics of affect. The politics of affects "centralizes the often ineffable, seeming intangible feelings, desires and understandings that bodies come to

know" (Moore & Manning, 2019, p. 50). Essentially, bodies are afforded affect in a way that is defined by cultural majorities. When there is a collective framing of body, individuals also feel this framing, and are particularly aware when their experiences do not fit into this space. Affective cultural responses, or the feelings that cultural discourses evoke about people such as stereotypes or assumptions, reflect how marginalized people are viewed in terms of salient identities, such as migrants always "missing" home or lesbians always being framed as "killjoys" (Ahmed, 2010). In other words, groups of people, particularly people in positions of diminished power, have feelings and expectations projected on to them. For example, Black women often face the expectation that they will become angry. These expectations are often felt by the individuals, who are aware of the need to circumnavigate these feelings, such as Tanya talking about how she is aware when she may fall into these expectations. These are called affective cultural responses, because they represent a cultural feeling that is projected ton to groups of people, based on salient identities. These feelings are particularly ascribed to ethnic-racial minority bodies, in a racialized society (Bonilla-Silva, 2019), such that emotions are racialized, and that people are subjected to feeling particular emotions when encountering ethnic-racial minority bodies, building on expectations from greater society. In essence, politics of affect present a way to frame the tension that people of color feel as they combat new racisms.

In the next section, I discuss how the fluidity of ethnic-racial socialization contributes to future research.

Fluidity of Ethnic-Racial Socialization, and Directions for Future Research

Ethnic-racial socialization does not happen once. A person's understanding of ethnicity and race changes throughout their lives. While this concept is not new, it is illustrated throughout the interviews, particularly in the theme highlighting fear and frustration in the age of the Trump administration. Participants highlighted the difference, and how their understanding of how their ethnicity and race was perceived by others completely changed. Donald Trump represents a new age of racism and threats for people, bringing on what some sociologists refer to as "Trumpamerica", which creates a new hegemonic racism with the continued disappearance of Jim Crow racism and a new set of politics that continue to racialize the United States. For many participants, fear became a new currency, as participants expressed worry over losing their parents, or encountering White nationalism (Bonilla-Silva, 2019). These fears permeated their families and changed their internal and external dynamics.

The rise of Donald Trump and White nationalism illustrate the dismantling of the private and public boundaries of family life (Suter, 2018). In this way, we see that family is not wholly a private entity. For marginalized families, their mere existence is political, and at the hands of other people. For communication scholars, we are positioned well to understand and interrogate the discourses within families and about families that continue to put families in this position, as well as how these discourses change throughout time. By centering the practices of communication, we can see how discursively we create and regulate families, as well as how ethnicity and race remain a salient social identity in the United States, despite being in a "post racial" era.

To achieve these goals, and improve the lives of families though, family and interpersonal scholars must begin positioning research that is inclusive of ethnic-racial minorities, and reworks assumptions about families. This means including more national samples outside of the United States, assessing our theories, and increasing ethnic-racial diversity within our sample. Furthermore, this does not mean inclusion for inclusion's sake. Instead, it means properly theorizing as to how families may be forced into a different position because of our assumptions. It means not only framing ethnic-racial socialization as something that minority families do. Instead, we need to highlight how Whiteness is also perpetuated within families as well, and how White families also have a fluid process of socialization that impacts families of color around them. I call for family scholars and interpersonal scholars to start interrogating their practices, and reflect on inclusivity in their samples, as well as fully reflecting on what might be missing from theories and how to better evaluate these theories. This is particularly salient when studying identity development. Since ethnic-racial socialization is a fluid process, and dependent on sociohistorical context, we should also integrate these factors into our research, rather than separating the political and personal.

Lessons Learned from Engaging with a Diverse Population

From conceptualization to collection of data in this dissertation, the most salient and difficult lessons to learn were about the difficulty of doing this type of work. Gaining access to ethnic-racial minority populations in a predominately White institution, city, and state was extremely hard. To do successful community work that reaches traditionally understudied populations in a very specific location, you need two things; time and money. I had some money, although probably not enough to truly draw enough

interest. Undergraduate students were offered $10 for participating, which was enough to draw their interest, but not enough to ensure that they came to their assigned time. While community members were offered more money, time came into factor here. Community centers that wanted to be involved, such as the Malone Center, quickly had other responsibilities that pushed my study to the side, quite understandably.

Perhaps the biggest hindrance in regard to time was that I took on a large project, without a full research team. In this way, this dissertation may have benefitted from an earlier start time, which I did not realize when proposing it. If I had my wherewithal's, or a time machine, I would have aimed to complete IRB much earlier so I could have begun data collection in Spring of 2019. Instead, summer proved to be a major lull in the ability to collect data specifically in Lincoln. A better plan would have been to utilize this time to travel to other locations, such as the Bay Area which I ended up doing in December of 2020, to collect data, or reach out to more people. By the time Fall 2019 came around, I had much more access to people and populations. However, I was only one person, trying to also balance the job market and teaching. There were times when I would be on campus from 8 am until 8 pm, between teaching and recruiting from clubs on campus. I was also responsible for scheduling and recruiting, along with follow up e-mails. Myia, my research assistant was a huge help during this time. She came up with great ideas to retain more participants, such as services that would allow me to schedule text messages, and ideas about promoting the study. While this was a huge help, ultimately, it was difficult to reach the ideal sample size.

The first lesson I learned when throughout this dissertation, is to start connecting with people early and organically. The time I spend purposefully outside of academics

building communities, helped immensely. I had members of my gym who were able to

help and reach people I would have otherwise not known. The families I met through

coaching for Girls on the Run also served as important cornerstones. These same families

and gym members even allowed me to recruit for other studies. I joined the gym to get to

know people outside of my academic circle and volunteered to feel more connected with

Lincoln. My first suggestion for anyone interested in doing any research that aims to give

back to the community in any way is to invest yourself in the community first. That

means getting to know people outside of the ivory tower, volunteering for community

organizations, and generally making sure you are part of the fabric of the city or area you

live in. This allowed me to meet so many people that ultimately helped with this

dissertation in so many different ways. It is important to remember that the community is

not outside of you-you are a part of it too, and need to take the steps necessary to make

sure you are integrated in some way shape for form, even before you have a research

idea.

The second lesson I learned was that you have to run your own race. It was hard,

seeing some of my colleagues be able to recruit so quickly, or be able to analyze all of

their data quantitatively. There were moments of bitterness, and upset that my data

wasn't easier, that I could not catch up, or wondering if I would be pushed academically

to a corner. I had to learn to reframe this though. I was given the gift of people's stories

and experiences, in a way that maybe other people were not getting. Each person's

dissertation journey looks differently and is supposed to. When doing work that focuses

on community engagement, it will take longer, and have different obstacles. I could not

compare my dissertation processes to any of my colleagues because we each have our

own ideas and research questions that will look differently. While I can ask people for help, and try my best, I also can only do so much, and that is alright.

The last lesson I learned is that while you have to run your own race, the race is rigged against community work. I do not mean rigged in the sense that the entire establishment is bust, and it was not worth it. I love the data that came from my dissertation, and I cherish every participant that agreed to be involved. However, recruiting a geographically based sample, that is underrepresented in the community is hard. It is harder when I have to consider age limitations and ethnic-racial limitations. It is harder when I do not have a team to help me, nor do I have money that can truly bring people in. It is harder that I had to conduct in person interviews and mapping sessions rather than utilize online technology. I know that I will have to be very specific in the way I frame my arguments when moving forward. It will be worth it, but it is harder. Like so many of my participants, who voiced concerns about representing their race and ethnicity when they do things, I worry that my data may not always speak to their feelings. I feel the pressure to make sure my findings become published, not for a line of CV but because these are stories and experiences meant to be shared and meant to make a difference. That knowledge makes this feel so immensely personal, and while I know rejection is part of the academic career, and not everyone will see my work as worthwhile, I do struggle to separate my participants' experiences from my own.

Conclusion

In chapter 6, I provided a discussion of the implications of my dissertation, as well as a reflection of my experience collecting data. I overviewed the probability of Type II errors given my sample size, the way in which ethnic-racial identity may not

function in the way I originally hypothesized, and the way in which scholars should begin

reconceptualizing well-being for ethnic-racial minorities in the United States. I then

explored how the ethnic-racial socialization maps highlighted the need to revisit family

communication standards, while also problematizing the ideology of intimacy. This led to

a discussion of the discourses of ethnic-racial socialization, which highlighted the fluidity

of this socialization, as well as how narrative inheritance functions for ethnic-racial

minorities in the United States. Lastly, I reflected on the lessons I have learned collecting

data from a hard to reach population.

Ultimately, my dissertation shows promise for a new intervention that can

improve the well-being of ethnic-racial minorities in the United States by highlighting

familial ethnic-racial socialization practices in individuals' lives. Additionally, it showed

a new four group typology for ethnic-racial socialization maps, highlighting the different

ways families discuss and address ethnic-racial socialization throughout people's lives.

Finally, it showed the different discourse surrounding ethnic-racial socialization in

families. This dissertation provides a new way of improving well-being while also

interrogating several frameworks of family communication. This includes revising

previous theories, as well as integrating a more comprehensive view of ethnic-racial

socialization. Moving forward, we can ideally move towards integrating ethnicity and

race as a salient feature of every family life in family communication.

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Appendix A

Recruitment Scripts

UNL Student, for research credit:

Hi! My name is Mackensie Minniear from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. I am conducting a research study on ethnic-racial identity. I would love for you to participate! Participation will take roughly 2-3 hours, including a session in person. If you are interested please follow the link below. For participating, you will receive three research credits. There are no known risks involved in this research. If you have any questions, please let me know. You may reach me at Mackensie.minniear@huskers.unl.edu.

UNL Student, for financial compensation:

Hi! My name is Mackensie Minniear from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. I am conducting a research study on ethnic-racial identity. I would love for you to participate! Participation will take roughly 2-3 hours, including a session in person. If you are interested please sign this form, and I will e-mail you a link!. For participating, you will receive ten dollars. There are no known risks involved in this research. If you have any questions, please let me know. You may reach me at Mackensie.minniear@huskers.unl.edu.

Non-UNL Participant

Hi! My name is Mackensie Minniear from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. I am reaching out to discuss work I am doing in Lincoln. I am conducting a research study on ethnic-racial identity, and finding ways to enhance ethnic-racial minority members' self-esteem and identity. Participation will take 2-3 hours, including an in-person session. If you are interested please e-mail me, and I will send you a link to the survey. For

participating in this survey, you will receive $20. There are no known risks involved in

this research. If you have any questions, please let me know. You may reach the

investigators at Mackensie.minniear@huskers.unl.edu, or (925)785-1102.

Appendix B

Survey

Informed Consent

Communication and Ethnic-Racial Identity

Authorized Study Personnel

Principal Investigator: Mackensie Minniear, M.A.   (925)785-1102

Secondary Investigator: Jordan Soliz, Ph.D.

Key Information:

If you agree to participate in this study, the project will involve:

• Individuals between the ages of 18 and 40

• This process will take 1-3 hours including online surveys and in-person session

• There is minimal risk with this study

• You will receive compensation for your participation

• You will be provided a copy of this consent for

Why are you being asked to be in this research study?

You are being asked to be in this study because you identify as a member of an ethnic-racial minority group who has lived in the United States for at least five years, you are between the ages of 18 and 40.

What is the reason for doing this research study?

The purpose of this research study is to gain insight into perceptions of ethnic-racial identity in the United States, and how people in your social networks discuss ethnicity and race.

What will be done during this research study?

Participation in this study will require approximately one to three hours of time depending on what you are asked to do to complete this study. All participants will complete at least one online survey over the course of a few weeks and be asked to meet the researcher for an in-person session. Some participants may be asked to do one additional activity. Participation will take place in a location decided on between you and the researcher.

What are the possible risks of being in this research study?

There are no known risks for participating in this study. However, you are free to withdraw at any time.

What are the possible benefits to you?

There are no known benefits to you.

What are the possible benefits to other people?

The benefits to science and /or society may include better understanding of ethnic-racial identity and improved representation of ethnic-racial minority groups in social scientific research.

What will being in this research study cost you?

There is no cost to you to be in this research study.

Will you be compensated for being in this research study?

You can be compensated in the following ways:

If you are a UNL Communication Studies undergraduate student, you will receive three research credits for your participation.

If you are a UNL undergraduate student, you will receive a $10 gift card for your participation.

If you are **not** a UNL undergraduate student (such as a graduate student or a community member), you will receive a $20 gift card for your participation in this study

Compensation will be provided as long as you complete both sets of surveys. If you are asked to complete an in-person activity, you will receive the second survey and compensation after participating in the activity.

Please note: if you are a UNL Communication Studies undergraduate student, you can choose to receive a $10 gift card instead of research credits if you so wish. If your class does not offer research credits, you will receive a $10 gift card.

What should you do if you have a problem during this research study?

Your welfare is the major concern of every member of the research team. If you have a problem as a direct result of being in this study, you should immediately contact one of the people listed at the beginning of this consent form.

How will information about you be protected?

Reasonable steps will be taken to protect your privacy and the confidentiality of your study data.

Your responses to this survey will be kept confidential. Your name and e-mail address will only be kept scheduling your in-person meeting and receive your benefits. As part of your participation in this project, you may be interviewed about your past experiences, which will be recorded. Your name will be replaced with a pseudonym, and all information will remain confidential. Your survey material may be used in academic journals and conferences, but only as de-identified, composite variables.

What are your rights as a research subject?

You may ask any questions concerning this research and have those questions answered before agreeing to participate in or during the study.

For study related questions, please contact the investigator:

Mackensie Minniear, M.A.

Mackensie.minniear@huskers.unl.edu

For questions concerning your rights or complaints about the research contact the

Institutional Review Board (IRB):

- Phone: 1(402)472-6965

- Email: irb@unl.edu

What will happen if you decide not to be in this research study or decide to stop participating once you start?

You can decide not to be in this research study, or you can stop being in this research study ("withdraw') at any time before, during, or after the research begins for any reason. Deciding not to be in this research study or deciding to withdraw will not affect your relationship with the investigator or with the University of Nebraska-Lincoln (list others as applicable).

You will not lose any benefits to which you are entitled.

Documentation of Informed Consent

You are voluntarily making a decision whether or not to participate in this research study. By clicking on the "I Agree "button below, your consent to participate is implied. You should print a copy of this page for your records.

I agree ☐

Demographics

Thank you for participating in this survey! First, we're going to start with some general questions.

How do you identify your race/ethnicity?

_____

How do you identify your gender?

_____

How old are you?

_____

In what type of area did you grow up?

Urban ☐

Suburban ☐

Rural ☐

Please type in your initials, and the year you graduated high school. For example, if your name is John Smith, and you graduated in 2008, you would type in JS2008

In these next sections, we will be asking you some general questions about yourself, and how you view the world. There are not right or wrong answers- we are simply looking for you to answer honestly. This section should take about 5-10 minutes.

Ethnic Identity

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.					
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic-racial group.					
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.					

I have often done

things that will help

me understand my

ethnic background

better.

I have often talked to

other people in order

to learn more about

my ethnic group.

I feel a strong

attachment towards

my own ethnic group.

Well-Being Measures

Self-Esteem

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.					
I feel that I have a number of good qualities					
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure					
I am able to do things as well as most other people					
I feel I do not have much to be proud of.					
I take a positive attitude toward myself.					
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.					

I wish I could have more

respect for myself.

I certainly feel useless at

times.

At times I think I am no

good at all.

Optimism

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
In uncertain times, I usually expect the best.					
[It's easy for me to relax.]					
If something can go wrong for me, it will.					
I'm always optimistic about my future.					
[I enjoy my friends a lot.]					

[It's important for me to

keep busy.]

I hardly ever expect

things to go my way.

[I don't get upset too

easily.]

I rarely count on good

things happening to me.

Overall, I expect more

good things to happen

to me than bad.

Affect

Read each item and mark the appropriate answer in the space next to the word. Indicate

to what extent you have felt this way during the past week.

	Very slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
Inspired					
Alert					
Excited					

Enthusiastic

Determined

Afraid

Upset

Nervous

Scared

Distressed

For UNL Students:

Thank you for participating in this study! Please click the link at the end of the page. You will be redirected to a Doodle poll, that will allow you to sign up for a slot to continue this research study.

For Non-UNL Students:

Thank you for participating in this study! Please click the link at the end of this page. You will be redirected to another survey, where you will provide contact information for the researcher, as well as preferences for location to meet to continue this study.

Appendix C

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Map Script

To begin, we're going to do an activity. I would like you to start by taking the piece of paper and labeling "Self" in the middle.

Then, I would like you to label everyone you consider to be family on the edges.

Now that you have your family labeled, I'm going to ask you to take a colored pen to connect yourself to the members of the family you talk to about the specific topics.

First draw a red line to the people you talk about perceived discrimination at work or school with. Next, draw an orange line to the people you talk to when you want to feel strong and capable. Next draw a yellow line to the people you talk to when you need to express vulnerability. Next, draw, a green line to the people you talk to when you have concerns about your own mental health . Next, draw a blue line to the people you talk to when you want to discuss current news coverage. Next, draw a purple line to the people you talk to about fitting in during daily social interactions. Next, draw a gray line to the people who taught you to be proud of your culture. Next, draw a brown line to the people who taught you how to prepare for possible discrimination or prejudice. Next, draw a black line to the people who always emphasized individual virtue in success over race. Lastly, draw a pink line to the people who focused on raising awareness when interacting with other racial groups.

Appendix D

Example Maps
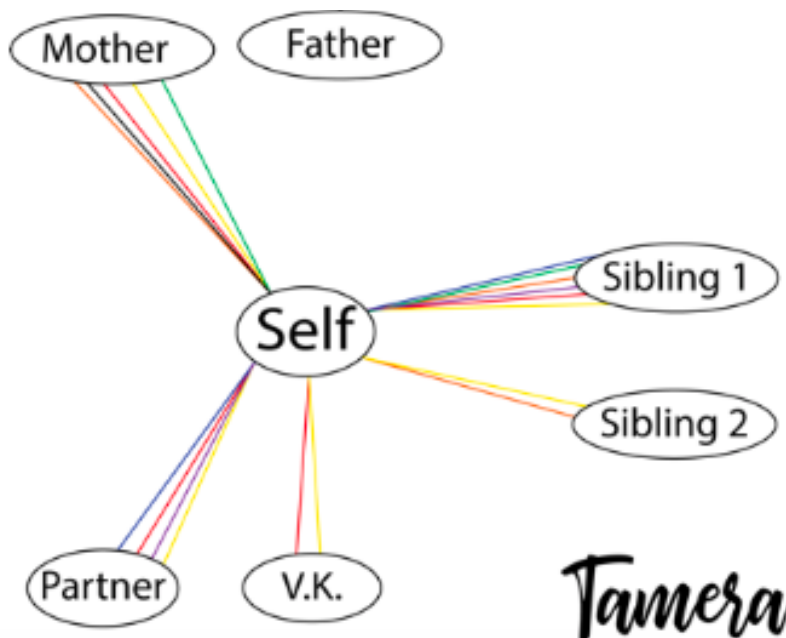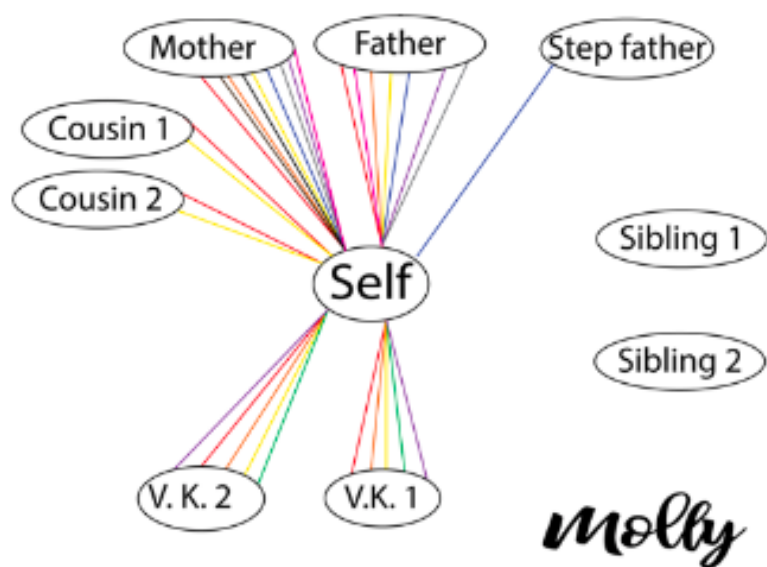
Appendix E

Interview Protocol

I would love to ask a few questions about the map you've drawn.

What is your initial reaction to your map? How do you feel looking at what you have drawn?

What stands out to you when you were looking at the map?

I notice you have a lot of nodes with X person. Can you tell me about your relationship?

What are some examples of things you have talked about?

You don't have a lot of nodes with X person. What is your relationship like with this person?

Overall, how would you describe your family? What types of conversations do you have about ethnicity and race?

Which members do you feel most comfortable talking about race and ethnicity with?

Which members do you feel least comfortable talking about race and ethnicity with?

What types of conversations do you wish you would have? Which conversations do you enjoy having with family members?

What do you think is missing from this map?

Appendix F

Mapping Codebook

The purpose of this study was to understand how ethnic-racial minority families talk about ethnicity and race. Ethnic-racial socialization is the process by which people implicitly and explicitly learn what ethnicity and race mean from family, friends, media, and surroundings. Ethnic-racial minority individuals often face discrimination, interpersonally and structurally, which impacts mental and physical health. Family is typically the area where people first learn about ethnicity and race means, and having a strong, positive ethnic-racial identity, created through ethnic-racial socialization, has the possibility of buffering these effects.

In this project, we had participants draw what we call "ethnic-racial socialization

Figure 7: Example of Map with Family Members
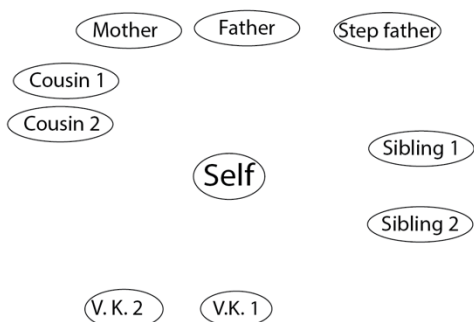
maps." The goal of the maps was to have participants reflect on their ethnic-racial socialization process and see the ways in which they talk to family members about these issues.

To begin, we had participants label their maps with everyone they considered to be family. They could label anyone they perceived to be family, so some (as the example shows) are labeled V.K for voluntary kin, or close friends they considered to be family. You will often see parents, siblings, cousins, aunts, and uncles. Sometimes participants had a lot of family, and sometimes they only had a few members. After participants, filled out the map, we had them connect different colored lines to certain family

members, based on the topics they talked about. Here is a list of the colors, and what each

means.

- **Red**: Red lines were drawn to people that the participant talked to about perceived discrimination at work or school with.

- **Orange**: These lines indicated people the participant talked to when they needed to feel strong and capable.

- **Yellow**: Yellow lines were drawn to people the participant could talk to when they needed to express vulnerability.

- **Green**: Green lines connected the participants to people they talked to when they had concerns about their own mental health.

- **Blue**: Blue lines were drawn to people the participant discussed current news coverage and politics with.

- **Purple**: Purple lines were drawn to the people the participant talked to about fitting in during daily social interactions.

Figure 8 Example Map

- **Gray**: Gray lines were for people that taught the participant to be proud of their culture.

- **Brown**: Brown lines were for people that taught the participant how to prepare for possible discrimination or prejudice.

- **Black**: Black lines were for people that gave participants egalitarian messages, which focused on how all people are equal, and that race doesn't matter as long as you work hard enough.

- **Pink**: Pink lines were for people that gave participants promotion of mistrust messages. These messages warned participants about interacting with certain ethnic or racial groups.
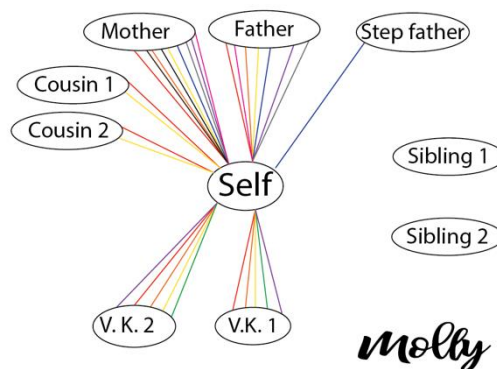
Ultimately, we have a lot of participant maps, that looked widely different based on

different family types. However, after looking at the maps we noticed some similarities,

and there seems to be different types of maps. This is where you come in!

Your assignment is to code these maps, based on the typology of the maps, and see if you can identify and categorize each map based on the typologies. In the following section, I will describe each of the types of maps. Here are the steps for what we'll working through.

1. **Initial training:** In this phase, we'll go over the different types of maps, and code a few on our own.

2. **Independent coding**: In this phase, you'll have access to all of the maps in a folder. You will go through, and fill out the sheet that, indicating which map goes in which "type". You will simply write down the initials on the map.

3. **Establishing Reliability**: In this phase, I'll check to see if we agree. If so, great! If not, no big deal, we'll go over it again!

Map Types

There are four types of maps. We'll be calling them numbers Type 1, Type 2, Type 3 and Type 4. I'll describe each type, with examples.

Type 1

These maps are characterized by having lots of family members, and connections with the majority of these members. These people typically list ten or more on their families
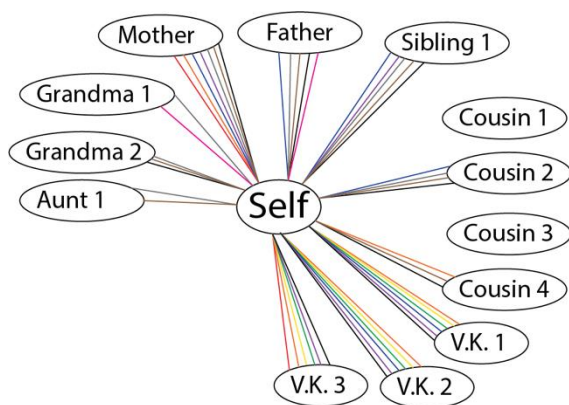
and have at least one line with 80% of their family. They seem to have a very expansive view of family and have connections with a lot of their family members.

In the example on the left, you can see that this person has thirteen family members listed, and connections with most of them Even though they are missing connections with Cousin 1 and Cousin 3, they still have connections with over 80% of their family. They have multiple connections with multiple people.

In this next example, it initially looks like this person does not have as many family members or connections as the previous maps. However, when you count the number of family members they list, they have 11 members, which is pretty high. They also have at least one connection with the majority of their members. Additionally, they have two or

more connections with five members. While initially looking at this map, it may not fit as closely as the other one, but upon further reflection they do still have an expansive view of family and connections with the majority of these family members.
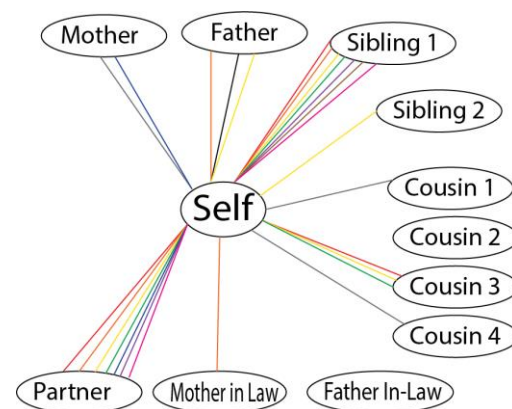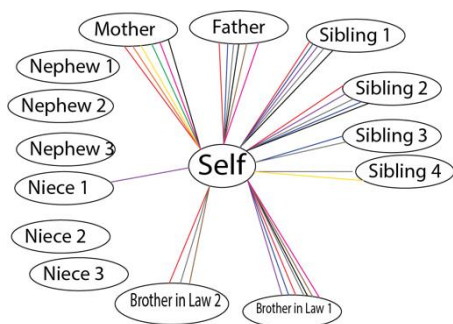
In this final example to the left, we see several missing connections with nieces and nephews. Again, this seems like we may not want to include it at first. However, first, note the number of people they have counted as family-a total of 14. This seems like an expansive view of family. Out of these 14, they have connections with 10 members. Often times, participants may not have connections with nieces or nephews because of age, so a situation like on the left is relatively common. Overall though, when you look at these person's connections, you say they have a lot of different connections with their parents, siblings, and in-laws. This also seems like an expansive network of connections.

Type 2

These maps are also characterized by an expansive view of family, but what differentiates them from Type 1's is that they don't have as many connections with their family. They typically may list upwards of 15 family members but are typically have connections with only have. While they have an expansive view of family, they tend to have lots of connections with a smaller, more specific set of family members they tend to be closer with.
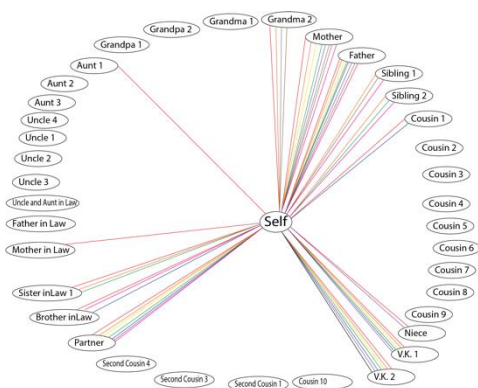
On this map, you can see that this person has an extremely large, expansive view of family-they list over 30 family members when asked who they consider to be family! While they have an expansive view of family, they only seem to talk to 14 members, or less than half. Within these 14 members, they seem to have a very close relationship where they could talk about many different things. The disparity between expansive view of family, and more concentrated connections is what makes this map a Type 2.

This is another map that really exemplifies a Type 2. This person has labeled many people they consider to be family, including four "voluntary kin" and thirteen siblings. However, you can see a divide in the people this person actually talks to. Of the total people listed, they seem to talk to roughly half. While they have an expansive view of family, they seem to have relatively condensed connections overall.
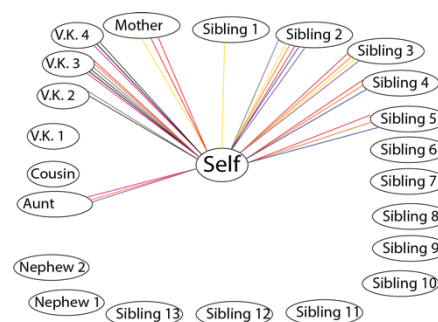
This last map can be a bit tricky to define. At first, it may look like this person still has a lot of connections and does not have as many family members. First, count the number of family members they list. They have eleven family members, which errs on the side of high. Secondly, they only have connections with 6 people. That's very close to having
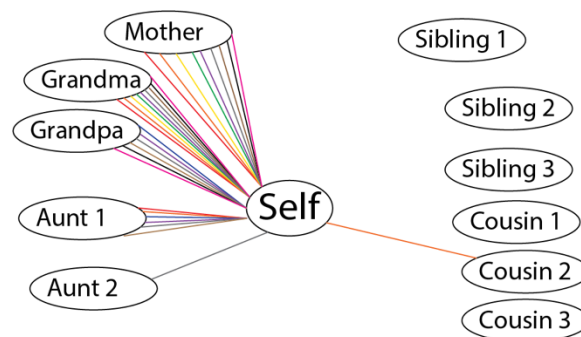
connections with half of family members. Even just looking visually at it, it does look like a 50/50 set of connections.

Type 3

Type 3 maps are characterized by a relatively small and condensed network. They don't list as many family members or are only close to a small number of family members. They have fewer connections than Type 2 families, and far fewer family members than Type 1s' and Type 2's. They have a less expansive view of family, or they may only have connections with one or two family members.
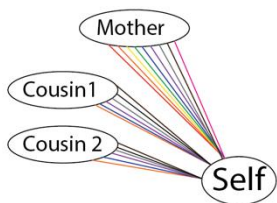
In this example, you can see that this person only lists three individuals as family members and has many liens with all of them. This person seems to have a small, close knit view of family. This is an example of a person with a less expansive view of family.

In this example, while the person lists more family members compared to the previous entry, but as you can see, they only have a lot of connections with their voluntary kin. Compared to Type 2 families, this person has a less expansive view of family, even though they have several members.
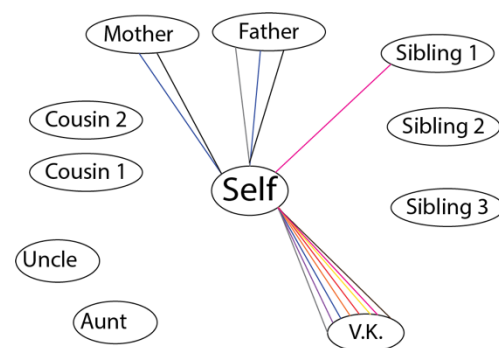

Additionally, they only have strong connections with one family member, rather than Type 2's who tend to have connections with about half of the family members they list.

Type 4

Type four families tend to be "balanced." They have a moderate view of family, so they typically indicate 6-8 family members, and have a few connections with the majority of these people, at least 3-4 lines. At first glance at these maps, it almost looks like you can perfectly balance these maps on a finger. Their family usually includes immediate family and extends to a few family members beyond that such as a few cousins, aunts and uncles, or voluntary kin. They tend to talk to different family members about different things and have different colored lines to each person.

In the example on the right, you can see that this person has listed a total of six family members, and each person has a variation of lines. They seem to go to certain people for certain topics and has a different relationship with each member. You can see how their map is almost split, such that if you draw a straight line between "mother" and "V.K. and Sibling" (the dotted line), the

map seems to split evenly almost besides the lack of connection with their father
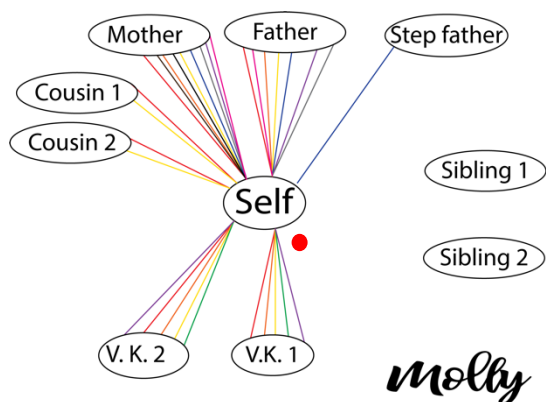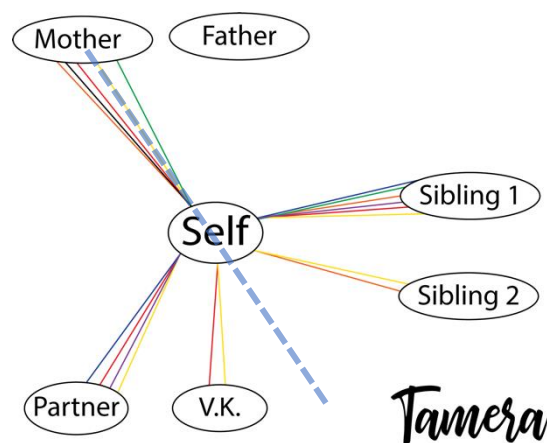
With the example on the left, you can also see a similar pattern where they have listed a total of nine family members and have many different colored lines to many different people. The lines seem to be very balanced, and there are lot of

different colors to different people. If you look at the red dot on the map, it again looks almost balanced, or as if you had the ability to put your finger on the map and balance it.

Coding Process

You will receive a link to a Google folder for being maps. On the next page, there is a blank sheet, with the labels for each map. After we do some initial training, you will go through the Google folder, and write the label of each map, which will be initials followed by a series of numbers, in each category. Lastly, if you think of a name or phrase you think that describes the category, there's a space on the sheets!   Once you're done, you can e-mail me that sheet and I will check for reliability!

Coding Tips

- Read the codebook over, and the different type of maps a few times before starting.
- Don't over think it! If you feel yourself splitting hairs, just go with your gut!
- Have the codebook out as you go through as you get more comfortable with the maps.
- If you feel overwhelmed, put it away for the night!

Map Type	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4

Participants

Possible Name