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Entitled
The Process and Dimensions of Family Member Marginalization: A Mixed-Method Construct Explication

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Is approved by the final examining committee:

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Approved by Major Professor(s): Steven R. Wilson

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THE PROCESS AND DIMENSIONS OF FAMILY MEMBER MARGINALIZATION:
A MIXED-METHOD CONSTRUCT EXPLICATION

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

of

Purdue University

by

Elizabeth Dorrance Hall

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 2015

Purdue University

West Lafayette, Indiana

For my family (broadly defined).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Dorrance Hall, Elizabeth. PhD., Purdue University, May 2015. The process and dimensions of family member marginalization: A mixed-method construct explication. Major Professor: Steven R. Wilson.

This dissertation builds upon social psychology, organizational studies (i.e., social identity theory, social network theory), family studies, and interpersonal communication (i.e., hurt, confirmation theory) literature to understand how marginalized family members, or "black sheep," come to live at the edge of their families. In some societies, marginalized family members are called black sheep because they stand out from the rest of the group. Being marginalized refers to feeling different, not included, or not approved of by family. Two studies were conducted to uncover and test the dimensions of family marginalization and explore the process of marginalization in families. Study 1 consisted of interviews with marginalized family members ($N = 30$) between the ages of 25-35 who had felt marginalized by family for at least one year during the past 10 years. Study 1 utilized the retrospective interviewing technique to conduct a turning point analysis and grounded theory to analyze in depth interview data. Study 2 was designed to extend and compliment Study 1 by replicating some of Study 1's research findings and exploring the construct of marginalization with a larger, more diverse sample of marginalized family members ($N = 315$). An online survey version of the retrospective interviewing technique collected turning point data.

The two investigations described here identified three dimensions of marginalization: difference, disapproval, and exclusion. Cluster analysis revealed that participant scores on the three dimensions can be grouped into three types of marginalized people: highly marginalized, moderately marginalized, and similar yet marginalized. Study 1's turning point analysis categorized events into 22 categories and identified 5 trajectories that represented the process of family marginalization: turbulent, inclining, disrupted, declining, and prolonged. Study 2's turning point analysis refined the turning point codebook from Study 1 and coded events into 9 overarching categories. Study 2's results replicated three of the trajectories identified in Study 1 (i.e., inclining, declining, disrupted) and identified 1 additional trajectory (i.e., stable-high). Theoretical and practical implications of the findings are discussed including avenues for future research (e.g., creating a family member marginalization scale and identifying strategies for managing marginalization).

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 <u>Statement of the Problem</u>

All humans experience an innate need to belong. The belongingness hypothesis describes a "powerful, fundamental, and extremely pervasive" interpersonal motivation for forming and maintaining relationships with others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 497). In order to meet the need for belonging, humans must have frequent and positive interactions with close others who care about them in an ongoing relationship. Psychological and physical consequences occur when the need for belonging is not met such as depression, anxiety, loneliness, jealousy, and guilt rather than the positive affect that comes from the formation and maintenance of close relationships.

Group membership represents one form of belonging. According to Social Identity Theory, groups are instrumental in identity formation (Ashforth & Mael, 2004) and rejection from social groups can lead to uncertainty, loss of identity (Hogg, 2005), and emotional numbness (DeWall, Baumeister, & Masicampo, 2009). For many people, families offer a key sense of belonging and group identity. Sometimes, when members are excluded from their family they are referred to as "black sheep" (Fitness, 2005). Black sheep, or marginalized family members, feel fundamentally different from other members and often feel excluded, less well liked, or treated differently by their

family. They belong, yet they do not belong in the same way as the others in their family group.

Family members are in a unique position to hurt one another yet when hurt occurs, it is less likely to end the relationship or sever contact than if that same hurt happened in a friendship or romantic relationship (Vangelisti & Crumley, 1998). Therefore, familial rejection or marginalization is likely an especially powerful threat to the need to belong and may have even harsher consequences than rejection from other social groups. However, how people come to live on the edge of their families as marginalized members remains unexplored. It is unknown what marginalized people go through (e.g., kinds of marginalizing events), who contributes to this process, and how (e.g., what family members say or do to cause others to feel marginalized).

1.2 Overview and Purpose of the Research

This project aimed to discover how family marginalization occurs over time, to clarify what communicative events contribute to the process of marginalization, and finally, to explicate the underlying dimensions of marginalization. Rejection from social groups leads to a loss of identity, feelings of depression, guilt, and loneliness, yet some research has found that marginalization can have positive outcomes as well such as enhancing diverse relationships and experiences. Fitness (2005) found that the marginalization of family members is common (i.e., 80% of participants reported at least one marginalized family member) and identified sources of feeling marginalized such as differences in looks and interests, not fitting in with the rest of the family, engaging in crime, or marrying an undesirable partner. Previous research suggests the kinds of events that may be perceived as marginalizing (e.g., exclusion from a family event, putting a

family member down for being different) but no empirical test of the process of marginalization has been conducted. Explicating the construct of marginalization in families is important because concept explication "strengthen[s] the ties among theory, observation, and research" and can improve the understanding of communication for researchers and family members (Chaffee, 1991, p. 2).

1.3 Preview of Subsequent Chapters

Chapter Two reviews relevant literature from social psychology, organizational studies, family studies, and communication to provide a foundation from which family member marginalization can be understood. The frameworks of hurtful communication and confirmation are discussed as guiding structures in analyzing how communication operates in the process of marginalization. Following the literature review, research findings regarding marginalized family members are summarized and gaps in existing research are identified.

Chapter Three contains the research questions, analysis procedure and results for Study 1. Study 1's participants are described and eligibility requirements are detailed. Turning point analysis, the retrospective interviewing technique, and grounded theory are explained along with the methods that will be used to answer each research question.

Chapter Four includes the findings and interpretations for each research question in Study 1. Example turning point graphs are presented and interpreted. Next, a discussion of Study 1's findings including a model of the process of family member marginalization is presented followed by the strengths and limitations of Study 1.

Chapter Five presents the research questions, measures, and methodological tools for Study 2. Study 2 is designed to extend and compliment Study 1 by (a) replicating

some of Study 1's research findings and (b) further exploring the construct of marginalization with a larger, more diverse sample. Study 2's participants are described and eligibility requirements are detailed. Study 2's measures are described including confirmatory factor analysis results.

Chapter Six includes the results and discussion for Study 2. The results will be presented including statistical tests such as cluster analysis and analysis of variance. Each research question will be answered along with tables and graphs to illustrate findings. The discussion contains patterns across findings and the strengths and limitations of Study 2.

Chapter Seven concludes the dissertation with a discussion of research findings across Study 1 and 2. The results are compared to existing literature on marginalized people to assess what makes family member marginalization unique. Theoretical and practical implications of the research are discussed, followed by the strengths and limitations of the two studies and avenues for future research including creating a family member marginalization scale, identifying strategies for managing marginalization, and exploring the association between resilience and family marginalization.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 <u>On the Margins: Rejection, Group Membership, Isolation, and Differential Treatment</u>

Group member marginalization has been referred to as the "black sheep effect" (see Marques & Paez, 1994). Fitness (2005) defined a black sheep[1] family member as a member "who was not approved of, or liked, or included as much as the others" (p. 271). This dissertation will refer to the concept of black sheep as marginalized family members. Marginalized family members feel different from the rest of their family and perceive they are excluded in some way and/or treated differently by their family. They belong, yet they do not belong in the same way as the others in their family group.

For the purposes of this study, family is defined structurally in terms of one's family of origin and close extended relatives. The family of origin is typically the family a person is born into and "includes parents, grandparents, siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, and so forth" (Segrin & Flora, 2005, p. 6). There are at least three ways to define family, by structure, function, and interaction. A structural definition draws lines around who is in a family based on objective means of connection (e.g., genetics, adoption, marriage).

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[1] The term black sheep has a genetic origin and refers to the recessive gene for black wool in sheep. The term took on a negative connotation because black wool cannot be dyed and therefore was worth less to sellers making black sheep undesirable. Because of the negative associations with the term, the more precise language "family member marginalization" will be used in this study.

Definitions based on function rely on what families do together (e.g., provide support, development, nurturance) and interaction definitions describe families based on the transactions within a family (e.g., providing a shared identity and sense of place and history). A structural definition was chosen for this study to ensure that marginalized individuals focus on the family they grew up with (e.g., related by birth, adoption, or have lived together for an extended period of time), the family that has likely marginalized them for a long period of time. Marginalized family members may be at the margins of their families in the sense that they are structurally linked to their families of origin but do not experience some of the functions or transactions that help other family members feel included. It is possible that some marginalized members have created new families for themselves (e.g., through marriage or fictive kin) due to their status with their "original" family. Those families might fall under a functional or interactional definition of family instead.

Very little research has been conducted on marginalization within families so relevant research from three intellectual traditions are drawn on to understand marginalization in the family: social psychology, organizational studies, and family studies.

2.1.1 Social Psychology: Social Outcasting Processes

The field of social psychology offers research on social-cognitive processes such as ostracism, exclusion, and rejection. According to Williams, Forgas, Von Hippel, and Zadro (2005) deprivation of belongingness is a form of punishment that has been utilized for thousands of years from exile of early civilizations to solitary confinement in today's prison systems. Psychological research on people who are social outcasts and those who

cast them out has focused on four primary types of related social outcasting processes: ostracism, social exclusion, rejection, and bullying (Williams et al., 2005). Each of these processes can contribute to an understanding of the concept of family member marginalization, yet marginalization by family members does not fit cleanly into any of the existing categories.

Ostracism occurs when a person is ignored and excluded from a social group. Humans and animals have evolved to detect potential ostracism and alter their behaviors in order to fit in and be accepted by their collectives (Williams & Zadro, 2005). Social exclusion refers to not being included in a network but does not have to involve being ignored and the act of exclusion does not necessarily have to devalue an existing relationship (as rejection does; Leary, 2005). Social exclusion often leads to anxiety (Baumeister & Tice, 1990) which is linked to "damaged, lost, or threatened social bonds" (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 506). Rejection can include "verbal or physical action that declares that the individual is not wanted as a member within a relationship or group" (Williams et al., 2005, p. 3). Exclusion can be a form of rejection if the rejected person once belonged to the group that is excluding them. For example, a person can be excluded from a friend's birthday party (rejection) or from riding a crowded bus (not rejection; Leary, 2005). Finally, bullying refers to verbal, nonverbal, and/or physical abuse coupled with negative attention paid to an individual. Bullying is often marked by hostile action rather than avoidance or aversion and a power imbalance between two parties (Juvonen & Gross, 2005).

Social exclusion and rejection incur bleak consequences for both behavior and health (DeWall, Baumeister, & Masicampo, 2009). For example, rejected people have

been found to display aggressiveness (Buckley, Winkel, & Leary, 2004), reduced intellectual functioning (Baumeister, Twenge, & Nuss, 2002), and increased risk-taking behaviors (Twenge, Catanese, & Baumeister, 2002). Some research has found that while social exclusion *should* be highly emotionally distressing due to human's need to belong, studies consistently find small emotional effects as a result of social exclusion. DeWall et al. (2009) propose that many people experience emotional numbness and detachment after exclusion. DeWall and Baumeister (2006) found that in controlled experiments in which participants were told they would have a lonesome future, people who were socially excluded displayed emotional insensitivity, lack of empathy, and emotional numbness. DeWall et al. (2009) suggest that the emotionally numb reaction could be an evolutionary response to social exclusion to minimize distress in which the emotion system temporarily ceases to function normally. Most of this work has been conducted using isolated incidences of exclusion, and the authors call for research on "repeated instances of rejection" (p. 138). Family member marginalization provides an example of repeated rejection and/or social exclusion.

Ostracism, rejection, exclusion, and bullying can occur in a variety of settings including schools, the workplace, the legal system, religious organizations, and most relevantly, the family. It is clear that the lines between these constructs are blurry at best, and that research on the outcomes of such behavior is limited to single exposure experimental studies, two reasons why further research is needed to explicate and refine the different types of social outcasting.

2.1.2 Organizational Studies: Social Identities and Social Networks

Two veins of organizational research should lend further explanation to the

marginalization of family members: social identity theory and group membership, and

social network theory. First, Social Identity Theory (SIT) helps explain why social group

acceptance is of vital importance to people. Social categories are cognitive tools that

order society and influence an individual's sense of self by defining where they belong in

their social world (Ashforth & Mael, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). SIT explains that

individuals identify with groups for a variety of reasons including the need to feel part of

an in-group and the need for self-enhancement through attachment to a prestigious

organization. Organizational scholars have identified a "black sheep effect" in which

likeable in-group members are regarded more positively than similar out-group members

and disliked in-group members are regarded more negatively than similar out-group

members (Marques & Paez, 1994, p. 38; Hogg & Terry, 2000). In other words, it is

socially worse to be part of the in-group and be disliked than to be in the out-group.

Although the black sheep effect has not been examined in the context of families (Beck,

Miller, & Frahm, 2011), this distinction may be especially salient in families as the in-

group is not typically chosen by its members (i.e., a person is born into the in-group) and

rejection from the in-group could indicate a loss of identity.

According to Hogg (2005), members on the margins (i.e., on the in-group/out-

group boundary) feel affectively rejected and are more unpopular and disliked than

members of either the in-group or out-group. These members have little to no influence

over the group and other group members tend to view them as deviant. Hogg and Terry

(2000) write about organizational black sheep in a slightly different way. They assert that

marginalized group members can be "positive deviants" (p. 127). For example, positive deviants could be overachievers who are socially unattractive due to their different nature. These people are atypical, yet in "evaluatively favorable ways" (p. 127). Hogg and Terry propose that positive deviants are rejected when group solidarity is favored above organizational prestige. Organizational scholars assert that the black sheep effect serves to enforce in-group uniformity (Marques & Paez, 1994). This social pressure for homogeneity is evident in family groups as well. Koerner and Fitzpatrick (2002) have identified the desire for conformity as one of two major underlying dimensions of communication patterns in families.

Supporting Hogg and Terry's work on positive deviants, Beck et al. (2011) suggest that because conformity depends on the values, beliefs, and attitudes of each family, deviancy likely looks different depending on individual family norms and may not always be "bad." Instead, deviance in families may be a "contradiction to prototypicality" and could benefit family identity and understanding by bringing to light neglected problems within the family (p. 103). Despite the potential for positive deviants, marginal members can introduce a "threat of uncertainty" to all members of the group (Hogg & Terry, 2000, p. 127). According to Hogg (2005), marginal members feel uncertainty about their group membership which often causes a desire to leave the group "physically and psychologically" (p. 254). Research in the organizational context paints a picture of the emotional pain and difficulties likely encountered by marginalized family members.

Social network theory is a second vein of organizational research that has examined marginalized people. Networks scholars have theorized about "isolates" which

are people or organizations on the "periphery of the network" (Monge & Contractor, 2003, p. 195). Isolates can be people who have no ties to others or have primarily weak ties to others. Weak ties include acquaintances while strong ties are often friends (Granovetter, 1973; 1983). Weak tie networks are loosely knit as opposed to a dense web of ties where each person is connected to everyone else. According to Roberts, Dunbar, Pollet, and Kuppens (2009), kin are structurally embedded meaning that even if they are not in direct contact with one another they are linked to some of the same others so they receive updates and information about each other. Roberts et al. (2009) found that on average, female participants contact three-quarters of their extended family network each year illustrating the web-like structure of family ties. Alternatively, the weak ties in one person's network often do not know one another and therefore represent access to diverse ideas and experiences (Granovetter, 1983).

It is possible that people on the margins of groups seek to fulfill the need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) by connecting with people outside of their primary group. Social network research has found that people who are network isolates have more ties outside of their given community (Monge & Contractor, 2003). Interestingly, people who are on the periphery of the network have a higher capability of innovation as they are exposed to different people and ideas than those who operate primarily within one group, a benefit to their unique point of view. This may also be true of families if family members on the margins encounter more diverse life experiences and relationships because they seek connections outside of their family of origin. For example, a LGBT family member may seek relationships outside of their family group if disclosing their sexual orientation results in ostracism of the LGBT individual by their family. Family

marginalization may push that individual to form strong ties to other communities such as LGBT friends and supporters to compensate for weakened or lost family ties. The marginalized member's exposure to experiences within this new community is likely different from the experiences he/she would have had with his/her family of origin. Marginalized group members and network isolates are important to continue to explore as organizational research has found that marginalization can be both positive and negative (e.g., higher rates of innovation and overachievement), yet research on the social outcast in psychology has reported overwhelmingly negative outcomes.

2.1.3 Family Studies: Differential Treatment by Parents

Family studies research lends additional understanding to the marginalization of family members. Research on parental differential treatment (i.e., the study of the effects of unequal affection and control of children within the same family; McHale, Crouter, McGuire, & Updegraff, 1995) has found that parents often treat their children differently and that children are able to detect this imbalanced treatment from an early age (McHale, Updegraff, Jackson-Newsom, Tucker, & Crouter, 2000). Differential treatment by parents has been linked to individual adjustment such as lower self-esteem, negative emotionality, and depressive symptoms and has consequences for the quality of the sibling relationship (i.e., levels of intimacy and conflict; Dunn, Stockery, & Plomin, 1990; Jensen, Whiteman, Fingerman, & Birditt, 2013; McHale et al., 2000). Favored treatment can be conceptualized as more support and affection while less favored treatment is the opposite (Jensen et al., 2013). Additionally, most people can identify a family favorite. Past research has found that 50-84% of participants have experienced family favoritism (Klagsbrun, 1992; Fitness, 2005). In fact, Jensen et al. (2013) claimed

that providing *equal* treatment is an impossible task as children have different needs depending on their individual stage of development. McHale et al. (2000) found that among middle childhood and adolescent siblings, perceptions of fairness were more influential than ratings of objective parental differential treatment indicating that the individual's subjective experience is more important than actual equality in the relationship.

Studies on the differential treatment of *adult* children are rare, but according to Suitor et al. (2008) differential treatment by parents of adult children is even more common than childhood differential treatment, especially in terms of support and closeness (Suitor, Pillemer, & Sechrist, 2006). Differential treatment in adulthood is rooted in parent-child similarities, developmental history, equity and exchange, and family structure. Favored children often share values with their parents, are well adjusted adults (e.g., normative, not deviant), provide parental support, and live nearby (Suitor et al., 2008). So while differential treatment is common, it can lead to perceptions of inequality that may last a lifetime. It is yet unknown how differential treatment is connected to the marginalization of one family member.

<center>2.2 <u>Communicating Marginalization</u></center>

Communication is the vehicle with which marginalization of people is enacted, perpetuated, and received. The field of communication offers two frameworks through which the messages marginalized family members receive can be understood: hurtful communication and disconfirmation.

2.2.1 Hurtful Family Communication

While not all hurtful family communication leads to marginalization, the concept

of hurt is important to understanding how family member marginalization occurs.

According to Vangelisti and Hampel (2010), hurt is a feeling of emotional injury that can

be caused by communication. Oftentimes hurt involves loss in some form and in the

context of family communication that loss may be of the family identity, of what

"family" once meant to its members (e.g., a safe haven or supportive core group), or of

the value placed on family relationships. Research has found that hurt is experienced as

most intense or damaging when it is (a) perceived as intentional, (b) part of an ongoing

pattern of hurtful behavior, and (c) out of the control of the person being hurt (e.g., the

hurt person feels the situation is outside of their ability to change). Young and Bippus

(2001) found that especially hurtful messages are perceived as more intentionally hurtful

and that perceived intentional hurt is more intense, more damaging, and more distancing.

Relational distancing can include the formation of a relational rift or withdrawal from the

relationship (McLaren & Solomon, 2008). Vangelisti and Young (2000) found a

significant interaction between the frequency of hurt (i.e., patterned behavior) and the

intention of a hurtful message, such that perceptions of hurt were highest when the

messages were seen as intentionally hurtful and frequency of hurtful messaging was low.

Perceptions of hurt were lowest when the messages were seen as both unintentional and

low in frequency. Additionally, when the messages were seen as intentional and frequent,

the degree of hurt was lower than when they were unintentional and frequent.

To account for these findings, Vangelisti and Hampel (2010) describe two models

that predict how a person might react to hurtful behavior. First, the sensitization model

suggests that with frequent exposure to hurtful behavior, people will become more sensitive to hurt and will experience an exaggerated and intense response. Second, the habituation model suggests that exposure to hurt will result in an emotional numbness to future hurtful communication (Vangelisti, Maguire, Alexander, & Clark, 2007). The habituation model suggests that patterns of feeling hurt create emotional calluses. Vanegelisti et al. tested the two models and found partial support for the habituation model, in that "individuals whose family environment was characterized by a lack of affection and not by aggression, neglect, or violence demonstrated a callous response to hurtful situations" (p. 380).

Family members are especially skilled at hurting one another for three reasons. First, family members often have extensive knowledge about each other due to their shared history. Family members are also involuntarily tied to each other, so they experience a structural commitment to one another (Vangelisti & Hampel, 2010). Finally, family members are interdependent and tend to be heavily invested in one another emotionally (Mills & Piotrowski, 2009). Vangelisti et al. (2007) identified four dimensions of hurtful family environments including aggression, lack of affection, neglect, and violence. Aggression is typified by behaviors such as belittling, dominating and insulting communication, criticism, lying, arguing, controlling behaviors, ganging up on family members, and stress. Lack of affection is exemplified by the absence of verbal affirmations of love, physical affection, encouragement, and spending time together. Neglect includes ignoring or not paying attention to one another and not feeling comfortable around some family members. Violence encompasses physical harm and sexual abuse. Participants who experienced family environments that were aggressive,

lacking in affection, and neglectful were most likely to be dissatisfied with their family relationships.

While family hurt is painful, it leads to *less* distancing than hurt from other types of relationships (Vangelisti & Crumley, 1998). In fact, Vangelisti and Crumley claimed that tolerance of hurtful communication is a "relatively common coping mechanism for many family members" (p. 191). For example, a person who is hurt by a friend who continually cancels plans at the last minute eventually might end the relationship, while a person whose brother or sister continually cancels plans might feel frustrated yet continue interacting with the sibling. The concept of distancing may explain why some marginalized family members continue to play an active role in their family while others leave or enact a smaller role. Distancing also represents one way individuals contribute to their own marginalization – they may desire to create distance in their relationship with family members due to the hurtful environment they perceive.

Marginalization may not always result from a hurtful communication family environment. Vangelisti et al. (2007) claim that for a family environment to be considered hurtful, "members must experience or observe hurt on a regular basis" and evaluate the majority of their family experiences as emotionally painful. Marginalized family members may not characterize their family *environment* as hurtful because the majority of their experiences are not hurtful, but could likely recall instances in which they have felt emotional pain due to the communication of another family member. Hurtful family environments are composed of multiple dimensions (e.g., aggression, lack of affection, neglect, and violence), and marginalized family members may describe their family as high on some, but not all four dimensions.

Research on hurtful communication provides background on what communication events that lead to marginalization might look like, for example, intense, patterned, perceived as intentional, and out of the marginalized family member's control. Mills and Piotrowski (2009) provide evidence that parental favoritism can be the cause of hurt if a child perceives that a parent values his/her sibling more than him/herself. In addition, school aged children have identified acts such as "yelling, punishment (physical or otherwise), refusing permission, sibling favoritism, broken promises, disrespect, teasing, criticism, and distancing/rebuffing" as hurtful (p. 263). The authors note that not all children find the same acts hurtful, and that individual differences influence perceptions and appraisals of hurtful events.

2.2.2 Confirmation

Confirmation theory offers a second framework that provides an understanding of how and why some people perceive themselves and/or are perceived as marginalized within their families in terms of patterns of messages and overall relational climates. Just as humans inherently need to belong, confirmation theory encompasses the idea that individuals have an inherent need to be validated by their relational partners (Buber, 1965; Dailey, 2006). Buber (1965) claimed that confirmation may be the most important function of interacting with others. Without validation through confirmation, individuals do not develop a strong self-concept as confirmation allows people to discover and establish their identities. Specifically, confirmation occurs on the relational level of communication, meaning that the focus is on what messages imply about who the speaker is, who the receiver is, and who they are in relation to each other rather than on the content of messages (Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967). Confirming messages

encourage further communication and discussion by showing affection for another while pushing them to achieve more and examine their own ideas and emotions. When a person is confirmed, they feel "endorsed" and "acknowledged" as unique and valuable (Laing, 1961). Cissna and Sieburg (1981) claimed that "confirming behaviors are those which permit people to experience their own being and significance as well as their connectedness with others" (p. 269). Marginalizing one family member directly opposes the definition of confirmation.

On the other end of the continuum, disconfirming messages deny another their personal worthiness, hindering development. Sieburg (1973) highlighted the power of communication to "damage, mutilate, or cripple" a person's spirit (p. 1). Cissna and Keating (1979) note that "communication is a two edged sword; it can confirm as well as disconfirm" (p. 48). Disconfirming messages cause individuals to think of themselves as less valuable (Sieburg & Larson, 1971). Disconfirmation denies another's experiences, discredits their feelings, and rejects their communication (e.g., "I don't know what to tell you") and is painful because it negates a person's need for validation and incites "fear of alienation, loneliness, or abandonment" (Sieburg, 1973, p. 10).

Sieburg (1985) proposed three categories of disconfirmation: indifference, disqualification and imperviousness. In an earlier manuscript, Sieburg (1973) claimed the three categories are hierarchical, with indifference representing the most disconfirming and imperviousness representing the least, although this hierarchy has been challenged in subsequent research (see Jacobs, 1973). *Indifferent* communication denies another's existence or involvement and can include behaviors such as interruptions or interjections, avoidance, impersonal language, ignoring, or nonverbal distancing (e.g., moving away or

leaving a room while the other is speaking). Extreme forms of indifference include estrangement and disaffiliation. Total indifference or disconfirmation is rare but has been associated with loss of self, frustration, and violence to self and others (Sieburg, 1973).

Disqualification inhibits another's communication and involves communication that is incongruent or ambiguous, denying another's significance. Rather than total disconfirmation as described in indifference, disqualification recognizes the other in a limited way (i.e., recognizing a person's existence but ignoring her/his communication attempts). People who are disqualified feel they are not heard, respected, or regarded as important. Other disqualifying behaviors include reacting to selective parts of a conversation, changing the subject, responding tangentially, and evading a question while making it seem as if the question is being answered.

Finally, *imperviousness* denies or discredits another's experience (e.g., feelings). Denial of another's experience can take many forms including giving new meaning through interpretation, modifying, or inhibiting. Speaking for another person, evaluating or analyzing another's experience, and distortion of emotional expression are all impervious communication behaviors. This category differentiates between clarification and interpretation. While clarification repeats or crystallizes what another has said, interpretation goes beyond the words of the speaker and often adds the listener's own feelings and motivations to what the speaker has said. For example, "you may think you feel that way, but I know you don't" or "Stop worrying, there's nothing to be afraid of" (Sieburg, 1973, p. 16). In the context of parent-child marginalization, imperviousness may take the form of a parent telling a child the parent has given the child everything s/he wants so the child could not possibly be unhappy. This is impervious communication

because the parent is denying the child's feelings and experience of unhappiness. Negative outcomes associated with disconfirmation have been identified more recently. For example, research has determined that a lack of confirmation in parent-child relationships is associated with lower adolescent openness (Dailey, 2006), psychosocial adjustment (Dailey, 2009), and family satisfaction (Schrodt & Ledbetter, 2012).

A series of confirming and disconfirming messages over time creates a relational climate (Dailey, 2006). A relationship built and maintained with confirming messages contributes to a confirming relational climate. Confirming climates encourage open discussion, self-reflection, and include more warm and validating messages. A disconfirming climate is typified by a hostile or rejecting messages leading to a sense of inferiority for those involved. Research on climates rather than individual messages provides a more holistic view of relationships as they are a series of interactions rather than isolated incidences, yet this research is rare because there are significant barriers to gathering this type of data (e.g., time, availability of participants). Researchers have begun to discover the detrimental effects that a lack of confirming communication can have on a person, but what happens to relationships with disconfirming climates long term is still unknown. The negative effects of disconfirmation on family life and individual family members need to be uncovered. This project will examine how disconfirming communication events contribute to a relational climate of disconfirmation and feelings of marginalization over time, capturing the dynamic nature of family relationships.

Disconfirming messages are likely a component of hurtful behavior that influences the process of marginalization. According to Williams et al. (2005), hurtful

words may actually be a preferred form of rejection over silence as communication (albeit negative) indicates the marginalized person is worthy of attention making it easier to cope with rejection. Research on disconfirmation posits a similar phenomenon. Chapman (1968) found that parental indifference (i.e., one component of disconfirmation) was more distressing to children than hostility because some level of interaction (albeit negative) with a parent is better than none at all.

While a direct link between marginalized family members and disconfirmation has not been drawn in existing literature, Laing (1961) provided evidence that indicates a link might exist. Laing identified patterns of disconfirming communication in "disturbed families" in his psychiatric studies (Sieburg, 1973). These patterns consisted of the frequent singling out of one child in a family "as the recipient of especially destructive communicative acts on the part of other family members" (p. 3). Laing (1961) explained that the child is not usually outright rejected or traumatized, but instead "subjected to persistent disconfirmation, usually unwittingly" (p. 83). Laing described disconfirmation as behavior that constrains another's autonomy, forces conformity of actions, and communicates a lack of concern for another including showing indifference to the person's existence. Laing's study provides a foundation for understanding how disconfirmation may be linked to the marginalization of a family member.

2.3 Family Member Marginalization

Some research has begun to uncover how marginalization operates in families. Adult children who identify as marginalized perceive they are different than the rest of their family. This perception can manifest due to differential treatment by parents, but can come from other sources as well (e.g., self-perceptions, siblings). Feeling

marginalized by one's family is related to yet different from parental disfavoritism or differential treatment, exclusion, rejection, and bullying. While research on marginalized family members is sparse, there is reason to believe it is a fairly common phenomenon in families. Of 70 Australian university students surveyed in Fitness' (2005) study, 80% reported having a marginalized family member when asked whether there had been a black sheep in their family, defined as "someone who was not approved of, or liked, or included as much as the others in the family" (p. 271). Marginalized family members ranged from themselves (21%), to brothers, sisters, uncles, and cousins. Fitness asked the students "how they knew" a family member was a black sheep and "why they thought that person had been the black sheep" (pp. 271-272). Perceived difference including looking different, having a different personality, having different interests or talents, and simply not fitting in comprised the most cited reasons. Fitness also found that men often earned their status through troublemaking like crime or drugs while women earned their status by being different, ceasing contact, moving, or marrying an undesirable partner.

In a study of dementia case files that reported caregivers who were also adult children of the dementia patients, Peisah, Brodaty, and Quadrio (2006) found that many of the marginalized family members in their study (i.e., family members whom a group of siblings allied against) were male, unemployed, and single. Interestingly, they found that marginalized members at one point may have been the more favored of the children. For example, if one child was perceived as the family runt or experienced difficulties (e.g., mental illness), they may have been paid special attention growing up thereby separating them from the rest of the sibling group. This study supports the notion that the

"different" family member might be perceived as different for a variety of reasons including being favored or disfavored by parents.

2.4 Summary of Findings

Extant literature provides a foundation for explicating the construct of family marginalization yet leaves much unknown about the communicative process of being marginalized by family. Scholars know that humans' need to belong. The literature reviewed above suggests that feeling marginalized by one's social group leads to a myriad of negative consequences and that being marginalized can be worse than complete rejection or exclusion (see Hogg, 2005). Outcomes may be even worse when marginalization occurs in a family context as groups provide a sense of identity and families are a key part of identity exploration from a young age (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). Organizational studies suggest that people may be marginalized as negative or positive deviants and networks research has found that those who are marginalized often have more diverse experiences and relationships and have higher ability for innovation. In terms of family marginalization, Suitor et al. (2008) has found that adult children are treated differently by parents at even higher rates than in childhood and that certain circumstances or events can lead to family marginalization such as criminal activity, marrying someone the family does not approve of, or rebellious behavior (Fitness, 2005). Finally, scholars know a little about what forms the act of family marginalization can take (e.g., ignoring or not inviting someone to family events to complete exclusion and excommunication from the family) and what communication that is hurtful or disconfirming looks like. Despite what is known, past research provides a limited understanding of family member marginalization.

Because family member marginalization has been understudied, there are several gaps in the literature. To begin, researchers need to understand how marginalized people make sense of their marginalization. Marginalization research to date has focused primarily on socially-excluded children or on adults in organizational settings. It is unknown what it means for young adults to be marginalized from their family, especially from the perspective of the marginalized individuals themselves.

Another fundamental gap is the process by which marginalization of family members occurs. A process is comprised of a series of actions or events that result in an outcome (e.g., a sequence of stages; Poole, 2007). Marginalization does not occur over night; it instead likely unfolds and changes over many events and years. The steps or events that occur add to a family members' perceptions of being marginalized and there may be no one event that "tipped the scale" for them. Instead it may be a series of events over time that made them feel marginalized. Fitness (2005) has identified some of the reasons a person may be marginalized (e.g., being different in terms of personality or values), yet the process by which people become marginalized has not been identified. Turning point analysis (Baxter & Bullis, 1986; Bolton, 1961), a method of tracking changes in the nature of a relationship by looking at a series of events over time, offers one framework for examining the process of marginalization and is described in further detail below.

It is also unclear what role communication plays in the marginalization of family members. Hurtful communication and a series of disconfirming messages and exchanges are likely involved but this claim has not been examined empirically. Finally, it is unclear

which family members play roles in the process of marginalization and how marginalized family members might contribute to their own marginalized status.

To discover how marginalization occurs over time, what communicative events contribute to the process of marginalization, the roles of various family members in the process of marginalization, and explicate the underlying dimensions of marginalization, two studies were conducted. Study 1 comprised of interviewing marginalized family members to understand the meaning of marginalization from their perspective and how the process of marginalization unfolded in their particular cases. The interviews aimed to determine what role communication played in the process of marginalization and to what extent individuals were active participants in their own marginalization. A turning point analysis was conducted and the results were analyzed using grounded theory to determine underlying dimensions of marginalization. Results from this study informed a survey used in Study 2. Study 2 replicated some of the findings from Study 1 with a larger and more diverse sample, as well as discovered whether types of marginalized people can be identified by clustering participants based on their scores on the dimensions of marginalization scales. These scales were chosen based on the dimensions of marginalization identified in Study 1. Finally, Study 2 used the turning point analysis method on a larger scale to identify types of paths or trajectories that marginalization can take in families by connecting turning points and categorizing trajectories.

CHAPTER 3. STUDY 1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS, PARTICIPANTS, AND

PROCEDURES

Study 1 explored marginalization from the point of view of the participant by conducting in depth interviews with marginalized family members. The interviews captured the process of marginalization through points in time and identified the roles of communication, various family members, and marginalized members in their own process of marginalization. Below, each of these aims is described in detail followed by specific research questions.

In order to focus on family member marginalization within families of origin (i.e., as opposed to an adult's married family, children, and in-laws), this study examined the experiences of 25-35 year olds. When asked to focus on their family of origin, or family members who are related by birth, adoption, or have lived together for an extended period of time, the majority of people in this age group were able to think about the family they grew up with. People who are 25-35 are past the emerging adult life stage which is marked by change (e.g., in career, living situation, relationship status) yet young enough to still think of their family of origin as their "family." This is important as participants were asked to keep in mind the same definition of family as they answered questions about family member marginalization. People who are 25-35 years old could be single or fall into one of Olson et al.'s (1983) early Family Life Cycle Stages: Stage 1:

young marrieds without children, Stage 2: families with preschoolers, Stage 3: families with school age children. Therefore, participants in this age range were focused enough on the relationships in their family of origin to answer questions about those experiences.

3.1 <u>Research Questions</u>

Before the process of marginalization can be understood, the concept of family member marginalization must be explicated. An important place to start in understanding the concept is through the direct experiences of marginalized people. Understanding how meaning is constructed from the point of view of the participant is an important aim of research attempting to understand the social world (Schutz, 1967). Rich, thick description can be used to understand what is unknown about family member marginalization (Geertz, 1994). For example, a detailed description of what it means to be marginalized in a family can be compared to what is known about marginalization from other groups (e.g., in the workplace) to determine points of disagreement and similarity. Differences highlight the unique aspects of family member marginalization.

Understanding how marginalized family members make sense of what it means to be marginalized also may begin to uncover types of marginalization. Typologies are used to determine patterns and relationships between groups that have been identified in the data based on theory or research objectives (Hatch, 2002). Identifying differences in marginalized experiences contributes to uncovering underlying dimensions of marginalization. Construct explication research aims to identify and describe a concept through observation and thought about how the "conceptual world and the real world" connect for the purpose of theory building and future research (Chaffee, 1991, p. 5).

Scholars from post-positivist and interpretivist meta-theoretical traditions might complete this task in two different ways, yet there is value in understanding marginalization from the point of view of marginalized family members while putting those views into conversation with existing theories and observations, as Chaffee (1991) suggests, to explicate the concept from the top-down. While post-positivism and interpretivism make inconsistent claims about the nature of knowledge, Fay and Moon (1994) argue that the perspectives are complimentary and depend on each other. For example, to understand a concept's meaning, a scholar must "have an understanding of the beliefs, desires and values of the particular people involved" but must also understand social conventions, rules, institutional practices, assumptions regarding nature and society, and explain why actions occur (p. 24). Fay and Moon illustrate the layers of meaning that understanding a concept from both post-positivist and interpretivist perspectives provides. The following research question was posed to discover how marginalized family members make sense of marginalization:

RQ1: How do marginalized family members describe what it means to be marginalized?

Besides understanding how family members describe their marginalized status, the most fundamental unknown is the process by which marginalization of family members occurs. As explained above, marginalization typically is not an isolated occurrence but happens over many events and/or years. A turning point analysis provides one way to capture this process and discover the events that lead to feelings of marginalization. A turning point is a "transformative event that alters a relationship in some important way, either positively or negatively" (Baxter, Braithwaite, & Nicholson, 1999, p. 294). Previous research on exclusion has been conducted primarily in laboratory

settings or through cross-sectional research concerning an isolated incident. Alternatively, a turning point analysis captures the relational history of a dyad or group. Relational histories are made up of many events and a turning point analysis will provide an understanding of the significance of communication surrounding an especially influential occurrence by asking people to describe and plot events that changed their family relationships (e.g., in terms of more or less marginalization) on a graph.

A turning point analysis is ideal for examining the process of marginalization because the method is time oriented. The data come from the participant's point of view and the procedure aids participant recall through the use of visual graphs, gathering information in chronological order, and probing and rechecking information shared throughout the interview. Past turning point research has been conducted on a variety of topics such as relationship development (Baxter & Bullis, 1986; Baxter & Pittman, 2001; Johnson et al., 2003), divorce (Graham, 1997), and decision-making (e.g., a couple's decision to remain child-free; Durham & Braithwaite, 2009), among others.

Turning point analyses have focused primarily on two time periods – either from the earliest memory or the start of a relationship until the present time or changes during a fixed set of time, usually anchored by a significant event (e.g., the first two years after marriage, or six months before and six months after marriage). For example, Baxter et al. (1999) asked one member of a family to report on relationship changes during the first 48 months of becoming a blended family (i.e., stepfamily). The authors asked participants to chart turning points on a graph which had time in months (1-48) on the x-axis and feeling like a family from 0-100% on the y-axis. Data analysis revealed 15 supratypes of turning points that occurred during this time period. The most frequently reported turning points

included changes in household configuration (e.g., cohabitation, engagement/marriage of adults), conflict (e.g., between stepparents and stepchildren), holidays/special events (e.g., Christmas, birthdays), and quality time (e.g., family vacations, participating in leisure activities). The identification of these turning points allowed the authors to "gain insight into family members' perceptions of their development" (p. 294) including the "hows and whys" (p. 295) of family change.

Sahlstein Parcell and Maguire (2014) used turning point analysis to understand relationship changes during three stages of military deployment (i.e., pre-deployment, deployment, and post-deployment). Like Baxter et al.'s (1999) study, this research was anchored by a significant event – deployment – rather than the start of a relationship. The authors used graphs in which time in months was on the x-axis and marital satisfaction from 0-100% was on the y-axis. Data analysis revealed four supraordinate categories of turning points: (a) deployment/military related events, (b) life events, (c) communication events, and (d) other. Deployment/military related events included notification of deployment, separation due to deployment, reunion, and military missions. Life events included special events like holidays and birthdays, visits from family or friends, birth and pregnancy. Communication events included disclosures, decision making, disagreements, and changes in communication. The other category covered idiosyncratic events that occurred infrequently. Through identifying these categories, the authors were able to understand how deployment affects views of marriage and how events take on special significance during the deployment process (e.g., holidays without key family members).

A final example of turning point research is a study that focused on an awareness rather than a specific anchoring event like deployment. Surra (1985) asked newlywed couples to reflect on their courtship and recall when they were "first aware of a change" in the chance of marrying their spouse (p. 361). In this study, participants were asked to graph turning points based on chance of marriage from 0-100% (i.e., on the y-axis, with time on the x-axis). This type of question is a good example of how to focus participants on the first time they perceived something. For example, marginalized family members could be asked to recall the first time they perceived they were different from their family members or the first time they felt they did not belong in their family the same way their siblings did. Discovering the turning points in the process of marginalization provides an understanding of what and how key events influence feelings of marginalization over time. To understand how marginalization occurs over time, the following research question was posed:

RQ2: What events (turning points) lead to feelings of marginalization from one's family?

Related to the types of events marginalized family members experience, past research provides very little understanding of how communication contributes to feelings of family member marginalization. However, two frameworks reviewed above are likely an important part of the process: hurtful communication and disconfirmation. Research has identified patterns of hurt as instrumental to a hurtful family environment and the turning point analysis allows for an understanding of the patterns of communication in marginalized family relationships. Research on hurtful communication provides a foundation for predicting what communication-focused marginalizing turning points may look like (e.g., intense, patterned, out of the person's control).

Research has also shown that family members frequently engage in active rejection, that is, "targeted criticism, sarcasm, and hostility" (Fitness, 2005, p. 273), a form of communication with their marginalized member. Fitness found that active rejection was the second most reported behavior family members exhibited toward marginalized members behind total exclusion from the family. In addition, communication reinforced perceptions of being marginalized. Fitness cites an example of a parent giving an adult child a t-shirt with one black sheep surrounded by white sheep on it, after which the child severed contact with the rest of the family. This event is rooted in communication because the adult child perceived the parent intended hurt through the message portrayed on the shirt and the message implied in the act of gifting the shirt.

Confirmation theory provides a second framework for examining messages marginalized members have received throughout the process of marginalization. For example, Sieburg's (1973) three categories of disconfirmation - indifference, disqualification, and imperviousness - provide definitions and examples of what disconfirming communication looks like, and can be used as a sensitizing tool for analysis of the turning point events provided by participants. It is possible that all events identified could be considered communicative, and past research has identified groups of communication turning points (see Sahlstein Parcell & Maguire, 2014). What is known about hurtful communication and disconfirmation will be used to inform new insight in the nuances of communicative events.

It is important to note that an event could be perceived as hurtful or disconfirming by one party and not the other. The perspective that "counts" in this study will be that of the marginalized family member. Any event the marginalized member perceived as

intentional communication (i.e., verbal or nonverbal behavior) that made them feel different, less included, or less well liked than other family members could be considered a communicative event. Since it is possible that a majority of turning points will fit this definition, the following research question was proposed to discover how communication plays a role in the process of marginalization. To answer this question, turning point events were analyzed, categorized, and compared to existing typologies of hurtful and disconfirming messages.

RQ3: What types of communicative events are turning points?

Once key events in the marginalization process have been identified, the next question focuses on how the events relate to one another and together contribute to the process of marginalization. When examined together, a series of turning point events becomes a relationship trajectory marked by increases and decreases in a given variable (e.g., feelings of marginalization). Because the process of marginalization has not yet been examined, the literature provides little background as to what form the process of marginalization may take over time. The turning point literature, however, has identified common trajectories relationships take under various circumstances. Turning point graphs can be assessed to determine common family relationship trajectories or paths. Variations such as a gradual decline or a series of highs and lows are possible as feelings of marginalization may develop and increase or decrease over time.

Sahlstein Parcell (2013) recently identified four common relationship trajectories by synthesizing past turning point research: downward, upward, stable, and mixed/dynamic. Downward patterns are characterized by a relationship that degrades or declines over time. Upward patterns accelerate quickly from lower levels to higher levels

or increase steadily over time. Stable patterns reflect little change in relational levels across time. Finally, mixed/dynamic trajectories are characterized by a series of ups and downs or a "disrupted" pattern with one major dip preceded or followed by relationship stability (p. 171). It is unknown whether the process of marginalization will follow the patterns found in previous relationship research. To find out, participants' graphs will be grouped into categories using inductive analysis and compared to the existing typology of common trajectories. Together, turning points and their associated trajectories lend understanding to the process of marginalization.

RQ4: What are the primary patterns of change in perceived marginalization (i.e., trajectories) in relationships involving marginalized family members?

It is also unknown exactly who is involved in the process of marginalization beyond the marginalized family member. The interactional perspective of interpersonal communication defines communication as a process of mutual adaptation and mutual influence and claims that the outcome of communication over time is not due to one person – instead, it involves multiple parties whose messages each affect the other's observable behaviors (Cappella, 1987). The interactional definition highlights the influence that various family members' communication may have on processes such as marginalization. Family theory posits that the family is an interdependent system whose parts influence each other (White & Klein, 2008). In other words, if one family member is marginalized, this status should affect all other members.

Past research on differential treatment and favoritism has focused primarily on the parent-child relationship yet according to systems theory there are three equally important and influential subsystems in a family: parent-parent, parent-child, and sibling-

sibling (White & Klein, 2008; Turner & West, 2006). Family scholarship has often

focused on how parents treat their children differently, but as siblings grow up and

become adults, it is apparent that siblings can contribute to feelings of familial rejection.

The sibling relationship is complex as siblings are at once social allies and competitors

(Daly, Salmon, & Wilson, 1997) and the relationship is structured as both egalitarian yet

hierarchical (Whiteman, McHale, & Soli, 2011). Much like parents, siblings are vital

sources of social support throughout the lifespan so it is important to discover how they

contribute and perpetuate the marginalization of certain family members. Existing

research and anecdotal evidence suggest that parents play a large role in the

marginalization process, yet it is likely that other family members influence the process.

To determine how siblings contribute to the marginalization of family members, the

following research question was proposed:

RQ5: What role do siblings play in creating and reinforcing feelings of marginalization?

A variety of family members likely influence the marginalization process, but

marginalized people can also contribute to their own marginalization through their

perceptions of events and conscious or unconscious rebellion. As described above,

marginalized family members may perceive an event as intentional, even if another

family member did not intend hurt in their message. Symbolic interactionists suggest that

people do not respond directly to a stimulus, but instead respond to their interpretation of

the meaning of that stimulus (Blumer, 1986). This means that the same communication

act could be interpreted very differently by two people, yet both interpretations are

meaningful. In the context of family member marginalization it is possible that

marginalized individuals assign negative meanings to communicative behaviors that were not intended to be negative by the family member who created the message.

Rebellion may also play a role in marginalization. Fitness (2005) found that some participants who identified as marginalized family members actively rebelled against family norms and values. In fact, research on sibling deidentification suggests that some siblings tend to "consciously or unconsciously define themselves as different from one another in order to reduce competition, establish their own identities within the family, and garner their share of parental love and attention" (Whiteman, McHale, & Crouter, 2007, p. 644). Some research has found that sibling deidentification is more common in pairs who are subjectively similar (i.e., close in age and the same gender; Schacter et al., 1976; 1978). Siblings may be motivated to deidentify to improve the sibling relationship by decreasing rivalry and competition. Alternatively, Whiteman et al. (2007) found that siblings who deidentify tend to have *lower* intimacy than those where the younger sibling exhibits modeling of the older sibling. People who actively or unconsciously deidentify from their family members may be contributing to their own marginalization.

Sulloway (1996) identified a link between birth order and rebellion (i.e., rejecting the status quo). He claimed that all people must make the decision to accept or reject the status quo, but the decision is first made within the family. Rebellious individuals seek diverse experiences and as a result tend to be innovative and adventurous. Sulloway identified a trend that indicates that laterborns are more likely to rebel as a sibling strategy (i.e., a strategy used to compete for parental investment) than firstborns. Sibling strategies include rebellion through finding a niche, exhibiting openness to experience, and enacting risk taking behaviors. Rebellious behavior is not necessarily associated with

marginalization but one can imagine that laterborns (or any children) who voluntarily exhibit rebellious tendencies, especially in families that value conformity among members, may be contributing to their own marginalization. Understanding marginalized family members' role in their own marginalization contributes to literature on deidentification and rebellion and deepens the understanding of marginalized family members. To discover what role individuals play in their own marginalization, the following research question was proposed:

RQ6: How do marginalized family members intentionally or unintentionally contribute to the marginalization process?

3.2 Methods

3.2.1 Participants

To answer Study 1's research questions, 30 marginalized people were recruited to participate in interviews. Two additional people participated in pilot interviews to test the interview protocol face-to-face and via video chat. As discussed above, eligible participants had to be 25-35 years old, have at least one sibling, and identify with "chronic" feelings of family marginalization from multiple family members. Chronic feelings of marginalization meant that the participants must have felt excluded or different from their family which led them to perceive they were not part of the group, not as well liked, or not accepted by multiple family members; participants also must have felt this way for at least one year at any point during the past ten years. This requirement ensured that the participants recruited were not feeling marginalized over one issue or for one week/month due to an isolated incident but instead had experienced a

series of events associated with their feelings of marginalization. Recruitment materials can be found in Appendix A.

After receiving approval from Purdue University's Institutional Review Board to conduct the study, participants were sought using a number of resources. First, a call for participation listing the eligibility requirements was posted on Purdue University's weekly research recruitment service, Purdue Today. Second, Purdue graduate students were targeted as they were likely to meet the age requirements for the study. These students were reached through emails sent to graduate directors of various programs. The interview was open to both domestic and international students. Third, a submission to CRTNET, an email announcement service operated by the National Communication Association, was used to recruit junior faculty and graduate students who met the eligibility requirements. Fourth, participants were asked at the end of the interview to share the study information with others they know that might be willing to participate and meet the eligibility requirements to gather additional participants through snowball sampling. Finally, a more diverse community sample was sought by advertising the study at public libraries and at family resource centers in the local community (e.g., Bauer Family Resources, Lafayette Adult Resource Academy, Lafayette Pride Center).

Participants ranged in age from 25-34 ($M = 28.6$, $SD = 2.61$), and 73.3% were female ($n = 22$). Most participants were White (76.6%), followed by Asian/Pacific Islander (10%), Hispanic (10%), and African American (3.3%). Participants were living in 7 different states across the United States. Nearly half of the participants indicated "single" marital status (46.7%) while 40% were married, 6.7% engaged, 3.3% cohabitating, and 3.3% divorced. In terms of the marital status of the participant's

parents, 80% had currently married parents, 16.7% had divorced parents, and 3.3% reported parents who were never married. Highest degrees earned ranged from high school (10%), associate's degree (3.3%), bachelor's (50%), master's (33%), to 3.3% PhD. Over half of the participants were currently in graduate school (53.3%) and of those 16 participants, half were the first in their family of origin to attend graduate school ($n = 8$).

Participants reported having 2.3 siblings on average ($SD = 1.62$, ranging from 1-7 siblings). The majority of participants were first-born (56.7%) followed by second born (30%), fourth born (10%), and fifth born (3.3%). All participants reported biological-relatedness to their family of origin (100%). In addition, 6.7% ($n = 2$) reported relatedness through marriage (step-family), and 6.7% ($n = 2$) reported "other" relatedness (i.e., "whole brother, half sister" and "one sister is a cousin who came to stay with us and never went back"). Most participants lived in a different state than their geographically closest family member (56.7%) while 33% lived in different cities but the same state, 6.7% lived with an immediate family member, and 3.3% lived in different country than their closest family member.

All participants reported sometimes feeling like the "black sheep" of the family and half reported having felt this way for more than 10 years (50%). Others reported having felt like the black sheep for 6 months-1 year[1] (3.3%), 1-5 years (26.7%), and 5-10 years (20%). Almost all participants reported currently feeling like the "black sheep"

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[1] Participants were screened via telephone call during recruitment and at the start of the demographics survey to be sure they were eligible (i.e., they were asked if they had felt like a black sheep for at least one year). Despite this, Jules indicated she had felt like a black sheep for 6 months – 1 year on the survey. Jules' interview indicates she may have misunderstood this question as she described feeling marginalized for at least 2 years during the retrospective interview. As such, her data were retained in the study.

(93.3%) and that their parents made them feel that way (96.6%). Other family members that made participants feel marginalized included siblings (80%), aunts and uncles (50%), cousins (36.7%), grandparents (33.3%).

<div align="center">3.2.2 Procedures</div>

People who responded to the call for participation were screened via phone to make sure they met the eligibility requirements (see Appendix B for phone script). During the phone calls, family member marginalization was defined for the potential participants followed by several eligibility questions: "Do you sometimes feel like the 'black sheep' of your family?" "How long have you felt this way?" and "Which of your family members make you feel this way?" Next, eligible people were asked about days and times that were most convenient to set up an interview. Participants from the local community were offered an in person interview held in the researcher's office, the student union, or a quiet university building. Skype interviews were scheduled with participants outside of the local area. At the end of the call, all participants were asked to fill out a short online survey before the interview took place and video-chat participants were asked to download and print a graph to use during the interview.

Along with a confirmation for the date and time of the interview, the online survey link was emailed to eligible participants. The survey included questions about demographics such as gender, age, ethnicity, family structure, and distance from family members. A paper and pencil version of the survey was available for participants who did not have access to the internet or were unable to complete the survey online prior to the interview. The questions can be found in Appendix C. Data from the surveys and

interviews were kept confidential and all names were replaced with pseudo-names to mask participants' identities.

The interviews ranged in length from 25 to 104 minutes ($M = 51.63$, $SD = 17.52$), started with a brief introduction of the study, and followed a semi-structured protocol. The first couple of questions were designed to make participants feel comfortable, provide a topic that was easy to talk about, and provide a basis for the researcher to understand who the participant's family members were as they talked about them during the interview: "Please tell me the names and ages of the members of your family of origin, that is, the family members you are related to by birth, adoption, or have lived with for an extended period of time. In other words, the family you grew up with," and "What kinds of things did you like to do with your family growing up?" The next few questions asked about what family marginalization and the impact of that status meant to the participants and included: "How would you describe your place in the family?" "People sometimes use the term 'black sheep' to describe people who are marginalized from their family. What does being marginalized mean to you?" "If you had to pick 2-3 words to describe what it means to be marginalized, what would those words be?" "How does your place in the family impact your everyday life?" "How do you know you are different, excluded, or disapproved of by your family?" and finally, "Are there specific times or situations that tend to make you feel especially marginalized?"

The next portion of the interview was the turning point analysis using the Retrospective Interviewing Technique (RIT; Fitzgerald & Surra, 1981). The RIT was designed to "minimize measurement error due to faulty recall by means of rechecking information obtained throughout the interview, gathering data in chronological order, and

providing contextual cues and a novel task (constructing the graph) to jog memory" (Surra,1985, p. 360).

Turning point analyses examine change and important life events as identified by the participants themselves. Participants were asked to plot events that changed their relationships on a graph. Following the typical RIT procedure, participants were given a blank graph with the x-axis representing time from 18 years old to present. The left anchor started at 18 years old, the age that marks the start of emerging adulthood, a life stage represented by change and life transitions (Arnett, 2000). For many people, it is also a time when the children leave the family home, likely impacting family dynamics (Aquilino, 2006). The y-axis represented how marginalized the participant felt by their family from 0-100% (0 = low marginalization, 100 = high marginalization). The high end of the scale represented high feelings of marginalization, or the most different, excluded, and disapproved of a person can feel from family. The low end of the scale represented low marginalization, or the most approved of, included, or similar a person could feel to family. Participants were asked to report how marginalized they felt at present and how marginalized they felt at 18 years old. These plots served as "visual anchors" on the graph from which participants could recall other events (Golish, 2000). As the Skype participants filled out the graph, they were asked to explain what they were adding (i.e., age, name of event, and percentage) so that the researcher could fill out a matching graph simultaneously. This ensured the researcher and participant were on the same page during the RIT portion of the interview. The graphs were compared for similarity at the end of the interview.

To start the RIT, participants were told:

In some societies, marginalized family members are called 'black sheep' because they stand out from the rest of the group. Certain times, events, or conversations from your life might have made you feel very 'marginalized,' different, or excluded from your family. Other events might have made you feel the opposite. These could be times you felt included or periods of reconciliation with family. Indicate on the graph how marginalized you felt at 18 years old, and how marginalized you feel right now. The markings on the x-axis are years from 18 years old to present.[2] The y-axis ranges from 0-100% with 100 meaning the most marginalized, excluded, and different from family a person could feel, and 0 meaning feeling the most included, approved of, and not at all marginalized from family a person could feel.

Then, participants were asked to describe a specific event in detail including dialogue spoken by family members.

Now, think about a time you felt especially different, excluded, or disapproved of since you were 18 years old. That would be a time when you felt marginalized. Put that point on the graph. Describe the event to me in as much detail as you can remember including what your family members said and did that made you feel marginalized.

Probing questions were used to make sure "*who* was involved, *what* happened, and *why* it was identified as a turning point" was reported by each participant (Baxter et al., 1999, p.

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[2]Everyone's graph started at 18 years old no matter their current age (see Figures 4.1-4.5).

298). Participants were told that what they just described can be called a turning point in their family relationship. Turning points were then defined:

> A turning point is an event that **changes** a relationship in an important way, either for **better or worse**. In this case, the event changed your family relationships in how marginalized you felt. Any event that made you feel **more or less** marginalized could be a turning point. It is important to think about events where you felt more included, similar, and liked, as well as events that made you feel excluded and disapproved of.

Participants were asked to identify as many other turning points as they thought were important that occurred since they turned 18 and were reminded that these could be specific events or times when they felt more or less marginalized. To aid in recall of early marginalizing events participants were told, "It may help to think about when you were first aware of a **change** in how marginalized you felt by your family." Surra (1985) used a similar technique to encourage couples to think about the first time they were aware of a change in the chance they would get married. If the first awareness occurred outside of the 10 year range allowed on the graph, participants were asked to focus on events within the last 10 years instead, but were given the opportunity to tell the researcher about the event as background information. Participants plotted each event on the graph in relation to the first point indicating whether they felt more or less marginalized by their family at the time of the event. As they plotted, they were asked to provide details and context about the events. The RIT allows for follow up questions throughout the turning point graphing process to probe for further details and reflections. Participants were always asked if they wanted to add anything else to the graph before the interview proceeded.

Finally, participants were asked to reflect on and share how each point affected their family relationships: "Reflect on and share how each point changed your family relationships and how the events are connected."

Once all events deemed important by the participants were placed on the graph, a line was drawn to connect the plot points. If the interview was over Skype, the participant was asked to connect the points. The line represented a relationship trajectory and participants were asked whether they believe the trajectory accurately reflected the changes in marginalization in their family relationships over time: "Do you believe the line I just drew accurately reflects the path your family relationships have taken?" At this point in the RIT protocol, participants were able to make changes to the final graph as they saw necessary to accurately reflect their marginalization process. "Since [participants] take on the role of filling in the graphs, they typically become quite actively involved in creating a final graph which is the best possible representation of their relationship" (Bullis & Bach, 1989, p. 278). Most participants indicated the line was accurate while a few made changes to the line. For example, one participant indicated that while their marginalization level rose from age 18 to when they graduated college, it stayed steady (and low) for the first several years of college and rose more drastically at the end.

After the turning points were plotted, other semi-structured questions were asked to explore perceptions of family marginalization and the roles different family members play in marginalization (e.g., "Why do you think you are excluded, disapproved of, and or/different from your family?" and "Do you think anything you did or said contributed to your current place in the family in any way? How?" see Appendix D).

Several measures were taken to attend to ethical concerns based on the nature of questions probing a marginalized person's family experiences. For example, the interview questions had the potential to induce negative thoughts and feelings in the participant by making them more aware of family and relationship problems. As such, the interview concluded with questions designed to encourage participants to think about the positive aspects of their family life: "All families have strengths and limits. What are some of the strengths of your family?" and "Is there anyone inside or outside your family you can turn to at times when you feel marginalized by multiple family members? How do they make you feel included?" In addition, the researcher emphasized throughout the interview that participants should reflect on events that both increased *and decreased* their feelings of marginalization. This resulted in participants talking about events that made them feel *more* included and similar to their families. Finally, the interview script concluded with the mention of counseling services offered by Purdue University and the community: "If you ever want to talk to a counselor about anything we discussed today there are professionals and resources at Purdue University and in the community at Bauer Family Resources that can help." A handout containing contact and services information was available to participants if they wanted further information (Appendix E). Negative feelings about family and other related issues were likely already salient to participants that volunteered for this type of study, but these steps ensured that ethical standards were met and participants were protected. At the completion of the interview, participants were thanked and compensated for their time.

3.2.3 Analysis

3.2.3.1 Grounded theory analysis

The qualitative approach to data analysis captured experiences from personal frames of reference, therefore allowing insight and rich description of the process of family member marginalization. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed for data analysis. Each person's interview was typed into a separate Word document with all identifying information removed resulting in 760 pages of double spaced text. All names mentioned were replaced with pseudo-names. It was advantageous that the researcher was exposed to the data twice (i.e., once during the interview itself, and once again during the transcription process). Familiarity with the data set as a whole provides context and grounding when engaging in grounded theory analysis (Creswell, 2003).

Grounded theory analysis was used to identify codes and themes within the data (Charmaz, 2014). Coding consists of defining and understanding what is happening in the data. Charmaz emphasizes multiple phases of coding starting with initial or line by line coding (e.g., explaining what is happening in each line/paragraph using action verbs and gerunds to capture social processes rather than pre-existing categories), followed by focused coding and finally, theory building. Coding included iteratively comparing data with other pieces of data, codes with codes, and data with codes to construct grounded theories which help explain what was happening in the data.

Initial coding is provisional and was used to stay close to the data while beginning to understand what the data suggest, identify gaps in the data, and make connections with theoretical categories. This process, along with writing research memos after each interview, began before data collection was complete so that later interviews could be

used to test developing theories and explore questions about the marginalized experience that arose during initial coding and needed clarification. For example, in later interviews participants were asked if there were certain topics they felt they could not discuss with their family because "restricted communication" was a developing category in the analysis. Memos were written throughout the interview and transcription process as well as during line-by-line coding. These memos served to compile an initial list of potential codes to be used in focused coding, the second phase of grounded theory analysis coding (Charmaz, 2014).

Moving from line-by-line coding to focused coding required creating an initial master list of possible codes identified during line-by-line coding. Ten transcripts (i.e., one-third of the data set) were coded using line-by-line coding before initial codes were identified and defined. Focused coding was then conducted on the same 10 interview transcripts before more transcripts were coded. These codes were selected based on their repetitiveness within and across the accounts shared by interviewees (Charmaz, 2014). Focused coding was used to identify and define salient codes and test them using large selections of data. Focused coding is more conceptual than line-by-line and is used to develop categories and explore the theoretical implications of the analysis. The original list contained 25 codes which were then refined and clarified during focused coding. Some codes contained sub-codes. For example, ambivalence, or holding both positive and negative evaluations of a single event or phenomenon, was broken down into ambivalence about: (a) events, (b) family in general, and (c) marginalized status/role.

The final step in Charmaz's (2014) grounded theory analysis is theory building. Theory building is an iterative, comparative, and interactive process that focuses on

understanding rather than explanation of the phenomenon. Charmaz (2006) posits that "theories present arguments about the world and relationships within in" (p. 128). Theory building was accomplished by defining major categories and theoretically linking categories with data and other categories (Charmaz, 2014). Data collection was deemed complete when theoretical saturation was reached. "Categories are 'saturated' when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of those core theoretical categories" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 113). Visual diagramming and clustering was also used during theory building to visualize the links between and among categories (e.g., see Figures 4.6-4.7). Throughout this process implications of the analysis for developing knowledge and theory were acknowledged and explored. Grounded theory interprets "*how*-and sometimes *why*-participants construct meanings and actions in specific situations" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 130).

Charmaz's approach to grounded theory analysis was primarily used to answer research questions 1, 5, and 6. The process of applying grounded theory analysis to each question is detailed blow.

3.2.3.2 RQ1

Research question one asked how marginalized family members describe what it means to be marginalized. To answer this question, a grounded theory analysis of participant responses to two main questions was conducted following the steps detailed above. First, "people sometimes use the term "black sheep" to describe people who are marginalized from their family. What does being marginalized mean to you?" and second, "if you had to pick 2-3 words to describe what it means to be marginalized, what would those words be?" Responses to these questions were analyzed to understand how

meaning(s) of marginalization are at once similar and different for different people. This analysis resulted in multiple dimensions that underlie the construct of marginalization. Data from other parts of the interview also informed the answer to this research question. For example, meanings of marginalization were evident as participants talked through their turning points because they continued to reflect on their marginalized status and what it means for their identity and their role in the family.

3.2.3.3 RQ5

Research question five asked what role siblings play in creating and reinforcing feelings of marginalization. To answer this research question, the data were examined as a whole to determine how different family members were involved in the process of marginalization. Special attention was paid to units of data that mentioned sibling relationships. For example, participants were asked to report which family members were involved in each of the turning point events they identified. Participants were also asked whether their siblings treated them differently than their parents did and whether they believed they were similar to their siblings. Finally, some participants mentioned their role in relation to their siblings when asked about their "place" in the family. These data were carefully analyzed for patterns in terms of types of family members involved in different kinds of marginalizing events and whether and how siblings contributed to participants' feelings of marginalization.

3.2.3.4 RQ6

Research question six asked how marginalized family members intentionally or unintentionally contributed to the marginalization process. This question was answered by analyzing the transcribed interview data related to the topic of other or self

marginalization and rebellion. These data primarily came from several interview questions (e.g., "Why do you think you are excluded, disapproved of, and different from your family?" and "Do you think you contributed to your current position within the family in any way?") as well as the descriptions of turning point events where participants identified their role in the marginalization process.

The general strategy employed to code the interview data and answer RQs 1, 5, and 6 is described above. Other strategies that were utilized to analyze the turning point data (e.g., RQs 2 and 3: typographical coding; RQ4: visual coding of the graphs) are explained in detail below.

3.2.3.5 RQ2

Research question two asked what events or turning points led to feelings of marginalization from one's family. This question was answered by creating a typology of common turning points using the turning point graphs and transcribed accompanying reports of details and event context explained above. RIT data are typically analyzed using the constant comparative or grounded theory method (see Golish, 2000; Graham, 1997). The grounded theory analysis steps identified above were adapted to focus specifically on categories concerning different types of turning point events.

The first step in creating a typology of turning points was to unitize the data. The data were broken into units according to individual events. Events were matched with the events identified on the turning point graphs for clarity. This process included creating a table that identified the participant identification number, unique event number, the name of the event (as participants named it on the turning point graph), a description of the event from the transcripts, and finally, space for coding notes. To create the coding

scheme, the events were subjected to line-by-line and focused coding, as detailed above. While coding, the researcher asked "how are these events different?" and "how are these events connected?" Focused coding was used to develop the categories which were then refined and clarified. Overarching categories were created by taking note of how categories were connected in the data. Supracategories are essentially categories that include other categories, which could be conceptualized as umbrella categories. The concept of supracategories has been used to group similar events together in previous turning point research (see Baxter & Bullis, 1986). The supraordinate categories were used to organize the code book.

Once the code book was created, an undergraduate research team was assembled. Undergraduate coders were trained to code for turning point categories over the course of a few weeks in several phases. First, coders were familiarized with turning point research by reading Golish (2000), Koenig Kellas et al. (2008), and Sahlstein Parcell and Maguire (2014) which together illustrate the use of inductively derived turning point coding schemes as well as face-to-face and written RIT approaches to collecting turning point data. Students familiarized themselves and were trained on the codebook which contained the turning point categories, definitions, and several examples (i.e., transcript excerpts) of each category. Throughout the training process the codebook was refined with input from the research team. The iterative process resulted in 22 categories contained in 4 supraordinate categories (see Appendix F).

After the coding scheme was finalized, three rounds of practice coding with the research team took place (n = 10, 15, and 15 *events* respectively), during which several rules for coding were developed. For example, if more than one event or category was

mentioned within a single turning point description, coders were to defer to the event that matched the event name the participant provided and the event the participant talked about as an explanation for their level of marginalization (i.e., what is making them feel marginalized?). For example, Min's event "Fly to the US" was about moving as well as attending college but moving to the US is the marginalizing event the participant spends time describing and the event evoked in her title. In addition, if one event is explicitly mentioned while the other is implied or implicit, coders were to code the event about which the participant was more explicit. For example, Janice's event "mom" was a description of the participant telling her mom she is contemplating divorce. While the underlying motivation of this event was to seek support, the participant explicitly stated she was telling her mom important information (i.e., divorce). Finally, if there were two events in the title, coders were to pick the one on which the turning point description focused (see Appendix F for full list of coding rules).

Following the precedent set by Sahstein Parcell and Maguire (2014), Johnson et al. (2004) and Koenig Kellas et al. (2008), one trained research assistant served as a reliability check for the turning point coding scheme by coding 25% of the turning points ($n = 48/189$). Any discrepancies in coding were discussed until category agreement was reached. Intercoder reliability between the research assistant and the researcher was calculated and was acceptable (Cohen's Kappa = .67). According to Landis and Koch (1977), kappa values between .61-.80 indicate moderate (and acceptable) agreement. Testing intercoder reliability between the 4 supraordinate categories yielded even higher agreement (Cohen's Kappa = .73). High agreement was reached in categories 1-3 (i.e., the undergraduate research assistant coded 91% of events the same as the researcher in

category 1, 85% in category 2, and 75% in category 3). Agreement was lowest in category 4 (i.e., the research assistant coded 33% the same as the researcher), likely due to small cell sizes (i.e., the researcher coded 3 events as category 4 in this sub-sample while the research assistant coded 1 as category 4). Based on acceptable levels of agreement, the researcher then coded the remaining 75% of the turning points independently.

3.2.3.6 RQ3

Research question three asked what types of communicative events were turning points. To answer this question, the communication-focused turning point events identified to answer research question two were closely analyzed in light of preexisting communication theory and frameworks (i.e., serving as sensitizing frames for this part of the analysis). Two categories from the grounded theory analysis based on the transcripts as a whole (i.e., including questions outside of the RIT portion) also informed the answer to this question.

3.2.3.7 RQ4

Research question four asked what primary patterns of change in perceived marginalization (i.e., trajectories) were present in relationships involving marginalized family members. Past turning point research has visually determined categories of trajectories using inductive analysis and constant comparison methods (Golish, 2000; Graham, 1997; Johnson et al., 2004; Sahlstein Parcell & Maguire, 2014). Johnson et al. (2004) "visually inspected the graphs created by the Retrospective Interview Technique" and found six categories through inductive analysis (p. 61). In this study, trajectory categories were developed using inductive analysis and constant comparative techniques

based on the procedures outlined in previous research. This process began by the researcher randomly selecting 10 graphs and noting similarities and differences between the graphs. Next, all 30 graphs were sorted into piles based on those similarities and differences. The most prominent differences included participants whose graphs indicated an increase or decrease in marginalization over time and graphs that contained both extreme high and extreme low points. This constant comparison process resulted in 6 initial categories of relationship trajectories which were named and defined. Next, the graphs were examined again for fit within their category. At this stage graphs were rearranged by the researcher if they fit better with a different category.

Finally, the graphs and categories were examined a third time in relation to the four common trajectory types determined by Sahlstein Parcell (2014). The common trajectories included mixed/dynamic, downward, upward, and stable. Three categories were renamed from "slow start" to "prolonged," "extreme highs and lows" to "turbulent" and "large dip" to "disrupted," based on the category names of previous turning point research. The category renamed disrupted is slightly different from the original name "disrupted progress" because while both graphs contain a large dip in them, the dip in the marginalized family member's graph indicates a time when they felt more included, approved of, and less marginalized. Hence, their progress toward a better relationship was not disrupted, but their high feelings of marginalization were. Upon further analysis of the categories the "turbulent" and "small range" categories were combined since both categories contained graphs with a series of ups and downs, where the turbulent category was more pronounced. The tendency to put events at extreme highs and lows may have been an individual difference rather than an actual difference in experience from those

who had a series of ups and downs in their feelings of marginalization but did not exaggerate the ratings as dramatically on the graph.

Following the precedent set by Koenig Kellas et al. (2008) and Sahlstein Parcell and Maguire (2014), two research assistants who were not involved in data collection were trained on the coding scheme and shown example trajectories from past research to establish reliability in coding the graphs. Each assistant coded all 30 graphs and the two research assistant's scores together demonstrated sufficient agreement (Cohen's Kappa = .733). Any discrepancies in graph coding were discussed as a research team until category agreement was reached.

This chapter detailed the research questions, participants, procedures of Study 1. Chapter 4 presents the results and interpretations of Study 1's data followed by a discussion of key findings.

CHAPTER 4. STUDY 1 RESULTS, INTERPRETATIONS, AND DISCUSSION

4.1 <u>Findings and Interpretations</u>

4.1.1 Meanings of Marginalization

Research question one asked how marginalized family members describe what it means to be marginalized. Although what something means is not necessarily how it makes someone feel, marginalized family members overwhelmingly described what marginalization means to them in terms of how it made them feel. Many expressed hurt and pain associated with their position as the marginalized family member. When asked to pick 2-3 words that best characterized what it meant to be marginalized, participants used a wide variety of labels and metaphors to describe their feelings (see Table 4.1). The grounded theory analysis revealed that these feelings could be grouped into three major categories based on how participants described what marginalization meant to them. Table 4.1 contains the categories that represent dimensions of marginalization which include: Othering/Difference, Shaming/Disapproval, and Distancing/Exclusion. The three dimensions are explained further below.

Table 4.1: Meanings of Marginalization

Othering/Difference	Shaming/Disapproval	Distancing/Exclusion
Misunderstood	Invisible	Separate
Unique	Hidden	Outsider
Stranger in family	Devalued	Shunned
Inauthentic	Inferior	Lost
Uncomfortable	Not good enough	Isolated
Categorized	Judgment	Alone/lonely
Insignificant	Guilt	Outcasted
Not conforming	Doubt	Segregated
Façade	Conditional support	Pushed out/shut out

4.1.1.1 Othering/Difference

The difference dimension is defined as the degree of difference between family members based on beliefs, values, and attitudes (McCroskey, Richmond, & Daly, 1975) which cast the marginalized member as the "other." This dimension was typified by words like "misunderstood," "unique," "façade," and "categorized." Fitness (2005) identified difference as one of the reasons marginalized family members felt they were marginalized; "they *looked* different (frequently reported), had different personalities, talents, or interests, and just did not fit into or feel they belonged to the family" (emphasis in original, p. 272). Kevin, a 30 year old male participant, described feeling different in this way:

> They don't really get me anymore. I think that they kind of expect me to still be one of them. When I've grown up, I've become a different person... My brother and my dad both work in factories. And I work at university with other university people.

Kevin saw himself as different in his attitudes and values and expressed this by pointing out the "type" of people he surrounded himself with compared to his family (i.e., factory vs. university people). Harwood, Soliz, and Lin (2006) have identified some challenges associated with family relationships being simultaneously intragroup (i.e., part of the same family group, having a shared family identity) and intergroup (e.g., individual members are part of other disparate groups like social circles, socioeconomic statuses, or occupation groups). Soliz, Thorson, and Rittenour (2009) explained that "communication that constitutes [intergroup] relationships may, at times, reflect divergent social identities" (p. 821). For example, Soliz and Harwood (2006) found that age salience, an intergroup focus, led to less satisfying grandparent-grandchild relationships. Kevin's focus on how he works with a different "type" of people focused his perceptions of his family relationships as intergroup where he is an outgroup member of the family.

Brad (34, male) described marginalization based on difference in terms of not fitting in with his family, "not fitting in with the group. So if there's a group activity it's not really something you want to participate in or feel involved in." Nayani (26, female) felt similarly about her family.

I feel very different from them. At this point in life I think about my parents' opinions and how they see the world and it's dramatic to me how different I am. How did they raise me and I end up this way?

Min (31, female) described the notion of difference as highlighting the only thing her family had in common, the family label. She said, "just different, like you're family but no other way connected you know?" Because her family had so little in common she felt

no connection to them other than shared genetics. Min may be reflecting on a shared family identity that is not strong enough to make her feel part of the family ingroup.

An important distinction in how participants made sense of difference lies in whether they fell into one of two camps: those who have always felt different from their family and have felt marginalized all their lives (e.g., like Rafael (28, male) who explained, "I've always felt different. It's something you know" and Jennifer (31, female) who said, "I've just always been the independent girl. I've always felt that disconnected"), and those who underwent a change in beliefs or values, or did something that caused newfound feelings of marginalization. These participants became different from their families over time, either by choice, circumstance, or both (e.g., coming out, leaving the family religion, mental or physical health issues, pursuing higher education). These big-change events tended to occur in late adolescence and emerging adulthood. Kevin's quote above illustrates how he has grown distant from his family over time due to changes in his interests, social network, and socioeconomic status.

4.1.1.2 Shaming/Disapproval

Disapproval is a lack of unconditional acceptance, disregarding of worth, and negative judgment of the marginalized member (Murry, Holmes, MacDonald, & Ellsworth, 1998) often resulting in feelings of shame or guilt. Participants described marginalization in terms of disapproval as feeling "inferior," "devalued," "invisible," "not good enough," "looked down on," inducing feelings of "doubt." Disapproval has close ties to disconfirmation (Sieburg, 1973). Participants who felt disapproved of by family described their marginalization in raw and emotional narratives. Emma (25, female) explained her parents' disapproval of her sexuality, and by extension, her core

identity. She said, "me being who I am has been quite disturbing to my family." Megan (25, female) also described how it felt to be disapproved of by family.

> Being marginalized means that I'm not accepted for who I am. That my acceptance is conditional on fitting into a box of some kind or into some sort of image that they have of what I should be. It means hiding part of who I am.

Because acceptance in her family was conditional, Megan felt disapproval when she acted in ways that did not fit the image her parents had in mind for her. Nicole (34, female) felt marginalization meant undeserved disapproval from her parents, "I think it means misunderstanding and not having unconditional support. And there's a lot of judgment in there."

Lisa (27, female) also described marginalization as disapproval of her progressive beliefs, "I just feel like an outsider with them. And I know that they care about me a lot but they also are not satisfied with where I am in my life." She explained why she perceived her family disapproved of her choices, "they seem a lot more interested in trying to fix me than trying to know me." Lisa felt that if her family approved of her they would take the time to get to know her and the reasons she held her beliefs rather than try and change her by condemning her choices. Scholars have echoed Lisa's sentiment that people desire approval by others and that love can consist of unconditional positive regard and acceptance or be used to control others the way Lisa explained here (see Rogers, 1957; 1980).

Not all participants who felt marginalized reported feeling disapproved of by their family. For example, a person who was the first in his/her family to attend graduate

school may feel different and excluded because s/he is no longer understood by family, but s/he may feel approved of nonetheless.

4.1.1.3 Distancing/Exclusion

Exclusion signifies ostracism and ignoring of a person (e.g., the silent treatment, exclusion from family events; Williams & Zadro, 2005) resulting in relational distancing (McLaren & Solomon, 2008). Participants described this dimension of marginalization as feeling "separate," like an "outsider," feeling "lost," "isolated," "pushed aside," and "segregated." Savannah, a 30 year old female, expressed how it felt to be excluded from her family, "I would say I feel like abandoned and um… just feel like you can't count on them. They don't take you as part of their family in a way." Ashley (31, female) felt marginalized and excluded against her will, "to me it's more like when somebody kind of forces you out." Jessica (30, female) felt that exclusion meant she could not participate in her family the way she desired. She said marginalization meant, "like pushed out almost. Like, excluded from traditional family roles." Susan (29, female) also described marginalization in terms of exclusion, "it means that I don't get included as much…or invited. More than anything I've gotten kicked out." Sadie (28, female) associated similar thoughts with the meaning of marginalization, "I'm usually not thought of when it comes to family functions or get togethers... I just pretty much, I'm separate." Total exclusion seemed to be the ultimate act of marginalization. Participants varied in their levels of exclusion from the family. Some had been complete kicked out like Ashley and Susan above, whereas others were just not invited to some events while included at others. Despite the levels of exclusion, all participants who mentioned exclusion expressed negative feelings associated with this dimension.

Although some participants highlighted only one of these three dimensions, many participants described marginalization as a combination of the three dimensions. For example, Janice's (26, female) definition of marginalization encompasses both disapproval and exclusion. She says marginalization means being "segregated from others and kinda make you feel like you're not good enough." Emma (25, female) defined marginalization in terms of difference, disapproval, and exclusion, "I think it feels notably different and in a way that makes you feel lesser than them so inferior, not included." Finally, Nicole (34, female) associates the meaning of marginalization with disapproval and difference.

> They could ask me questions to understand why I'm doing what I'm doing but my answers are never good enough even if they do ask questions and most of the time it's I'm not conforming to what I was taught to be… in terms of their Christianity, they fear for my soul. And so that puts me as, I'm not a Christian so I'm the other.

Participants described what it means to be marginalized in terms of feelings of difference, disapproval, and exclusion. The majority of participants' answers fit the three dimension pattern when asked to describe what marginalization means, but not all did. For example, some participants talked about states of being like "in conflict" while others shared feelings of "regret," "struggle," "frustration," and "feeling awkward" which seem to describe affects or states caused by feeling marginalized. While one or two words used to describe marginalization did not fit the dimensions, other words these participants used did. Anthony (25, male) provided an example of a participant who described marginalization in terms outside of the three dimensions. He defined the meaning of marginalization as "so many awkward moments" and "frustrating cause there's no

obvious solution." Anthony and other participants who described what marginalization meant to them in words that did not cleanly fit into the three dimensions still experienced marginalization in terms of difference, disapproval, and exclusion, a point made clear by other portions of their interviews, (e.g., Anthony explained later in his interview that he feels different and that his family has "no way of appreciating just how different I am from them").

<div align="center">4.1.2 Turning Point Analysis</div>

Across 30 participants, 184 turning points (i.e., events or circumstances that led to participants feeling more or less marginalized from their family) were reported by participants ($M = 6.13$, $SD = 2.78$). The 184 turning points comprised 22 different event categories (see Table 4.2). Detailed descriptions and examples of each event category can be found in Appendix F. Four supraordinate categories were created to organize the event categories into overarching event types: *(a) Normative Life Events, (b) Sporadic Events, (c) Communication Events*, and *(d) Other*.

Table 4.2: Turning Points in the Process of Marginalization and Number of Times Coded

1. Normative Life Events
   a) Wedding (17)
   b) Children (5)
   c) Moving/change in living arrangements (20)
   d) Attending college or graduate school (14)
   e) Graduation (6)
   f) Death in family (4)
   g) Dating (3)
   h) Job change (3)
2. Sporadic Events
   a) Family vacation (8)
   b) Family gathering or reunion (12)
   c) Visit home (5)

        d) Religious event (8)

        e) Planning an event (6)

        f) Health issue (13)

        g) Needing/asking for support (5)

3. Communication Events

        a) Disclosure (25)

        b) Open conversation (7)

        c) Apology (4)

        d) Conversation about ceasing contact (6)

        e) Deception (3)

4. Other Events

        a) Intrapersonal event/realization (7)

        b) Other (3)

4.1.2.1 Normative life events

Normative Life Events (i.e., events that could be defined as part of a person's life-cycle) was the first supraordinate category and focused on transitions such as career, marriage, and the birth of children[1] (Elder, 1998). This category included dating, getting married, having children, attending college or graduate school, getting or changing jobs, and experiencing the death of a family member. Moving or a change in living arrangements (e.g., leaving the "nest," moving to a new city/state/country, moving back in with parents, adult siblings living with the participant) was the most frequently reported event type in this category ($n = 20$). The high frequency of events in this category is not surprising as emerging adulthood is marked by changes, many of which include moving (e.g., away to college, to a new job, moving in with a partner). Moving/change in living arrangements was followed closely by marriage (e.g., a participant's own wedding or engagement, attending a family member's wedding, events

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[1] Current life course theorists recognize the simplicity of the life cycle approach, and have challenged scholars to take into account generational social influences on life stages, the interdependence of lives, and the consequences of early transitions on later life transitions (Elder, 1998).

or conversations that occurred at a wedding). Normative Life Events was the largest supraordinate category and contained 39% ($n = 72$) of the turning point events reported.

4.1.2.2 Sporadic events

The second category, Sporadic Events, was comprised of significant non-normative (i.e., do not follow the predictable developmental life-cycle pattern) and infrequent, unexpected, or rare events. Events in this category included planning a get-together or party as a family, experiencing a health issue, religious events, visits home, family gatherings, and reunions. Family vacations are included here as they are less common or expected once children are grown. Finally, needing and asking for support was included as a Sporadic Event. The most frequently reported sporadic event was "health issue." Health issues included the participants' physical or mental health complications or the health complications of a family member. Participants sometimes reported feeling needed or appreciated for the first time after spending time with a family member experiencing health issues. By definition, sporadic events occur less frequently than "normative" life events. As such it makes sense that Sporadic Events accounted for 31% ($n = 57$) of the turning point events reported.

4.1.2.3 Communication events

The third category, Communication Events, included turning points in which participants described the communication as constitutive of the event. That is, the occasion, place, or time was not definitive of the event as in the previous categories. For example, a memorable conversation or disclosure, or receiving an important apology was described as the event itself by participants. Included in this category were disclosures, apologies, conversations about ceasing contact, open conversations, and instances of

deception. The single most reported turning point in this category and across all four

supracategories was "disclosure" ($n = 25$). This event was comprised of events

surrounding the disclosure of new and often controversial information. For example,

many participants reported disclosing to parents and siblings about their sexuality (e.g.,

gay or lesbian), no longer participating in the family religion, changing religions, or

seeking higher education. Disclosure was also the most reported event within person

(e.g., two participants reported 4 disclosure events each) meaning disclosures were not a

one-time event for many people. Participants sometimes distinguished between

disclosures to each individual family member (e.g., a daughter telling a parent she is gay

followed by telling a sibling who reacted very differently). Considering that marginalized

group members in organizations tend to be non-prototypical members who violate group

norms (Hogg, 2005), it follows that disclosing values, beliefs, or actions that violate

family norms may influence levels of perceived marginalization. Communication Events

consisted of 25% ($n = 45$) of all reported turning points.

4.1.2.4 Other events

The other category included turning points that did not fit within the other three

supraordinate categories (e.g., Savannah feeling left out when her sisters were getting

ready and did not ask her opinion). In addition, the other category contained

"intrapersonal" events. Participants described turning points that were typified by a shift

in their perception of their family situation. These events were categorized as

intrapersonal. For example, several participants reported realizing "it is what it is." When

pressed to explain what happened to cause that shift in thinking, the participants insisted

it was more of a mental shift or reframing rather than an external event that had occurred.

Intrapersonal events also included experiencing a loss of hope or realization of parental differential treatment unconnected to a specific event. The Other category contained 5% ($n = 10$) of the turning point events, 7 of which were intrapersonal events with only 3 deemed uncategorizable.

4.1.2.5 Ambivalent events

The 22 turning point event categories described above identify types of events and actions that led to increased or decreased feelings of marginalization for participants in this study. Throughout the process of event coding, it became clear that the same event could lead to increased feelings of marginalization for one person and decreased feelings of marginalization for another. For example, disclosures were very marginalizing events for some, but for others, disclosing made them feel less marginalized. In addition, disclosures provide an example of an event the same person experienced as more and less marginalizing depending on whom was the recipient of the disclosure. For example, both Emma (25, female) and Kelly (28, female) experienced low feelings of marginalization when they came out to their brothers but when Emma disclosed to her sister and Kelly to her parents, they felt highly marginalized. In these cases, the disclosure events occurred within a few weeks yet influenced their feelings of marginalization in opposite directions as a result of the family members' responses to the disclosure (Reis & Shaver, 1988). Kelly also expressed that her feelings of marginalization could fluctuate dramatically within the same conversation. When filling out the turning point graph she said, "It's either 100 or 10, depending on what we are talking about."

Sometimes one event made a person feel more *and* less marginalized at the same time. When this occurred, participants experienced ambivalence about the event.

Ambivalence occurs when a person holds contradictory feelings about the same event or object (i.e., ambivalence of contradictory responses; Babrow, 1992). For example, Anthony (25, male) described a conversation he had with his brother as ambivalent. He said, "this one is ambivalent, this one could go anywhere on [the graph]." He explained that the conversation made him feel less marginalized because they had a respectful conversation in which his brother listened to him talk about his beliefs. When asked why he had described the event as ambivalent, he said:

> Well it did highlight a lot of our differences, so that's why it reminded me that I'm on the periphery of the family, cause you know, he's explaining this position that the whole family holds and I have to explain why I left the church.

> Rafael (28, male) also felt ambivalent as he described an event that occurred after he came out to his family. It is clear he feels conflicted about whether this was a more or less marginalizing event in his life.

> We went to my sister's house and we had a heart to heart. But half of it was me coming out and that's when my, but the thing is I don't know if it made me feel more included or more, like, cause that's when my sister said oh me and my mom accept you cause you helped us and you did stuff for us. So that to me was like a backhanded comment. And then the other siblings, they made me feel more included.

The "heart to heart" Rafael described was at once more and less marginalizing based on different siblings' reactions to Rafael coming out making it difficult for Rafael to categorize the event in his mind. In a broader sense, events like these might make it

difficult for Rafael or other marginalized family members to make sense of where they stand with their families.

> Finally, Randy (32, male) experienced ambivalence about his sister's wedding.
>
> [My youngest sister] had me walk her down the aisle with my father. Her explanation was I was kinda more the father figure to her growing up… at the reception there were several instances, one in particular where they were taking a family picture. And they didn't even ask us to get into the family picture. So they did a family picture with everybody right in front of us. But they didn't even ask us to be in it. So it was, you know, aunts, uncles, my uncles new girlfriend, you know there's all these, kind of almost random people that they're friends with and everything, we weren't asked to be part of the picture.

While being asked to walk his sister down the aisle made him feel included and approved of, being excluded from a family picture that same day made him feel the opposite. Therefore, the wedding is not what made Randy feel marginalized, but instead it was the actions and the perceived motivations behind those actions that caused his feelings of marginalization.

4.1.3 Communication Turning Points

Research question three, which asked what types of communicative events were turning points, was answered in two ways. First, the supraordinate category of communicative turning points events (i.e., disclosure, open conversation, conversations about ceasing contact, apology, and deception) was examined. Because communication is the vehicle with which marginalization is enacted, perpetuated, and perceived, these categories deserve a closer analysis. Most turning point events involved communication

in some form, but these events were unique in that participants defined the event as communication itself despite surrounding circumstances, location, or the occasion. Second, grounded theory analysis was used to examine data from the transcripts as a whole to identify and explore places where participants spoke about communication with family including communication challenges. Communication-focused categories from the grounded theory analysis included the lack of genuine communication and the ways in which communication was restricted for marginalized members. These results are presented below.

4.1.3.1 Disclosure

Disclosure events were events in which participants or other family members shared important information with family ($n = 25$). In this study, "important" information was defined by the participant as such and typically included disclosures about controversial and highly personal topics (e.g., sexuality, religion, divorce). Disclosures occurred face to face or through mediated forms of communication such as handwritten letters or emails. Participants disclosed about a variety of topics including sexuality ($n = 11$), religion ($n = 6$), relationship trouble (e.g., divorce; $n = 2$) and displeasure with unequal treatment of siblings ($n = 2$). Less frequently, participants told the family about abuse ($n = 1$) and changed political beliefs ($n = 1$). In only two cases, participants reported events in which family members disclosed something to them that made them feel marginalized. These events concerned blame placed on the participant and adoption of another family member.

Rafael (28, male) spoke about disclosing his sexuality to his younger brother, "I'm like hey, just kind of in passing, you know like I'm gay so I hope this lifestyle will

be [okay] and he was in disbelief. He was like, uh are you serious? You're kidding right?" Nicole (34, female) provided an example of a divorce disclosure that did not elicit the reaction she was hoping for.

> I called my mom. Her first reaction was what did you do... The conversation did not include I love you. Did not include I support you. It was just basically, this was your fault. You need to try to make it better.

Lisa (27, female) told about her experience disclosing a change in religion to her parents over email.

> I first started attending the Episcopal Church which is a lot more progressive than the churches that they attend. And so I told them about that and we had a very distressed exchange of emails about that…they didn't understand why I would be going to that church and they were afraid that my views on things that they cared about were going to change.

Many participants who reported disclosure as a turning point included more than one event centered around disclosure, sometimes at opposite ends of their graph (i.e., high and low marginalization) because they told family members at different times and received different reactions. A large literature on communicative disclosure and responses to disclosure exists (Reis & Shaver, 1988). For example, Caughlin et al. (2009) has documented the difficulties inherent in disclosing sensitive and controversial information to family.

4.1.3.2 Open conversation

Open conversations most often occurred between siblings and were marked by feelings of respect ($n = 7$). While the sibling may not have agreed with the participants'

decisions or worldview, the participant described these conversations as warm and respectful. Participants felt they were being heard and understood even when agreement was not reached. Anthony (25, male) provided an example of an open conversation and explained why it made him feel less marginalized. He spoke about a time he talked with his brother after he had disclosed he had left the family religion.

> After awhile he called me up and said 'hey let's have a conversation about this.' Kind of not expecting to change each other's minds you know... but wanting to understand each other a little better. So in the spirit of understanding each other we agreed to talk about it and he explained why he thinks the church is true and I explained why I think it isn't. But the outcome there was that I think we respected each other more because we talked about it. In a pretty calm way. And so I felt like he had at least understood me…it was a respectful conversation so for some reason I feel like it belongs on the less marginalized, because he even said during the conversation, it's good that you're still around you know, we want you to come to church, we want you to be a part of the family. Don't let religion be an obstacle for being around the family.

While having to defend his position might have been marginalizing, Anthony's brother's openness made him feel less marginalized instead. This type of conversation is an example of confirming communication which is warm and accepting of the person, but not necessarily with agreement about an issue (Dailey, 2006). In this study, sibling relationships were more facilitative of open conversations, likely because they are naturally more of a peer relationship than parental relationships (Whiteman et al., 2011). This distinction is especially pronounced during the shift to becoming more egalitarian

during emerging adulthood. Generational differences in values and beliefs may also play a role. As a second example, Savannah (30, female) described a time when she had an open conversation with her brother who came to her for support.

> My brother was visiting and he just ended a relationship of 6 years and so he pulled me aside and we had a really long talk. It's the first time he's ever opened up to me about any of that…That made me feel very close, like he trusted me and felt like he could open up to me.

Open conversations tended to decrease feelings of marginalization, if only for the short period of time the conversation was occurring. Of the seven open conversations reported by participants, three were initiated by a family member (i.e., two siblings and one father), one conversation was initiated by the marginalized member, and three event descriptions did not specify who initiated the conversation. It is possible that open conversations were evaluated positively because a family member both sought out the marginalized and engaged in confirming communication with them (Dailey, 2006). Open conversations may have been meaningful turning points, in part, because they occurred so infrequently for participants. Openness as a relational maintenance strategy (i.e., direct discussion of a relationship allowing for expression of thoughts and feelings; Stafford & Canary, 1991) and the ability to communicate about a variety of topics (i.e., conversation orientation; Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002) are concepts that have been associated with myriad positive relational and psychosocial outcomes in communication literature.

4.1.3.3 Ceasing contact

Events categorized as conversations about ceasing contact included times when participants and their family members spoke about no longer seeing or communicating

with each other ($n = 6$). These events consisted of the marginalized member cutting off the relationship as well as times when family members ceased contact with the marginalized member. To be categorized as a conversation about ceasing contact, the family members must have communicated about no longer speaking rather than ignoring the person without explanation. Ashley (31, female) experienced being "kicked out" of the family by her uncle over the phone. She explained, "he was the one who was like, I want nothing to do with you, don't ever talk to me again, don't ever come to my house again." Ashley's uncle did not explain to her why he was ceasing contact with her, but he did call and tell her she was no longer welcome.

Brad (34, male) spoke about ending his toxic relationship with his mother over the phone.

It was causing problems for me just, emotional problems and actually this was after she had said you know, I wish you hadn't been born... And I tried for I don't know, it was about a year, a year and a half, to have a relationship with her but it just kept on getting worse and eventually I had enough and I just cut things off.

Margret (26, female) also cut off relations over the phone.

A few months ago I actually kind of, for a lack of a better word, disowned my mother. So I don't really have a whole lot of contact with my family… This is the point at which I realized that no matter where I was my mother was going to use me against my other family members, continue to isolate me, and if she didn't get her way, you know, all hell would break loose. And I decided I couldn't live with that and this was the point at which I decided I needed to cut her off.

A small body of literature exists on family estrangement, mostly in elderly

populations (see Agllias, 2011; Jerrome, 1994) but also addressing the risk of family

estrangement after "coming out" disclosures (LaSala, 2000). Marginalized members who

ceased contact with family in this study described events that typically involved them

making the decision and then telling family, usually using mediated communication such

as the phone, email, or written letters. When the family cut off the marginalized member,

this event was followed by anger, fear, and a sense of lost hope and control as the

marginalized member felt they did not have the power to change the situation.

4.1.3.4 Apologies

Apologies included written or verbal acknowledgement of wrongdoing ($n = 4$).

Apologies typically decreased feelings of marginalization except for when they were

perceived as inauthentic. Jennifer's (31, female) feelings of marginalization decreased

when her mother apologized, but only the first time.

> She's actually apologized to me on several occasions about the way she's treated
>
> me… When she apologized the first time it mattered. After that it didn't make a
>
> difference because… when you see things or feel things happening similar to the
>
> way they used to, it just makes you, this is hard this one. It just is what it is. And
>
> it's just not gunna change.

Jennifer explained that repeated apologies made her realize that her mother's

inappropriate behavior was not going to change.

Susan (29, female) experienced several apologies she labeled false. One happened

after an argument with her step-mom, "we all sat down and she was made to apologize

for the first time in our whole relationship…I felt like it was the most ridiculous apology

ever." Susan perceived her father had forced her step-mom to apologize, delegitimizing

the apology. Like Susan, most participants felt that apologies were not genuine. Hope

illustrated this by explaining her mother's ulterior motive for her apology, "she partially

apologized and I believe it's primarily because I was getting married. And then I think

that is what made her somewhat come around." When apologies were perceived as

genuine, feelings of marginalization decreased. Otherwise, the apology amplified the

already negative situation. There has been a significant amount of research on accounts

and apologies (e.g., Benoit, 1995) and even the recognition of "questionable" or insincere

apologies (Risen & Gilovich, 2007) though not in the context of family communication.

4.1.3.5 Deception

Deception ($n = 3$) was typified by participants or other family members

intentionally fabricating or withholding information deemed important by participants

(e.g., see information manipulation theory; McCornack, 1992). Min's (31, female) family

engaged in multiple acts of deception surrounding one event. She explained:

> My youngest sister even tricked me back home when I was transferring to
>
> [university] from my community college. It was a lot of drama... She told me my
>
> mom got cancer, so I gave up school. My mom told me my sister got in an
>
> accident also to trick me home. So I gave up my education and that time when I
>
> went home for 3 months nobody knew I went home. Because I was hiding at
>
> home, my mom didn't want me to see anybody...cause I'm not supposed to be
>
> home.

Min's family lied to her to encourage her to come home and once she arrived home, she

was forbidden to leave the family home which deceived others concerning her

whereabouts. Min found this experience marginalizing because she felt her mother and sister selfishly convinced her to come home at great expense to her schooling and career goals.

Two additional themes with implications for the relationship between communication and marginalization were identified based on participant experiences: restricted communication and genuine communication. These themes ran throughout descriptions of events as well as participants' explanations of why they were marginalized and who they could turn to at times when they felt marginalized.

4.1.3.6 Restricted communication

The first category was restricted communication. Communication was restricted between family members due to unwillingness to talk, avoidance of certain topics, increased physical distance, silencing, or ignoring of the marginalized member. Topic avoidance has been associated with negative outcomes (e.g., relational dissatisfaction and uncertainty) in interpersonal relationships (see Caughlin & Golish, 2003; Knobloch & Carpenter-Theune, 2004). Participants explained that some conversation topics were taboo (Baxter & Wilmot, 1985), meaning they were subjects the marginalized member could not talk to family about, or the whole family would not talk about even if the talk concerned core parts of the participants' identity. This often made participants feel as if their family did not know the "real" them or that they could not reveal their identity. For example, Anthony (25, male) disclosed to his father that he had left his family religion. His father asked him not to speak with his youngest sister about his beliefs.

> When I explained to my dad that I didn't believe the church is true, and in fact I'm
>
> an atheist. He asked that I not discuss religion with [my sister] until she was a

little bit older because he didn't want me to contaminate her impression of the

church.

Nicole (34, female) described what happened when she brought up taboo topics in her

family, "they shut it down or pretend I haven't spoken. Which is maddening."

Another way communication was restricted was when the participant chose to

avoid talk because they were aware that the consequence of communication was conflict.

Mark (30, male) explained that he avoids certain topics because, "there are things that I

know that will spark arguments." Jennifer (31, female) explained what happens when she

tries to bring up the way she feels about how she has been treated by her family. "It gets

out of hand. People get upset. Words are said, and it is worse than you know, before we

even got on the phone. It should be left alone." Afifi and Guerrero (2000) point out that

topic avoidance is a fairly common phenomenon in relationships and serves to help

relational partners achieve a variety of goals such as protecting privacy or increasing

relational distance. Participants in this study used topic avoidance to manage conflict

(Roloff & Ifert, 2000). Repeated reinforcement based on experiencing conflict following

communication about certain topics caused participants in this study to bite their tongue,

or restrict their own attempts at communicating.

Kelly (28, female) was a participant that tried to break the restricted

communication cycle. After four years of fairly silent rejection and disapproval from her

parents, Kelly decided to talk to them about their disapproval of her sexuality.

We just had this terrible conversation. Part of it was a yelling match and I was

telling them how they need to just get over it. That I gave them four years, they

should at least show some growth or progress, a little bit in accepting me for who

I am, but they didn't and they haven't…they said if you are looking for

acceptance, go find it from someone else. They explicitly said that. That's the

most marginalized I've ever felt.

Kelly explained that besides this conversation her communication with her parents is very

normal, about work and everyday life, because they avoid the topic of her sexuality.

When asked whether she felt she could talk about her sexuality with them, she explained,

"They absolutely do not talk about it, period" and she felt she could not bring it up either,

as the consequences would be the conflict she described above. She explained the

restriction of communication is pervasive in their relationship, "even a positive time is

still secretly a negative because I know in my mind I'm not allowed to talk about this or

this or this or this."

Aside from restricting their own communication to avoid conflict, some

participants also chose to communicate difficult disclosures via email or postal mail.

Participants expressed that they preferred these methods because phone, video-chat, or

face to face conversations were too hard and they desired uninterrupted communication

without immediate feedback. When Kelly originally came out to her parents she wrote

them a letter. She explained "I overnighted it, because I just needed them to read it right

now," yet she was unwilling to call and talk with them in real time. Overall, being

restricted in what the marginalized member could talk about was a marginalizing

experience. Most marginalizing was when a core part of the participant's identity was

considered taboo by the family.

4.1.3.7 Genuine communication

The second category consisted of the perceived lack of "genuine" communication participants felt when they engaged with family members. Many expressed that their families did not take an interest in or understand what they did with their lives. Because difference is a dimension of marginalization, it makes sense that a lack of understanding could occur. The lack of genuine communication with family was highlighted when participants spoke about their relationships with people outside the family who made them feel included. Participants juxtaposed genuine communication with others against the surface level communication common in their family relationships.

Genuine communication occurred when participants felt like someone actually cared, wanted to listen, and know about the marginalized member's life. The interpersonal process model of intimacy (Reis & Shaver, 1988) explains that intimacy is transactional and occurs when one person's disclosure of self is met with validation and caring (i.e., responsive communication) as opposed to disinterest (i.e., nonresponsiveness). Responsiveness occurs when the speaker perceives that his/her relational partner validated, appreciated, and understood them. Jennifer (31, female) experienced responsiveness and spoke about feeling accepted by members of her extended family, "it's genuine. Just checking on me, caring, talking to me, listening to me. Spending time with me. [They have] just always been there." Megan (25, female) spoke about how her "fictive kin" are different from her family of origin, "they're invested and they're involved and they care and they're not afraid to go deep and they're not afraid to talk about the difficult things… it's like their acceptance of me isn't

conditional." Participants expressed that this type of communication was something different than what they experienced with their family of origin.

Marginalized members reported feeling unheard or "fake" as opposed to "authentic" due to the surface level of conversations they had with their family of origin. Kevin (30, male) talked about how communication with his family felt inauthentic. "When everyone is together, it just feels like everyone is there just because my grandparents are alive and just to get everyone together for them. But otherwise it just feels fake." Nayani (26, female) explained how the lack of genuine communication has affected her family relationships, "I don't think they know me as much as some friends might. I feel like there are people outside the family that know me much better than my own family does."

Genuine communication did occasionally happen with family of origin members, but was often temporary or with only one family member. Related to the open conversation category above, Emma (25, female) talked about her brother being genuine in one of the open conversations she had with him, which was in stark contrast with talking to other family members.

> I told him everything and it was so refreshing just to know that … we can talk about absolutely anything… he's just a very genuine person and I just crave that in people now. Just sick of the bullshit and games.

Feelings of marginalization decreased during instances of genuine communication and the lack of genuine communication was cited as a reason for feeling marginalized from family and for the utility of outside relationships who really "knew" the participant or understood their interests and beliefs.

4.1.4 Trajectories of Family Member Marginalization

Research question four asked what primary patterns of change in perceived marginalization were present in the data. Five categories of turning point event trajectories were identified and illustrate the various paths the process of marginalization took for participants in this study. Trajectory categories included turbulent, inclining, disrupted, declining, and prolonged. Each participant graph was classified into one and only one of the five trajectory patterns. See Figures 4.1-4.5 for example turning point graphs.[2]

4.1.4.1 Turbulent

The turbulent category ($n = 11$) included graphs with repeated patterns of variation in high and low marginalizing events. Participants with relationship trajectories in this category may have felt as marginalized at present as they did at 18 but between now and then important events had repeatedly made them feel both more and less marginalized. Participants in this category differed in how extreme they rated those high and low events but all participants experienced a succession of variation (i.e., ups and downs).

Sadie (28, female) reported a trajectory that started with feelings of marginalization at 70% at 18 years old (Figure 4.1). Sadie's marginalization increased to 100% when she was in college and needed financial support from family but was denied. Next, she was excluded from a cousin's reunion and felt 90% marginalized. This event was followed by her graduation from college in which she felt more included (60%). Next, Sadie had a small wedding which upset many of her uninvited family members,

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[2] For each turning point graph, 100% represents the most marginalized a person could feel from their family, whereas 0 represents the least marginalized (i.e., not at all marginalized).

increasing her marginalization to 90%. When she moved to graduate school her

marginalization decreased to 70% as her family expressed pride in her achievements. The

next two events were deaths in the family. When her cousin died and she was unable to

attend the funeral and was excluded from planning she felt 100% marginalized. A short

time later she felt 80% marginalized when her grandmother died. Because the funeral was

out of the country and most of her cousins did not attend, she did not feel as marginalized

from that event. Finally, Sadie reported feeling 100% marginalized at present.

Turbulent - Sadie
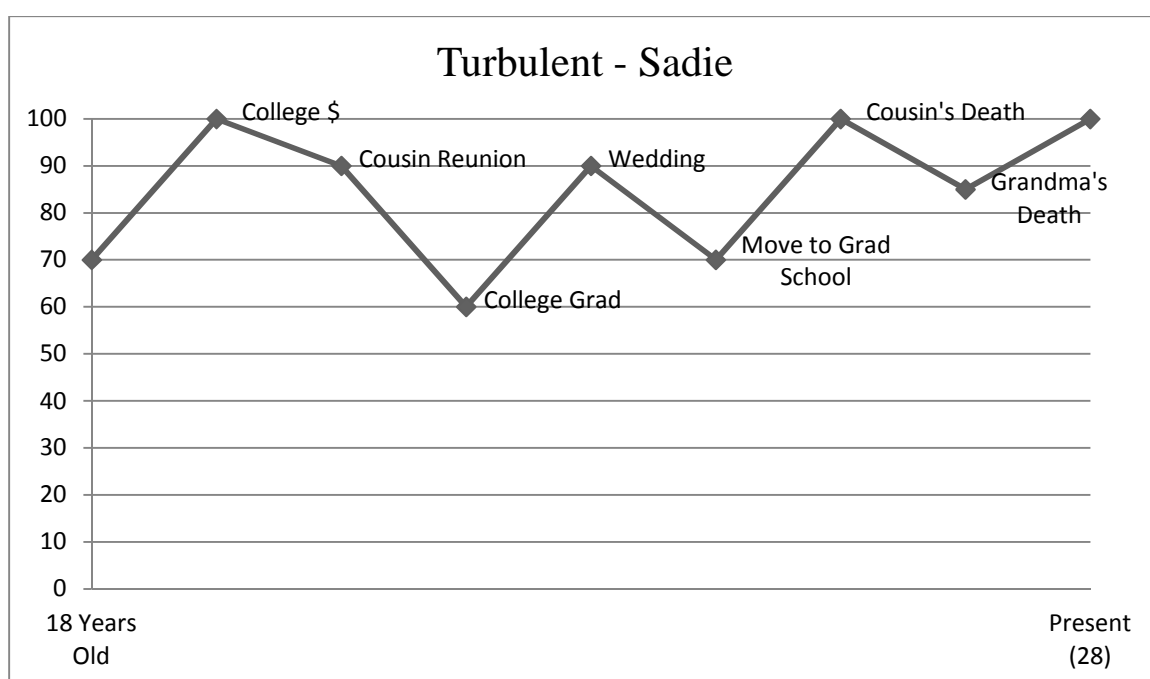
Figure 4.1: Sample Graph of the Turbulent Turning Point Trajectory

4.1.4.2 Inclining

Graphs in the inclining category ($n = 6$) depicted fairly steady increases in

feelings of marginalization over time. These graphs did not include big shifts in feelings

of marginalization but instead portrayed several events that tended to make the

participant feel increasingly marginalized as time went on. Events that made participants

feel less marginalized may have been included but the overall trend in the trajectory was upward (Figure 4.2).

Min (31, female) experienced feelings of marginalization that steadily inclined through a series of events from 18 to 32 years old. At 18, Min reported feeling 30% marginalized. When she had to drop out of her local college she felt 40% marginalized because she felt she was disappointing her mother. Shortly after, she flew to the United States to start college again. At this time she felt 50% marginalized because she was moving away from family. When Min was almost 25 her mother and sister lied to her to get her to come home and give up college. This event made her feel 60% marginalized. When she was 27 she reported having a conversation with her mother that made her feel 65% marginalized. Next, she talked with her mom about visiting home and her mother told her not to come back. As a result of that conversation, Min felt 90% marginalized. Her final turning point was a dinner at home where her mother publicly belittled her in front of her extended family (95%). Min marked her current feelings of marginalization at 100%. Min provided a clear example of a steady increase in feelings of marginalization over time.

Inclining - Min

- Dropout
- Fly to US 1st time
- Tricked home
- Conversation w/mom
- Mom didn't want me home
- Dinner at home

18 Years Old — Present (32)
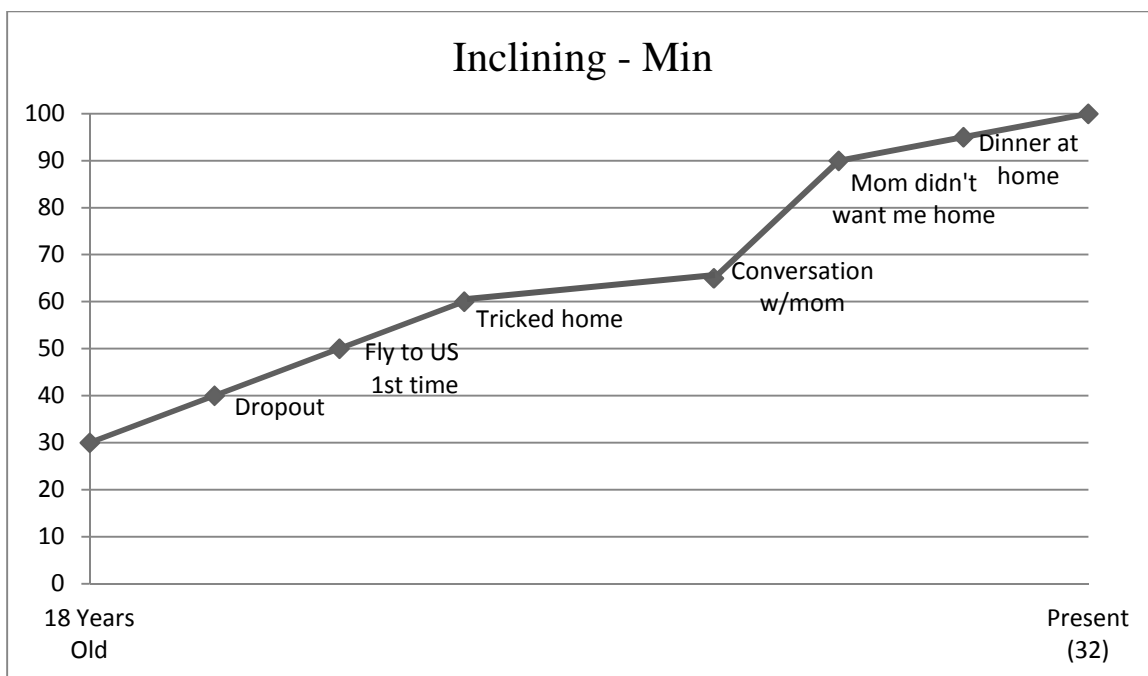
Figure 4.2: Sample Graph of the Inclining Turning Point Trajectory

4.1.4.3 Disrupted

The graphs in the disrupted category (*n* = 6) featured one big "dip" in their trajectories. The dip could contain one or more events in a cluster that indicated a time when the participant felt less marginalized. The dips or disruptions to the trajectory pattern were typically followed by marginalization increasing to original levels of marginalization (i.e., at 18), feeling less marginalized but still higher than during the dip, or similar levels to how the participant felt at present. This trajectory may indicate a failed attempt at or period of reconciliation. This might consist of one conversation where the marginalized member felt heard or one event where the family came together followed by not much change to the state of the relationship or reverting back to how they originally felt.

Savannah (30, female) reported fairly low feelings of marginalization at 18 (20%). Savannah's graph is depicted in Figure 4.3. Savannah shared that while in college she felt 20% marginalized which increased to 50% when she started going to church. Savannah explained that her family was not very religious and she felt they would not understand her new lifestyle. At 24 she married and her marginalization increased to 70% because she was moving away from the family and aligning her life with her new husband and his values. A few years later she had a baby and labeled that experience at 80%. She described the event as marginalizing because she was now different from her siblings in a new way. Her highest (i.e., most marginalizing) point on the graph was a Thanksgiving where her siblings pressured her to drink and made her feel different for her values/religion (90%). Savannah also felt marginalized during a time when her sisters were getting ready and did not seek her opinion on their clothing (70%). Soon after, her brother broke up with his long time girlfriend and had a conversation with her about his relationship. She felt he opened up to her in a way her siblings had avoided doing for years. She rated this event at 10%. This event represents the disruption to a pattern of fairly consistently rising feelings of marginalization. Despite this event Savannah indicated her current feelings of marginalization were at 75%. She felt the event made her feel more included and needed by family but did not really change the dynamic overall as it was a brief conversation that happened just once.
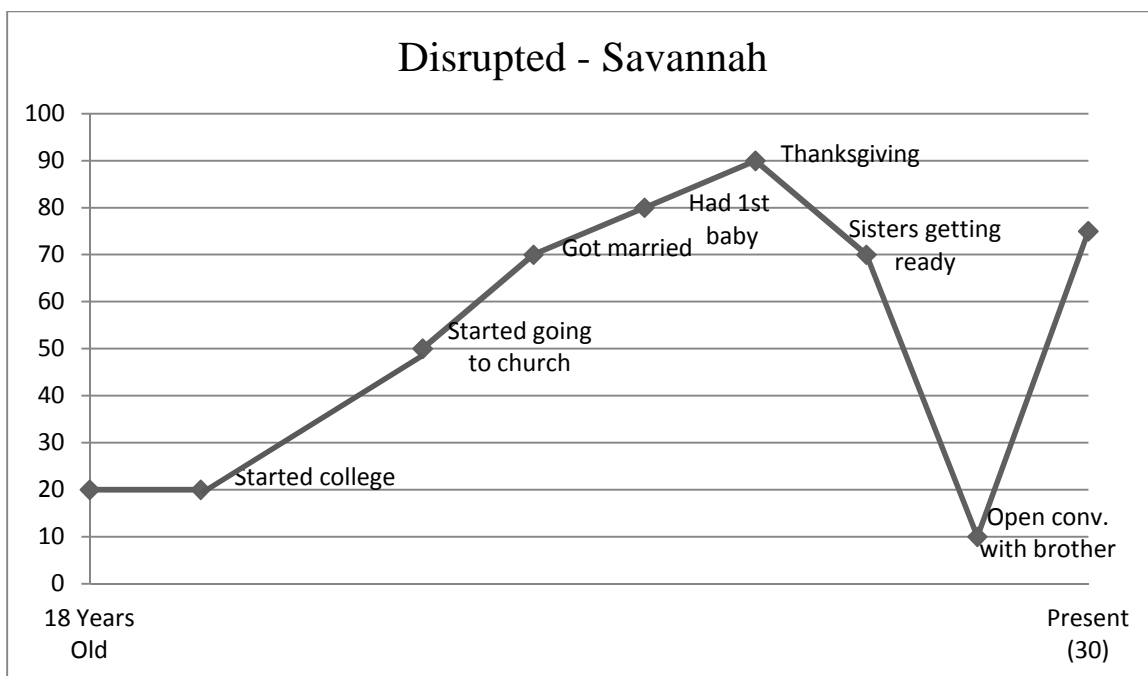
Figure 4.3: Sample Graph of the Disrupted Turning Point Trajectory

4.1.4.4 Declining

Declining graphs ($n = 4$) depicted a fairly steady decrease in feelings of

marginalization from 18 to present meaning that participants felt more included, well

liked, and approved of by family over time. Some graphs contained steeper transitions

from one event to the next but all evidenced a pattern of declining marginalization (see

Figure 4.4).

Jules (31, female) experienced an improvement in her family relationships since

turning 18. At 18 Jules rated her feelings of marginalization at 77%. Soon after, she

moved in with her father and she felt more marginalized (90%) because her mother chose

her brother to live with her instead of Jules. When her brother moved overseas to the

United States, her marginalization greatly improved because she felt she was able to take

his place as the oldest child. At this point Jules felt 20% marginalized. When she also

moved to the United States there was a time her brother needed her help and he moved in

with her making Jules feel even more included (10%). Jules reported her current feelings

of marginalization at 7%. Jules credited the overall decline in her feelings of

marginalization to growing older and becoming more mature.
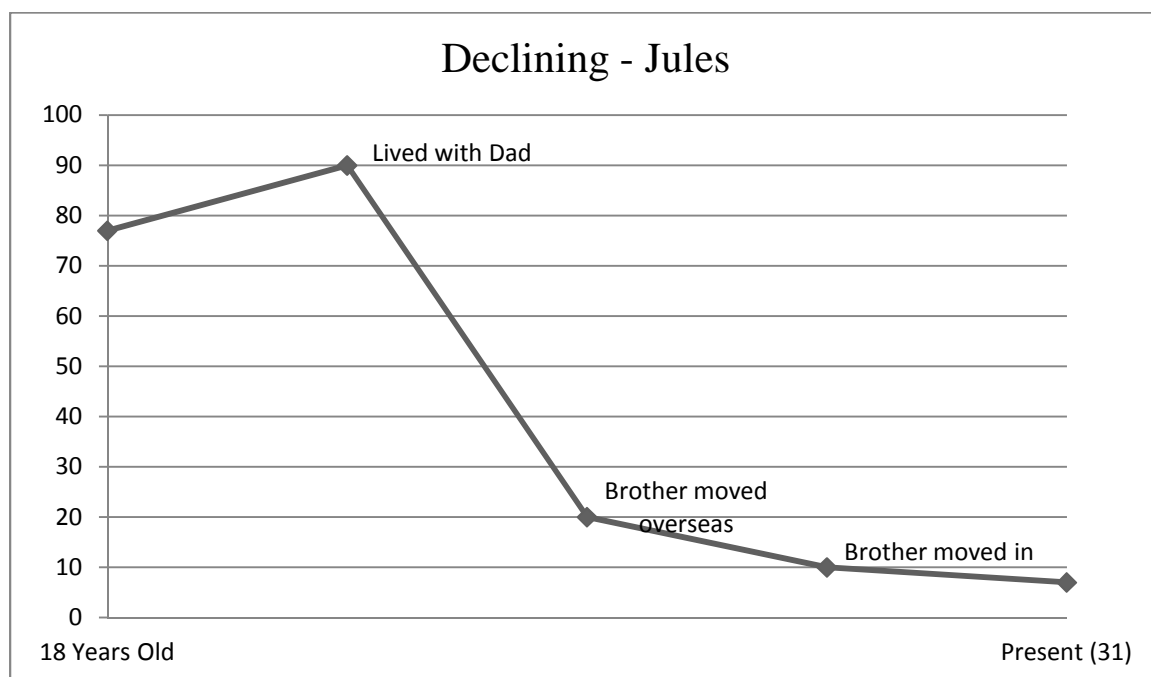
Figure 4.4: Sample Graph of the Declining Turning Point Trajectory

4.1.4.5 Prolonged

The prolonged category (*n* = 3) contained trajectories where most events occurred

in the second half of the given time frame (18 to 25-35) and moved toward feeling more

marginalized. Like the inclining category, some events did coincide with decreased

marginalization but the general trend indicated feeling more marginalized over time. For

these participants, feelings in marginalization did not change much until the 23-25 year

old range. At that point participants reported beginning to feel more marginalized and

recalled an increased number of events that changed how marginalized they felt. These

participants experienced lower marginalization for the first several years of emerging adulthood, perhaps because they were living away from family. The absence of family events which may have otherwise made them feel marginalized resulted in lower/static feelings of marginalization while away from family. While Mark (30, male) did not have a prolonged trajectory, he offered explanation for why changes and marginalizing events might begin to occur after college. He explained that college was eye opening because he was "exposed to a lot more different people and how they live their lives. How their relationships with their families are and how their families might be different or similar and…seeing like there are people that feel more similar to me that are accepted in either their families or other groups." Mark felt that exposure to different people in college helped him better understand his own family situation.

Emma (25, female) experienced a trajectory that remained stable until 24 years old. She described the first part of her graph as uneventful because she had not come out to her family yet. She may have anticipated marginalization (i.e., anticipated how her parents would react to her actions) but had not experienced marginalization from family until 24 years old. Emma felt 0% marginalized at 18 and that low level of marginalization continued for five years. At 24 she disclosed her feelings of same-sex attraction to her brother. She marked this event at 20% because her brother was surprisingly reassuring and accepting of her. Shortly after, she disclosed the same information to her sister. Her sister provided a drastically different reaction making her feel 70% marginalized. Next, her sister recommended she seek counseling, making her feel 75% marginalized. After that, Emma had a conversation with her mom about her sexuality (80%) and her sister in-law sent her an insensitive video titled "God saved me from a life of homosexuality"

(90%). The next time she saw her sister in-law she apologized and they shared a hug, making Emma feel less marginalized (70%). Emma's dad sent her an email about his feelings on her sexuality increasing her marginalization to 80%, after which she had an open conversation with her brother about the email and her family. The open conversation temporarily decreased her feelings of marginalization to 10%. Emma reported feeling 70% marginalized at present. Emma's turning point events occurred primarily within the last year of her seven year graph (Figure 4.5).
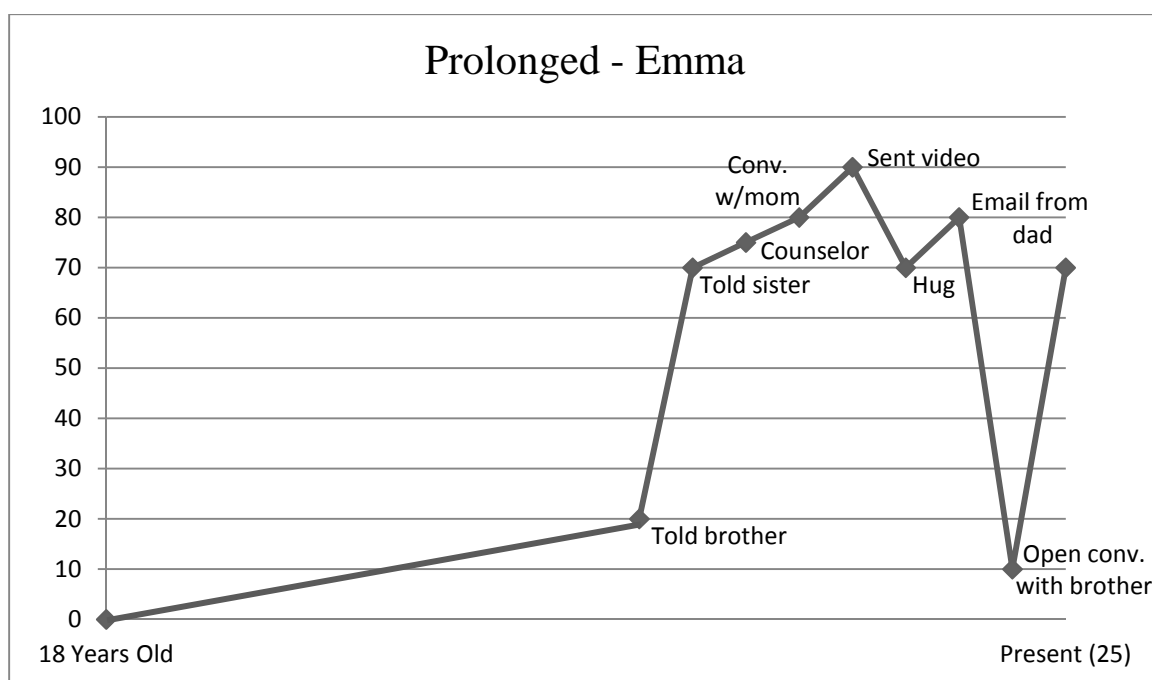
Figure 4.5: Sample Graph of the Prolonged Turning Point Trajectory

Five types of family member marginalization trajectories were identified: turbulent, inclining, disrupted, declining, and prolonged. Turbulent was the most frequently observed graph type in this study. Table 4.3 compares people who described different trajectories on factors such as number of turning points reported, length of time they had felt marginalized, number of siblings, and birth order. These comparisons

should be viewed with caution because of the small sample size per cell (e.g., two

categories have only 3-4 people in them). Future research with a larger sample is needed

to properly assess these findings (see Chapter 6). Over half of those whose graphs fit the

turbulent type reported feeling like a black sheep for ten or more years of their lives

(55%). Surprisingly, the majority of those with declining trajectories (i.e., improved

marginalization over time) had felt like a black sheep for over 10 years of their lives. The

declining trajectory type also tended to include participants with more siblings ($M = 3.25$)

compared to the other types. Participants with inclining trajectories all reported being the

first born in their family while the other trajectory types included a variety of birth orders.

No first born participants reported prolonged trajectories. Participants with prolonged,

turbulent, and disrupted trajectories reported more turning points on average than those

with declining or inclining trajectories. In summary, participants' accounts of perceived

marginalization varied in terms of patterns of change but could be classified by five

common trajectory types.

Table 4.3: Trajectory Percentages and Frequencies, Average Number of Turning Points,
and Number of Siblings by Trajectory Type

	Trajectory Type				
Variable	Turbulent	Inclining	Disrupted	Declining	Prolonged
Percent of Participants	37%	20%	20%	13%	10%
Frequency	11	6	6	4	3
Num. of Turning Points	6.82 (SD = 2.89)	4.83 (SD = .75)	6.17 (SD = 1.94)	5 (SD = 1.41)	7.67 (SD = 6.51)
Num. of Siblings	2.09 (SD = 1.38)	2.33 (SD = 1.51)	2.17 (SD = 1.47)	3.25 (SD = 2.87)	2 (SD = 1.73)
Time felt	6 (55%)	3 (50%) 1-5	3 (50%) 10+	3 (75%) 10+	2 (67%) 1-5

| like a black sheep | 10+ years 3 (27%) 5-10 2 (18%) 1-5 | years 2 (33%) 10+ 1 (17%) 5-10 | years, 2 (33%) 5-10, 1 (17%) 1-5 | years 1 (25%) 6 mo. – 1 year | years 1 (33%) 10+ years |
| Birth Order | 7 (64%) first born 4 (36%) second born | 6 (100%) first born | 3 (50%) first 1 (16.7%) second 1 (16.7%) fourth 1 (16.7%) fifth | 1 (25%) first 2 (50%) second 1 (25%) fourth | 2 (67%) second 1 (33%) fourth |

4.1.5 Role of Siblings

Research question five asked about the role siblings played in creating and

reinforcing feelings of marginalization. Siblings contributed to participants' feelings of

marginalization in direct and indirect ways. Before presenting these results, it is

important to note that overwhelmingly participants credited their feelings of

marginalization to controlling parents. Siblings however played a secondary role in most

participants' accounts and played a primary role in one participant's account. In fact,

80% of participants reported that their siblings made them feel marginalized in the

survey. Below, examples of how siblings directly and indirectly contributed to feelings of

marginalization as well as to feelings of inclusion and liking are presented.

4.1.5.1 Direct marginalization

Direct participation in the marginalization of a family member included a sibling

belittling, bullying, or devaluing the marginalized member. Siblings in such instances

ceased contact with participants or expressed disagreement with their values and

interests. Mark (30, male) described teasing from his brother that made him feel

marginalized and disapproved of based on his appearance, "teasing with my brother was

about gender roles and… being a girl with long hair." Brad (34, male) felt his dissimilar

interests evoked marginalizing comments from his brother, "I just don't watch sports at all and my dad and my brother are huge huge football and basketball fans and so they'll make comments about me acting faggy or something like that." Mark and Brad experienced direct marginalization in the form of criticism from their brothers.

Ryan (28, male) also described feeling marginalized based on the actions of his brother.

> I haven't seen my brother or sister in law for months but they would not even say hi… they kind of come off as stuck up… I would say "hey how's it going" and then you could just tell by their demeanor that they just thought you were not up to their level.

Ryan expressed another way his brother's lack of communication made him feel marginalized, "every now and again I'll… text him and say something but sometimes he doesn't even text back because he, I don't know why, or he will be like really short." Finally, Ryan explains how his brother's treatment makes him feel, "[my brother] treats me as if I had less worth than him or I was less valuable or less intelligent." Ryan's brother engaged in direct marginalization by ignoring him making Ryan feel excluded and devalued.

Rafael (28, male) experienced some of his siblings explicitly disagreeing with the way he lives his life. He explained his siblings' insensitive and marginalizing reactions to him coming out. His sister said, "just don't be gay around my kids." His brother said, "well you chose to be gay, you can choose to be straight." These responses upset Rafael to the point he chose to physically distance himself from them. He explained, "And that's

part of the reason I want to go to New York. I want to really create my own environment where I feel like I don't have to work to get somebody's acceptance I guess."

Savannah (30, female) described a time when her siblings as a group made her feel marginalized.

[My siblings] were all drinking and my husband and I just chose not to participate. We will enjoy a casual drink or whatever but they basically just kind of brought up, 'oh you used to do this in college and… it's not a big deal. Why are you so goody two shoes.'

Savannah explained why her siblings' reaction to her choice was marginalizing,

It was just really hurtful because I felt like they weren't respecting the choice of my lifestyle now. They're just trying to bring me back into the way I used to be which I'm trying to get away from that so I think just them not being able to respect me as a Christian and just trying to peer pressure me into what they're doing…being viewed as a goody two shoes or whatever I just I never wanted to be that person…that event sticks out in my mind just because it felt like they were turning on me instead of just like, oh not a big deal. You're here with us, that's all we care about…It was more no, come on, party with us, get drunk with us.

Savannah's siblings ridiculed her and peer pressured her to act against her belief system making her feel disrespected and marginalized.

A second form of direct marginalization was when siblings "took cues" from parents and actively contributed to feelings of marginalization. Participants who described this scenario sometimes placed less blame on the sibling since they were "going along with mom and dad" rather than acting alone. This is one way participants

viewed siblings as reinforcing feelings of marginalization rather than creating them. Megan (25, female) explained how this worked in her family, "I think my siblings, at least especially while they were still living at home, well, yeah, they take their cues from my parents." In the limited interaction Megan had with her siblings, she felt they went along with her parents' opinions of her choices and expressed that she and her siblings "don't really always get along." Lisa (27, female) explained that while her brother does not share her parents' views on all issues, he is more in line with them than she is which makes her feels marginalized. "My brother is pretty much on the same page as they are. They disagree about some things but they're all of them more together and I'm kind of the outlier on that." Lisa felt alone and unsupported because her brother was on her parent's side instead of hers.

Susan (29, female) experienced this type of "taking cues" behavior on vacation with her brother and grandmother. "During the trip, even though I have a pretty close relationship with my brother, he just completely ostracized me and made me feel like I was there to be a maid, or like a servant." She attributed his unusual behavior to her grandmother's presence, "Mostly because like, someone else from my family was there and he kind of adopted like their point of view as opposed to being on my side. Like I felt he would be." Susan's brother made her feel devalued, like a second class citizen. Interestingly, she later described her brother as a close friend who sympathizes with her.

4.1.5.2 Indirect marginalization

Participants sometimes described feeling marginalized based on the mere existence of their siblings as opposed to specific things siblings said or did to them. Consistent with research on parental differential treatment (e.g., McHale et al., 2000),

comparisons between brothers and sisters were the most frequently reported form of indirect marginalization from siblings ($n = 12$). Mills and Piotrowski (2009) found that hurt was experienced by siblings who perceived their parent valued another sibling over them. In this study, this type of indirect marginalization took the form of the participant feeling pressure based on a parent drawing comparisons, setting different expectations, or favoring one sibling. It also included participants comparing themselves to a sibling (i.e., so indirect that siblings were not aware they were involved in any way). Heather (28, female) described discrepant expectations her parents held for her and her sister.

> If I make a little mistake here that's a huge big deal whereas if my sister were to make the same mistake you know, [our mom is] supportive of that and sees that as a way for her to work through a problem whereas I feel like I'm more harshly judged for my choices and mistakes.

Jules' (31, female) mother could only afford to house one child and chose her brother over her.

> She can't provide for two kids and she has to keep one of them and send the other one so you feel like, why [do] I have to be in this whole thing. Because mom couldn't or because she liked me less?

While Jules' brother did not make the decision, her mother choosing him over Jules caused feelings of exclusion and marginalization that she would not have experienced if not for having a brother.

Nicole (34, female) felt marginalized when she noticed that her mother made concessions for her sister, but not for her.

I'm a vegetarian and mom doesn't understand that so every time I'm home she

just cooks meat. My sister and her husband are very picky eaters and she'll cater

to them, but she won't cater to the no meat and no dairy for me.

Nicole reflected on another instance of differential treatment.

Another part of this is that my sister was a 3-sport athlete and my dad and mom

had supported her being that way since she was in elementary school. When I was

a freshman in high school I was on the track team, I was a really good discus

thrower. It was the only thing I was ever good at in sports and they told me I had

to quit because I had to get a job.

While she expressed happiness that her sister was supported, it did not compensate for

the marginalization she felt from the experience.

Hope (31, female) harbored a lot of resentment for the way she was treated in

relation to her sister. Hope explained that she knew she was marginalized because her

family told her, "I should be more like my sister, that my values don't matter, that what

I'm doing is stupid, that my opinions are ridiculous." Hope felt constantly compared to

her sister growing up and as a result, marginalized.

My immediate family at least treats me very differently than they do my sister.

She gets a lot of help, a lot of encouragement. My mother used to tell me when I

was younger that I should not be as bright because it made my sister feel bad. And

every trophy that I ever got, my sister took pictures with it as well, to make her

feel good…instead of encouraging her in other ways, their method of making her

not feel bad was to make me dumber.

Although Hope's sister was probably not posing with her trophies to intentionally make Hope feel marginalized, her role in Hope's life was marginalizing.

Siblings were sometimes used as a "pawn" in parents' marginalization or abuse. In some cases, siblings might go along with the parents knowingly, without actively marginalizing the participant. In other cases, siblings may be unaware they are being used by the parents. For example, Margret (26, female) explained a time when her sister was used by her mother to communicate marginalization as punishment for seeking an independent living situation.

> I went to dinner, it was supposed to be the 4 of us…my mother decided to not go in protest and told my sister to tell me that they were taking the car back and swapping it with my sister... They forced us to switch cars because my mother didn't approve of me being in an apartment.

Margret explained why her sister delivered this message, "[My sister] is like I know it's not fair but mom said to."

Another participant, Angela (25, female), spoke explicitly about her siblings as part of a game her parents played, "my siblings are pawns. They're tools and my parents are very short sighted in that they use them…to attack me. To talk about how awful I am." Angela expressed that one form of control her parents utilized to keep her quiet about challenges she was facing was to remind her, "think of what it will do to your siblings!" Angela went on to explain, "That was a lot of how [my mom] tried to control me was, you might hurt them."

One other way siblings were involved in indirect marginalization was when participants felt marginalized based on their role as a sibling caretaker or role model in

the family. The responsibility placed on them to take care of their siblings caused feelings of marginalization, especially when they were unable or unwilling to fulfill that role. Randy (32, male) explained what happened in his family when he moved out and stopped fulfilling the parent role for his younger sisters.

> There's always a lot of resentment with me not being home. [My parents and I] didn't have a great relationship before that but the resentment builds cause I wasn't home to help take care of these kind of situations that they inevitably get themselves into.

Randy felt marginalized when his parents resented his choice to become more independent.

Jeremy (29, male) experienced a slightly different phenomenon based on his role as the oldest son.

> I've always been used by my parents as kind of a role model for the other kids in the family. Everything just seemed to come naturally to me especially with academics and other things so they would use me as a standard to hold all the other kids to.

Jeremy's parents depended on him to be a role model for his younger siblings so when he left the family's religion, he felt pressure to keep his new beliefs a secret. He explained, "I don't want to be seen as the instigator. I don't want my parents to see me as someone who's trying to destroy the family by driving everyone out of you know, the church or something." Because of his place in the family as the role model, Jeremy feared his parents might assume his goal in sharing his beliefs would be to encourage his siblings to

believe the same. This fear increased Jeremy's feelings of marginalization as he perceived pressure to hide his beliefs.

4.1.5.3 Decreasing feelings of marginalization

Siblings also contributed to participants' feelings of inclusion, liking, and acceptance from family. Participants reported feeling less marginalized when siblings stuck up for them or made an effort to include them when they otherwise would not have been included. Some participants' marginalization decreased when they provided support to their sibling on account of feeling needed. Siblings can operate much like friends in providing emotional support (Wellman & Wortley, 1990). Many participants cited examples of siblings providing support and understanding when parents did not. Kimberly (26, female) illustrated the notion that siblings serve a unique role in family support systems. "[My brother] is just open for conversation even if it's something he may find taboo… he would talk to me and I don't know, just be a brother… he's very accepting."

Emma (25, female) explained the relationship she had with one of her brothers who she felt really understood and accepted her as a gay woman.

We really didn't get along our whole lives and then the last year and a half as I became marginalized from my family… we differ on many things from our family now. We've become super close. We keep in good contact. We Skype and we talk and we text… We wanna be in each others' lives.

While explaining an event that made her feel marginalized from her family as a whole, Emma said that being with her brother made her feel less marginalized because, "he's so genuine and including and loving, just supportive and a really good listener."

Kelly (28, female) explained a similar experience with her brother. Coming out to her parents was very marginalizing as they did not accept her as gay, but her brother had a different response.

He told me he was relieved that I am not an evangelical Christian robot like my parents… that's a hilarious response to get from telling someone a secret you have… to hear they're relieved, but he was. He was very happy.

Kelly explained that her brother was "very accepting, very open, very encouraging" making her feel much less marginalized than when she came out to her parents.

A specific form of sibling support is when siblings showed understanding based on their shared history with parents (e.g., participants coping with siblings about how their parents are unreasonable or closed-minded). A seemingly important role siblings played in the life of a marginalized family member was that of an "ally." Previous research has highlighted the uniqueness of the sibling relationship in that siblings can be both allies and competitors (Daly, Salmon, & Wilson, 1997). Caughlin (2003) labeled this type of family communication "forming coalitions." Allies were siblings the participant could turn to when feeling marginalized, who would stick up for the participant, or share the participant's values or beliefs that lie at the root of their feelings of marginalization. In this role, siblings sometimes communicated directly about parents while at other times, simply knowing that a sibling had also experienced marginalization from their parents was comforting. Amber (26, female) spoke specifically about her sister as an ally, "From childhood to now anytime when like the parents were being unfair and we were on a team together, that was great." She goes on to explain that she is not always pleased with her sister, but her perception of her sister as a teammate is important, "I

mean sometimes she can be pretty crappy and then other time's we're allies against the

parents."

All the children in Kelly's (28, female) family had been black sheep during

periods of their lives for different reasons. She explained:

[My sister] just totally accepts us. She'll listen to anything I have to talk about.

She'll be very caring and she'll empathize a lot…She was out of wedlock

pregnant in high school, you know, it was a huge deal. So, she gets it when it

comes to being marginalized. Totally gets it.

The common experience of marginalization brought her siblings closer together.

Janice (26, female) felt her brother was in a uniquely knowledgeable place to give

advice because he had similar experiences with their parents.

[My brother and I] talk all the time and he feels the same way... Throughout the

years I think he has been telling me, he's like you just have to move on with your

life and you have to understand that they're not gunna change and you just have

to focus on your family.

Reflecting the finding that relevant expertise is a predictor of perceived quality and

intention to follow advice (Goldsmith & Fitch, 1997; MacGeorge, Feng, & Thompson,

2008), Janice noted that her brother's advice and the way he lives his life gave her

strength to focus on the present instead of the past because he had experienced her same

struggles.

In many instances, the same sibling contributed to feelings of inclusion *and*

marginalization and in others, certain siblings contributed to feelings of marginalization

while others contributed to feelings of inclusion. The valence of the role siblings played

varied across and within families. Hope (31, female) provided an example of a sibling who contributed to feelings of marginalization and inclusion. Hope described how her sister acted during an argument Hope had with her parents, "[my sister] was playing both sides. She was telling my parents, 'Oh, my sisters insane, I don't understand' then she'd call me and say 'I completely support you.'" Rafael (28, male) has seven siblings at varying levels of acceptance of him. He explained how in his family, some siblings marginalize him while others make him feel included.

> One of my sisters, which is really cute, she has a 4 year old and when my other sister was saying practically don't be yourself in front of my kids, the other one was like, well the girl has to find out about gay people anyway so I'd rather her find out through her uncle than through media or through stereotypes... It's an interesting relationship with a few of my siblings.

> Similarly, Emma (25, female) has four siblings, one of which was very accepting while the other three were not. She explained:

> My brother is very open about how he believes it's okay. My sister is very open about how if whether it is or not, it's not my place…that's between you and God… My brother's like that's fine. That's normal. My sister's like it's not okay.

Emma mentioned that when she visits home, she orients herself around her brother's family instead of her sister's due to the level of support and acceptance her brother provides her. The conditional support she receives from her sister and parents, which Emma describes as "I love you, but…" followed by "you need help" or "what you're doing is not okay," has taken a toll on Emma's perceptions of her family and caused her to question her decision to come out to them. Emma explained, "it can be like I'm stuck

with this dead weight of a family who's never gunna love and accept me and is this worth the pain?"

Participants in this study illustrated the varying roles siblings can play in the process of marginalization in families. For many, siblings provided the support and understanding they craved but were denied from other family members. Other participants had siblings who were major sources of marginalization for them, both directly and indirectly. Many participants described situations in which some siblings marginalized them while others did not. It is clear that the role siblings play in the process of marginalization is complex and likely depends on a variety of individual and family level factors.

4.1.6 Role of Self

Research question six asked whether marginalized family members intentionally or unintentionally contributed to their own marginalization. When asked whether participants said or did something that contributed to their currently place in the family, participants overwhelmingly said yes, without hesitation. Angela (25, female) illustrated this common reaction, "Absolutely. I mean it's not my responsibility that my parents are the way they are but my actions did start this." Most participants recognized their actions had led in some way or another to their status as marginalized.

The analysis revealed three primary ways marginalized members' conceptualized their role in the marginalization process. Being different (e.g., in terms of religion or sexuality) was most the most commonly mentioned response by participants. Being challenging in terms of breaking gender role expectations, standing up for oneself, or being stubborn or outspoken about family issues was a second way participants

contributed to their own marginalization. Both of these categories were cast as choices the marginalized member made, to come out as gay, disclose that they had left the church, act rebellious, or assert their independence. Many participants reported a combination of being different and challenging personality factors as causes for their marginalization. The third category included participants who believed they did not contribute to their own marginalization. This category was mentioned by markedly few participants ($n = 3$) as most took at least partial ownership over their current status in the family. Despite their perception of not contributing to their own marginalization, based on their narrative of the process of marginalization, they likely contributed unintentionally. Importantly, participants seemed to recognize their role in their own marginalization and despite the consequences, acted in ways their family disapproved of or disclosed information they knew would result in marginalization. This becomes clear when examining each of these three responses in greater detail.

4.1.6.1 Being different

Difference manifested itself in myriad ways for these participants. Difference included a change in worldview, beliefs, values, or being different from family all their lives.

Religion was central to discussions of difference. For example, leaving the family religion or becoming more religious than the rest of the family often resulted in family conflict, shame, and disagreements. Research on religiosity has identified primarily positive outcomes associated with family functioning (see Mahoney, Pargament, Swank, & Tarakeshwar, 2001), but research also has warned of psychological and spiritual risks of sanctifying family relationships due to the consequences of family members violating

what is considered "right" by the family (e.g., dissonance between expectations and actual behaviors in relationships; Mahoney, Pargament, Murray-Swank, & Murray-Swank, 2003). Anthony (25, male) recognized the consequences of his actions to leave his family's religion. He explained, "when you leave the church it creates a pretty big fault line between you and other people. So I would say I'm a black sheep in my family because I'm not a member of the church." Lisa (27, female) also credited her religious beliefs, "I've expressed opinions that are different and chosen a church that's different from what they think is right." Jeremy (29, male) recognized that religion played a central role in his marginalization because it is tied to the family's identity and value system. Jeremy explained, "religion is such an integral part of identity that by choosing to remove myself from that I've somehow changed who my identity is in their eyes."

A second source of difference was sexuality. Many participants described coming out as a major marginalizing event and when asked whether they contributed to their marginalization, they had straightforward answers related to their sexual identity. Kelly (28, female) explained, "Because I'm gay and they don't accept me." Kevin (30, male) stated, "because of being gay," and Rafael (28, male) said, "because I'm gay." Emma (25, female) explained why her sexuality was so marginalizing, "for being gay. My family holds that that is a sinful way to live life." Participants who experienced marginalization based on their sexual identity expressed that they believed it was their choice to disclose and that they contributed to their own marginalization by disclosing despite knowing what might happen as a result.

More general difference was also evoked as ways participants contributed to their own marginalization. This included participants who provided rationales such as feeling

they "don't fit" (Sadie; 28, female), "having different interests" (Brad; 34, male), or that "the things that we value tend to be different" (Mark; 30, male). Savannah mentioned her decisions as contributing to her place in the family, "I've made decisions in my life that are very different from my family." Lisa (27, female) explained, "I guess it comes down to I've shifted in my views and cultural positions and they haven't." In each of these participants' experiences their own choices and changes in beliefs are described as contributing to their marginalization.

Others expressed a tension between recognizing that their choices or beliefs were the source of their marginalization yet claiming they did not deserve the treatment they received from their families. Kelly (28, female), a participant who felt marginalized because she is gay and her family does not accept her, explained that she did not believe she had really contributed to her place in the family.

I haven't done anything wrong, but yes, the things I have done have caused these things. The things I have said have caused these problems. If I remained in the closet in secret…I would know I was marginalized, but they wouldn't realize it.

Jeremy (29, male), who left the family religion, said something similar, "I mean this is obviously my side of the story and I don't really feel like I've done anything wrong." These participants experienced a tension between not blaming themselves yet wanting to feel like they have some control despite not being able to change the way their families reacted.

4.1.6.2 Being challenging

Participants reported challenging their family expectations for them in a variety of ways. One example was by challenging the gender roles set for them by their parents and

by society in general (West & Zimmerman, 1987). This included choosing a career path that has traditionally been fulfilled by the opposite sex (e.g., females pursuing careers in engineering). Margret (26, female) explained:

> I never fit the cookie cutter model for what a girl should be. I hate makeup hate doing my nails. Didn't like to wear dresses. And then I chose engineering as a career field. So, that has also been a point of contention that led to being isolated.

Nicole (34, female) felt her pursuance of higher education marginalized her. She explained, "I am nontraditional in the way I'm living my life as a woman." Amber (26, female) felt her opposite-sex interests contributed to her marginalization, "I don't like the expected girl type things. I'm more of a tom boy." The breaking of gender roles hinged on parental expectations for the marginalized member. Not all participants who challenged gender roles were marginalized, but those whose parents had clear ideas about how they should act as a certain gender felt their actions contributed to their marginalization. Past research has identified that mothers expect their daughters to become more similar to them as they age, due in part to being of the same gender (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982). This represents one way parental gender expectations may influence feelings of approval and inclusion, especially during emerging adulthood, as daughters who do not fill traditional gender roles do not meet the expectation of becoming more similar to traditionally female mothers.

Others mentioned their challenging personality as a reason for their marginalization including their "independent," "rebellious," "outspoken," "strong-willed," and "stubborn" nature. Some participants perceived of personality as more external compared to the choices they had made in life while others took ownership of

their expectation-challenging behavior. For Jennifer (31, female), her marginalization

stemmed from the core of her identity. "Just my personality. Who I am." Margret (26,

female) talked about her personality in relation to her parent, "I've always been more

independent. And independence, when my mother is such a control freak, any

independence is a bad thing." Nayani (26, female) mentioned her willingness to speak her

mind as a cause for her marginalization. She explained, "if you really get to the root of it,

I'm the problem not them." She went on to compare herself to her sisters, "it has a lot to

do with everything that I do and say. And it's probably because I do and say a lot more

than the rest of them, than my sisters." Heather (28, female) felt similarly about her

outspoken nature, "I don't think I'm without fault. It was probably just that characteristic

of saying everything. Probably contributed to it." Janice (26, female) described her

challenging parental expectations compared to her siblings as facilitating her

marginalization.

> I guess the fact that when I was little I was the quiet one. And I didn't really give
> my opinion and when I finally did it was kinda like shock, a surprise cause it was
> like, out of their children they were not expecting that from me. They were not
> expecting me to be rebellious, they were not expecting me to talk back or run
> away from home or do these things to be independent.

These participants felt their challenging personalities in relation to their other family

members directly contributed to their marginalization.

4.1.6.3 External causes

Very few participants claimed to have no role, or a tangential role in their

marginalization ($n = 3$). Those who felt it was something that was "done" to them or not

their fault cited external events that involved them. When asked whether anything she did or said contributed to her current place in the family, Jessica (30, female) replied, "No, really just my birth." Despite having been the instigator of cutting off contact with his parents, Randy (32, male) claimed an external event, his mother's mental health issues, as the root of his marginalization.

> My mom had a nervous breakdown…that was the major turning point that I think really set this all in motion. So, had that not happened, I think that it would be similar but not nearly as pronounced as it is now…I don't think it's anything I did or said, I think it was an external event that, that really kind of big bang that set this all in motion.

These participants may not recognize their role in their marginalization but their narratives revealed direct and indirect ways they might have contributed, for example, Randy's direct involvement in ceasing contact with his parents.

4.1.6.4 Recognizing consequences

It is clear that most participants recognized their role in their own marginalization. Participants had ruminated on what they could have done differently to avoid their current status as well as what they could do in the future to return to their family's good graces. Amber (26, female) reflected, "I think because I might have a different way of thinking of things there might be different ways I could phrase things that would have been understood better." Despite this awareness, many participants were adamant that they would not change because they valued being true to whom they are over their family's acceptance. Margret (26, female) explained:

I could have chosen to lie about who I was, do the girlie things, go into a girlie

field, dated and possibly married the man my mother wanted me to marry. I

would probably be a lot more included. I would be miserable.

Megan (25, female) spoke about desiring to "live authentically." She said, "I know

exactly what I would need to do to be completely accepted by my family… if I wanted

that, I could do that but I realize that that would never be enough." Nicole (34, female)

felt similarly, "I deliberately made the decision to not conform to what I was taught to

be." Others felt it was out of the question or beyond their control to change who they are.

Jeremy (29, male) explained why he thought his differences caused his family to

marginalize him.

I guess they kind of see it as a threat of some sort when I take a different

viewpoint like that. They feel like they're being challenged in a space that they

aren't used to. When you're at work you kind of expect that. When you're out,

you open yourself up to that but when you're at home you don't really expect

someone to come in and flat out disagree with you.

It may be the case that marginalization stems from perceived threats to family identity

and group norms (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Participants recognized that they were

introducing a threat when they disclosed their changed beliefs, sexual identity, or

religion, yet to them, it was worth the potential consequences.

Some participants had reframed their marginalization as having a positive impact

on their lives. They talked about being proud to be different, how being marginalized has

made them stronger and made them who they are today, and how they are "owning it."

This reframing was present in participants who believed they were the cause of their

marginalization as well as those who did not. Rafael (28, male) feared that his family would disown him for being gay. He claimed that fear drove him to achieve, "what motivated me really was that I was gay. And that I knew that if I came out like, I might have ended up in the streets." He went on to say that, "the best choice for me was to get an education" so he could support himself and that being different and marginalized actually helped him.

Janice (26, female) was in the process of reframing her marginalization. She spoke about it as something that is not all negative, "I don't think that's a bad thing. I have come a long way…I'm kind of rebuilding my self-esteem in a way and feeling stronger." Angela (25, female) reflected, "I chose this. I chose a life and I think it's worth it. It's better that I chose it." She added, "I am stronger than I have ever been before. I feel like I have a positive future in front of me. I feel like I'm finally building something that can last." Finally, Jennifer (31, female) said, "You can either let it hold you back or help you move forward. It gives me the push to want better, in all aspects of life." These experiences reflect the idea that reappraising or reframing a situation can help a person feel a greater sense control over their circumstances or cast a negative life experience as a positive. Burleson and Goldsmith (1998) have written about reappraisal as a function of emotional support. Although supportive communication from others can aid in the reappraisal process, people can also achieve reappraisal through self-reflection.

Participants recognized they contributed to their own marginalization by being different, by challenging their family, and by acting in ways that felt true to who they were despite the consequences. Some participants felt they were unfairly marginalized

and others were able to reframe the way they thought about their marginalization as a circumstance that made them better in some way.

4.2 <u>Discussion</u>

The goal of Study 1 was to gain an in depth understanding of the process of marginalization by examining the perceptions and turning point events experienced by marginalized family members. Three dimensions of marginalization were identified based on participant descriptions of what marginalization meant to them. Study 1's method allowed for an illustration of the process of marginalization as a whole (i.e., the trajectories) and the parts of the process (i.e., the turning points). A typology of 22 common turning point events and a typology of five primary patterns of change in feelings of marginalization over time were created based on participant accounts of important events that made them feel more or less marginalized and the corresponding graphs documenting those feelings. In addition, the ways in which siblings positively and negatively contributed to the process of marginalization and how marginalized members contributed to their own marginalization from family were explored. Each marginalized person's experiences were unique, yet commonalities ran throughout their narratives.

Several patterns were apparent across findings from Study 1. The theme of difference was both a dimension of marginalization and a way that marginalized members perceived they contributed to their own marginalization. Communication was central to many of the findings including how marginalized family members knew they were marginalized, the ways in which communication was restricted for marginalized people, and their desire for genuine communication with family. These patterns and

others are discussed in more detail below followed by limitations of Study 1 and avenues for future research.

<h3 style="text-align:center">4.2.1 Dimensions and the Process of Marginalization</h3>

Participants defined marginalization as difference, disapproval, and exclusion from their families. This study drew on research from a wide range of disciplines to understand the family dynamics involved in the marginalization of a family member. One reason this study was able to synthesize so many different perspectives and frameworks for understanding marginalization is that marginalization, as defined by participants themselves, is a multi-dimensional concept. This assertion supports the utility of uncovering the dimensions of this construct. Identifying the three dimensions of marginalization adds to the literature on difference, disapproval, and exclusion, illustrating how they can be of use in the family context where it is often assumed that members are more similar than they are different, inclusion is taken for granted and unconditional, and disapproval is rare or temporary (i.e., cultural ideals of what families should be like or what constitutes "good" family communication; Caughlin, 2003).

Throughout participants' narratives and analysis of the turning point events and trajectories, it appeared that the three dimensions work in a somewhat linear order for many people. Most marginalization processes started with feelings of difference, either from an early age because they had always had a different personality or different interests than their family members, or because of a marginalizing event or life experience. For the participants in this study, perceptions of difference resulted in disapproval by family members, often followed by exclusion on some level (i.e., ranging from invitations to family gatherings yet exclusion from small conversations to others

who were excluded from all family events and felt "kicked out"). This three step model –

difference, disapproval, exclusion – begins to piece together a map of the process of

marginalization based on participant experiences in this study (see Figure 4.6).

Difference	Reaction: Disapproval	Exclusion
•is introduced through disclosure •is long standing but amplified by emerging adulthood factors	•disbelief or dismissal of difference as a phase •rejection, avoidance, periods of no communication •disapproval and disconfirming communication	•ceased contact •failed attempts at reconciliation •open conversations without agreement •avoidance or conflict surrounding taboo topics

Difference	Reaction: Approval	Inclusion
•is introduced through disclosure •is long standing but amplified by emerging adulthood factors	•curiousity about difference •tolerance of difference •approval and confirming communication	•acceptance •successful attempts at reconciliation •open conversations resulting in understanding

Figure 4.6: The Process of Family Member Marginalization

The two models depicted above posit an explanation for why not all people who

are different from their families are marginalized. Difference came in many forms for

participants in this study including difference based on religious beliefs, sexual

orientation, levels of education, and adherence to gender norms. The concept of family

member marginalization allows a link to be drawn between these disparate ways of being

different. When faced with a family member who is *different*, families have a variety of *reaction* options. One option is to disapprove of that person's beliefs or actions (upper model). This could include dismissing the difference as a phase, engaging in disconfirming communication, or practicing relational distancing, all of which happened to participants in this study. Another option might be to learn about, tolerate or ignore (i.e., pretend the difference does not exist), or embrace their difference (i.e., approval; lower model). Based on the turning points described by the participants in this study, most families of participants in this study chose the disapproval route. That disapproval may or may not be followed by *exclusion* of that family member. Again, in this study, disapproval was most often followed by some level of exclusion. If the family chooses to accept or ignore difference, the lower model might be followed, resulting in inclusion. Although not pictured, feedback loops are likely part of the model as difference may be introduced after disapproval or exclusion or vice versa. It is also possible that a marginalized family member's experience could be characterized as moving between the two models where s/he feels less marginalized due to approval and inclusion followed by disapproval based on a new life transition or event.

As evidenced by the trajectories mapped by participants, the process may unfold over a series of weeks or may stretch on for decades. Participants were in different phases of the model, some of them having just come out to their family within the last year, others having cut off contact with family 10 years ago due to conflict that had occurred since childhood. While each person's process of marginalization was unique, the process visual presented in Figure 4.6 depicts an overview of what tends to happen in families experiencing difference in one member. Three dimensions form the concept of

marginalization. By utilizing the findings from the turning point and trajectory analyses, the dimensions can be operationalized as a model to understand the process of marginalization that was examined in this study. Note that this model is designed to raise process questions, not to propose one invariant set of stages all marginalized family members go through. For instance, it is possible that disapproval could highlight difference that might not have otherwise been salient.

4.2.2 Turning Points

The typology of turning points identified 22 common events experienced by marginalized family members as more or less marginalizing. Fitness (2005) provided some predictions about what events might be considered marginalizing including moving away from family, severing contact, engaging in rebellious behavior, and marrying an undesirable partner. These events are in line with what participants experienced as marginalizing in this study. Fitness reported these events as reasons why family members might be marginalized (i.e., what the marginalized member did vs. what the family did to the marginalized member). She also stated that these events often led to exclusion from family events, reflecting another set of turning points identified in this study (e.g., *family gatherings*, *family vacation*).

While some turning point event categories were unique to this context, most have been identified in previous turning point research. For example, *moving* was also identified by Golish (2000), labeled "physical distance" and Koenig Kellas et al. (2008), labeled "moving away." Golish also identified "engagement/marriage," "children," "dating/cohabitation." and "communication" as events that bare similarity to the event categories identified in this study. *Normative events* in this study were similar to

Sahlstein Parcell and Maguire's (2014) "Life events" category which they defined as "turning points that occurred over the typical course of family development" (p. 138). Despite these categories being similar based on label and definition, the events were experienced in different ways than in previous studies. For instance, Golish asked participants to describe events that made them feel more or less close to a parent. Sahlstein Parcell and Maguire asked participants about events that changed their marital satisfaction over the course of military deployment. Surra (1985) asked newlyweds to describe events that increased or decreased their perceived chances of marrying their partner.

Some turning points found in previous research were too broad to be considered here. For example, Baxter et al. (1999) and Johnson et al. (2004) both identified "conflict" as a turning point event category. In this study that category would capture the majority of events as many were marginalizing due to conflict.

Supporting Fitness' (2005) finding that "the perception of difference was frequently reinforced by the comments and behaviors of parents and siblings," this study found that communication was instrumental in events perceived as marginalizing and that a variety of family members contributed to the process (p. 272). Fitness also posited that families engage in active rejection (i.e., "targeted criticism, sarcasm, and hostility," p. 273) of the marginalized member. The findings of this study largely support that claim and though sarcasm was never mentioned explicitly by a participant; criticism was a frequent theme and some participants experienced hostility.

4.2.2.1 Underlying marginalization

Based on this analysis, turning point event categories alone do not explain *why* participants in this study felt more or less marginalized. At least one past turning point analysis also identified that the same type of turning point was experienced in very different ways by participants. Golish (2000) noted that during times of crisis "closeness can increase or decrease dramatically…the closeness depended on how their parents reacted to [the participants] as a result of the crisis" (p. 92). In other words, Golish recognized that "times of crisis" events were responsible for both increases and decreases in closeness so the event itself was not the cause of the change in feelings. Instead, the way the parents reacted during the crisis changed the way the adult children felt about their relationship. Despite this, turning point analyses have continued to focus on categories of events that change relationships by increasing *or* decreasing a given feeling. This information is useful, but limited. Identifying what family members said and did along with *why* they acted as they did during the event would provide a deeper understanding of the feelings of marginalization experienced by marginalized family members. An analysis of actors, actions, motivations, and feelings underlying the events would contribute to understanding how marginalization happens in families by explaining more about the relational messages that lead to a turning point increasing or decreasing feelings of marginalization (see Figure 4.7).
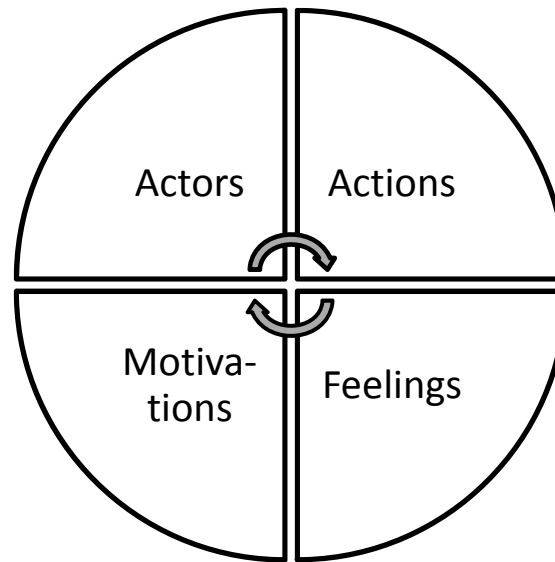
Figure 4.7: Actors-Actions-Motivations-Feelings Scheme

Turning point analyses as they are traditionally conducted already identify actions. *Actions* define what is going on in the turning point event description and are the behaviors from which participants derive relationship level meanings (i.e., what is implied about who the speaker is, who the receiver is, and who they are in relation to each other; Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967). Future analyses should also examine who the actor is, what the motivation for the action is, and what feelings are experienced as a result of the action.

The *actor* is the person with primary agency in the situation; the person who "causes" the feeling of marginalization. In the events identified in this study, the actor could have been the marginalized member, other family members, or both. Most events included multiple family members and the participant, but the actor would be defined as the person with primary agency according to the participant's telling of the event. Answers to RQ5 and RQ6 reveal the ways in which siblings and marginalized members

themselves contribute to the process of marginalization and lend insight into who the primary actors were in marginalizing events.

Motives include reasons for acting (see self-determination theory; Deci & Ryan, 1985) and answer the question, "why did the actor act?" (i.e., Burke's, 1969 notion of purpose). Motivations can be explicit (i.e., explained by the participant) or implied (i.e., through the participant's description of the event). Several areas of literature explain what the motivations for marginalizing a family member might be and suggest how motivations can be captured in future research. One answer to "why did the actor act" in this specific context relies on understanding group behavior from a social identity theory lens.

The small groups literature points to threats to group norms as a potential motivation for marginalizing a family member (e.g., Hogg & Reid, 2006). Like organizations and work groups, family groups have norms that distinguish them from relevant out-groups. Families are sites of early socialization for learning about identity (Galvin, 2003), so family norms are learned very early and are imbedded and reinforced for years. Group identities are stronger when they are widely shared and expressed (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008). Therefore, when one member of the group acts differently and violates group norms, they threaten the group's social identity. It is likely that marginalized members violate group norms in significant ways (e.g., by being different) thereby motivating the other family members to marginalize them (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000). The threat causes group members to react in ways thought to bring that member back to "normal" or encourage them to follow the group norms instead. This might take the form of disconfirming communication or statements

of disapproval. Marginalization, then, is a group process that serves to reinforce group norms, strive for group harmony, and strengthen the group's identity (Hogg & Reid, 2006).

Topic avoidance literature provides another way to think about motivation in this context. Topic avoidance research has explored the motivations people hold for avoiding certain subjects and has found a consistent set of relational and information based motivations across studies. Using a multiple goals framework, researchers in this area have explained that topic avoidance is one way people can achieve multiple relational goals such as "protecting both the self and the relationship" (Afifi & Guerrero, 2000, p. 169). Relationships require some level of topic avoidance as it is part of a dialectical tension along with openness/disclosure (see relational dialectics theory; Baxter, 2004). Motivations for topic avoidance found across studies include protecting the relationship, relationship destruction, protecting the self, need for privacy, partner unresponsiveness, futility of discussion (i.e., uninteresting topic), and social inappropriateness of the topic (Afifi & Burgoon, 1998; Afifi & Guerrero, 1998; Baxter & Wilmot, 1985; Guerrero & Afifi, 1995a).

Though restricted communication and topic avoidance are relevant aspects of the process of marginalization, some of the motivations for marginalizing a person or feeling marginalized are likely unique to this phenomenon. As evidenced by this study, event descriptions alone do not provide enough information to understand motivations. Attribution theory explains that people make inferences about why people act as part of understanding others' actions (Heider, 1958) and may be useful in understanding the motivations behind marginalizing events. Research in this area has asked participants to

identify why they think their partner acted and why they acted the way they did themselves (Manusov & Spitzberg, 2008). Utilizing attribution theory and following the methods utilized by topic avoidance research, motivations could be identified by conducting interviews with marginalized family members and asking *why* events were marginalizing (Baxter & Wilmot, 1985) followed by developing short measures of actions and reasons for acting (Guerrero & Afifi, 1995a). Future research on family member marginalization needs to explore the experience of other family members otherwise as in this study, motive would necessarily be understood through the lens of the participant only (i.e., the only way to know the parent's perception of why the parent acted is to ask the parent). Utilizing short measures of actions and motivations would allow for efficient data collection from multiple family member perspectives.

Finally, *feelings* are affect states that "incorporate moods and sensations" (Aitken, 1969, p. 989) that occur in reaction to an action by another, or as a trigger to an action. Feelings could be categorized into the three dimensions of marginalization: difference, disapproval, and exclusion. The dimensions are especially useful for understanding events that make people feel less marginalized when the other sides of the continuum (i.e., similarity, approval, inclusion) are taken into account. For example, a wedding might make a marginalized family member feel included or excluded, similar to family or different, approved or disapproved of. Alternatively, a marginalized family member may choose to get married because they already feel different, disapproved of, or excluded. Future research is needed to understand how feelings of difference, disapproval, and exclusion manifest differently for different people and how those feelings are related to the event categories.

Actors, actions, motivations, and feelings are interdependent. Burke (1969) illustrated the multidirectional relationship of these elements when he explained that understanding motives necessitates understanding the act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose (i.e., the five key terms of dramatism; p. xv). Note that Burke's notion of purpose more closely aligns to how motivation has been written about here. A qualitative investigation of how actors, actions, motivations, and feelings work together to make an event more or less marginalizing is necessary to understand this process within the context of families.

4.2.3 Trajectories

Five categories of turning point trajectories were identified that represent the complex patterns of change in feelings of marginalization experienced by marginalized family members. All five patterns had been identified in previous research (see Sahlstein Parcell, 2013 for review), yet captured the situated phenomenon of family member marginalization for adults aged 25-35. For example, the prolonged trajectory type can be explained by the experience of emerging adulthood (i.e., a period of stable feelings of marginalization while away at college or starting a new career). Like the turning point event research reviewed above, past trajectory typologies have been based on changes in relationship closeness (Golish, 2000), feeling like a family (Baxter et al., 1999), and marital satisfaction (Sahlstein Parcell & Maguire, 2014). Examining feelings of marginalization captured a different type of change, yet replicated patterns based on other feelings.

Several trajectory types identified in previous research were not evidenced by this study. Sahlstein Parcell (2013) identified "stable" as one of the four common trajectories

across many turning point studies but that pattern was not found. The lack of a stable trajectory may be because marginalization is a necessarily tumultuous issue, because marginalization is untenable over long periods of time so stability is not likely, or because it is less common in the age range examined here. Future research is needed to determine if a stable trajectory is uncommon among marginalized family members. In order to generalize these findings and understand how the trajectory types are related to important outcomes like the well being of the marginalized family member, distinctions between people who experience different trajectories need to be determined in a larger, more diverse sample. For example, do people who report an inclining marginalization trajectory tend to report higher levels of depression than those with declining trajectories? Future research may also ask how those with declining trajectories have worked to improve their family relationships.

4.2.3.1 Hurtful family environments over time

The trajectories identified lend support to research on hurtful family environments. Communication is considered most hurtful when it is part of an ongoing pattern of hurtful behavior - a pattern that participants in this study clearly had experienced - and is perceived as both intentional and out of the control of the person being hurt (Vangelisti & Hampel, 2010). Participants in this study often described a perceived lack of control over the way others in their family treated them. The inherent hierarchy of power and control in the parent-child relationship should be considered in studies of family hurt and marginalization. In addition, turning point descriptions were rife with hurtful communication from family. Past research has shown that familial rejection and hurtful family environments are linked to negative psychosocial outcomes.

The turning points and trajectories identified in this study depict what repeated exposure to hurt in families looks like for different people. In addition, given the relatively few participants who were no longer speaking to family, the notion that family hurt is more tolerated and leads to less relational distancing than in other types of relationships held true (Vangelisti & Crumley, 1998).

Research on hurtful family environments has identified two ways people respond to repeated episodes of hurt; that people can become (1) sensitized to hurt (i.e., they experience exaggerated responses to hurt over time) or (2) habituated to hurt (i.e., they experience emotional numbness; Vangelisti et al., 2007). Participants in this study exhibited both responses. Many participants told their stories with raw emotion, even if they were describing an event from a decade ago. Others explained their status in the family as if it did not matter to them. When asked how their place in the family affected their everyday lives, answers ranged from "It used to impact my everyday life horribly…now I've accepted it's not gunna change and I just try to deal the best that I can" (Jennifer, 31) and "Not really at all for me" (Kevin, 30) to "I try not to think about it too much cause it's upsetting to me" (Amber, 26) and "Everyday now I have three kids of my own and I think it really guides every little decision I make" (Randy, 32). Vangelisti and Hampel (2010) found partial support for the habituation model but this study suggests that both models are useful for explaining how repeated exposure to hurtful messages affects marginalized family members over time. Future research should determine whether time and distance from hurtful events along with individual factors such as personality type play a role in which model better describes the experiences of marginalized family members.

4.2.4 Strengths and Limitations

Qualitative research is designed to provide rich understanding of participant experiences that are not generalizable to other populations or contexts. Study 1 examined the process of family member marginalization with 30 people who were primarily White, highly educated, living in the Midwest, biologically related to their family of origin, and currently affiliated with a university (i.e., graduate students or employees). Although the understanding gained about this sub-set of people is a strength of Study 1, future research is needed to identify whether the findings inform predictions about marginalized people from other samples. Study 2 will answer some of the same research questions as Study 1 (e.g, dimensions, turning points, and trajectories) with a broader sample.

Utilization of the RIT allowed the researcher to efficiently capture participants' perceptions of family dynamics over a significant period of their lives in one interview. The visualization task of graphing events to create relational histories aided in participant recall of events up to 16 years past. One limitation of this technique was that participants were asked by the researcher several times whether they wanted to add any other turning points to their graph. This question may have prompted the addition of events participants might not have added otherwise. Events added after prompting did not seem any less important to participants and all participants seemed comfortable with concluding the turning point portion of the interview when they were finished adding events.

Finally, participants self-selected to take part in the study which called for people who felt marginalized by their families. Participants went through phone and survey screening to make sure they met eligibility criteria but no other family members were contacted to cross-check their status as the marginalized member. This study focused on

the perceptions of those who felt marginalized by family, so this is not so much a limitation as a suggestion for future research to find alternative ways of identifying potential participants and speaking with multiple family members to explore whether perceptions of who is marginalized are shared across family members.

This chapter detailed the results and presented a discussion of the findings of Study 1. Chapter 5 follows and explains the research questions, participants, and procedures for Study 2.

CHAPTER 5. STUDY 2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS, PARTICIPANTS, AND

PROCEDURES

Study 2 surveyed a broader population and larger sample compared to Study 1 in

order to further understand the dimensions that underlie marginalization (i.e., difference,

disapproval, and exclusion) and to identify types of marginalized people, explore patterns

in the process of marginalization, and replicate and extend parts of Study 1. For example,

Study 2 employed a turning point analysis which provided a replication and extension of

the turning point and trajectory category typologies from Study 1. Finally, Study 2

explored whether different types of marginalized people experienced different turning

points or trajectories.

5.1 Research Questions

To explicate the construct of family member marginalization, Study 2 aimed to

continue uncovering the underlying dimensions of marginalization. The dimensions

identified in Study 1 (i.e., difference, disapproval, exclusion) were used to cluster

individual cases into larger groups that represent types of marginalized people. Based on

the little that is known about family member marginalization, there are likely different

types or degrees of marginalization depending on factors such as family-level and

individual-level differences in the family member being marginalized. For example, some

families may have a marginalized family member that is still involved (e.g., comes to

family events, is included on holiday cards) yet feels fundamentally different from the other members, while other marginalized family members may feel completely excluded, disapproved of, and unwelcome. Supporting the claim that family members may experience different degrees of marginalization, psychological research has found that some marginalized people desired a closer relationship with those who ostracized them than others. Snoek (1962) found that some people expressed a "desire to be with, or work with, those who had ostracized them" (p. 5) while others did not want to work with them in the future.

One way to determine different types of marginalized people is to identify underlying dimensions of marginalization. Dimensions are defining features of marginalization meaning that they go beyond surface level issues to interrogate the domains that underlie or constitute the concept. Domains comprise a latent structure that captures a concept in a small number of measured variables (Park, Dailey, & Lemus, 2002). Family research has used cluster analysis to determine types of sibling relationships, marriages, and families based on underlying dimensions. For example, warmth/positivity and hostility/negativity are commonly used dimensions when describing the sibling relationship (see Buhrmester & Furman, 1990). Stewart, Verbrugge, and Beilfuss (1998) used cluster analysis to identify four types of sibling relationships based on 3 dimensions: warmth, conflict, and rivalry. Whiteman and Loken (2006) used the intimacy and negativity dimensions to identify a typology of sibling relationships and found a two-cluster solution: conflictual and harmonious siblings. Fitzpatrick (1988) used cluster analysis to identify three types of marriage (traditional, independent, separate) based on 3 underlying dimensions: interdependence (e.g.,

sharing), ideology (e.g., traditionalism) and communication (e.g., conflict avoidance). Closeness and control dimensions are commonly used in identifying types of families (see Mandara & Murray, 2002) and have differentiated between struggling, task-oriented, exceptionally functioning, and moderately functioning families (Gorman-Smith, Tolan, & Henry, 2000).

Previous research, along with results from Study 1, provides a foundation for predicting what dimensions underlie family member marginalization. The exclusion dimension refers to behaviors that signify acceptance and attention at one end (e.g., compliments, giving the impression that family members enjoy the person's company) and ostracism and ignoring of a person at the other end (e.g., the silent treatment, exclusion from family events; Hitlan, Cliffton, & DeSoto, 2006). Research from social psychology, organizational studies, and family studies support the notion that exclusion is a salient feature of marginalization.

The disapproval dimension taps *conditional* acceptance from family and includes family questioning decisions and expressing displeasure in life choices. The opposite end of this dimension (i.e., approval) would include unconditional acceptance, seeing the best in family members, and family providing feelings of security and confidence in oneself. Again, previous research supports the use of this dimension in contributing to the concept of marginalization. For example, research on confirming communication provides evidence that acceptance and unconditional positive regard of another are important features of developing a secure person with a strong self-concept and self-worth (Cissna & Sieburg, 1981; Dailey, 2010). Feeling marginalized is indicative of disconfirmation, or disregarding the worth of another (Sieburg, 1973).

The difference dimension refers to how dissimilar a person feels s/he is from others based on attitudes, background, values, and appearance. In a family group, similarity among members can be thought of as family member homophily. A homophilous group can be similar in terms of any characteristic (e.g., age, gender, interests; Monge & Contractor, 2003). For the purposes of this study, a homophilous family group is one that has similar attitudes, values, background, and appearance. A marginalized group member would feel different from their family group. Organizational network studies have examined group homophily as it pertains to engagement and marginalized members and found support for the "black sheep effect," or the notion that being part of the group as a marginalized member is socially worse than not being in the group at all (see Avery, McKay, & Wilson, 2007).

To determine how potential types of marginalized family members differ, the groups also will be compared based on their scores on other relevant variables. These variables include confirmation (i.e., communication that validates another person's value and worth; Dailey, 2006), family identification (i.e., a sense of oneness persons feel with their family which partially defines who they are and how they interact with others; Dorrance Hall, 2014), depression (i.e., cognitive, affective, behavioral, and somatic depressive symptoms; Devins & Orne, 1985), and self-esteem (i.e., a person's overall self-evaluation of his/her abilities; Pierce & Gardner, 2004; Rosenberg, 1965).

The following research question asks whether marginalized family members can be grouped into types using underlying dimensions of family member marginalization:

RQ7: Are there identifiable types of marginalized family members based on dimensions of marginalization (i.e., difference, disapproval, and exclusion)?

As detailed in previous chapters, the process of marginalization represents a gap in the literature on marginalized family members. Study 2 continues to explore how the process of marginalization unfolds for marginalized family members by employing an online version of the RIT and conducting a turning point analysis with a larger number of participants. Re-examining research questions two and four allows for a rigorous test of whether the typologies of turning points and trajectories that emerged from the Study 1 data can be replicated with a larger, more diverse sample. Research question four was subjected to statistical testing in the form of cluster analysis which was then compared to the five inductively derived trajectory categories from Study 1. The typologies will be supported if they fit the larger sample's data. As such, the second and fourth research questions from Study 1 are also addressed in Study 2:

RQ2: What events (turning points) lead to feelings of marginalization from one's family?

RQ4: What are the primary patterns of change in perceived marginalization (i.e., trajectories) in relationships involving marginalized family members?

Different types of marginalized family members may have different ways of becoming marginalized. They may also experience different types of turning point events. Previous research does not provide a strong foundation for this claim, however, it is possible to imagine that a marginalized person who is more included and more approved of by their family may have a very different trajectory than someone who was excluded and very disapproved of by family. Cluster analysis allows for grouping marginalized people based on dimensions but also trajectories based on how feelings of marginalization change over time. In addition, different types of marginalized people can be compared in terms of trajectory type and categories of turning points. If

marginalization occurs in different ways, at different rates or different degrees in different families, it likely does so for different reasons. Together, differences among groups in terms of dimensions, turning points identified, and trajectories provide a more complete picture of the elements that make up the process of marginalization.

RQ8: Are different types of marginalized family members (based on clustered dimensions difference, disapproval, and exclusion) characterized by different processes of marginalization such as (a) trajectories and (b) categories of turning points?

5.2 Methods

5.2.1 Participants

To answer Study 2's research questions, 315 marginalized people were recruited to participate in an online survey. To be eligible, participants had to be between 25-35 years old, live in the United States, have at least one sibling, and identify with "chronic" feelings of family marginalization from multiple family members. Chronic feelings of marginalization mean that the participants must have felt excluded or different from their family which has led them to feel they are not part of the group, not as well liked, or not accepted by multiple family members and they must have felt this way for at least one year at any point during the last ten years. This requirement ensured that the participants recruited were not feeling marginalized over one issue or for one week/month due to an isolated incident but instead have experienced a series of events associated with their feelings of marginalization. Participants from Study 1 could not participate in Study 2. Survey respondents were excluded from the final sample if they did not complete the open ended questions (i.e., describing turning point events) or reported that they were over 35 years old.

After receiving approval from Purdue University's Institutional Review Board to conduct the study, participants were sought using a number of resources (see Appendix G). First, a call for participants listing the eligibility requirements was posted on Purdue University's weekly research recruitment service, Purdue Today. Second, graduate students were targeted through emails sent to graduate directors of various programs. Third, a submission to CRTNET, an email announcement service operated by the National Communication Association, was used to recruit junior faculty and graduate students who met the eligibility requirements. Finally, the survey was posted on Amazon mTurk clearly stating the eligibility requirements.[1] Amazon mTurk is an online system for collecting data from diverse samples and has been found to be a reliable tool for data collection comparable to traditional samples (see Goodman, Cryder & Cheema, 2012).

Participants ranged in age from 25-35 ($M = 29.57$, $SD = 3.21$), and 63.5% were female ($n = 200$). Most participants were White (76.2%, $n = 240$), followed by African American (7.9%, $n = 25$), Asian/Pacific Islander (6.3%, $n = 20$), Hispanic (4.8%, $n = 15$), and American Indiana/Alaskan Native (2.2%, $n = 7$). A small number of participants (2.6%, $n = 8$) chose not to disclose or reported other (e.g., "mixed" or "multi-racial").

Participants were currently living in 44 different states across the United States. In terms of marital status, participants reported they were married (40.6%, $n = 128$), single (36.2%, $n = 114$), cohabitating (14%, $n = 44$), engaged (4.8%, $n = 15$), and divorced (4.1%, $n = 13$). The marital status of participant's parents ranged from having currently married parents (52.7%, $n = 166$), to divorced parents (25.1%, $n = 79$), widowed parents (10.5%, $n = 33$), never married (10.2%, $n = 32$), or cohabitating (1.6%, $n = 5$).

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[1] Of the 315 participants, 290 (92.1%) were recruited from mTurk.

Participants' highest degree earned included having completed high school (25.4%, $n =$ 80), an associate's degree (11.7%, $n = 37$), a bachelor's degree (41.3%, $n = 130$), a master's degree (14.6%, $n = 46$), or a PhD/JD/MD degree (3.8%, $n = 12$). Six participants reported earning "other" degrees (1.9%) and four did not answer the question (1.3%).

Participants reported having 2.52 siblings on average ($SD = 2.41$, ranging from 1-17 siblings). The largest number of participants were first-born (44.4%, $n = 140$) followed by second born (30.2%, $n = 95$), third born (16.5%, $n = 52$), fourth born (3.8%, $n = 12$), and fifth born (2.5%, $n = 8$). Eight participants reported "other" birth order (2.5%). The vast majority of participants reported biological-relatedness to their family of origin (94.9%, $n = 299$). In addition, 36 (11.4%) reported relatedness through marriage (step-family), 12 were legally adopted (3.8%), 3 were adopted (not through legal documentation, 1%) and 4 (1.3%) reported "other" relatedness (i.e., "half-siblings"). Most participants lived in the same state but different cities than their geographically closest family member (51.1%, $n = 161$), while 26.7% ($n = 84$) lived in different states, 20.3% ($n = 64$) lived with an immediate family member, and 1.6% ($n = 5$) lived in different country than their closest family member. One participant did not answer.

All participants reported sometimes feeling like the "black sheep" of the family and over half reported having felt this way for more than 10 years (53.3%, $n = 168$). Others reported having felt like the black sheep for 6 months-1 year[2] (4.4%, $n = 14$), 1-5

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[2] Participants were told during recruitment and the start of the online survey that they were eligible only if they had felt like a black sheep for at least one year. To determine whether the participants who reported 6 months - 1 year had really felt like a black sheep for less than one year, the rest of their data were closely examined. Of the 14 participants in this category, 13 reported marginalizing events (i.e., 50% + feelings of marginalization) previous to one year before the study was conducted. These events ranged as far back as 2004. The 14th participant reported they felt 87% marginalized 10 years ago and reported 4 marginalizing events (i.e., over 60% marginalizing) in the past year. This likely indicates that they were confused or focused on a recent stint of feeling marginalized when they answered this question but had felt

years (22.9%, $n = 72$), and 5-10 years (19.4%, $n = 61$). Almost all participants reported

currently feeling like the "black sheep" (95.6%, $n = 301$) and that their parents made

them feel that way (77.8%, $n = 245$). Other family members that made participants feel

marginalized included siblings (70.5%. $n = 222$), aunts and uncles (40%, $n = 126$),

cousins (31.1%, $n = 98$), grandparents (27.6%, $n = 87$).

5.2.2 Procedures

Participants were asked to complete to a 30-40 minute computer-based survey

hosted on Qualtrics. The beginning of the survey introduced the study and provided

information about procedures and risks (Appendix H), then asked general demographic

questions (Appendix I). The demographic questions were identical to the questions used

in Study 1. Participants were asked to provide their age, gender, ethnicity, how many

siblings they have and their birth order, their relationship with their family of origin (e.g.,

biological, adopted, step, other), occupation, education level, marital status, and the

marital status of their parents. Participants were asked to provide the age and gender of

each of their siblings and their geographic distance from their parents and siblings which

determined whether the participants lived with any family of origin members.

Participants were also asked questions to ensure they met the eligibility requirements

including "Do you sometimes feel like the 'black sheep' of your family?" "How long

have you felt this way?" and "Which of your family members makes you feel this way?"

Following the demographic questions participants were presented with this text: "The

following questions should be answered about your family of origin, that is, family

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marginalized at other times in the past 10 years. Finally, k-means cluster analysis was run on the dimensions of marginalization excluding these 14 participants and the same 3 clusters were found as with the full sample. Means were only marginally different for each cluster on the 3 dimensions, so these participants were retained.

members you are to related by birth, adoption, or have lived with for an extended period

of time. In other words, the family you grew up with. For example, your parents and

siblings" and were asked to complete several scales based on the dimensions identified in

Study 1 and other relevant outcomes: difference (Appendix J), disapproval (Appendix K),

exclusion (Appendix L), confirmation (Appendix M), self-esteem (Appendix N),

depression (Appendix O), family identification (Appendix P), and an online version of

the RIT designed to gather turning point data (Appendix Q). Participants received these

measures and the online RIT in random order.

<div align="center">5.2.3 Measures</div>

5.2.3.1 Difference

Perceptions of family difference were assessed with the Perceived Homophily

Measure (PHM; McCroskey, Richmond, & Daly, 1975; Appendix J). McCroskey et al.,

identified four dimensions of perceived homophily in interpersonal communication

including attitude, background, value, and appearance. The original PHM had 16 items

and was measured on 1-7 semantic differential scales. The PHM has been used in some

form in studies of interpersonal attraction, nonverbal behavior, cultural similarity, and

leadership (McCroskey, McCroskey, & Richmond, 2006). Research to date has found

different variations of factors including 3 dimensions where two of the value questions

load on the attitude dimension. Turner (1993) used the scale to examine the relationship

between homophily and parasocial interaction and found 3 dimensions: attitude ($\alpha= .92$),

background ($\alpha = .83$), and appearance ($\alpha = .80$).

Structural equation modeling in AMOS was used to analyze the items for model

fit. Various fit indices were used to determine model fit. Comparative fit index (CFI) and

Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) values range from 0.0 to 1.0 with values closer to 1.0

indicating good fit (e.g., a good fitting model should be above .90; Hooper, Couglan, &

Mullen, 2008). Root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) values below .10 are

considered adequate and chi-squared tests should be non-significant for good model fit,

though this index varies based on sample size where larger samples tend to have

significant chi-square values.

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) for the difference dimension containing

four sub-dimensions (i.e., attitude, background, values, and appearance) was conducted

on the PHM items. The analysis resulted in 3 valid sub-dimensions for use in this study:

attitude, background, and values (see Figure 5.1). Appearance was thrown out of the

analysis due to poor component fit in the model likely due to the nature of asking about

family relationships instead of acquaintance or friendship relationships. The *Appearance*

items included: (a) "looks similar to me – looks different from me," (b) "different size

than I am – same size I am," (c) "appearance like mine – appearance unlike mine," and

(d) "doesn't resemble me – resembles me." Two other items were thrown out for similar

reasons. The values scale originally included "sexual attitudes unlike mine – sexual

attitudes like mine" which had poor component fit and was removed from the scale. It is

likely that 25-35 year olds think they have different sexual attitudes than the rest of their

family. "Background different from mine – background similar to mine" was also

removed from the background scale due to poor component fit.
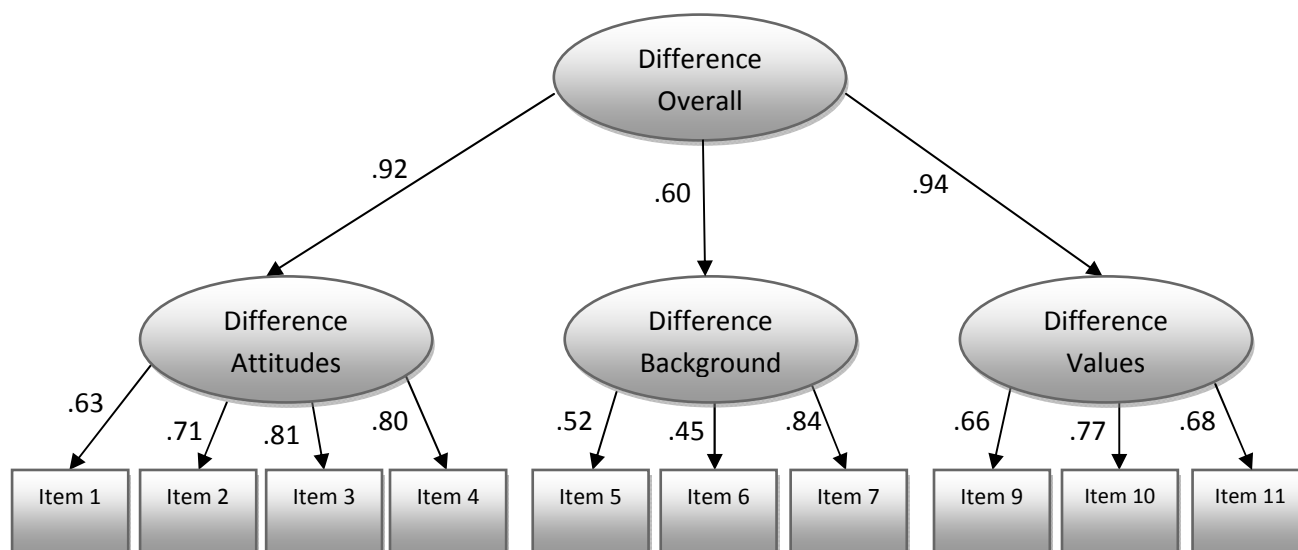
Figure 5.1: Confirmatory Factor Analysis for 3 Dimensions of Difference

Note: All regression coefficients are standardized.

The final model, a second order CFA in which individual items led to 3 latent

variables (i.e., the sub-dimensions), which in turn led to the overall difference latent

variable, exhibited acceptable model fit, χ^2 (31, 315) = 127.557, $p < .00$, CFI = .91, TLI =

.85, RMSEA = .10. Four items were included in the *Attitude* sub-scale: (a) "doesn't think

like me – thinks like me," (b) "behaves like me – doesn't behave like me," (c) "similar to

me – different from me," and (d) "unlike me – like me." Some items were reverse coded

so that higher scores indicated higher perceptions of difference. The items were averaged

to create a difference in attitudes variable ($M = 5.23/7$, $SD = 1.33$, $\alpha = .82$). *Background*

items included: (a) "from social class similar to mine – from social class different from

mine," (b) "economic situation different from mine – economic situation like mine," (c)

"status like mine – status different from mine." Again, some items were reverse coded so

that higher scores indicated higher perceptions of difference. The items were then

averaged to create a difference in background variable ($M = 4.43/7$, $SD = 1.43$, $\alpha = .64$).

The three *Value* items were: (a) "morals unlike mine – morals like mine," (b) "shares my

values – doesn't share my values," (c) "treats people like I do – doesn't treat people like I

do." The items were averaged to create a difference in values variable where higher

scores indicated higher perceptions of difference in values ($M = 4.70/7$, $SD = 1.52$, $\alpha = .74$). The three sub-dimension scales were also averaged to create an overall difference

variable that captured the latent difference structure where higher scores indicated higher

perceptions of difference overall ($M = 4.79/7$, $SD = 1.14$).

5.2.3.2 Disapproval

Disapproval was measured using an adapted version of the Reflected Appraisals

Scale (Murray, Holmes, MacDonald, & Ellsworth, 1998; Appendix K). The scale was

originally used to tap "individuals overall confidence in their partners' continued,

positive regard and unconditional acceptance" (p. 1465). Participants were asked the

degree to which they believe the statements are true on a 1-9 Likert-style scale (1 = not at

all true to 9 = completely true). All scores were reverse coded so that higher scores

indicated higher levels of disapproval. The word "partner" was changed to "family" in all

items and "he/she" was changed to "they" in one item to reflect a family rather than

romantic relationship context. The scale of 7 adapted items included: "my family makes

me feel very secure and confident about myself," "I am confident that my family will

always want to look beyond my faults and see the best in me," "my family is less critical

of my faults than I am," "my family sees special qualities in me, qualities that other

people might not see," "I couldn't do anything that would make my family think less of

me," "my family overlooks most of my faults," and "my family loves me just the way I am; they wouldn't want to change me in any way."

Murray et al. (1998) found a 9 item version of the scale to be adequately reliable with Cronbach's alpha ranging from .62-.77 over three experiments. CFA verified that the model fit the data very well and the scale was unidimensional, χ^2 (14, 315) = 16.84, p = .27, CFI = .99, TLI = .99, RMSEA = .03. Standardized item loadings ranged from .45-.94. The items were averaged to create a disapproval variable where higher scores indicated feeling more disapproved of (M = 6.71, SD = 1.78, α = .915).

5.2.3.3 Exclusion

The exclusion dimension was measured using an adapted version of the Revised Workplace Exclusion Scale (WES-R; Hitlan & Noel, 2009; Appendix L). The original scale measured perceptions of organizational exclusion behaviors and consisted of 17 items. Participants were asked how often they have experienced various behaviors. The behaviors were measured on a 1-5 Likert-style scale with 1 indicating never and 5 indicating most of the time, and were reverse coded so that higher scores indicated higher levels of exclusion. Four items were removed because they were applicable to an organizational setting only (e.g., "coworkers speaking to one another in a language you do not understand; coworkers not speaking English on the job") and wording was changed in other items to reflect a family rather than work context. For example, "supervisor" and "co-worker" were changed to "family member(s)."

The final scale of 13 adapted items included: "how often have you experienced… 1) family members complimenting you on a job well done, 2) family members giving you the 'silent treatment,' 3) family members shutting you out of their conversations, 4)

family members giving you the impression that they enjoy your company, 5) family members interacting with you only when they are required to do so, 6) feeling accepted by family members, 7) family members updating you about important activities, 8) family members not replying to your requests/questions within a reasonable period of time, 9) family members making you feel like you were not a part of the family, 10) family members inviting you to participate in activities, 11) family members keeping important information from you, and 12) family members interacting with you … in the past 12 months?" Items 1, 4, 6, 7, 10, and 12 were reverse scored. Other adaptations included omitting "work-related" from items 7, 10, and 11 before the word activities/information. Item 9 was changed from "making you feel like you were not a part of the organization" to "part of the family," and "at work" was omitted from item 12. Item 13 asked how often participants "felt as if [they] were being ostracized by family members." The scale is typically averaged across items to create a composite score. Previous applications of this scale have shown consistent reliability with alpha coefficients ranging from .79-.85 (Hitlan et al., 2006; Hitlan & Noel, 2009).

CFA was used to verify that the scale was unidimensional. The model including all items showed marginal fit, χ^2 (63, 315) = 318.10, $p < .00$, CFI = .85, TLI = .79, RMSEA = .11, but no one item displayed poor component fit. Although the fit for all items was only marginally acceptable, excluding items did not substantially improve model fit.[3] An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with varimax rotation was run and determined that the reverse coded items loaded together on a second factor and that the two factors accounted for 57% of the variance in the EFA. A CFA based on the two

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[3] The exclusion measurement model improved marginally by removing items 7 and 8, χ^2 (42, 315) = 191.93, $p < .00$, CFI = .89, TLI = .83, RMSEA = .11.

factors identified in the EFA was conducted for an overall exclusion second-order latent model containing two sub-dimensions (i.e., reverse coded items on one dimension and all other items on the second dimension) which had good model fit, χ^2 (64, 315) = 149.55, p < .00, CFI = .95, TLI = .93, RMSEA = .07. Standardized individual item loadings ranged from .59-.80. Items from both sub-scales were averaged to create an exclusion variable where higher scores indicated feeling more excluded (M = 3.51, SD = .70, α = .90).

5.2.3.4 Confirmation

Perceptions of confirmation were measured using Ellis' (2002) Parental Confirmation Behavior Indicator (PCBI). The items were originally developed to measure parental confirming and disconfirming behavior. Participants were asked to indicate how frequently (1 = never to 7 = always) the family they grew up with engages in each of 27 behaviors. The behavior items were changed from past to present tense. For example, "interrupted me" was changed to "interrupts me." Several other words were changed to match the current sample and goals of this study. For example, "parents" was changed to "family" so that participants were answering about the family of origin as a whole. In addition, "punishments" in item 7 was changed to "work." Sample confirmation items include: "Makes statements that communicate to me that I am a unique, valuable human being," "demonstrates that they are genuinely listening when I am speaking about issues important to me," and "asks by opinion or solicits my viewpoint." Sample disconfirmation items (reverse coded) include: "Criticizes my feelings when I express them," "ignores my attempts to express my feelings," and "avoids physical contact such as touching, hugging, pats on the back, etc." See Appendix M for full list of items.

CFA was conducted to test the unidimensionality of the PCBI items. Treating all 27 items as indicators for one latent confirmation variable produced poor model fit, χ^2 (299, 315) = 1707.30, $p < .001$, CFI = .65, TLI = .59, RMSEA = .12, but no single item showed poor component fit (i.e., all items significantly contributed to the latent variable). CFA indicated acceptable model fit when confirmation and reverse coded disconfirmation were treated as two sub-scales of one higher-order latent variable, χ^2 (298, 315) = 757.20, $p < .001$, CFI = .89, TLI = .87, RMSEA = .07. Standardized individual item loadings ranged from .49-.82. The confirmation sub-scale ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.15$, $\alpha = .92$) and the reverse coded disconfirmation sub-scale ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.10$, $\alpha = .91$) were reliable. In line with Dailey (2006) and Schrodt et al. (2007) the items from both sub-scales were averaged to create a single confirmation variable where higher scores indicated feeling more confirmed by family ($M = 3.25$, $SD = .97$, $\alpha = .93$).

5.2.3.5 Self-esteem

Self-esteem was measured using the Single Item Self-Esteem Scale (SISE). The SISE provides a reliable and valid alternative to the more onerous Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale in adult samples (Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski, 2001; Rosenberg, 1965). Participants were asked to respond to one item: "I have high self-esteem." Response options ranged from 1 indicating not very true of me to 5 indicating very true of me ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.21$).

5.2.3.6 Depression

Depression was measured using the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression (CES-D) scale (Appendix O). Participants responded to 12 items with response options ranging from 1 (rarely) to 4 (most of the time). Participants were told

"For each statement, please indicate how often you have felt this way recently by selecting the option you most agree with." The items included "I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing," "I felt depressed," "I felt that everything was an effort," "I thought my life had been a failure," "I felt fearful," "I talked less than usual," "I felt lonely," "People were unfriendly," "I felt sad," and "I could not 'get going.'" Two items, "I was happy" and "I felt hopeful," were reverse scored. CFA verified that the scale was unidimensional, χ^2 (54, 315) = 203.12, $p < .001$, CFI = .94, TLI = .91, RMSEA = .09. Standardized item loadings ranged from .52-.88. This scale was summed to create an index of depressed feelings where higher values indicated higher depression ratings ranging from 10-40 ($M = 27.36$, $SD = 9.03$, $\alpha = .93$).

5.2.3.7 Family Identification

Mael and Ashforth's (1992) 6-item organizational identification scale was adapted to measure family identification by including the word "family" instead of "group." The measure included items assessing a person's cognitive and emotional connection with his/her family as well as language used to describe family (Appendix P). Participants were asked to respond to 6 items: "When someone praises my family, it feels like a personal compliment," "When I talk about my family, I usually say 'we' rather than 'they,'" "My family's successes are my successes," "When someone criticizes my family, it feels like a personal insult," "I am very interested in what others think about my family," and "If a story in the media criticized my family, I would feel embarrassed." Participants ranked agreement with each statement on a Likert-type scale from 1 to 5 (1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree). CFA verified that the scale was unidimensional, χ^2 (9, 315) = 35.66, $p < .001$, CFI = .97, TLI = .93, RMSEA = .10. Standardized item

loadings ranged from .56-.86. All items were recoded so that higher values indicated higher family identification and were summed to create a family identification variable with scores that ranged from 6-30 (M = 17.01, SD = 5.50, α = .87).

5.2.3.8 Turning Points and Online RIT

The Retrospective Interviewing Technique has traditionally been used as an oral interview but has shown some success as a hand written questionnaire indicating the RIT could work as an online questionnaire with modifications (Koenig Kellas, Bean, Cunningham, & Cheng, 2008). Koenig Kellas et al. suggest that "future research should test the validity of the Written RIT in online studies" (p. 48). The online version of the RIT developed for this study followed the oral RIT from Study 1 as closely as possible. This section of the survey started by defining marginalization and asking participants to describe how marginalized they felt at present and 10 years ago (Appendix Q):

> In some societies, marginalized family members are called "black sheep" because they stand out from the rest of the group. Certain times, events, or conversations from your life might have made you feel very 'marginalized,' different, or excluded from your family. Other events might have made you feel the opposite. These could be times you felt included or periods of reconciliation with family. Rate how marginalized by your family you currently feel from 0-100% with 100 representing the most marginalized, different, or excluded you believe a person can feel by their family and 0 meaning feeling included, approved of and not at all marginalized from family.

Participants were asked to provide a ranking of marginalization by moving a slider from 0-100%. They were also asked about how marginalized they felt 10 years ago.

"Think about how old you were 10 years ago. How marginalized by your family did you feel then?" Next, participants were asked to think of and describe a specific time or event when they felt marginalized.

> Think of a time, event, or conversation in the **past 10 years** that made you feel especially different, excluded, or disapproved of. That would be a time when you felt very marginalized. Please describe the event in as much detail as you can in the box below. Include any memorable conversations, behaviors, or actions taken by the people involved that made you feel marginalized.

Participants were given an open-ended text box in which they could write in detail about the event. Once they had completed the open-ended writing task they were asked "When did this event happen?" and were given a space to provide the approximate date of the event (month/year). Participants were also asked to describe "Who was involved?" in an open-ended response box to gather a more detailed description of the event.

After participants completed the questions about the first marginalizing event, they were asked to identify 4 additional events that changed their feelings of family marginalization within the last 10 years. They were told,

> The event you just described can be thought of as a "turning point" in your family relationship. A turning point is an event that changes a relationship in an important way. It can change for **better or worse**. In this case, the event changed your family relationships in how marginalized you felt. Any event that made you feel **more or less** marginalized could be a turning point. It is important to think about events where you felt more included, similar, and liked, as well as events that made you feel excluded and disapproved of.

In each of the four boxes below, identify four other turning points **within the last 10 years** that have changed how marginalized you felt by your family before and after the event you just described. Remember, these could be specific events or times when you felt more marginalized or less marginalized. It may help to think about when you were first aware of a **change** in how much you felt marginalized by your family or a time that you felt the **most** marginalized from your family. You will be asked to name each event, give a detailed description of what happened, and identify the approximate date of the event.

For each additional event described participants were again asked to rank their feelings of marginalization at the time (0-100%), explain who was involved, and write why they identified the event as a turning point in open ended response boxes. The online RIT concluded with an open ended question that aimed to bring together the five events: "How have the events you just described changed your family relationships during the last 10 the years?" The actual turning point graph trajectories were calculated during data analysis after participants filled out the online surveys. The participants never saw the completed graphs. Feelings of marginalization were placed on the y-axis and the dates they identified for the 5 turning point events plus their ratings of marginalization at present and 10 years ago were used to create the anchors and points on the x-axis.

Finally, participants were asked a series of open ended questions where they were able to express anything else they wanted the researchers to know. The first question asked "Why do you think you are excluded, disapproved of, and/or different from your family?" This question sought to determine what the participant felt was the core reason

they were marginalized and was included because it was an especially useful question to encourage participants to dig deeper in Study 1.

The next two questions were designed to leave participants with a more positive feeling about their families. These questions are the same as the last two questions in the interview in Study 1 and in part address ethical concerns that other survey questions may induce negative thoughts and feelings in the participant by making them more aware of family and relationship problems. The questions asked: "All families have strengths and limits. What are some of the strengths of your family?" and "Is there anyone inside or outside your family you can turn to at times when you feel marginalized by multiple family members? How do they make you feel included?" In addition, it was emphasized throughout the turning point portion of the survey that participants should reflect on events that both increased *and decreased* their feelings of marginalization. This resulted in participants describing events that made them feel *more* included and similar to their families. The survey concluded by asking "Is there anything else you want us to know about feeling different or marginalized by family?" followed by a final screen thanking the participant and providing information about compensation (Appendix R).

<div align="center">5.2.4 Analysis Plan</div>

Study 2 employed several quantitative techniques to answer the research questions including cluster analysis, chi-square and analysis of variance, confirmatory factor analysis, and typological data analysis.

5.2.4.1 Cluster analysis

Cluster analysis or person-centered approaches "focus on understanding the characteristics of an individual's developmental profile or developmental pattern as

compared with his or her peers" (Laursen, Little, & Card, 2012, p. 645). Cluster approaches break large groups of people into smaller groups with which they have important characteristics in common. This technique is often used for creating typologies of relationships (Whiteman & Loken, 2006). Cluster analyses are exploratory and can use variables on any scale while considering multiple dimensions and perspectives. Cluster analyses are not without limitations; multiple possible solutions can be found in the same data, there are an unknown number of clusters to define, and interpretation is not always straightforward or inherently theoretically meaningful. As described below, appropriate steps were taken to compensate for these limitations.

Data preparation for conducting cluster analyses included reducing redundancy in measures and equating scales (Henry, Tolan, & Gorman-Smith, 2005). As mentioned above, confirmatory factory analyses (CFAs) were run prior to clustering determine higher order measures for the purpose of reducing redundancy in measures. Cluster analysis assumes that the variables are independent and uncorrelated, at the observed level, and are on the same metric (Laursen et al., 2012). This is because variables measured on large scales with larger variance have more influence on the calculations used to create clusters and should be standardized to keep all variables on the same scale (Henry et al., 2005). All variables were transformed so that they had a mean of zero and standard deviation of 1 (z score). Standardizing the variables also aided in interpreting the clusters. The last step in preparing the data was to visually examine distributions and identify areas of high/low density on scatter plots which may indicate potential clusters.

After variables were chosen, measured, and standardized, indices were used to create clusters. This study used SPSS statistical analysis software to perform hierarchical

and nonhierarchical clustering, a practice that "capitalizes on the strengths of both methods" (Henry et al., 2005, p. 124). The collection of scores on variables (i.e., exclusion, disapproval, and difference) for each case is known as the "multivariate profile" of a participant and the profile is used to determine which cases are similar. Indices such as the shape, distance, and scatter of the data are used to determine which cases belong together. Shape indices use r or cosine, distance indices use proximity (similarity and difference) and squared Euclidian distance, and scatter indices use variance from the center of the cluster. Joining refers to the act of linking individual observations closest to one another to create clusters. Linkage of clusters can be done at least four different ways: (a) single, or the smallest distance between clusters, (b) complete, or the longest distance between clusters, (c) centroid, or the points of average of the clusters, or (d) Ward's which links clusters based on degree of similarity between observations in the same cluster.

Hierarchical clustering is a nested technique that uses a proximity index and puts cases together that are most similar (Whiteman & Loken, 2006). Clusters are formed based on an algorithm plus a distance index (Laursen et al., 2012). Cosine was the distance metric (unit of measurement) used to understand the distance between cases. Cosine captures shape (i.e., where one participant's scores fall relative to their scores on other variables) and produces clusters based on patterns of variable scores rather than other distance metrics that capture space (i.e., scores closest together). In other word, cosine takes into account which participants' scores go up and down together across variables. Between groups linkage was used to determine the point in the cluster from which distance will be calculated. Between groups linkage uses an average to take into

account every point between the clusters. The choice of cosine distance and between groups linkage affect the results of the cluster analysis, therefore different distance indices were used to determine which cluster solution could be replicated. For example, Euclidian distance, which "is calculated by summing the squared differences between cases on each variable and using the square root of the sum" (Henry et al., 2005, p. 123), and Pearson's were also tested but the results could not be replicated. Cluster analysis is a nonparametric test so it can be run multiple times finding slight differences in the output each time. Therefore, many iterations of analysis were conducted to find the optimal solution. The most common algorithm, hierarchical agglomerative, was used to create the links between clusters. Hierarchical clustering provided a number of clusters which were specified and refined using nonhierarchical cluster analysis (i.e., *k*-means was used to replicate the hierarchical findings).

Next, the cluster analysis was interpreted. Henry et al. (2005) detail three steps for interpreting cluster analyses. First, the distinctive features of each cluster should be sought out. Second, post hoc comparison tests should be conducted to determine important differences between clusters and finally, theoretical implications of clusters should be considered. The cluster analysis in this study produced several options for the number of clusters. The optimal solution was chosen based on which number could be replicated using *k*-means, as well as previous research and theoretical interpretation of the clustered solutions. The clusters were plotted using line graphs to visualize how they differ on variable scales (e.g., see Figures 6.3-6.7). The clusters were named based on where the variable averages of each cluster fell on variable scales. Each cluster was different and represented a unique set of individuals.

Once the clusters were determined, the final step was to compare the clusters to other relevant variables (see RQ8). Whiteman and Loken (2006) claim that "the derived groups should be meaningfully related to other relevant variables and constructs" (p. 1378). The groups' association with relevant variables demonstrates the typology's validity and supports interpretation of the types. For example, the clustered groups were compared by participant ratings of confirmation, family identification, self-esteem, and depression.

5.2.4.2 Turning point analysis

Research question two asked what events or turning points led to feelings of marginalization from one's family. This research question was answered in Study 1 by creating a typology of turning points from interview data. Other researchers have coded turning point descriptions using inductively derived categories (Baxter & Bullis, 1986; Graham, 1997; Johnson et al., 2004, Koenig Kellas et al., 2008; Sahlstein Parcell & Maguire, 2014). The turning point categories identified in Study 1 served as a foundation from which additional turning points were identified and changes to the code book were made based on Study 2's data. Data from the open-ended turning point portion of the survey was broken into units and coded using typological analysis. According to Hatch (2002) the typological analysis process uses predetermined categories from previous research, theory, or common sense. In this study, a research team including the author and three undergraduate coders adapted the code book categories from Study 1's typology to code all units of data.

Undergraduate coders were trained to code for turning point categories over the course of a few weeks in several phases. First, coders were familiarized with turning

point research by reading Golish (2000), Koenig Kellas et al. (2008), and Sahlstein

Parcell and Maguire (2014) which together illustrate the use of inductively derived

turning point coding schemes as well as face-to-face and written RIT approaches to

collecting turning point data. Students were asked to read part of the rationale for this

study and familiarize themselves with the codebook created based on the results of Study

1. The codebook contained all turning point categories with several examples of each,

and a list of rules for coding (see Appendix F). Questions were answered about the

codebook and the team practiced by coding the same 30 units individually (i.e., singular

turning point descriptions). The entire sample comprised of 1,575 units as 315

participants described 5 turning point events each. Next, the team compared the codes

they assigned to each of the 30 units and discussed any discrepancies.

The codebook was refined during this step by adding two new categories –

criminal behavior and relational turmoil. The updated code book containing new and

collapsed categories as well as data excerpts from Study 2 can be found in Appendix S.

All decisions to add or collapse categories were discussed as a research team. Additional

units were selected, coded using the refined codebook, and discussed at a subsequent

meeting and an informal check of reliability was conducted. At this point, each coder

independently (i.e., without consulting each other) coded 150 (10%) randomly selected

units to establish reliability. Intercoder reliability (i.e., a measure that evaluates the extent

to which independent coders agree) was assessed using Krippendorff's alpha (Hayes &

Krippendorf, 2007). According to Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Bracken (2010),

Krippendorff's alpha is "well regarded and flexible" (np) and can account for multiple

coders and missing data making it the most appropriate choice of intercoder reliability

measures. Intercoder agreement was deemed acceptable (Kalpha = .71). According to De

Swert (2012), Kalpha should be above .60 or .67, especially when coding data that are

challenging to categorize (e.g., using a large codebook or working with limited

information such as the turning point event descriptions in this study). Lombard et al. also

suggest that a coefficient of .70 is acceptable as Krippendorff's alpha is a conservative

index and the coding system is exploratory.

The next phase consisted of coding the full sample by splitting 80% of the sample

(n = 1,275 units) into four equal sections for each coder to complete on their own (n =

318 units each). Finally, coder drift was assessed by having all research team members

code the final 10% of events (n = 150 units) to determine that reliability was maintained

over the course of the coding process (Kalpha = .71). The turning point coding was used

in the analysis of other research questions (i.e., examining group differences in types of

marginalized family members based on turning points identified).

This chapter covered the research questions, participants, and procedures of Study

2. The methods used in Study 2 have been explained and applied to each research

question. Chapter 6 details the results and discussion of findings of Study 2.

CHAPTER 6: STUDY 2 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Results

6.1.1 Normality and Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for all variables can be found in Table 6.1. All variables were checked for normal distribution and all had skew and kurtosis between -1.0 and +1.0 indicating they were normally distributed. Bivariate Pearson correlations can be found in Table 6.2. The proposed dimensions of marginalization - difference, disapproval, and exclusion - were positively correlated with one another. The dimensions were also inversely correlated with confirmation and family identification indicating that as levels of each dimension increased, confirmation and identification with family decreased. The correlation matrix revealed that difference, disapproval, and exclusion were inversely related to self-esteem and as ratings of depression increased, so did ratings of attitude based difference (but not difference overall) and exclusion. Participant sex and the amount of time they have felt like a black sheep were significantly associated with disapproval, confirmation, and self-esteem, while age was correlated with disapproval and exclusion (so that as age increased, ratings of disapproval and exclusion also increased). As such, sex, age, and time felt like the black sheep were included as covariates in subsequent analyses possible.

Table 6.1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Min	Max	*M*	*SD*	*Skew*	*Kurtosis*
Difference – Overall	1.08	7.00	4.78	1.14	-.25	-.18
Difference – Attitude	1.25	7.00	5.23	1.33	-.44	-.57
Difference – Background	1.00	7.00	4.42	1.43	.00	-.54
Difference – Values	1.00	7.00	4.70	1.52	-.35	-.52
Disapproval	1.00	9.00	6.70	1.78	-.50	-.57
Exclusion	1.23	5.00	3.51	0.70	-.20	.27
Depression	12.00	48.00	27.36	9.03	.16	-.93
Self-Esteem	1.00	5.00	2.97	1.21	-.02	-.90
Family Identification	6.00	30.00	17.01	5.50	.12	-.60
Marg. – 10 years ago	0.00	100.00	64.83	27.95	-.58	-.67
Marg. – Current	7.00	100.00	69.72	21.17	-.67	.06
Confirmation	1.00	6.44	3.25	0.96	.06	.12

Table 6.2: Pearson Correlations for Study 2 Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Diff. Avg.	X												
2. Diff. Att.	.84**	X											
3. Diff. Back.	.71**	.36**	X										
4. Diff. Value	.86**	.69**	.36**	X									
5. Disapproval	.46**	.53**	.15**	.44**	X								
6. Exclusion	.41**	.46**	.15**	.40**	.63**	X							
7. Confirmation	-.42**	-.46**	-.15**	-.42**	-.64**	-.78**	X						
8. Family ID	-.46**	-.42**	-.20**	-.48**	-.43**	-.45**	.42**	X					
9. Self Esteem	-.12*	-.14*	-.05	-.10	-.28**	-.22**	.20**	-.11	X				
10. Depression	.10	.12*	.07	.06	.07	.17**	-.16**	.16**	-.54**	X			
11. Sex	.05	.07	.06	.01	.18**	.08	-.14*	-.00	-.23**	.00	X		
12. Age	.04	.07	.06	-.02	.12*	.16**	-.10	-.02	.01	-.07	.01	X	
13. Time BS	.27**	.28**	.17**	.19**	.30**	.30**	-.32**	-.29**	-.11	.00	.09	.23**	X

Note: Correlation is significant at the **0.01 level, *0.05 level (2-tailed). Male was coded "1" and female was coded "2."

6.1.2 Types of Marginalized Family Members

To capture whether there are identifiable types of marginalized family members based on dimensions of marginalization (i.e., difference, disapproval, and exclusion), cluster analysis was conducted. Scores on the dimension variables formed a multivariate profile for each participant which were then compared and grouped to ascertain patterns of similarity across participants. Two-step cluster analysis (i.e., hierarchical and *k*-means) revealed three types of marginalized family members: those who experienced high levels of marginalization across all dimensions (i.e., high difference, high disapproval, high exclusion), those who experienced moderate levels across dimensions (i.e., moderate difference, moderate disapproval, and moderate exclusion), and those who perceived they are somewhat similar to their family (i.e., moderate difference), yet experienced high levels of disapproval and exclusion.

6.1.2.1 Hierarchical cluster analysis

First, hierarchical cluster analysis was run to examine the range of possible solutions for clustering in this sample. The average linkage cluster analysis dendogram revealed that the sample had no obvious outliers (i.e., all participants were paired in the initial stages of clustering) and had at least four possible solutions (see Appendix T). Table 6.3 reports the number of participants in the two, three, and four cluster solutions.

Table 6.3: Number and Percentage of Participants per Dimension Cluster in the Two, Three, and Four Cluster Solutions for the Average Linkage Cluster Analysis using the Cosine Index

Cluster	Two Cluster Solution		Three Cluster Solution		Four Cluster Solution	
	N	Percent	*N*	Percent	*N*	Percent
1	199	63.5	147	46.9	131	41.8
2	114	36.5	114	36.5	114	36.5
3			52	16.6	52	16.6
4					16	5.1
Total	313	100	313	100	313	100

As can be seen in Figure 6.1, a two cluster solution identifies two primary patterns of difference, disapproval, and exclusion. Participants in the high marginalization group ($n = 199$) scored higher on difference, disapproval, and exclusion, than those in the moderate marginalization group ($n = 114$).
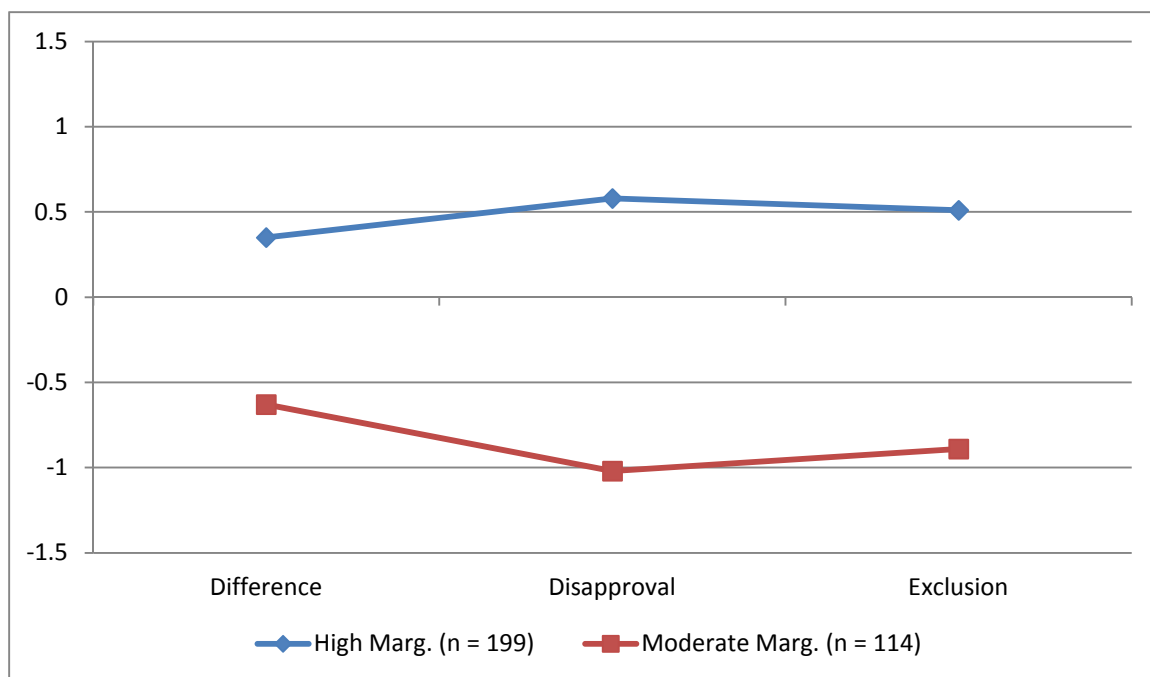
Figure 6.1: Marginalization Dimension Profiles for the Two-Cluster Solution in Average Linkage Cluster Analysis

Figure 6.2 graphs a three cluster solution in which the moderate group from the two cluster solution remains the same ($n = 114$), but the high marginalization group breaks into two smaller groups, one with a similar pattern to the original high marginalization group ($n = 147$), and a second group that reported similar levels of disapproval and exclusion to the high marginalization group, but much lower scores on difference ($n = 52$). The difference scores of this "similar yet marginalized" group are even lower than the moderate marginalization group's scores. The three cluster solution provides a more nuanced look at the patterns of marginalization dimensions.
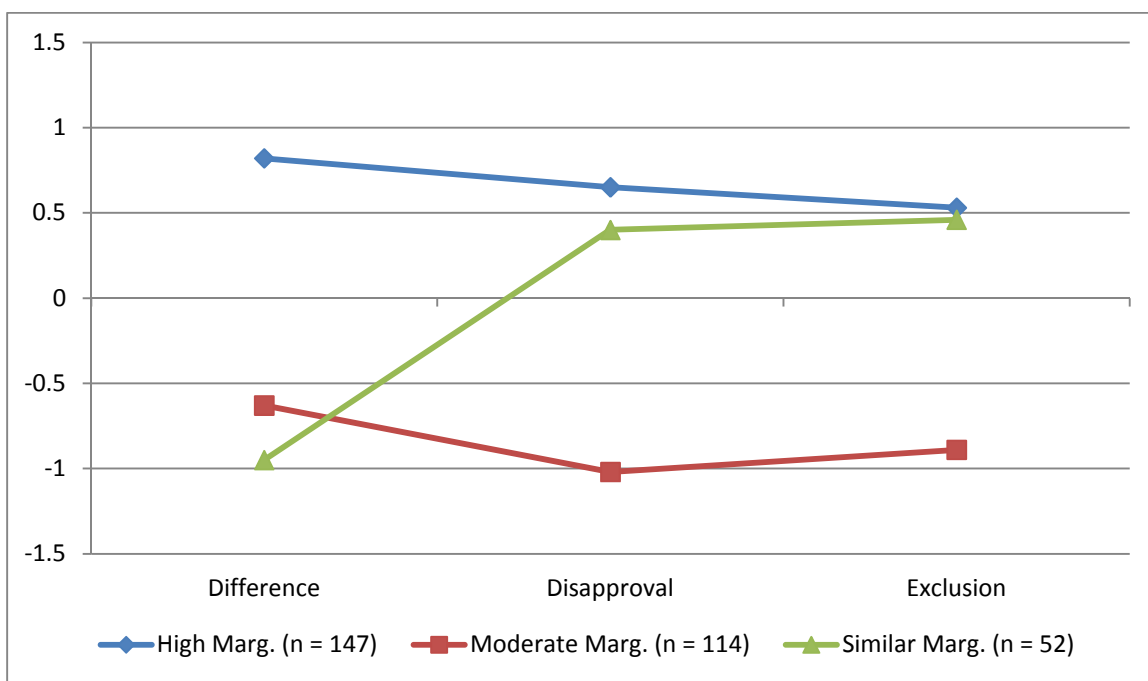
Figure 6.2: Marginalization Dimension Profiles for the Three-Cluster Solution in Average Linkage Cluster Analysis

As can be seen in Figure 6.3, a four cluster solution was also identified. In this analysis, the moderate ($n = 114$) and similar ($n = 52$) marginalization groups remain the same while the high marginalization group is broken into two distinct groups. The larger of the two groups had scores comparable to the high marginalization group from previous

solutions (*n* = 131). The smaller break-out group displayed a different pattern (*n* = 16). This small cluster scored nearly the same as the high marginalization group on difference and exclusion but had much lower scores on the disapproval dimension. This "approved marginalization" group was characterized by participants who felt they were very different and quite excluded from family, yet were approved by them. Despite this added nuance, the three cluster solution was chosen as best fitting as it captured a distinction in the high marginalization group that the two cluster solution did not, without isolating a small group of participants the way the four cluster solution did. Table 6.4 contains the unstandardized means and standard deviations for the three hierarchically clustered groups on the dimensions of marginalization.
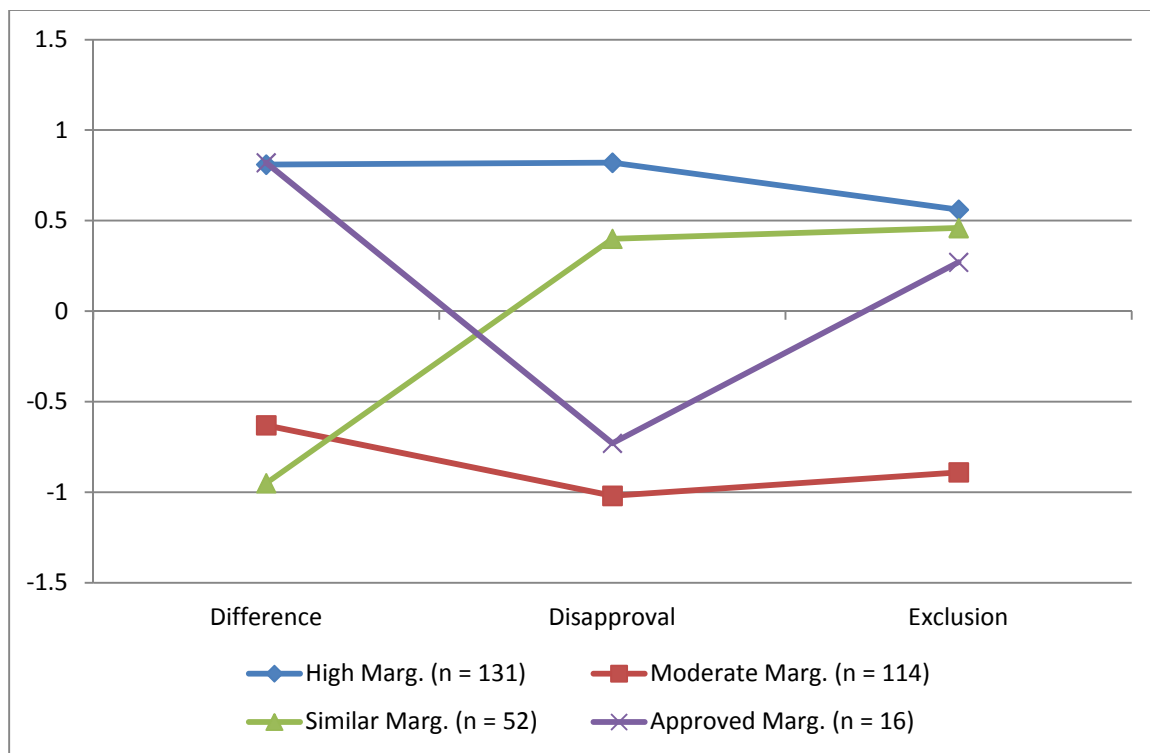
Figure 6.3: Marginalization Dimension Profiles for the Four-Cluster Solution in Average Linkage Cluster Analysis

Table 6.4: Unstandardized Means (and Standard Deviations) of Marginalization
Dimensions for the Three Cluster Solution in Average Linkage Cluster Analysis

Dimension	High Marg. ($n = 147$)	Moderate Marg. ($n = 114$)	Similar Marg. ($n = 52$)
Difference	5.72 (0.65)	4.07 (0.77)	3.70 (0.82)
Disapproval	7.86 (1.17)	4.89 (1.16)	7.41 (0.90)
Exclusion	3.87 (0.55)	2.89 (0.48)	3.82 (0.50)

6.1.2.2 *K*-means cluster analysis.

 K-means was used to replicate the solutions found during the hierarchical clustering step. Only one solution could be replicated. Figures 6.4 (three cluster solution) and 6.5 (four cluster solution) graph the mean scores for each clustered group on the three dimensions. Figure 6.3 closely replicates the three cluster solution from the hierarchical cluster analysis (i.e., Figure 6.2) while Figure 6.4 fails to replicate the hierarchical four cluster solution. The hierarchical cluster analysis identified a fourth group that reported high difference and exclusion but lower disapproval (i.e. "approved marginalization") but the *k*-means cluster analysis identified a fourth group that reported the lowest scores on all three dimensions (i.e., "low marginalization"). Alternatively, the three cluster solutions from the hierarchical and *k*-means cluster analyses were comparable (see Table 6.5) and produced similar groups: (a) high marginalization, (b) moderate marginalization, and (c) similar yet marginalized. Table 6.6 contains the unstandardized means and standard deviations for the three *k*-means clustered groups on the marginalization dimensions (i.e., difference, disapproval, and exclusion).
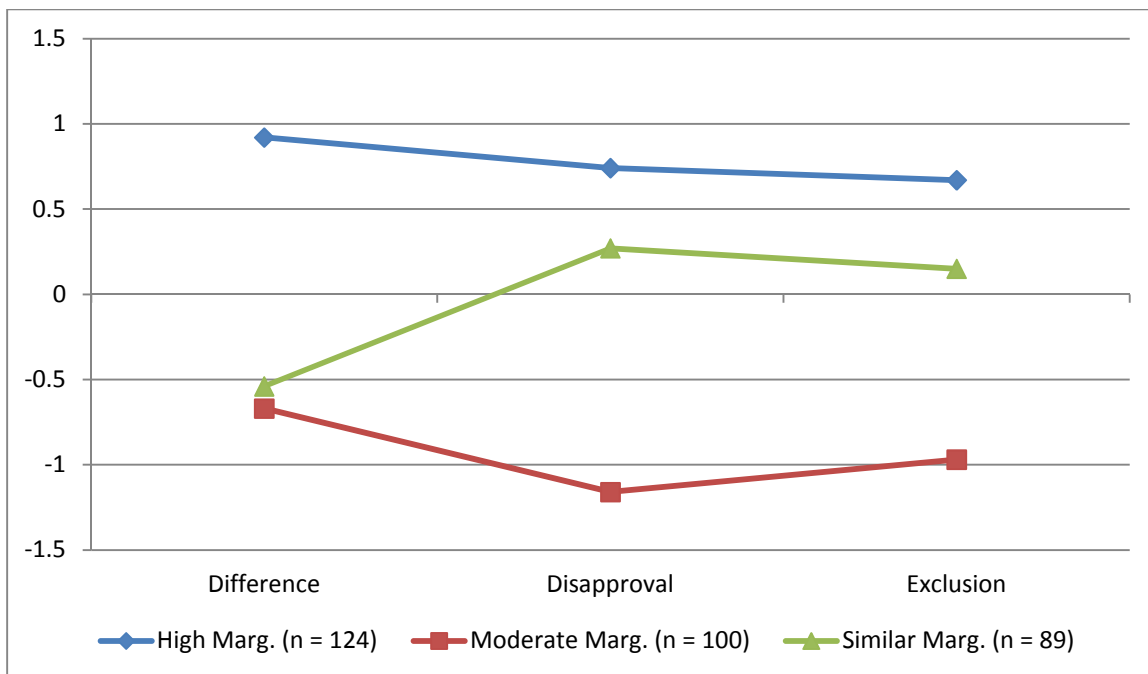
Figure 6.4: Marginalization Dimension Profiles for the Three-Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis
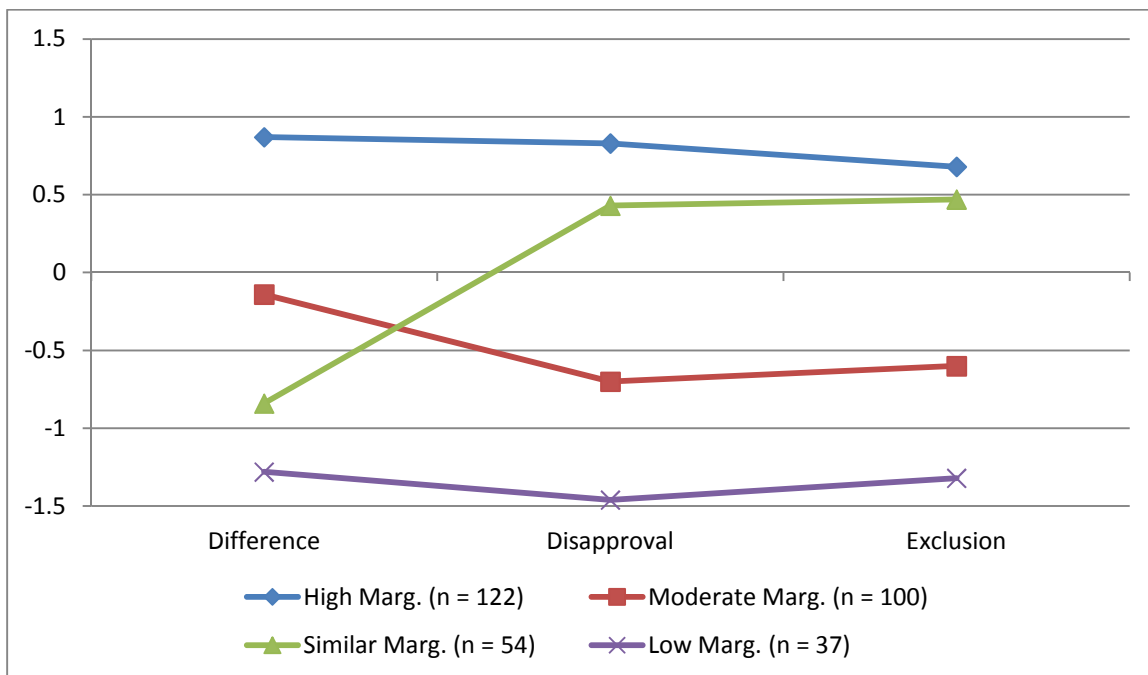
Figure 6.5: Marginalization Dimension Profiles for the Four-Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis

Table 6.5: Crossing the Three Cluster Solution from Average Linkage and the *K*-Means
Cluster Analyses N Comparison

	Hierarchical Cluster Analysis with Average Linkage			
K-Means Method	High Marg.	Moderate Marg.	Similar Marg.	Total
High Marg.	123	0	1	124
Moderate Marg.	1	96	3	100
Similar Marg.	23	18	48	89
Total	147	114	52	313

Table 6.6: Unstandardized Means (Standard Deviations) of Marginalization Dimensions
for the Three Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis

Dimension	High Marg. ($n = 124$)	Moderate Marg. ($n = 100$)	Similar Marg. ($n = 89$)
Difference	5.84^a (0.61)	4.02^b (0.88)	4.16^b (0.80)
Disapproval	8.02^a (1.08)	4.65^b (1.04)	7.19^c (0.95)
Exclusion	3.97^a (0.53)	2.83^b (0.48)	3.61^c (0.49)

Note: For each dimension (row), superscripts indicate significant differences between
clusters according to Tukey's HSD ($p < .05$).

To determine whether the three clustered groups differed significantly across the

dimensions, a series of one-way analysis of covariance (ANCOVAs) controlling for

participant sex, age, and time felt like a black sheep, and Tukey's honest significant

difference (HSD) tests[1] were conducted. For each test, cluster membership was the

independent variable and the averaged dimension scales were the dependent variables.

The three clusters (high, moderate, and similar yet marginalized) significantly differed on

the difference, $F (2, 312) = 177.31$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .54$, disapproval, $F (2, 312) =$

308.68, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .67$, and exclusion dimensions, $F (2, 312) = 122.24$, $p <$

$.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .44$. As can be seen in Table 6.6, Tukey's HSD follow up tests ($\alpha = .05$)

revealed that those in the high marginalization group reported significantly more

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[1]ANOVAs and ANCOVAs were conducted for all comparisons of 3 or more groups by interval and ratio
level variables. The two tests were not different in terms of significance, so ANCOVAs are reported in the
text. ANOVA was used to compute post hoc tests (i.e., Tukey's HSD).

disapproval and exclusion than those in the similar yet marginalized group and those in the similar group reported significantly more disapproval and exclusion than those in the moderate group. The difference dimension was unique in that the high marginalization group reported significantly more difference than the similar and moderate groups, but the similar and moderate groups were not distinct (i.e., they reported comparable levels of difference; which can be seen in Figure 6.4).

Additional ANCOVA analyses indicated that the three clustered groups significantly differed based on confirmation ratings, F (2, 312) = 95.46, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .38$, family identification, F (2, 311) = 33.34, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .18$, and self-esteem, F (2, 297) = 5.59, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$. Tukey's HSD revealed that all three groups' confirmation ratings were significantly different from each other but only high marginalization was different from similar and moderate marginalization in terms of family identification, such that the high marginalization group reported significantly lower levels of confirmation (i.e., more disconfirmation) than the other two groups. Only moderate marginalization was different from high and similar yet marginalized in terms of self-esteem, such that the moderate marginalization group reported significantly higher self-esteem than the other two groups (see Table 6.7). In addition, chi-square analyses indicated that the groups were significantly different by sex at the trend level, χ^2 (df = 2) = 5.06, $p = .08$. There were more females than males in each group (and in the sample overall), but the moderate marginalization group had the most equal levels of males ($n = 45$) and females ($n = 55$) compared to 38 males and 86 females in the high marginalization group and 31 males and 58 females in the similar yet marginalized group.

Table 6.7: Unstandardized Means (SD) of Confirmation, Family Identification, Depression, and Self-Esteem for the Three Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis

Dimension	High Marg. (*n* = 124)	Moderate Marg. (*n* = 100)	Similar Marg. (*n* = 89)
Confirmation	2.58[a] (0.77)	4.10[b] (0.69)	3.23[c] (0.71)
Family ID	13.82[a] (5.04)	19.47[b] (4.65)	18.51[b] (4.91)
Self-Esteem	2.75[a] (1.27)	3.38[b] (1.03)	2.83[a] (1.22)
Depression	28.69 (9.96)	26.51 (7.76)	26.22 (8.76)

Note: For each dimension, superscripts indicate significant differences between clusters according to Tukey's HSD ($p < .05$). Higher scores indicate higher ratings of confirmation, family identification, self-esteem, and depression.

The groups did not differ on depression scores, $F(2, 312) = 2.88$, $p = .06$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, number of siblings, $F(2, 309) = .47$, $p = .63$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$, or birth order, $F(2, 312) = 2.27$, $p = .10$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$.

6.1.3 Turning Point Analysis

Research question two asked what events (turning points) led to feelings of marginalization from one's family. Coding events and revising the code book from Study 1 resulted in nine turning point categories used to categorize 1,575 events. Detailed descriptions and examples of each event category can be found in Appendix S. Typological analysis of the online turning point data provided support for the turning point event typology developed in Study 1. As noted above, the typology was revised during the coder training process based on how well the data fit the existing categories. This process included creating new event categories for events not reported in Study 1. For example, a new category "criminal behavior and abuse" was created for Study 2. Other categories were collapsed based on low frequency and conceptual similarity. For example, "attending college or graduate school," "graduation," and "job change" events were collapsed into one category labeled "education and career." Participants in Study 2

often reported single events that included both career and education issues. "Marriage" and "having children" were combined because for many participants in this study, the two were evoked together when parents pressured the participants to get married and start a family. In sum, the nine turning point types used to categorize events were: *(a) Family Gatherings, (b) Support, (c) Marriage and Children, (d) Education and Career*, *(e) Disclosures and Consequential Conversations*, *(f) Moving/Change in Living Arrangements, (g) Romantic Relationships, (h) Criminal Behavior and Abuse,* and *(j) Other*. See Table 6.8 for the frequency and percentage of turning points in each category.

Table 6.8. Turning Point Event Category Frequencies and Percentages

Turning Point Category	Most Marginalizing	Total	% of all Turning Points
1. Gathering	91	385	24%
2. Support	42	238	15%
3. Marriage	40	230	15%
4. Education	39	193	12%
5. Conversation	29	107	7%
6. Moving	17	114	7%
7. Romantic	15	77	5%
8. Criminal	11	56	4%
9. Other	27	113	7%
Missing	4	62	4%
Total	315	1,575	100

6.1.3.1 Family gatherings

Family gatherings was the most frequently reported event ($n = 385$, 24%) and included a wide variety of occasions and reasons for families to get together. This category also included family gatherings where the marginalized member was not invited or not told about the event until after. Family gatherings centered around holidays, birthday parties, family dinners, vacations, trips (e.g., to visit other family members or

the marginalized member), religious events (e.g., baptisms and other ceremonies),

planning events with family, and funerals. This category also included times when the

marginalized member felt their family should have visited them but did not. These events

seemed ripe with opportunities for marginalization to occur either by not inviting the

marginalized member or through the conversations experienced at the events. It seemed

that when family gathers, they talk about the marginalized member, reminding the

participant of their place in the family. Many recounted hurtful memorable messages that

occurred at these events or the painful feelings they experienced after finding out the

family had taken a trip without them. On the other end of the spectrum, these events also

provided opportunities for confirming messages. Family gatherings were reported as less

marginalizing by some participants if they felt accepted at a gathering or felt needed

during the planning process of an event for another family member.

6.1.3.2 Support

Support events included participants seeking emotional or financial support from

or providing support to family ($n = 238$). Many times participants sought support but did

not receive it, or received disapproval instead, making them feel marginalized. Other

times they reported on a sibling receiving support when they did not. Rejection or misuse

of support was reported by participants and sometimes led to a loss of trust. Support

events were often connected to health issues (i.e., physical and mental) of the participant

or their family members. Participants often reported feeling less marginalized when

support was received or when they felt needed by supporting others. Support-seeking was

tied to the desire for acceptance. This was especially salient when support was not

provided by family, as a major reason these events were marginalizing was that family

did not accept their choices. Support was the second most frequently reported category

overall (15%) and the second most reported category for events reported as most

marginalizing by participants.

6.1.3.3 Marriage and children.

The marriage and children category included the engagements, engagement

parties, weddings, wedding showers, pregnancy, baby showers, and the birth of children

for the participants and their family members. These events were both more and less

marginalizing for participants. Participants felt marginalized when they were not invited

to or ignored at these events. Other participants felt less marginalized at their wedding or

when having children as it marked a time when family came together and felt proud of

the marginalized member. This category also included feeling pressure from family to

have children and get married, or arguments about how to best raise participants'

children. Marriage and children was the third largest category and contained 15% ($n =$

230) of the turning point events reported.

6.1.3.4 Education and career

Education and career events included making decisions about education (e.g.,

whether to attend college, what to major in), attending college or graduate school,

graduating from high school or college, starting a new job, leaving a job, or being fired

from a job ($n = 193$, 12%). Participants reported feeling marginalized during these events

if family did not support their decisions, did not attend important events like graduation,

or questioned their major or career choices. Other participants reported not being invited

to siblings' graduations. While some participants experienced lack of understanding due

to being the first to attend college in the family (e.g., college is a waste of time), other

families expressed pride in the first-generation participants' accomplishments. Although it occurred less frequently, some participants reported feeling supported during these life transitions, resulting in lower feelings of marginalization. These events were closely tied to "moving" events as participants often experienced going to college or getting a new job and a change in living arrangements simultaneously.

6.1.3.5 Disclosures and consequential conversations

Disclosures and consequential conversations included a variety of turning points that were defined by the communication that occurred during the event ($n = 107$, 7%). For example, participants reported disclosing information such as leaving the family religion, coming out, or telling another family members' secret. When the disclosures were met with disapproval, the events often resulted in higher feelings of marginalization. Participants also reported having open conversations with family members, receiving or giving apologies, and having conversations about cutting-off contact with the family. Participants felt more marginalized when insincere communication occurred and less marginalized when they experienced genuine, open conversations with family. This finding is in line with Reis and Shaver's (1988) interpersonal process model of intimacy (see Chapter 4).

6.1.3.6 Moving/change in living arrangements

Participants moved or altered their living arrangements for a variety of reasons ($n = 114$, 7%). Participants felt marginalized when they were encouraged to move out or were kicked out of their parents' house. Family sometimes expressed disapproval concerning the participants' decision to move, especially if the participant was moving out of state. Others felt less marginalized when they moved for a new job and their family

was proud of them. Moving away from home or moving back home represented a time to reflect on how family relationships had changed for some participants. For example, #105 noted how her family relationships were one way when she lived far away, and changed when she moved back to her hometown and saw them more often. It makes sense that distance from home coincided with frequency of interaction with family for many participants.

6.1.3.7 Romantic relationships

This category included events surrounding dating (e.g., going on dates, positive or negative reactions from family about a potential partner, conversations about sex) and events primarily marked by relationship turmoil and conflict ($n = 77$, 5%). These events included talking to family about getting a divorce or divorcing a partner, cheating or being cheated on, custody battles, and breakups of the participant or their family members. Participants reported changes in their family relationships after breakups and divorce, especially when they did not feel supported throughout the process. Participants felt marginalized when family placed restrictions on or did not approve of who they chose to date. Others felt pressure to date as choosing to be single was unacceptable to family.

6.1.3.8 Criminal behavior and abuse

This category contained events related to the participant's own criminal behavior or the criminal behavior of a family member ($n = 56$, 4%). Criminal behavior included using illegal substances, driving under the influence, misusing prescription drugs, drinking while under the legal age, vandalism, and engaging in fighting or other forms of violence. When participants' reported on their own criminal behavior they often spoke

about the disapproval they received from family members after they were punished (e.g., arrested, spent time in jail), which sometimes took the form of being ignored at family events. Some participants recounted parents telling them they made the family look bad and felt the family "thought less" of them after the event. Although less commonly reported, physical and sexual abuse was included in this category and consisted of learning about a sibling being abused by another family member, domestic abuse between the participant and their partner, or reflections on/discussions about abuse the participant experienced as a child. Abuse events were marginalizing for several reasons, one being a loss of trust in family members. This category was added in Study 2 because these types of events were not reported by participants in Study 1.

6.1.3.9 Other

The other category housed events that did not provide enough explanation to be coded in any of the above categories ($n = 113$, 7%). See Appendix S for examples. The other category also included events where participants described ways in which they were treated unfairly compared to their siblings without tying that treatment to a specific occasion or occurrence. This category also included events where participants described changing their beliefs or attitudes but not talking about the change with family (i.e., an intrapersonal event). These events were marginalizing because the participant sensed they were becoming more different from their families or anticipated the consequences of telling family about these changes.

6.1.4 Types of Family Member Marginalization Trajectories

Research question four asked what primary patterns of change in perceived marginalization (i.e., trajectories) characterized relationships involving marginalized

family members. Cluster analysis, a technique used in past turning point studies (Baxter et al., 1999; Surra, 1985), was employed to analyze the trajectory data in two ways. Ratings of feelings of marginalization at 7 points in time (10 years ago, 5 reported events, and current feelings) were ordered and formed multivariate profiles for each participant. Participants who described turning point events outside the past 10 year window or did not identify the dates of their events were excluded from this analysis ($n = 99$ were excluded making the final sample for RQ4 $n = 216$).

First, two-step cluster analysis revealed two common marginalization trajectories: stable-high (i.e., those who report high levels of feeling marginalized over time), and stable-low (i.e., those who report lower levels of feeling marginalized over time). As these two clusters provide little nuance, a second set of analyses were conducted aimed to replicate the trajectory type findings of Study 1. *K*-means clustering identified four types of trajectories (i.e., inclining, declining, disrupted, and stable) that more closely matched Study 1's results and provided a more detailed understanding of how feelings of marginalization can change over time.

6.1.4.1 Hierarchical cluster analysis

The hierarchical cluster analysis dendogram revealed that this set of variables did not cluster as smoothly as the dimension variables. Based on interpretation of the average linkage cluster analysis dendogram, six outliers were removed (participants 39, 74, 141, 194, 271, 290), which improved the clustering process (see Appendix T). All subsequent trajectory cluster analyses were conducted after removing the outliers.

The dendogram also revealed that the sample had at least three possible solutions. Table 6.9 reports the number of participants in the two, three, and four cluster solutions.

As can be seen in Figure 6.6, a two cluster solution identified two primary trajectory patterns, a stable-high trajectory where participants consistently report high feelings of marginalization across events ($n = 119$), and a stable-low trajectory where participants consistently report lower feelings of marginalization ($n = 97$). Although the second trajectory is labeled "low," average ratings of marginalization for participants in this group are still fairly high (i.e., ranging from 51.14-60.76 on a 0-100 scale).

Table 6.9: Participants per Trajectory Cluster in the Two, Three, and Four Cluster Solutions for the Average Linkage Cluster Analysis using the Cosine Index

Cluster	Two Cluster Solution		Three Cluster Solution		Four Cluster Solution	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
1	119	55.1	104	48.2	104	48.2
2	97	44.9	97	44.9	77	35.6
3			15	6.9	15	6.9
4					20	9.3
Total	216	100	216	100	216	100
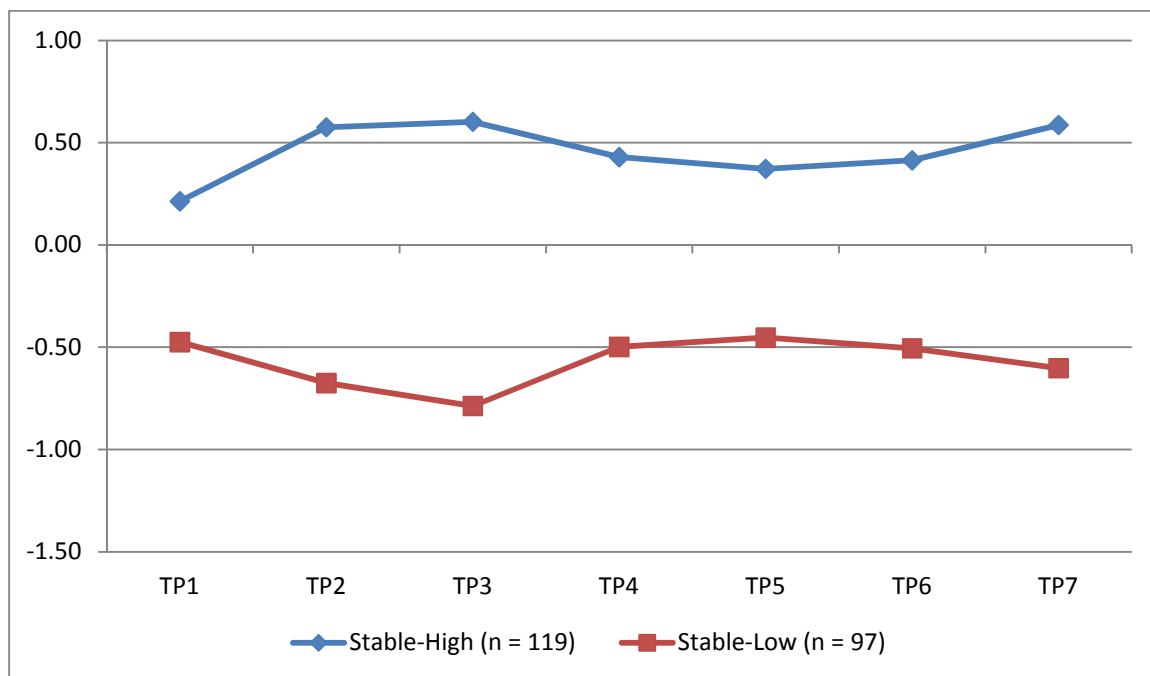
Figure 6.6: Turning Point Trajectory Profiles for the Two-Cluster Solution in Average Linkage Cluster Analysis (Cosine)

Figure 6.7 shows a three cluster solution in which the stable-low group remains the same ($n = 97$), but the stable-high group breaks into two smaller groups. The larger of the two smaller groups had a similar pattern to the stable-high group from the two cluster solution, so its label remained the same ($n = 104$). The third group depicted a disrupted pattern where one event was rated much lower in feelings of marginalization than the other six events ($n = 15$). This pattern is disrupted because the otherwise stable high feelings of marginalization are punctuated with one low marginalizing event.
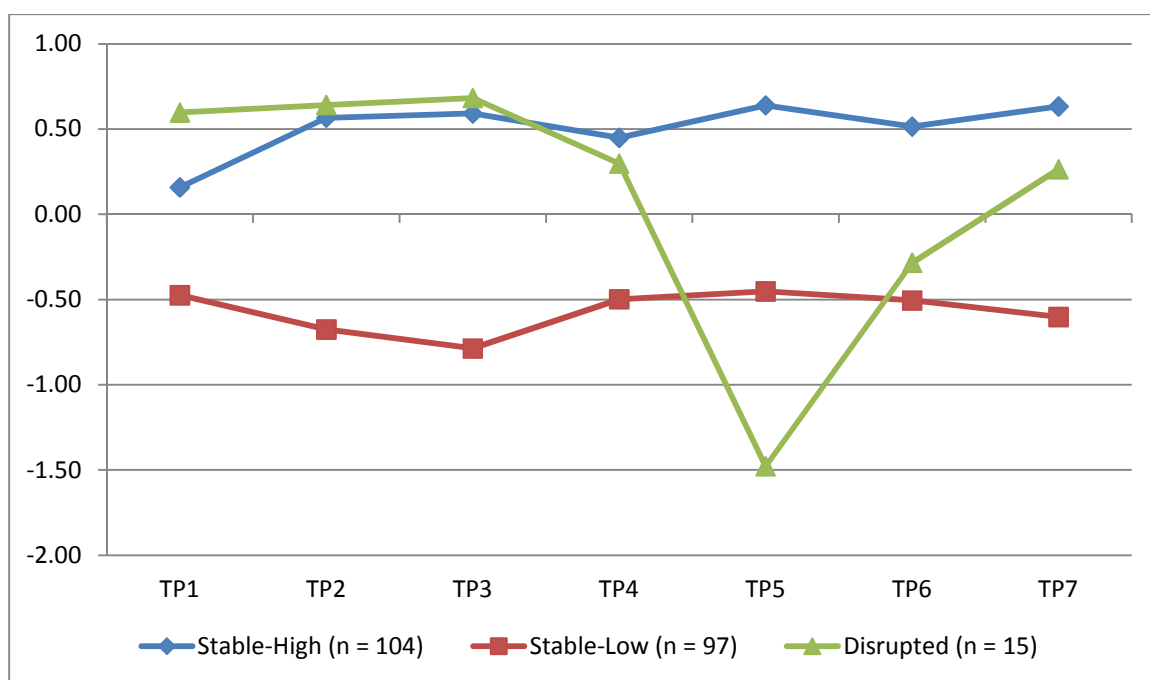
Figure 6.7: Turning Point Trajectory Profiles for the Three-Cluster Solution in Average Linkage Cluster Analysis

As can be seen in Figure 6.8, a four cluster solution was also identified. In this solution, the stable-high ($n = 104$) and disrupted groups ($n = 15$) from the three cluster solution remained the same, while a sub-set of the stable-low group ($n = 77$) broke into a group also resembling a disrupted trajectory. Because two trajectories resembled a

disrupted pattern, the disrupted group identified in the three cluster solution is relabeled late-disrupted and the fourth cluster in this solution is labeled early-disrupted ($n = 20$).
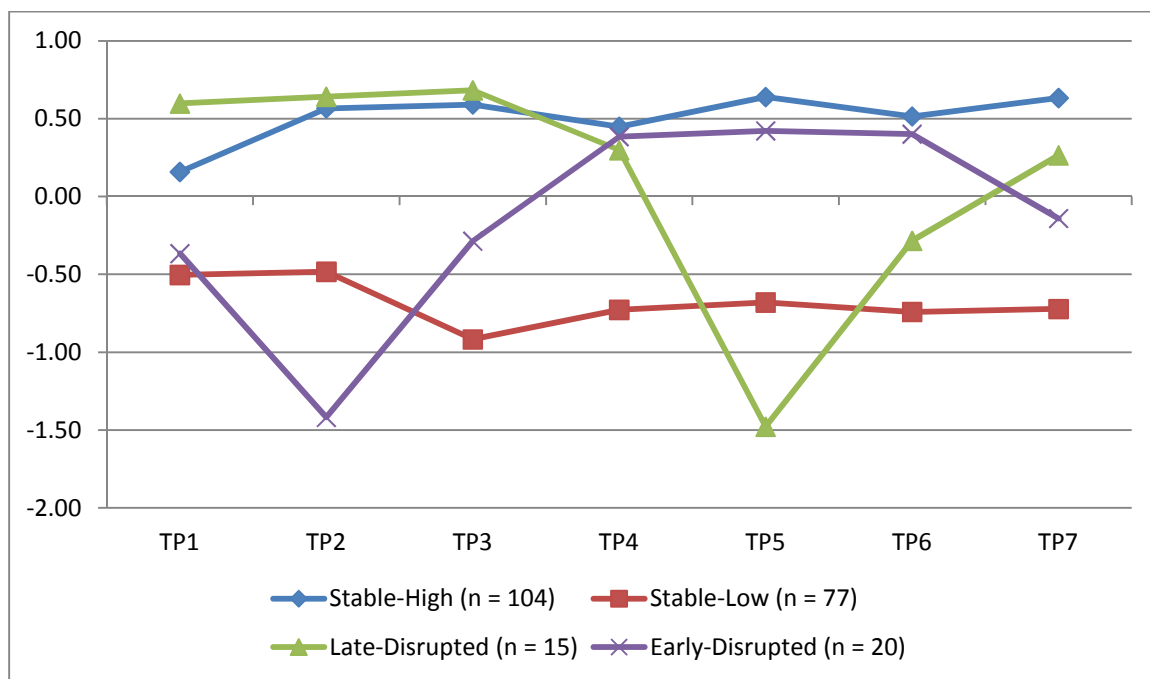
Figure 6.8: Turning Point Trajectory Profiles for the Four-Cluster Solution in Average Linkage Cluster Analysis

Despite the nuance added by the three and four cluster solutions, the major patterns (i.e., stable-high and stable-low) remained the same as the two cluster solution. The groups added in the three and four cluster solutions had much smaller n's compared to the larger original groups. As such, the two cluster solution was chosen as best fitting. Table 6.10 contains the unstandardized feelings of marginalization means and standard deviations for the two hierarchically clustered groups (i.e., stable-high and stable-low) across turning point events.

Table 6.10: Unstandardized Means (SD) of Turning Point Events for the Two Cluster
Solution in Average Linkage Cluster Analysis

% Marginalized	Stable-High ($n = 119$)	Stable-Low ($n = 97$)
10 years ago	70.80 (27.78)	51.57 (25.18)
Event 1	92.86 (09.75)	60.76 (26.52)
Event 2	91.36 (12.63)	51.14 (28.26)
Event 3	87.73 (20.68)	60.59 (30.35)
Event 4	83.18 (25.67)	57.10 (32.33)
Event 5	84.88 (25.80)	55.01 (32.29)
Current	82.14 (13.21)	56.97 (17.94)

6.1.4.2 *K*-means cluster analysis

K-means was used to replicate the solutions found during the hierarchical

clustering step. Figures 6.9-6.11 graph the standardized mean scores for each clustered

group for the two, three, and four cluster solutions. Only the two cluster solution

replicated (Figure 6.9) the hierarchical cluster analysis just presented above as the three

cluster solution in the *k*-means analysis broke the stable-low group into inclining and

declining groups rather than a disrupted group. The four cluster solution identified a

trajectory that could be interpreted as disrupted, yet did not replicate the disrupted groups

from the hierarchical cluster analysis.
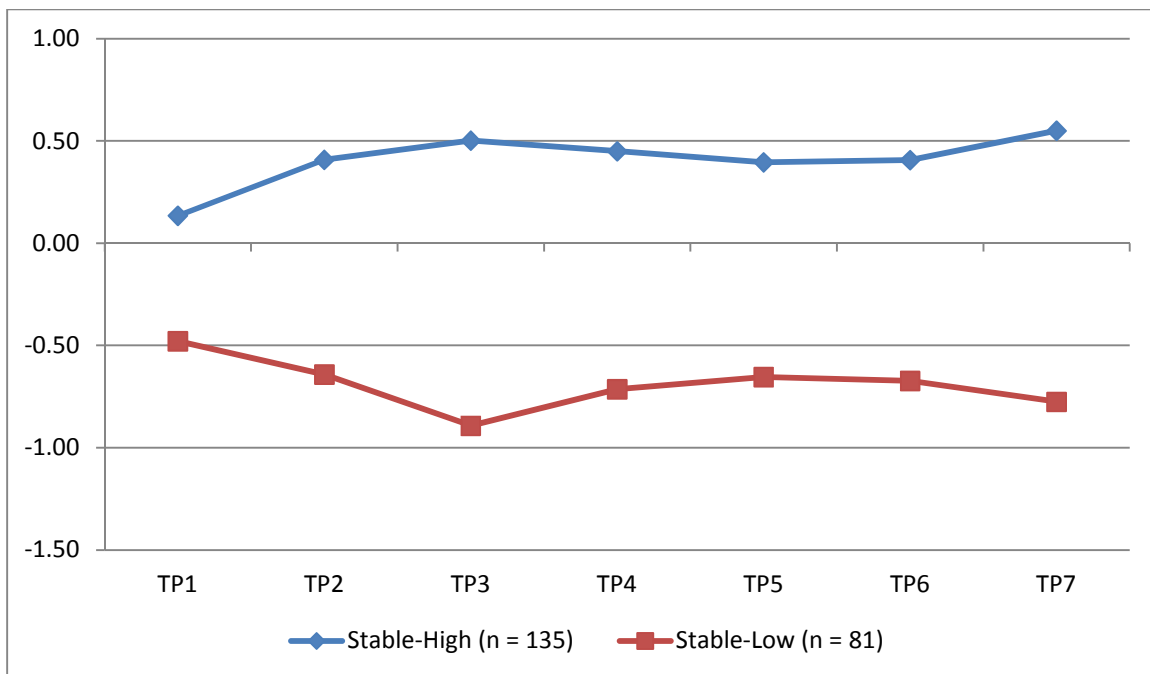
Figure 6.9: Turning Point Trajectory Profiles for the Two-Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis
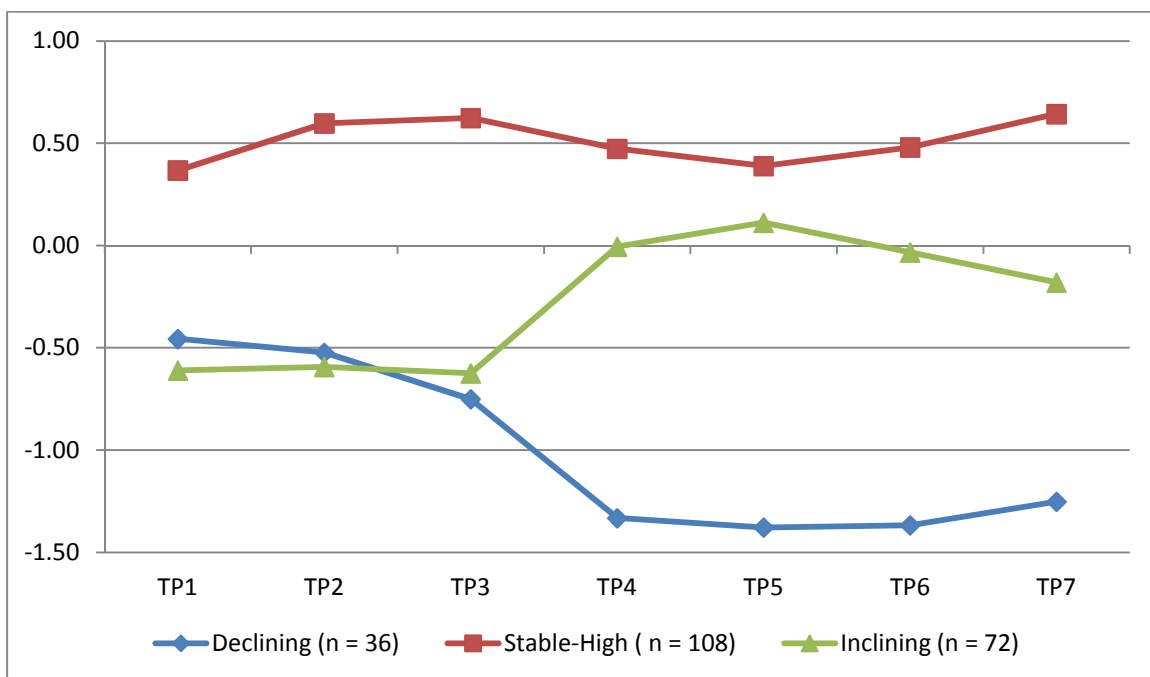
Figure 6.10: Turning Point Trajectory Profiles for the Three-Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis
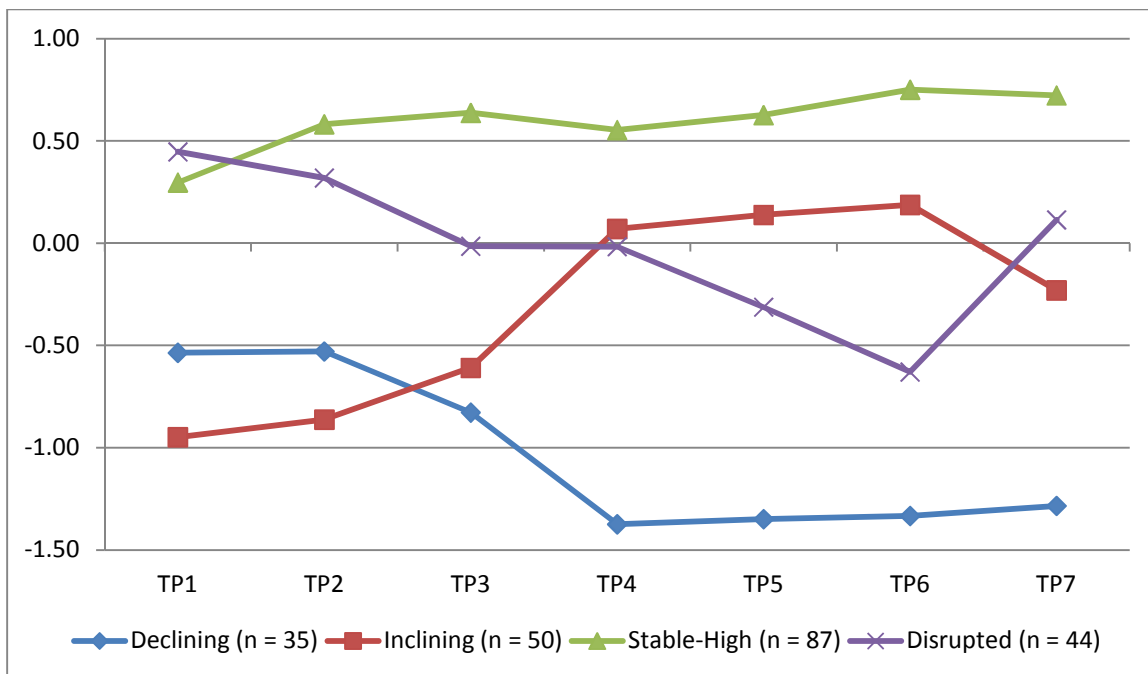
Figure 6.11: Turning Point Trajectory Profiles for the Four-Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis

The two cluster solutions from the hierarchical and *k*-means cluster analyses were comparable (see Table 6.11) and produced similar groups: (a) stable-high, and (b) stable-low. Table 6.12 contains the unstandardized feelings of marginalization means and standard deviations for the two *k*-means clustered groups across turning point events.

Table 6.11: Crossing the Two Cluster Trajectory Solution from Average Linkage and the *K*-Means Cluster Analyses *N* Comparison

K-Means Method	Hierarchical Cluster Analysis with Average Linkage		
	Low Marg.	High Marg.	Total
Low Marg.	79	2	81
High Marg.	18	117	135
Total	97	119	216

Table 6.12: Unstandardized Means (SD) and Independent Samples T-Test Results Comparing Turning Point Events for the Two Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis

% Marg.	Stable-High (*n* = 135)	Stable-Low (*n* = 81)	*T*	*df*	*D*
10 years ago	68.59 (27.56)	51.44 (26.23)	-04.51***	214	0.64
Event 1	88.54 (16.41)	61.62 (27.62)	-07.97***	114.40	1.18
Event 2	88.43 (16.78)	48.09 (27.78)	-11.84***	115.55	1.76
Event 3	88.30 (18.22)	54.27 (30.65)	-09.08***	114.44	1.35
Event 4	83.93 (23.88)	50.72 (32.05)	-8.08***	133.34	1.18
Event 5	84.61 (24.46)	49.56 (32.39)	-8.41***	134.70	1.22
Current	81.36 (12.84)	53.31 (17.11)	-12.76***	134.04	1.85

Note: ***$p < .001$. Equal variances are assumed for "10 years ago" only. Cohen's (1988) *d* effect sizes of .5 are considered medium and .8 and above are large.

To determine whether the two groups differed significantly across event points, a series of independent-samples t-tests were conducted. For each test, cluster membership was the independent variable and the averaged ratings of marginalization (i.e., 10 years ago, currently, and for each turning point event) were the dependent variables. The two groups significantly differed on all event points (see Table 6.12) so that those in the high-stable group reported significantly higher ratings of marginalization than those in the low-stable group. Levene's Test for homogeneity of variance was violated for all event points except the first (i.e., ratings of marginalization 10 years ago) so for all other points equal variances were not assumed and the appropriate statistics are reported.

Additional analyses indicated that the two clustered groups significantly differed based on all three dimensions of marginalization so that those with stable-high trajectories reported significantly more difference, disapproval, and exclusion than those with stable-low trajectories (see Table 6.13 for means, standard deviations, and t-test results). Similarly, participants in the stable-high group reported significantly lower confirmation, family identification, and self-esteem than participants in the stable-low

group. Stable-high trajectory participants reported higher levels of depression than stable-

low participants.

Table 6.13: Unstandardized Means (SD) and Independent Samples T-Test Results
Comparing Dimensions of Marginalization, Confirmation, Family Identification, Self-
Esteem, and Depression for the Two Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis

	Stable-High ($n = 135$)	Stable-Low ($n = 81$)	*t*	*df*	*D*
Difference	5.14 (1.07)	4.28 (1.01)	-5.84***	214	0.83
Disapproval	7.45 (1.44)	5.76 (1.57)	-8.03***	213	1.12
Exclusion	3.78 (0.60)	3.11 (0.59)	-8.01***	214	1.13
Confirmation	2.90 (0.88)	3.78 (0.84)	7.22***	214	1.02
Family ID	15.36 (5.70)	19.18 (4.32)	5.57***	202.55	0.76
Self-Esteem	2.68 (1.23)	3.32 (1.10)	3.79***	204	0.55
Depression	29.53 (9.65)	24.95 (7.65)	-3.85***	198.01	0.53

Note: ***$p < .001$. Equal variances are assumed for all variables except Family
Identification (ID) and Depression. Cohen's (1988) *d* effect sizes of .5 are considered
medium and .8 and above are large.

The groups did not differ by age, $t (214) = -1.43$, $p = .16$, or birth order, $t (199.05)$

$= -1.16$, $p = .25$, but did significantly differ by number of siblings, $t (210.71) = -2.38$, $p <$

.05, where participants with stable-high trajectories had significantly more siblings ($M =$

2.90, $SD = 2.92$) than those with stable-low trajectories ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 1.96$). Chi-

square analyses revealed that the groups did not differ significantly by marital status, χ^2

($df = 4) = 2.53$, $p = .64$, but were significantly different based on sex, χ^2 ($df = 1) = 5.13$, p

$< .05$. The groups were nearly equal in male participants and varied more in the number

of female participants. The stable-high group had 97 females and 38 males while the

stable-low group had 46 females and 35 males.

6.1.4.3 Replicating Study 1's findings

K-means cluster analysis was used to determine whether the findings from Study

1 (i.e., five distinct trajectories) could be replicated. While *k*-means can be used to

replicate hierarchical cluster analysis findings, it can also be used to replicate expected findings based on existing literature or theory. Study 1 identified five trajectories: turbulent, inclining, disrupted, declining, and prolonged (see Chapter 4). The five cluster k-means solution (see Figure 6.12) replicated three of the trajectory types (i.e., inclining, disrupted, declining), plus one additional type that has been commonly reported in existing turning point literature (i.e., stable; labeled stablizied by Sahlstein Parcell & Maguire; stagnating by Baxter et al. 1999; and sustained by Golish (2000) and Graham (1997). Controlling for participant, sex, age, and length of time they have felt like a black sheep, participants in the five trajectory types were significantly different in their ratings of marginalization across all 7 events (see Table 6.14 for means, standard deviations, and ANCOVA results).
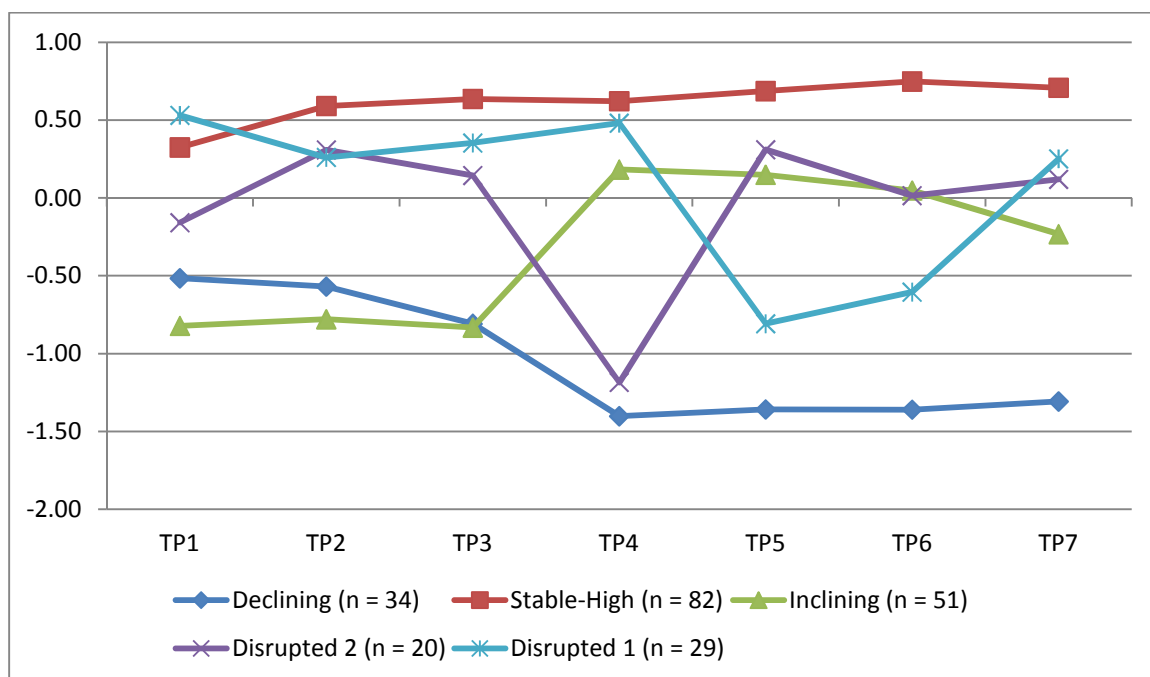
Figure 6.12: Turning Point Trajectory Profiles for the Five-Cluster Solution in K-Means Cluster Analysis

Table 6.14: Unstandardized Means (SD) and ANCOVA Results Comparing Turning
Point Events for the Five Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis

	Stable-High (*n* = 82)	Inclining (*n* = 51)	Declining (*n* = 34)	Disrupted 1 (*n* = 29)	Disrupted 2 (*n* = 20)	*df*	*F*	Partial η^2
10y ago	73.89^{ab} (23.83)	41.88^c (24.35)	50.41^{cd} (27.09)	79.66^a (19.95)	60.40^{bd} (27.92)	4	12.80***	.20
Event 1	93.23^a (10.19)	58.10^b (27.56)	63.47^b (26.74)	84.76^a (18.54)	86.00^a (16.61)	4	24.46***	.32
Event 2	92.33^a (11.81)	49.84^b (29.04)	50.53^b (28.04)	84.14^a (20.99)	78.10^a (23.94)	4	41.36***	.44
Event 3	93.33^a (09.28)	80.51^b (17.63)	34.15^c (25.94)	89.21^{ab} (12.93)	40.50^c (26.57)	4	93.63***	.64
Event 4	93.11^a (10.30)	76.12^b (22.47)	28.44^c (24.20)	45.86^d (31.32)	81.20^{ab} (23.48)	4	67.88***	.57
Event 5	95.71^a (07.61)	72.98^b (23.17)	27.26^c (24.47)	51.79^d (34.32)	71.90^b (29.10)	4	64.83***	.56
Current	84.71^a (11.78)	64.80^b (13.73)	42.06^c (16.66)	75.03^d (15.38)	72.25^{bd} (11.57)	4	53.58***	.51

Note: ***$p < .001$.

Visual analysis of the graph indicated that two clustered groups reflected the disrupted trajectory (i.e., disrupted 1 (*n* = 29) and disrupted 2 (*n* = 20)). Tukey's HSD testing revealed that they were only significantly different on the variables where the "disruption" happened (Events 3-5) and their ratings of marginalization 10 years ago. They were not different in their ratings of marginalization for events 1-2, and current ratings of marginalization. Because these groups were conceptually and statistically similar, they were combined for subsequent analyses. Controlling for age, sex, and length of time the participant has felt like a black sheep, ANCOVA testing revealed that the 4 trajectory type groups were significantly different across all events (see Table 6.15).

Table 6.15: Unstandardized Means (SD) and ANCOVA Results Comparing Turning
Point Events for the Four Cluster Combined Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis

	Stable-High ($n = 82$)	Inclining ($n = 51$)	Declining ($n = 34$)	Disrupted ($n = 49$)	*df*	*F*	Partial η^2
10y ago	73.89[a] (23.83)	41.88[b] (24.35)	50.41[b] (27.09)	71.80[a] (25.14)	3	14.83***	.18
Event 1	93.23[a] (10.19)	58.10[b] (27.56)	63.47[b] (26.74)	85.27[a] (17.61)	3	32.66***	.32
Event 2	92.33[a] (11.81)	49.84[b] (29.04)	50.53[b] (28.04)	81.67[a] (22.20)	3	54.83***	.44
Event 3	93.33[a] (09.28)	80.51[b] (17.63)	34.15[c] (25.94)	69.33[d] (31.02)	3	64.10***	.48
Event 4	93.11[a] (10.30)	76.12[b] (22.47)	28.44[c] (24.20)	60.29[d] (33.14)	3	67.41***	.49
Event 5	95.71[a] (07.61)	72.98[b] (23.17)	27.26[c] (24.47)	60.00[d] (33.50)	3	79.75***	.53
Current	84.71[a] (11.78)	64.80[b] (13.73)	42.06[c] (16.66)	73.90[d] (13.89)	3	71.70***	.51

Note: ***$p < .05$. For each event, different superscripts indicate significant differences
between clusters according to Tukey's HSD ($p < .05$).

Two patterns in the differences between groups emerged. Tukey's HSD revealed
that in the first 3 events (10 years ago, events 1-2), participants in the stable-high and
disrupted groups were not significantly different and the inclining and declining groups
were not statistically different but these two pairings were significantly different from
each other (i.e., stable-high and disrupted were significantly different from inclining and
declining). For the last 4 events (events 3-5 and current feelings of marginalization) all
groups were significantly different from each other. For example, participants in the
stable-high trajectory reported significantly higher feelings of marginalization than all
other groups while those with disrupted trajectories reported significantly lower feelings
of marginalization than those with stable-high trajectories but significantly higher
feelings of marginalization than those with inclining or declining trajectories.

Additional analyses indicated that the four trajectory groups differed based on the
three dimensions of marginalization (i.e., difference, disapproval, and exclusion) so that

the stable high and disrupted groups rated difference and disapproval significantly higher than those with inclining or declining trajectories (see Table 6.16). In addition, those with stable-high trajectories reported significantly higher exclusion than the inclining or declining groups, but not the disrupted group. The trajectory groups also differed based on confirmation, family identification, and self-esteem, but not depression. For example, participants with stable-high and disrupted trajectories reported significantly lower ratings of confirmation than participants with inclining or declining trajectories. See Table 6.16 for all trajectory group differences.

Table 6.16: Unstandardized Means (SD) and ANCOVA Results Comparing Dimensions and Outcomes for the Five Cluster Solution in *K*-Means Cluster Analysis

	Stable-High ($n = 82$)	Inclining ($n = 51$)	Declining ($n = 34$)	Disrupted ($n = 49$)	*df*	*F*	Parti-al η^2
Difference	5.12^a (1.13)	4.49^b (1.07)	4.10^b (1.10)	5.07^a (0.91)	3	6.54***	.09
Disapproval	7.58^a (1.46)	6.08^b (1.62)	5.58^b (1.58)	7.19^a (1.42)	3	12.83***	.16
Exclusion	3.79^a (0.63)	3.32^{bc} (0.65)	3.07^b (0.54)	3.62^{ac} (0.60)	3	8.46***	.11
Confirm.	2.88^a (0.90)	3.57^b (0.88)	3.96^b (0.72)	3.05^a (0.82)	3	10.06***	.13
Family ID	14.62^a (6.11)	18.52^{bc} (4.97)	20.22^b (3.21)	16.30^{ac} (4.67)	3	8.59***	.12
Self-Esteem	2.86^{ab} (1.24)	3.16^{ab} (1.18)	3.31^b (1.03)	2.52^a (1.23)	3	3.32***	.04
Depression	28.42 (9.55)	26.02 (9.31)	27.16 (6.71)	28.61 (10.22)	3	0.73	.01

Note: ***$p < .05$. For each event, superscripts indicate significant differences between clusters according to Tukey's HSD ($p < .05$).

6.1.5 Characterizing the Types of Marginalization

Research question eight asked whether different types of marginalized family members (based on clustered dimensions) could be characterized by different processes of marginalization (i.e., (a) trajectories and (b) categories of turning points). The final step of cluster analysis was to compare the clustered groups to other related variables to validate the typology and interpretation of the clusters (Whiteman & Loken, 2006).

Chi-square testing indicated that the types of marginalized family members (i.e., high, moderate, and similar marginalization) were significantly different based on the four trajectory types, χ^2 $(df = 6) = 51.50$, $p < .001$. Cramér's V, a measure of association that adjusts for sample size and the number of columns and rows was significant, indicated a moderate-to-strong relationship between variables, V = .346, $p < .001$. Lambda, a measure of association that measures the strength of the relationship between variables (Pollock, 2009), was significant which indicated that knowing which marginalization type any given participant was reduced the potential error in predicting that participant's trajectory type, Trajectory Type $\lambda = .13$, $p < .001$, and vice versa, Marginalization Type $\lambda = .21$, $p < .001$. Figure 6.13 depicts the number of participants per marginalization and trajectory type.

The results for people in the highly marginalized group follow what might be expected, that most people in this group experienced stable-high trajectories followed by disrupted and inclining trajectories. Declining trajectories were experienced by very few highly marginalized family members. The similar group also experienced stable-high trajectories most often followed by disrupted, inclining, and declining. Interestingly, the largest percentage of moderately marginalized family members experienced inclining trajectories, followed by declining, disrupted, and stable-high. This indicates that those who are moderately different, excluded, and disapproved of by family were more likely to have experienced feelings of marginalization that have increased over the past 10 years than other trajectory types. This type was followed closely by the opposite trajectory: declining. Based on this evidence, the process of marginalization for people who were moderately marginalized occurred in very different ways. Disrupted and stable-high

trajectories were less common among moderately marginalized people while those two

trajectories were the most common among the high and similar marginalization groups.
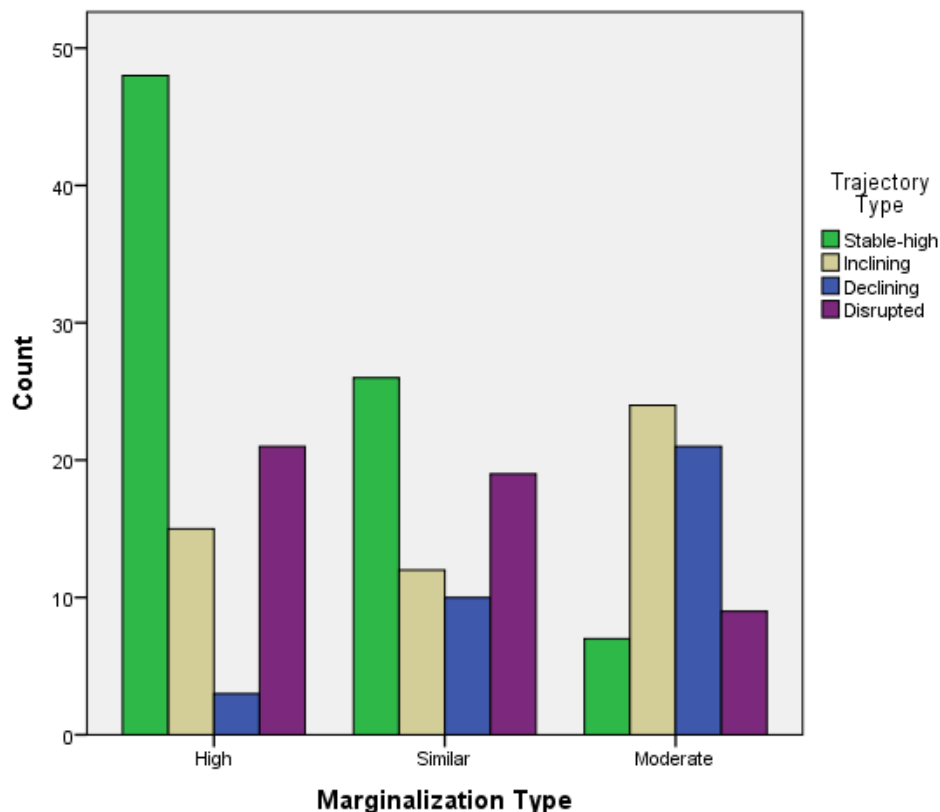
Figure 6.13: Number of Participants by Marginalization Type and Trajectory Type

A 3 X 9 (marginalization type x turning point category) chi-square test was

conducted on the data and identified that the types of marginalized family members

reported significantly different frequencies of turning point event categories, χ^2 ($df = 16$)

= 45.70, $p < .001$. Cramér's V indicated a moderate association between variables V =

.269. Figure 6.14 illustrates the number of turning point events in each category reported

by each of the three types of marginalized family members.
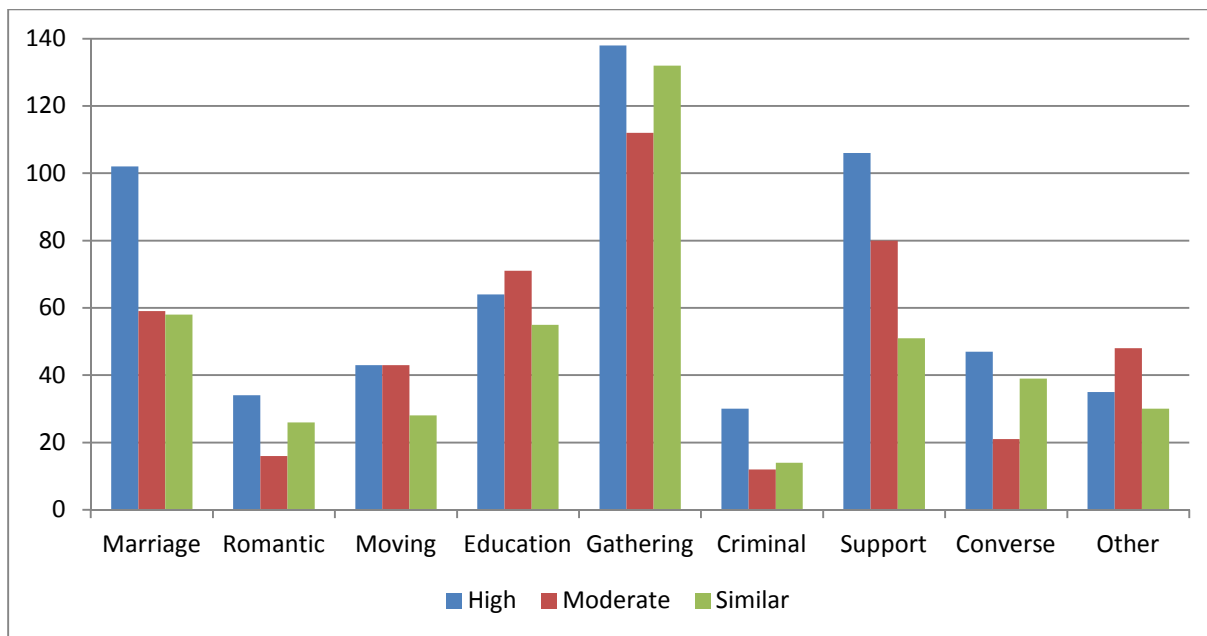
Figure 6.14: Turning Point Events Reported per Category by Marginalization Type

Note: The number of participants per marginalization type is unequal, *n* = 313.

High marginalization was the largest group of participants followed by the moderate and similar groups. If events were randomly spread across these groups (i.e., the expected counts), each event category would be reported most often by highly marginalized people followed by moderate and similar groups (e.g., the pattern displayed for support events) yet Figure 6.14 shows that this pattern was not always the case. For example, highly marginalized participants were not the group that reported the most education and career events indicating that these events were reported proportionally more often by participants in the other two smaller categories. Moving was reported by equal numbers of high and moderately marginalized people, meaning that a larger proportion of moderately marginalized people reported moving events compared to highly marginalized people. Education and career and criminal activity events also deviated from the expected pattern. Moderately marginalized people reported the most

education and career events and the least amount of criminal activity events. Finally, similarly marginalized people were overrepresented in the family gathering category, the largest event category for the similar marginalization type, despite reporting high levels of exclusion. It may be that they frequently reported events involving exclusion from family gatherings or that they were invited to the gathering events but excluded from specific activities or conversations.

6.2 Discussion

Study 2 was designed to determine whether different types of marginalized family members could be identified based on three dimensions: difference, disapproval, and exclusion. A second goal of Study 2 was to examine the process of marginalization in a more diverse population and replicate some of Study 1's findings. Both aims were accomplished. Notably, three types of marginalized family members were identified: high marginalization, moderate marginalization, and similar yet marginalized. Nine common turning points and four trajectory types were identified. The findings of this study contribute to an understanding of how different types of marginalized people experience the process of marginalization. Theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed below.

6.2.1 Types of Marginalized Family Members

This study tested the three dimensions of marginalization identified in Study 1 which proved to be both meaningful and useful markers of marginalization. Testing the dimensions further explicates the construct of marginalization by connecting theory, observation, and research (Chaffee, 1991). The dimensions were used to cluster participants into three types of marginalized family members, creating a typology of

marginalized family members. Family members may be marginalized in one of three ways: highly marginalized, moderately marginalized, or similar yet marginalized.

The high marginalization group reported feeling the most different, disapproved of, and excluded from their families. As might be expected, those in the high marginalization group also experienced the least amount of confirming communication from family and felt the lowest identification with family. Highly marginalized participants experienced lower self-esteem than those in the moderate marginalization group and while not significantly different ($p = .06$), mean scores indicate that highly marginalized family members reported the highest depression levels. This group was also the largest with nearly 40% of participants classified as this type of marginalization. This group is likely most at risk for experiencing negative psychosocial outcomes associated with not meeting the need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; DeWall, Baumeister, & Masicampo, 2009).

The moderate marginalization group reported feeling more similar to family than the high marginalization group and more approved of and included than either the high marginalization or similar yet marginalized groups. While their average ratings were lower, these marginalized family members rated exclusion, disapproval, and difference above the mid-point on each scale (i.e., 4.0/7 difference, 2.8/5 exclusion, and 4.7/9 disapproval) likely meaning they do not actually feel very approved of or included. This group may be more marginalized than the general population, but they were the least marginalized of the family members in this study.

The moderate group reported the highest ratings of confirmation, identification with family, and self-esteem indicating that this type of marginalized family member

experienced more confirming communication and felt the strongest bond with family. The moderate and similar groups reported comparable levels of difference, but the moderate group reported significantly higher levels of self-esteem and family identification than the similar group, perhaps indicating that self-esteem and family identification are related to patterns in disapproval and exclusion rather than perceptions of difference.

The similar yet marginalized group displayed a unique pattern compared to the high or moderate ratings across the dimensions. This group fell between the high and moderate groups on disapproval and exclusion but rated difference from family virtually the same as the moderate marginalization group. In other words, the similar yet marginalized group felt disapproved of and excluded from family but not because they were extremely different from them. It is easy to imagine that this might be a particularly difficult way to be marginalized as difference often may be a catalyst for the marginalization process (see Chapter 4). These participants may have a hard time understanding why they are marginalized if they do not recognize their differences whereas marginalized family members who rate difference with family high can at least point to a reason for their status.

Participants in the similar yet marginalized group reported less confirming communication than those in the moderate marginalization group but more than those in the high marginalization group. They also experienced more identification with family than those who were highly marginalized. The similar yet marginalized group represented the smallest type of marginalization found in this sample (i.e., 28% of participants) and despite reporting nearly the same levels of difference as the moderate group, this group

was distinct in terms of having lower self-esteem and experiencing less confirmation than the moderate group, though the two groups did not differ in terms of depression. This again may indicate that self-esteem and confirmation are more closely tied to exclusion and disapproval than difference.

6.2.2 Turning Points and Trajectories

Like Study 1, Study 2 examined the process of marginalization as a whole (i.e., trajectories) while accounting for the distinct points in time (i.e., turning points) that make up the whole by creating typologies of turning points and trajectories. In Study 2 this process called for replicating and extending findings from Study 1 with a broader sample. Study 1's results were largely supported by the turning point findings of Study 2.

6.2.2.1 Turning Points

Turning point event descriptions in this study were classified into nine categories, the most frequently reported of which was family gatherings followed by marriage and children. For family members in this sample, family gatherings were important sources of marginalizing communication and included a wide variety of reasons families come together including visits home, trips, birthdays, and holidays. Most of these events tend to occur regularly and fairly frequently, providing rationale for family gatherings being the largest category. Marriage and children was likely a salient category because for many people, getting married and having children represent two major life transitions that occur between the ages of 25-35. The nine turning point categories represent events where marginalizing communication tends to happen. Some participants reported marginalizing events that fell into a variety of categories while others tended to experience the same type of marginalizing event repeatedly.

The addition of the romantic relationships and criminal behaviors and abuse categories adds theoretical nuance to the typology of marginalizing turning points from Study 1. The emergence of these categories may have been due to the anonymity afforded by Study 2 or differences in sample characteristics such as levels of education (see Table 6.17). Both categories carry somewhat negative connotations and represent events that people typically want to avoid (e.g., dealing with a cheating spouse or being arrested), making these categories distinct from others like education and career events where marginalizing communication may or may not have occurred. Fitness (2005) reported that engaging in crime was a source of feeling marginalized in families. When a family member is charged with a crime or loses a job due to substance use, the event may be seen as more of a family crisis than something personal the marginalized member might deal with on his/her own. Social identity theory suggests that family members may react strongly to events where family reputation is threatened (Ashforth & Mael, 2004).

Table 6.17: Sample Characteristics Comparison

	Study 1	Study 2
N: Participants	30	315
Gender	73% female	64% female
Age	$M = 28.6$ ($SD = 2.61$)	$M = 29.6$ ($SD = 3.21$)
Number of siblings	$M = 2.3$ ($SD = 1.62$)	$M = 2.5$ ($SD = 2.41$)
Ethnicity	77% White, 10% Asian/Pacific Islander, 10% Hispanic, 3% African American	76% White, 6% Asian/Pacific Islander, 5% Hispanic, 8% African American, 5% Other
Birth order	57% first, 30% second, 10% fourth, 3% fifth	44% first, 30% second, 17% third, 4% fourth, 3% fifth, 2% other

Marital status	47% single, 40% married, 7% engaged, 3% cohabiting, 3% divorced	41% married, 36% single, 14% cohabitating, 5% engaged, 4% divorced
Education (highest degree earned)	10% high school, 3% associate's, 50% bachelor's, 33% masters, 3% PhD	25% high school, 12% associate's, 41% bachelor's, 15% master's, 4% PhD/JD/MD, 2% other, 1% did not answer
Time felt like a black sheep	3% 6 months-1 year, 27% 1-5 years, 20% 5-10 years, 50% 10+ years	4.5% 6 months-1 year, 23% 1-5 years, 19.5% 5-10 years, 53% 10+ years
Family relatedness	100% biological, 7% step, 7% other (i.e., whole brother, half sister)	95% biological, 11% step, 4% legally adopted, 1% non-legal adopted, 1% other

In a turning point study that asked adult children about relational closeness with their parents, Golish (2000) identified a common type of turning point that occurred in these relationships which she labeled "times of crisis" (p. 86). This category included specific events like parental divorce, conflict, threats to safety, and illness or death in the family. Golish found that family closeness dramatically increased or decreased during these events due to a sense of urgency for closeness that sometimes went unfulfilled. The same phenomenon may occur when a marginalized family member engages in criminal activity and is faced with the consequences.

Golish (2000) reported several other categories that were similar to the categories in this study including dating/cohabitation (i.e., parents evaluation of new partner), alcohol/abuse, activities together (e.g., family vacations), children (i.e., child brought family together, time of need), engagement/marriage (e.g., acceptance of partner, wedding day), and communication (e.g., time spent communicating, honesty). In some ways the similarity to Golish's turning point typology indicates that the turning points

marginalized family members experienced as marginalizing were not all that different from the events family members who were not necessarily marginalized experienced (i.e., the participants in Golish's study). Golish found that some events were reported more often in mother-child relationships than in father-child relationships and vice versa (e.g., physical distance was reported more in the mother-child relationship than the father-child relationship) indicating that marginalizing turning points should be examined separately for different family relationship types in the future.

Data from this study indicate that turning point events are often interdependent, a finding that was even more apparent in the short-form written turning point descriptions. For example, participants wrote about moving because of divorce, college, or a new job. Participants asked for support at family gatherings or due to having children, getting married, or going to college. In addition, conversations about not wanting to have children or disclosing about relationship turmoil occurred during family gatherings. Turning point events can be usefully categorized but do not occur in isolation.

The marginalized family member's turning points are likely interdependent with other family members' life transitions as family member's lives are linked (Bengston, Elder, & Putney, 2011; Elder, 1994). Very few studies have conducted turning point analyses with multiple family members and those that exist typically have focused on newlywed couples (e.g., Cate, Huston, & Nesselroade, 1986; Chang & Chan, 2007). Future research is needed to determine how the turning points of multiple members in a family influence the types of turning points reported and the way they are experienced. For example, future research could determine whether there are large discrepancies in how family members view the same event. An event described as very marginalizing by

the marginalized family member may not be recognized as significant to other family members (i.e., they might not be aware of the lasting impact their communication or behaviors had on the marginalized member). In addition, transitions in one siblings' life could affect the other. For example, if one sibling (i.e., not perceived as the marginalized one) experienced successful normative life transitions such as excelling in college and career, these events might influence the types of turning point events reported by the marginalized member.

The three types of marginalized family members based on dimensions of marginalization experienced different categories of turning point events, further supporting the usefulness of both typologies. For example, the similar yet marginalized group was more likely than the other two to report the family gathering turning point. It is possible that perceptions of difference are related to the marginalizing communication that can occur at family gatherings. The similar marginalization group is disapproved of and excluded despite feeling similar to family. Perhaps family gatherings highlight this disconnect for similarly marginalized members who yearn to fit in. Future research should examine the reported reasons for being marginalized across marginalization types. Responses from marginalized family members in the similar yet marginalized group could provide reasons for being marginalized other than being a different religion, sexual orientation, or education level. Future studies should also closely examine how difference operates in families because similarity can be a taken-for-granted feature of family of origin members. For example, family members sometimes look alike, come from similar economic and social backgrounds (i.e., shared history), and share in socialization

processes, leading to assumptions about similarity in other areas such as values, beliefs, and attitudes (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986).

6.2.2.2 Trajectories

The four types of trajectories identified in Study 2 replicated three of the trajectory types from Study 1 (i.e., inclining, declining, disrupted) as well as the stable type found in previous research. While the disrupted pattern did not replicate using the two-step clustering process, this type of trajectory was repeatedly found across several hierarchical and *k*-means cluster solutions. In addition, when specified, the 5 cluster *k*-means analysis identified 5 trajectories found in previous research, two of which were classified as disrupted. The four cluster *k*-means solution appeared to have dampened the detectability of the disrupted pattern. This along with the absence of a turbulent trajectory type could be due to inherent limitations of the clustering process (i.e., the inability to detect patterns with extreme variability across variables). Despite this, repeated findings of common trajectories bolster Sahlstein Parcell's (2014) claim that there may be "metapatterns of family movement" (p. 172) from which a metatheory of family trajectories could be developed. In addition, Sahlstein Parcell (2013) categorized past turning point research findings into four common relationship trajectories which match Study 2's findings. Sahlstein Parcell labeled these trajectories downward, upward, stable, and mixed/dynamic (i.e., a series of ups and downs or a disrupted pattern). Marginalized family members between the ages of 25-35 years tend to experience feelings of marginalization that are constant and high, constant with one or two events that lower their marginalization after which they return to near-baseline, or that increase or decrease

over time. This finding illustrates the complexity and variability with which the process of marginalization from family occurs.

Further supporting this claim, this study found that trajectory type varied depending on participants' marginalization type. This means that depending on whether the participant was highly marginalized, moderately marginalized, or similar yet marginalized, they were more likely to experience a certain trajectory type. The highly marginalized group most often reported experiencing the stable-high trajectory followed by the disrupted and inclining trajectory types. It makes sense that this type of marginalized family member was not likely to report the declining trajectory as they reported currently high feelings of difference, disapproval, and exclusion.

The moderate marginalization group was most likely to report the declining trajectory indicating that marginalized family members who experienced family relationships that improved over time (i.e., they felt less marginalized by family) tended to experience moderate levels of difference, disapproval, and exclusion. Moderately marginalized participants also frequently reported the inclining trajectory type. These two findings run contrary – and deserve attention. The process of marginalization for people who were moderately marginalized occurred in very different ways. It is possible that those who reported moderate levels of difference, disapproval, and exclusion reported such moderate levels because they had felt both more and less marginalized over the past 10 years. In other words, people who experienced increases or decreases in their feelings of marginalization over time may have had more tempered reports of the dimensions of marginalization because of the high-to-low or vice versa changes in their trajectories. At any given time they may feel ambivalent about their status as different, disapproved of, or

excluded because their feelings of marginalization have changed in the recent past (although not as dramatically as those with disrupted trajectories).

Like the high marginalization group, the similar yet marginalized group most often reported stable-high and disrupted trajectory patterns. This indicates that those who felt similar to their families yet experienced high levels of disapproval and exclusion experienced similar changes in their feelings of marginalization over time to those who reported high levels of all three dimensions. This may indicate that difference is not as useful a variable for explaining how feelings of marginalization change over time as disapproval and exclusion.

6.2.3 Disconfirmation

A theoretical contribution of this study is the examination of the disconfirmation side of confirmation theory. Research on confirmation theory often has focused on positive psychosocial and relational outcomes associated with experiencing confirming communication (e.g., Ellis, 2002; Schrodt, Ledbetter, & Ohrt, 2007). This study broadens the usefulness of confirmation theory to explore the dark side of disconfirming communication. Marginalized family members in this study tended to experience both the lack of confirmation and the presence of disconfirmation from family (i.e., the confirmation measure included both confirming and disconfirming communication behaviors). In fact, levels of confirmation/disconfirmation were distinct for each of the three types of marginalized family members; highly marginalized family members experienced the least confirming communication (i.e., a low score on the confirmation measure indicated low levels of confirmation items and high levels of disconfirmation) followed by the similar yet marginalized group and the moderate marginalization group.

Those in the moderate group reported the mid-point on the confirmation scale indicating that they likely receive a mix of confirming and disconfirming communication or moderate levels of both confirmation and disconfirmation while those in the similar and high marginalization groups fell more squarely in the high disconfirmation-low confirmation end of the continuum. A lack of confirming communication coupled with high disconfirmation may be especially destructive to family relationships and personal well-being at times when families are expected – according to cultural expectations of "good" family communication (Caughlin, 2003) – to provide confirmation such as challenging life transitions or difficult disclosures.

A pattern was found when examining levels of confirmation reported by participants with different trajectory types. Family members who had stable-high or disrupted trajectories experienced more disconfirmation than those who had inclining or declining trajectories. Participants with stable-high and disrupted trajectories both reported fairly high levels of marginalization across events with the exception of one or two less marginalizing events reported by those with disrupted trajectories. Alternatively, inclining and declining trajectory types experienced a range of more and less marginalizing events over time, perhaps indicating more opportunities for experiencing confirming communication rather than the relatively stable onslaught of disconfirming messages experienced by the stable-high and disrupted trajectory participants.

Higher levels of disconfirmation were associated with lower family identification, lower self-esteem, and higher depression. It makes sense that high disconfirmation was associated with lower psychosocial adjustment as disconfirming messages hinder the development of others (Sieburg, 1973). A fairly strong association ($r = -.32$) illustrated

that the longer a person had felt like the black sheep of their family, the more disconfirming/less confirming communication they reported. Relatedly, as participant age increased, so did their ratings of disconfirming communication. This indicates that, within the age range of 25-35 years, marginalized family members who were older had either experienced more disconfirmation or were more aware of disconfirming messages received from family.

Past research using a confirmation-disconfirmation coding scheme reported long-term detrimental effects of disconfirming communication in terms of interpersonal functioning (i.e., psychological distress, interpersonal isolation from family, interpersonal isolation from friends, interpersonal aggression towards friends, and non-productivity at home or work; Wichstrom, Anderson, Holte, Husby, & Wynne, 1996). These authors found that disconfirming communication in childhood had lasting negative impacts in early adulthood for children at risk for psychiatric disorders (i.e., at least one parent had been hospitalized with a functional psychiatric disorder). The cross-sectional findings of Study 2 support the assertion that disconfirming communication is related to long-term outcomes including feelings of marginalization.

Although all people may experience some disconfirmation from family, people who are marginalized by their families may be in especially fragile place in terms of developing and maintaining their self-concept. In this study, marginalization was a long-lasting phenomenon for most participating indicating that opportunities for disconfirming communication start at a young age and extend well into adulthood. Future research is needed to determine how levels of disconfirmation change as marginalization trajectories change over time as well as whether disconfirming communication is more impactful

during certain points in the lifespan including times when people may feel more vulnerable or have a higher need for family support like adolescence or life transitions (e.g., going to college, getting married, or having children).

Recent investigations on the influence of confirmation in families has placed confirmation as a mediator of (Schrodt et al., 2007) or moderator related to (Schrodt & Ledbetter, 2012) relational and psychosocial outcomes. Others have proposed that variables such as participation in conversations mediate the relationship between confirmation and relevant outcomes (Dailey, 2010). Future research should examine whether levels of disconfirmation mediate the relationship between feelings of marginalization and outcomes like family relationship satisfaction or depression.

6.2.4 Strengths and Limitations

This study is the first to test the viability of an online retrospective interviewing technique to conduct a turning points analysis. In many ways it proved successful, but in other respects it was limited. In terms of strengths, to my knowledge this is the largest turning point analysis conducted to date, with 315 participants. The survey was hosted online and collected data from participants living across the United States on turning point events and changes in feelings of marginalization over time. The data collection method was efficient and inexpensive. Answers were anonymous which allowed participants to disclose personal information they may not have otherwise. For example, several participants in Study 2 wrote about criminal activity leading to feelings of marginalization. This was a type of event that was never shared in Study 1. Similarly, participants in this study wrote about abuse they had experienced or witnessed and relational transgressions like cheating. These topic areas led to the creation of new

turning point categories that did not emerge in Study 1. Importantly, statistical analyses such as cluster analysis can only be conducted with a large number of participants. The online version of the RIT proved to be a manageable way to collect data for these tests.

Limitations were comparable to most online survey studies. The researcher was unable to probe participants' descriptions of events in the same way as in Study 1. Conducting Study 1 first allowed questions to be added to the online RIT (e.g., common probes from Study 1) before launching the survey. Participants' descriptions were much shorter than in Study 1 ranging from one or two sentences to long paragraphs. Because of this, a 22 category code book was not deemed useful. The code book was replicated in that categories were collapsed while keeping the main theme of each but the level of nuance in the descriptions was not sufficient to code events into 22 categories. Participants were limited to only five spaces in which they could describe events.

Problems in understanding/following directions was another limitation that could have been addressed if the RIT had been conducted in person. For example, asking participants to describe only one event per open ended question box did not always work as some descriptions included several events, creating challenges for coding. In addition, participants described events outside the 10 year time frame which excluded them from trajectories analyses. Participants never saw the visual representation of their turning point graph in the online version of the RIT. They were asked how the events fit together, but were not able to change their trajectory line the way they were when interviewed in person. Note that only a few participants from Study 1 asked to make changes to their graph once it was completed. Finally, the RIT is designed to collect turning point data over time but does so retrospectively limiting any causal claims.

This chapter has discussed the findings, theoretical contributions, strengths, and limitations of Study 2. The next chapter, the general discussion, puts Study 1 and Study 2 in conversation with each other and relevant literature followed by directions for future research.

CHAPTER 7. GENERAL DISCUSSION

This dissertation integrated theories and frameworks from social psychology, organizational studies, family studies, and communication studies to form an understanding of the concept of family member marginalization. In doing so, family member marginalization has been cast as a multi-dimensional construct that is both complex and unique. The two studies undertaken were designed to work in tandem in several respects: (a) Study 1 identified three dimensions (difference, disapproval, and exclusion), whereas Study 2 tested those dimensions to determine their usefulness in categorizing people into types of marginalized family members; (b) Study 1 developed a turning point typology that captured types of events that change how marginalized family members felt, whereas Study 2 extended and refined that typology, and (c) Study 1 developed a typology of the patterns of change in feelings of marginalization that marginalized family members experience over time, whereas Study 2 statistically tested that typology using cluster analysis—finding partial support for the patterns identified. In these ways, Study 1 and Study 2 worked together to contribute to the body of knowledge on family dynamics, marginalization of people, and the power of communication to influence personal relationships.

Chapters 4 and 6 contain discussions of the key findings of Study 1 and 2 respectively. The general discussion offered here focuses on patterns of findings across

studies, theoretical and practical implications of the results of Study 1 and 2, and future research directions for family communication and small group scholars. Finally, strengths and limitations of this dissertation research are presented.

7.1 Dimensions of Marginalization

The identification of dimensions of family member marginalization builds the theoretical argument that marginalization is multi-dimensional. Study 1 participants described marginalization in terms of difference, disapproval, and exclusion. Together, their narratives and turning point graphs suggested evidence of a process model of marginalization based on the three dimensions (i.e., difference $\rightarrow$ disapproval $\rightarrow$ exclusion). Study 2 demonstrated the usefulness of the dimensions. Participant scores on the dimensions formed statistically meaningful groupings of marginalized people. Types of marginalized people included those who experienced high levels of marginalization on all three dimensions, moderate levels of marginalization on all dimensions, and high levels of disapproval and exclusion but moderate levels of difference. The types also differed on relevant variables (e.g., confirmation, self-esteem) providing strength to the claim that there are different types of marginalized family members.

7.1.1 Developing a Measure of Family Member Marginalization

Developing an instrument to measure marginalization would extend the usefulness of the dimensions of family member marginalization. The three dimensions were captured by three separate scales originally designed to measure homophily, workplace exclusion, and approval. The study of marginalization could be made more exact by writing new items and testing these in combination with the three scales used to tap the dimensions in this study. This would identify a distinct set of items and factors

that more accurately capture marginalization. The theoretical measure (i.e., a scale that captures marginalization as a theoretical construct; DeVellis, 2012) could be specific to the family context by developing scale items based on the narratives collected in Study 1. For example, items tapping each dimension could be written based on how participants in Study 1 described what marginalization meant to them (see Table 4.1). Scale items could ask whether participants feel invisible or uncomfortable when they are around their own family, whether they have felt bullied by family, or whether they feel like they conform to family standards. Participants might be asked whether they perceive they are misunderstood, shunned, lost, or not good enough for their family. Relationship specific questions could be developed such as asking whether the participant feels inferior or insignificant compared to his/her siblings. These items would be specifically designed to tap the experience of family marginalization.

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) would be used to determine whether new items load with items from the pre-existing dimension scales (e.g., would an item about "not conforming" load with items from the difference scale used in Study 2?) and whether the three dimensions form a second order factor (i.e., a latent marginalization variable). A measure of family marginalization should also be related to validated measures of theoretically linked albeit distinct variables, for instance, existing measures of hurtful family environments (e.g., Vangelisti et al., 2007) and topic avoidance (e.g., Guerrero & Afifi, 1995b). The purpose of this new scale would be to measure marginalization using a "collection of items combined into a composite score and intended to reveal levels of theoretical variables not readily observable by direct means" (DeVellis, 2012, p. 11). CFA would determine whether participants received an overall

composite score of "marginalization" or three scores made up of the dimensions of marginalization identified in this study.

7.2 Turning Points across Studies

Study 1 and Study 2 created typologies of turning points that identified events which contributed to the process of marginalization in families. Although the two typologies are different, Study 2's typology validated and clarified the findings from Study 1. The in-depth event descriptions shared by participants in Study 1 provided a more detailed picture of the process of marginalization, whereas Study 2 tested the typology on a much broader sample. Together, the two studies offered insight into marginalized family members' perceptions of the events that shaped their feelings of marginalization.

Looking across studies, common turning point event themes can be identified. One common theme across categories of turning points was the importance of family support of life decisions as well as lack of support. In general, participants reported feeling marginalized when they expected family support and did not receive it (e.g., attending important events like graduation or the birth of a child and supporting life transitions and choices like providing help with college), noticed that other family members received support when they did not (e.g., parents attending a siblings' graduation but not theirs), or provided the family with support which went unappreciated (e.g., providing care to a sick family member while being told they are not needed/wanted).

Family members can support one another in different ways including providing informational, emotional, appraisal, and instrumental support (Burleson & Macgeorge,

2002). Informational, emotional, and appraisal social support are innately communicative. Informational support includes communicating advice, information, or guidance. Emotional support refers to affection, trust and esteem. Appraisal support includes confirmation, validation, and affirmation (House, 1981). Burleson and MacGeorge argued that "supporting others is a fundamental form of human interaction" (p. 374). The fundamental nature of support may explain why the perceived lack of support from close relationships like family is so hurtful and marginalizing.

Vangelisti (2009) noted that social support is moderated by the meaning of support to that relationship, the type of support, and the number of stressful events experienced. It may be that marginalized family members perceive they need support while their family does not recognize or value that need. The actors-actions-motivations-feelings coding scheme proposed in Chapter 4 is an important step in understanding what makes a given event marginalizing but is likely not feasible in a large-scale quantitative study. Instead, future research could examine and measure support's relationship with feelings of marginalization. For example, from the perspective of the marginalized person, future research could explore whether "gaps" between desired and received levels of various types of support (High & Streuber, 2014) predict feelings of marginalization as well as whether the magnitude of those gaps are associated with particular types of turning point events. A dyadic (or family-level) study could measure discrepancies in perceived need for support among family members and empirically test whether family frequently failing to recognize the needs of a marginalized member leads to feelings of marginalization as well as what types of events are associated with between-person discrepancies (e.g., various life transitions). It is possible that discrepancies between

available and needed support are not due to misunderstood perceptions of need, but instead reflect cases where support is withheld intentionally from the marginalized member. In this case, motivations for withholding support could be examined from the perspective of multiple family members.

<div align="center">7.3 <u>Trajectory Types across Studies</u></div>

Study 1 and 2 found both similar and inconsistent patterns of feelings of marginalization. As such, the disparate trajectory type results should be interpreted with caution. While collecting the turning point graph data face to face had important advantages, the small sample size limited the generalizability of Study 1's typology. In addition, cluster analysis had statistical strengths and limitations (e.g., the inability to detect certain patterns, small cell sizes for some trajectories). The trajectories that were identified in both Study 1 and Study 2 include the inclining trajectory where events caused feelings of increased marginalization over time, the declining trajectory where events caused feelings of decreased marginalization over time, and the disrupted trajectory where events tended to increase feelings of marginalization or reflect stable and relatively high feelings of marginalization over time except for one or two events where feelings of marginalization decreased drastically but temporarily. These low marginalization events were times when marginalized family members felt included, approved of, and accepted by family. The events were followed by events that increased marginalization again where feelings of marginalization returned to the stable high position or continued to incline. The trajectories that were found in both studies are likely trajectories experienced by a variety of marginalized members in different populations.

Three other trajectory types were found in only one of the studies (i.e., stable, turbulent, and prolonged). Although identification of these trajectories was not replicated in this dissertation, past research has identified them in other contexts (Sahlstein Parcell, 2013). Future research is needed to confirm the viability of those trajectories in explaining the process of marginalization in families among different populations.

Future research should also explore the experiences of older adults who may have been marginalized from family for longer periods of time to ascertain how the process continues into middle and older adulthood. It is possible that the trajectory types would remain the same. Even the prolonged trajectory which captured a specific phenomenon of emerging adulthood may be relevant if marginalization for some older adults does not start to increase until middle adulthood. Later in life, siblings may play a more important role in marginalization if one or both parents are deceased. In addition, middle adults may be dealing with aging or terminally ill parents. This challenge may bring those who are marginalized when they are younger closer to their families as they work through arranging care for the parent. In other cases, marginalized members who refuse to participant in family events (e.g., the funeral when a parent passes) may reinforce their marginalization.

7.4 Theoretical Implications: Family Communication, Identity, and Marginalization

An important question this dissertation raises and begins to answer is what is uniquely *family* about this type of marginalization compared to marginalization in organizations and other social groups which have been the subjects of past marginalization research. Two differences that explain the uniqueness of marginalization in the family context are the high standards people hold for family relationships that do

not necessarily apply in other types of relationships such as coworker relations and, relatedly, the influence of shared family identity.

7.4.1 Standards for "Good" Family Communication

One reason marginalization from family may be especially hurtful is because of the standards people hold for what a "family" should be like and what "good" family communication should look like. Caughlin (2003) has shown that emerging adults in the United States have assumptions about what constitutes good family communication. Across 3 studies, Caughlin asked participants to describe and/or rate what family communication "should be like" (i.e., "People in families with 'good' communication…") as well as how communication in their own family compared to that of an ideal family (p. 18). Commonly endorsed standards for good family communication included emotional/instrumental support (e.g., "are able to count on one another no matter what"), openness (e.g., "can talk openly to one another about any topic"), expressions of affection (e.g., "hug one another a lot"), politeness (e.g., "are never rude to one another"), and regular/routine interaction (e.g., "set aside certain times for everyone to talk together") (pp. 18-19).

Caughlin also proposed two different hypotheses to explain possible associations between the standards for "good" family communication and family relationship satisfaction. First, the unmet ideals hypothesis refers to the "discrepancy between [a person's] relational standards and their perceptions of their actual relationship" (Caughlin, 2003, p. 9). In this view, large discrepancies between what people see as being ideal versus the reality of their own family undermines family satisfaction. Alternatively, the distressful ideals hypothesis concerns people holding "unattainable standards that

prime people for disappointment" (p. 8). From this viewpoint, holding over-idealized standards of what family communication should be like sets up a situation where most families will not measure up, and hence very strong endorsement of certain standards might undermine satisfaction with one's family. Caughlin found some support for both hypotheses. Caughlin also argues that while there are likely some culturally-based standards that people largely agree upon, each family has its own set of standards and within families and individual members may hold different standards or value certain standards more than others.

This study has shown that family communication standards are at play for marginalized family members, likely making them feel marginalized. For example, the notion of family standards came up frequently in Study 1. Supporting the unmet ideals hypothesis, participants compared their family situation with what the experiences of having a "normal" family would be like. Caughlin's findings suggest that the more a person perceives discrepancies between what is ideal versus the reality of his/her own family communication, the more marginalized s/he might feel.

The discrepancies for particular standards may be especially important in predicting the degree or type of marginalization. For example, support plays a significant role in feelings of marginalization (see above). Caughlin's findings corroborate the notion that perceiving a lack of support is the equivalent of perceiving that one's family does not communicate as they should (i.e., doesn't treat the marginalized member like "family"). "Regular routine interaction" or the belief that families should do things together and set aside time to talk together regularly, may also be an especially salient standard where marginalized members perceive discrepancy about what is ideal versus their reality (p.

19). Many participants in this study believed that families *should* spend time together and engage in discussions with one another, yet felt this was something their own family did not do. The family gatherings turning point category illustrates how marginalizing this discrepancy can be, as many participants reported feeling marginalized due to not being invited to family gathering events.

Although this study did not discover whether marginalized family members held over-idealized notions of what family communication should be like (i.e., the distressful ideals hypothesis), it is possible that marginalized members endorse different standards than the rest of their family. As Caughlin suggests, family members endorsing different ideals can be problematic. Thus, future research is needed that collects data from more than one family member so that endorsement of standards can be compared within families (Caughlin, 2003). For example, Study 1 identified disclosure events as potentially marginalizing. If the marginalized member values the standard of openness but the rest of the family endorses the standard of avoidance, or if the marginalized member does not perceive her/his family as allowing or encouraging openness (even if all family members perceive the family as open), this could shed light on the root of the marginalized member's feelings of marginalization.

Finally, Caughlin's study utilized an undergraduate student sample. Determining how standards of family of origin communication change for adults would be of relevance for understanding family member marginalization. For example, one item asked about talking back to parents. Endorsement of items like these may change as adult children develop through middle adulthood. In sum, future research should examine and measure the relationship between family communication standards and feelings of

marginalization with the goal of assessing which standards, or discrepancies between what would be ideal and what is perceived as the real state of affairs for each standard, best predict feelings or type of marginalization.

7.4.2 Family Identity and Identification

A second uniqueness of family marginalization compared to marginalization in organizational contexts lies in the level of hurt experienced by participants in these two studies. While marginalization is hurtful in all contexts, participants in this study experienced deep emotional hurt. Several participants in Study 1 were visibly upset and moved to tears. Participants in Study 2 wrote in stark terms about how hurtful their family experiences were and commented that writing about marginalizing events brought that hurt up afresh for them. One explanation for this profound, painful, and long lasting sense of hurt is that family can be a central part of people's identity and the lack of belonging within the family can be powerful. The concepts of family identity and identification provide reasons why the family context is unique, yet an appropriate organizing context in which to study identity and identification.

Identity and identification were important in understanding Study 1's results. Participants' narratives evidenced the idea that families and their marginalized members are simultaneously intragroup and intergroup (e.g., same family group, different religious identifications; see Soliz & Harwood, 2006). This causes dissonance, making participants feel marginalized without their families ever having to explicitly tell them they are different or disapproved of (albeit many families did explicitly communicate this). Small groups literature has identified that marginal members' "membership status is continually called into question and under scrutiny by the group" (Hogg, 2005, p. 251) adding

uncertainty to the dissonance they likely feel. Based on past research, the narratives shared in Study 1, and the self-esteem findings of Study 2, it is easy to imagine the negative psychosocial consequences of being a family member who feels s/he is constantly under the microscope for membership in a group that is considered unconditional and taken for granted for many.

Despite the deep feelings of hurt, most marginalized members did not completely sever ties with their family group. Several barriers can make it difficult to leave a group when marginalized (Hogg, 2005). These include the important roles marginal members play as a prototype of what the group is not and as the scapegoat. Other group members can be motivated to retain the group member as marginal in order to fill these roles. Another barrier is the uncertainty marginal members may feel about creating new group ties among others. These barriers are likely amplified in the family context because of assumptions held about family as people who can be counted on. In addition, participants in this study rarely discussed the possibility of completely leaving their family group. Some of them did distance themselves from their family without completely cutting them off. Research on relational distancing supports this claim – people, despite being hurt, are less likely to end family relationships than if that hurt had occurred in a friend or coworker relationship (Vangelisti & Crumley, 1998).

Marginalized members may have other options for bettering their situation besides leaving the group including changing the group norms so that they fit in. Hogg (2005) argued that "groups organize themselves around prescriptive norms that are cognitively represented as prototypes" (p. 244). Marginalized members are not prototypical as they are breaking family norms and in this study, most were aware of the

consequences (as evidenced by data from Study 1). When pressed on this, they explained the desire to be "true to who they really are." Importantly, group prototypes are dynamic and can change (Hogg, 2005). This may be what happened in cases where family member marginalization decreased over time. For example, if after one member leaves the family religion and is marginalized but others follow suit by also leaving the religion, the prototypical group member may change. This could occur as family members age and siblings have more influence over the family prototype due to parents reaching old age or the death of influential family members. This phenomenon seems likely to occur concerning differences like sexual orientation, where attitudes tend to be more accepting among younger generations as opposed to older cohorts. More research is needed to determine how group prototypes change over time including whether marginalized members and/or supportive family members can work to foster those changes.

7.4.3 Moving from Families to Organizations

While important differences exist between families and groups in organizations, there are many similarities that make these findings relevant for social identity, organizational communication, and small groups researchers. These similarities include the power dynamics, ascribed roles, and teamwork toward common goals that occur in both families and other organizing contexts. For example, diverse teams in organizations may share an organizational and team identification but individual identities and different intergroup identities can become salient at times. The findings from this dissertation help to understand why people knowingly break group norms that result in marginalization. While some similarities exist, important differences also deserve note. These include differences in: the way power dynamics change over time in parent-child relationships,

the consequences of leaving one's family as opposed to leaving one's job (e.g., in terms of difficulty and implications for support networks and impact on others), and assimilation/socialization practices (e.g., families are sites of early socialization, with deeply embedded norms versus new norms to which employees are expected to adapt).

Many organizations struggle with retention of diverse employees. Diversity is desirable in groups as it benefits the group in terms of innovation, change, and combating groupthink (see Nameth & Staw, 1989; Postmes, Spears, & Cihangir, 2001). Diverse employees are different by definition. Better understanding of the processes of marginalization may aid in retention of diverse employees, increase job satisfaction and identification with the organization and in turn, lead to more inclusion for all organizational members. The process of family member marginalization model (see Figure 4.6) should be tested in the workplace. The individual parts of the model designed to explain marginalization in families (i.e., difference, disapproval, exclusion) may capture marginalization in the workplace. On one hand, difference might be introduced disparately in a workplace setting than in families (i.e., difference may be visible upon someone's first day of work). On the other hand, the introduction of difference might be similar, such as having a disclosure conversation. Research questions based on the model might ask when difference (i.e., in terms of social identities like biological sex, gender, ethnicity, nationality, or sexual orientation) leads to disapproval and exclusion and when it does not. The answer to that question may be unique to workplace settings due to organizational constraints such as the legal ramifications of exclusion. Future research in this area should explore similarities and differences in the process of marginalization in

other organizing contexts and human resource specialists, bosses, and organizational leaders should be educated about difference and the process of marginalization in groups.

7.5 <u>Marginalization Management Strategies</u>

Another promising direction for future research involves understanding how marginalized members and their families cope with and react to the process of marginalization. Meisenbach's (2010) work on stigma management strategies could be helpful in this regard. Meisenbach's discursive stigma management typology identified ways individuals manage stigmatized identities in interactions. Meisenbach explained that strategies are co-constructed by the stigmatized and the stigmatizers.

Stigma parallels marginalization in many ways, for instance, stigmatization is a process that casts certain people as out group members serving to build group solidarity (Falk, 2001). In addition, similar to perceptions of whether a family member is marginalized, Meisenbach (2010) argued that "individuals' perceptions of themselves as stigmatized are important to identity formation… whether publics share that stigma perception or not" (p. 271). Although stigma was not invoked in all cases of family member marginalization in this study, stigma clearly is a part of the process of marginalization for many people. For example, stigmatized identities such as gay, atheist, obese, diseased, and others were expressed by many participants.

Meisenbach (2010) drew from past typologies created based on context specific stigma (e.g., "dirty work" occupations; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999) to create a typology of over 20 stigma management communication strategies. The strategies were categorized based on acceptance/denial of the existence of the stigma and the stigma's applicability to the people involved in the interaction. For example, strategies based on accepting the

stigma as part of one's identity can be passive (e.g., ignoring comments about the stigma). Acceptance strategies can also include disclosing information about the stigma, apologizing for the stigma, or using humor to reduce tension about the stigma. Other strategies included avoiding, denying, minimizing and evading responsibility for the stigma (see Meisenbach, 2010 for full list of strategies).

Because marginalization is something related to yet distinct from stigma, marginalization-specific management strategies need to be developed and examined to determine (a) how individuals cope with being a marginalized family member and (b) different ways families cope with having a marginalized member. Strategies for individual coping suggested by the interviews conducted in this study included hiding a stigmatized identity from the family (e.g., not coming out) and awareness of family-relationship alternatives like friendships and fictive kin for support. Strategies for family-level coping included not acknowledging a LGBT son or daughter to their larger social network, pressuring the marginalized member to change (e.g., attend church with the family), or working to communicate empathy and the facilitation of genuine communication (e.g., in line with motivational interviewing; see Miller & Rose, 2009), among others.

Some of these strategies will be useful for understanding how marginalized members can work to change their status. Hogg (2005), however, provides evidence that it may be hard to change one's status as the marginalized member. In groups research prototypically marginal members tend to be seen as deviant in some way and have a "possibly untrustworthy personality" (p. 252). These enduring labels can be hard to overcome. Hogg (2005) outlines other actions marginalized members may take such as

gaining a "redefinition of self within the group," leaving the group, and – a strategy supported by the findings of Study 1 – engaging in "collective action" which involves forming alliances with other family members (p. 255). This study provides evidence for proposing that certain strategies might work better for certain types of marginalization (i.e., high, moderate, or similar) or marginalized members with certain trajectories. For example, those with declining trajectories could be asked about strategies that worked to repair relationships while others who seem to have "moved on" and accepted their status as marginalized could be asked about strategies to create new normalcy with those outside of the family. The practical implications of this research could work to improve the daily experiences of marginalized individuals, keeping in mind that the strategies are not always intended to repair family relationships, but also facilitate supportive relationships outside the family.

<center>7.6 <u>The Process of Resilience</u></center>

Resiliency provides a theoretical framework for synthesizing the results of Study 1 and Study 2 and developing and understanding strategies that could help marginalized family members come to terms with their position in the family, repair family relationships, or create a new sense of normalcy (e.g., a "family" comprised of in-law relationships, colleagues, or friends). Resilience has been conceptualized as the human ability to withstand and bounce back from tragedies, disasters, or other difficult life experiences (Richardson, 2002; Walsh, 2003). Family resilience in the face of adversity can transform relationships and aid in personal growth (Boss, 2001). Lucas and Buzzanell (2012) explain that "resilience and positive communication theory align themselves with proactive rather than reactive strategies" (p. 191). Reactive strategies focus on fixing

problems such as perceived deficits while proactive strategies focus on "growth through connections with others" (p. 191). Based on participant narratives in this study, many perceived their families took the reactive approach and that their attempts at communication were driven by the goal of wanting to "fix" them. Utilizing a resiliency framework, research might identify proactive strategies and recognize the spectrum of (potentially unhealthy) strategies used in families with a marginalized member.

Resilience is achieved through interaction with others. According to Buzzanell (2010), "resilience is constituted in and through communicative processes that enhance people's abilities to create new normalcies" (p. 9). Buzzanell explained that something must happen to set the process of resiliency into motion, for example, a turning point that necessitates strategies for recovering from what has happened. As the data from this study have shown, most marginalized family members can identify trigger events (e.g., coming out, leaving the family religion) and the events surrounding moments or conversations that changed their feelings of marginalization. Even if they reported having felt different their whole lives, participants were able to identify events that made them feel especially marginalized. These kinds of events may serve as a trigger for engaging in the process of resiliency.

Buzzanell (2010) forwarded five communicative processes through which resiliency is achieved. These processes could be fostered in or taught to people who feel marginalized by family, or families who are struggling to reconnect to a marginalized member, to help them reframe their situation or relationships. The five processes include crafting normalcy, affirming identity anchors, utilizing communication networks, reframing, and downplaying negative feelings while focusing on positive emotions.

Although resilience can be fostered in individuals (i.e., a positive psychology view of resilience), Buzzanell (2010) views resilience as a set of family-level processes. The strengths and resources involved in these processes "enable individuals and families to respond successfully to crises and persistent challenges and to recover and grow from those experiences" (Walsh, 2003, p. 1). In turn, marginalization of one family member may inhibit resilience processes from occurring in the family of origin such that marginalized members could turn to close friends or certain supportive family members to engage in resilience processes.

Some of the processes of resilience were evidenced by the data in this dissertation while others should be explored in greater detail in future research. Buzzanell (2010) referenced research (see Buzzanell & Turner, 2003) that identified ways families "talked normalcy into being" when a husband lost his job by insisting things were normal while experiencing changes in their lives. In some ways this process creates a new sense of normalcy (p. 4). Buzzanell defines crafted normalcy as "embedded in material realities and generated by talk-in-interaction" (p. 4). For marginalized family members this process might manifest as celebrating holidays with friends or their partner instead of their family of origin and expressing preference for this over traveling home.

Affirming identity anchors (i.e., "enduring cluster[s] of identity discourses" people rely on to define who they are in relation to others) includes significant identity work (e.g., maintaining face, bolstering identities) on the part of the entire family (Buzzanell, 2010, p. 4). Identity was clearly important in the context of family member marginalization in Study 1. This process could take the form of affirming existing valued

identities such as "son," "daughter," "sister," or "brother" in the face of changing social identities such as sexual orientation.

Maintaining and using communication networks seemed an important strategy already being used by marginalized family members in this study. This resilience process focuses on "building and utilizing social capital" (Buzzanell, 2010, p. 6). Participants were asked whether they had people to turn to outside of their family of origin when feeling marginalized and they overwhelmingly responded with several people who were important sources of support. Participants in Study 1 highlighted the ways understanding siblings were instrumental sources of network support. The ways in which larger networks of strong and weak ties are utilized by people who feel marginalized should be examined in future research.

Another strategy for engaging in the process of resiliency is by reframing or creating alternative logics with others (Buzzanell, 2010). Alternative logics (i.e., "collectively created…organizing logics or conditions" that allow people to bounce back from challenges) may be contradictory or nonsensical, but provide a different way of looking at and understanding the process of marginalization for those who are being marginalized (p. 7). This might consist of acknowledging how irrational one's family acts in order to move past the way their behavior has made the marginalized family member feel. Some of the acceptance strategies identified by Meisenbach (2010) may be part of this process.

Buzzanell's (2010) last process involves the "deliberate foregrounding of productive action while simultaneously acknowledging that the circumstances perceived as detrimental could legitimately provoke anger and other potentially negative feelings"

(p. 7). This process allows people facing difficulty in life to validate negative feelings while refocusing on the positive. This strategy was most apparent in the data from this study. Participants in Study 1 spoke explicitly about reframing their situation by focusing on the positive outcomes of their marginalization (e.g., seeking advanced education, becoming more independent), all while acknowledging that being a marginalized family member was a painful and undesirable experience. Buzzanell calls this "backgrounding" negative feelings and explains that backgrounding involves acknowledging the "right to feel anger or loss in certain ways" while also recognizing that "these feelings are counterproductive to more important goals" (p. 9). Although some participants in this study had reached that stage, others may benefit from engaging in this process.

Because major stressors in families are complex and unfold over time, Walsh (2003) argued that no single coping strategy is likely to be most sufficient, and that different responses may be more effective at different stages of the process and in different contexts. Walsh's comments are in line with what this study found about the complexities inherent in the process of marginalization. Depending on a family member's place in the process of marginalization, they would likely benefit from different strategies. As such, Buzzanell's framework of resiliency processes is a good starting point for conducting research with the goal of understanding the range of strategies available to marginalized people and their families.

Theoretically, this work links together family dynamics and deepen the understanding of the process of marginalization by giving meaning to the strategies identified and taking into account the marginalized and other family members' experiences within a framework of resiliency processes. Future research should aim to

identify a spectrum of marginalization management strategies and connections to resilience. Research in this area can begin to recognize which strategies contribute to the processes of resilience, a finding that would be of practical value.

Future research should also explore the ways family marginalization may hinder the process of resilience for the family as a whole. For example, resilience may be beneficial as a family works through challenges associated with a member disclosing they are leaving the family religion but having a marginalized member also likely impacts a family's ability to be resilient in the face of other challenges such as a parent's cancer diagnosis or job loss. Questions such as what additional challenges families with a marginalized member face when engaging in resiliency processes compared to families who do not perceive they have a marginalized member should be explored.

7.6 Strengths and Limitations

Taken together, the research reported here has multiple strengths including the ability to triangulate findings across two samples using two distinct methodologies. Study 1 was able to uncover layers of meaning that would not have been possible if only a survey had been conducted, whereas Study 2 was able to identify and compare types of marginalized family members that would not have been possible if only interview data had been gathered. Fay and Moon (1994) highlight how multi-perspective approaches (i.e., post-positive and interpretivist) are able to more fully clarify a concept's meaning by understanding the particulars of how individuals make sense of the concept (Study 1) as well as more global social norms and assumptions associated with the concept (Study 2). In addition, the two studies were designed to compensate for the others' limitations. For example, Study 1's findings were limited to a specific small population while Study 2

surveyed a larger more diverse population. Study 2's online data collection method

resulted in short turning point event descriptions while Study 1's interview method

resulted in extended descriptions including contextual detail with the opportunity for the

researcher to probe for more information.

Limitations of this research also should be acknowledged. Both studies were

cross-sectional though they included the use of the retrospective interviewing technique

which collected retrospective data over time to form participants' relational histories. It is

not possible to know how accurate participants' accounts were, but the focus of this

research was on their perceptions, no matter the accuracy (e.g., agreement among the

perceptions of multiple family members). Longitudinal research is needed to examine

whether the dimensions of marginalization unfold linearly (i.e., that difference is

followed by approval or disapproval reactions which then result in inclusion or exclusion)

and whether psychosocial outcomes like well-being are reciprocally related to types of

marginalized people and the trajectories reported.

Participants in both studies were 25-35 years old, which served an important

purpose in allowing them to focus on experiences with their family of origin. As such, the

results are limited to this specific generational cohort and age range. Future research is

needed to understand how the process of marginalization is shaped by larger historical

and societal influences experienced by other generations (e.g., differences in family and

stigma expectations) and how the process of marginalization differs in other

developmental stages of life (e.g., adolescence, middle adulthood). In addition, both

studies utilized convenience samples of volunteers. It is possible that people who would

volunteer for a study on the experiences of being a marginalized family member are not

representative of the full range of marginalized family members in society. For example, people who struggle with mental illness may be marginalized but not willing to take part in a research study on family marginalization.

Perhaps the most important limitation that should be addressed in future research is that of only collecting data from the marginalized family member. Families are interdependent systems (White & Klein, 2008) indicating that one member's marginalization influences all other family members. Data should be collected from complete family units including parents, siblings, and even partners of marginalized members to understand the process of marginalization as it is grounded in interaction and constituted by communication. For example, between-person differences in perceptions of marginalization can only be examined with data from multiple family members. This level of understanding would determine whether family member marginalization is evident in differences in between-person perceptions and not just within-person discrepancies (i.e., differences in perceptions of ideal and/or actual family communication between as well as within family members).

7.7 Conclusion

This dissertation elucidated an underdeveloped area of the dark side of family communication by drawing on and extending work on exclusion and rejection in social psychology, social identity theory in organizational studies, parental differential treatment in family studies, and confirmation theory in communication studies while proposing future research on family resilience and marginalization management strategies in families and other organizing contexts. Family member marginalization is a complex process with significant consequences for the marginalized individual and the

family. The process occurs differently for different people including patterns of change in feelings of marginalization and types of events experienced, but participants commonly shared feelings of hurt, loss, and the desire for something different. Understanding the concept of marginalization in families provides a foundation for conducting translational research that can be used to improve the everyday lives of families (Petronio, 2007) and for extending work on confirmation theory as well as social identity theory as frameworks for understanding family identity and family resilience.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sample Recruitment Materials

Purdue Today Announcement

Title: Study on Being "Marginalized" by Family

Adults ages 25-35 who have at least one sibling and who feel like the "black sheep" of their family are needed for a study on family relationships.

In some societies, marginalized family members are called "black sheep" because they stand out from the rest of the group. Being marginalized refers to feeling different, not included, or not approved of by family. Everyone feels marginalized by family at one time or another but participants must have been made to feel this way by multiple family members from their family of origin (the family they grew up with) and have felt this way for at least one year at any point during the past ten years.

Participants will complete a short survey and a 45-60 minute in person or Skype interview. Participants will be compensated for their time with a $10 gift card. Participation is voluntary and confidential.

For more information or to sign up to participate, contact Elizabeth Dorrance Hall in the Brian Lamb School of Communication at edorranc@purdue.edu.

Email to Graduate Directors

Email Title: Family Research Help Needed

Good morning/afternoon Professor _____, (name of graduate director)

I am writing to you today to ask for your help with my dissertation research about family member marginalization. Marginalized family members are sometimes referred to as the "black sheep" of the family. I am researching how family member marginalization occurs with the hopes of understanding how marginalized people feel and what kinds of conversations they have with their family members. This research may help inform programs that help families manage their relationships.

I am asking for your help in passing this study announcement along to the graduate students in your program. Participation is voluntary and is open to individuals ages 25-35 who feel marginalized by their families and have been made to feel this way by multiple family members from their family of origin (the family they grew up with). They must also have felt this way for at least one year at any point during the past ten years. Domestic and international students are welcome to participate. Participation is

confidential and participants will receive a $10 Amazon gift card for completing a short survey and in person or Skype interview.

I hope you will consider sending the following message to your contacts. I thank you in advance for your help. If you have any questions feel free to contact me or my advisor, Dr. Steven R. Wilson (wilson25@purdue.edu).

Elizabeth Dorrance Hall
Doctoral Candidate, Brian Lamb School of Communication
Purdue University
edorranc@purdue.edu

Study Announcement:
Adults ages 25-35 who have at least one sibling and who feel like the "black sheep" of their family are needed for a study on family relationships.

In some societies, marginalized family members are called "black sheep" because they stand out from the rest of the group. Being marginalized refers to feeling different, not included, or not approved of by family. Everyone feels marginalized by family at one time or another but participants must have been made to feel this way by multiple family members from their family of origin (the family they grew up with) and have felt this way for at least one year at any point during the past ten years.

Participants will complete a short survey and a 45 minute in person or Skype interview. Participants will be compensated for their time with a $10 gift card. Participation is voluntary and confidential.

For more information or to sign up to participate, contact Elizabeth Dorrance Hall in the Brian Lamb School of Communication at edorranc@purdue.edu.

Flyer for Public Libraries, Purdue Campus, and Family Resource Centers

Family Relationships
Research Study

Researchers in the Purdue School of Communication are looking for adults ages 25-35 who have at least one sibling and feel like the "**black sheep**" of their family for a study on family relationships.

In some societies, marginalized family members are called "black sheep" because they stand out from the rest of the group. Being marginalized refers to feeling **different**, **not included**, or **not approved of** by family. Everyone feels marginalized by family at one time or another but participants must have been made to feel this way by multiple family members from the family they grew up with and have felt this way for at least one year at any point during the past ten years.

Participants will complete a short survey and a 45-60 minute interview. Participants will be compensated for their time with a $10 gift card. Participation is voluntary and confidential.

Interviews will take place on Purdue's campus and at local libraries in the community.

If Interested, Contact:
Elizabeth Dorrance Hall
Doctoral Candidate
269-370-7454
edorranc@purdue.edu

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Appendix B: Phone Script

Participant Screening Phone Call

After participants have expressed interest in the study via email or phone, I will call them to determine whether they meet the eligibility requirements and if they do, to set up an interview time. Below is the phone call script.

> Good morning/afternoon, this is Elizabeth Dorrance Hall calling from the Brian Lamb School of Communication at Purdue University. You expressed interest in a research study on family member marginalization and I am calling to follow up with you, ask you a few short questions, and schedule an interview. Do you have a few minutes to talk now?

> Everyone feels marginalized by family at one time or another. In some societies, marginalized family members are called "black sheep" because they stand out from the rest of the group. Being marginalized refers to feeling different, not included, or not approved of by family. Do you feel this way? Have you felt this way at any point in the last 10 years? How long did you feel this way? Who made/makes you feel this way? Have/do multiple family members make you feel this way?

> Just to confirm, are you between the ages of 25-35? Do you have any siblings?

If they meet the eligibility requirements:

> Thank you for your interest. Are there certain times or days of the week that are more convenient for you to set up an interview? Would you like to do the interview on Purdue's campus or would you prefer to meet at a local library?

> The next steps include taking a short survey and participating in the interview. Would you prefer to take the survey online prior to the interview or in person?

> Thank you for your time, I look forward to seeing you on (day of the week, date, time, location).

If they do not meet the eligibility requirements:

> I am sorry but you do not match the requirements to participate in this study. Thank you for your time. I sincerely appreciate your interest in this research.

Appendix C: Information Sheet and Demographic Questions

Survey Instructions/Information Sheet

You are completing this survey based on your interest in participating in a Skype or in person interview at Purdue University. Thank you for your interest in taking part in this important research!

Please review the following information before proceeding:

Purpose of Research
The purpose of this research is to learn about how family relationships change over time including how family members come to feel marginalized.

Specific Procedure
Your participation will involve completing a brief survey that asks questions about your demographics and your family. It should take approximately 10 minutes to complete. After completion, you will be interviewed by a researcher from Purdue University in person or over Skype. The interview should last about 45-60 minutes and will ask more questions about your family relationships.

Participation in this research project is voluntary and open to those ages 25-35 who feel like they are not included or are different from their family. These feelings may lead to perceptions that they are not part of the group, not as well liked, or not accepted by multiple family members from their family of origin (the family they grew up with). These feelings must be chronic in that they have lasted for at least one year at any point during the past 10 years. Should any of the questions make you uncomfortable, you are free to stop taking the survey or participating in the interview at any time.

Risks
Risks for participating in this research are minimal, which means no greater than you would encounter in everyday life. You are free to skip any survey or interview questions you are not comfortable answering. Breach of confidentiality is a potential risk of this research. Safeguards to protect confidentiality are described below.

Benefits
There are no direct benefits from participating in this research. The knowledge gained from your participation may help us better understand factors that affect family relationships.

Compensation
Participants who complete both the survey and interview portion of the study will be compensated with a $10 Amazon gift card.

Confidentiality

This research is confidential. That is, only the researchers will be allowed to hear the interview audio file or see the survey answers you provide, except as may be required by law. If a report of this study is published or presented at a professional conference that includes examples from interviews, participants' real names will be replaced with pseudo-names to mask their identity. Interview audio files will be destroyed upon the completion of this study.

Contact Information

If you have any questions about this research project, you can contact Elizabeth Dorrance Hall or Dr. Steven R. Wilson at the Brian Lamb School of Communication, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN 47907, email: edorranc@purdue.edu. If you have concerns about the treatment of research participants, you can contact the Institutional Review Board at Purdue University, Ernest C. Young Hall, Room 1032, 155 S. Grant St., West Lafayette, IN 47907-2114. The phone number for the Board is (765) 494-5942. The email address is irb@purdue.edu.

By (online: clicking next/paper and pencil: completing the survey) below you are consenting to take part in this research study of your own free will and agree that you have had the opportunity to read the study description above.

Demographic Questions

1. What is your gender?
    a. Male
    b. Female

2. How old are you? (open ended___ years)

3. Please identify the racial/ethnic category you most closely identify with:
    a. White, not of Hispanic origin
    b. Hispanic
    c. African American, not of Hispanic origin
    d. Asian/Pacific Islander
    e. American Indian orAlaskan Native
    f. Other (please specify)
    g. I choose not to disclose this information

4. What state do you currently live in? (drop down)

5. How many siblings do you have? (open ended)

6. How would you describe your relatedness to your family of origin, that is, family members you are to related by birth, adoption, or have lived with for an extended period of time? In other words, the family you grew up with (e.g., parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, and uncles). (check all that apply)
        a. biological
        b. legally adopted
        c. adopted (not through legal documentation)
        d. through marriage (step-family)
        e. other _____

7. Please provide the initials of each of your siblings followed by their age and gender.

8. Which of the following best describes your birth order? I am the _____ in my family.
        a. First Born
        b. Second Born
        c. Third Born
        d. Fourth Born
        e. Fifth Born
        f. Other (please specify) _____

9. How far do you live from the immediate family member who **lives the closest** to you?
        a. I currently live with an immediate family member
        b. We live in the same state but different cities
        c. They live in a different state than I do
        d. They live in a different country than I do

10. How far do you live from your parents or the parent that **lives closest** to you?
        a. I currently live with an immediate family member
        b. We live in the same state but different cities
        c. They live in a different state than I do
        d. They live in a different country than I do

11. Which of the following best describes your occupation? (if you are not working now, please tell us about your last job)
        a. Professional or Technical
        b. Higher admin
        c. Clerical
        d. Sales
        e. Service
        f. Skilled worker
        g. Semi-skilled worker
        h. Unskilled worker
        i. Farm
        j. Never had job
        k. Other (open-end)

12. What is the highest degree you have earned?
      a. High school
      b. Associate's
      c. Bachelor's
      d. Master's
      e. MBA
      f. Law
      g. PhD
      h. MD
      i. Other (open-end)

13. Which of the following best describes your marital status?
      a. single
      b. cohabitating
      c. engaged
      d. married
      e. divorced
      f. widowed

14. What is the marital status of your parents?
      a. never married
      b. cohabitating
      c. engaged
      d. married
      e. divorced
      f. widowed

15. Do you sometimes feel like the "black sheep" of your family?
      a. yes
      b. no

(If yes)
16. What is the longest period of time that you have felt this way?
      a. less than 3 months
      b. 3-6 months
      c. 6 months-1 year
      d. 1-5 years
      e. 5-10 years
      f. More than 10 years

17. Do you currently feel this way?
      a. yes
      b. no

18. Which of your family members make you feel this way? (check all that apply)
     a. parents
     b. siblings
     c. grandparents
     d. aunts and uncles
     e. cousins
     f. other (text entry)

19. Are you currently in graduate school?
     a. yes
     b. no

(If yes)
20. Among members of your family of origin (the family you grew up with), are you the first to attend graduate school?
     a. yes
     b. no

21. Please enter your email address (if taking the survey online). All identifying information will be removed after your interview has been completed and your answers will be confidential.

Appendix D: Interview Protocol

This 45-60 minute in-person or Skype interview will be semi-structured (i.e., the majority of questions will be the same for each participant, but follow up questions will be tailored to individual responses). Skype participants will be emailed the RIT graph prior to the interview but will fill the graph out during the interview as instructed below. The interview will be audio recorded with permission from the participant.

Interviewer Script: Thank you for talking with me today. On the phone you said you feel different from your family. You might also feel excluded, less well liked, or disapproved of compared to other family members. I am going to ask you a few questions about what that is like today.

1. To start, please tell me the names and ages of the members of your family of origin, that is, family members who you are related to by birth, adoption, or have lived with for an extended period of time. In other words, the family you grew up with. For example, your parents and siblings.
2. What kinds of things did you like to do with your family growing up?
3. How would you describe your place in the family?
4. People sometimes use the term "black sheep" to describe people who are marginalized from their family. What does being marginalized mean to you?
5. If you had to pick 2-3 words to describe what it means to be marginalized, what would those words be?
6. How does your place in the family impact your everyday life?
7. How do you know you are different, excluded, or disapproved of by your family?
8. (Turning Point Analysis using the RIT. Participants will be given a blank graph.)
    a. In some societies, marginalized family members are called the "black sheep" because they stand out from the rest of the group. Certain times, events, or conversations from your life might have made you feel very 'marginalized,' different, or excluded from your family. Other events might have made you feel the opposite. These could be times you felt included or felt like you belonged with family. Indicate on the graph (see below) how marginalized you felt at 18 years old, and how marginalized you feel right now. The markings on the x-axis are years from when you were 18 years old to now. The y-axis ranges from 0-100% with 100 meaning the most marginalized, excluded and different from family a person could feel, and 0 meaning feeling the most included, approved of and not at all marginalized from family a person could feel.

    b. Now, think about a time you felt especially different, excluded, or disapproved of since you were 18 years old. That would be a time when you felt very marginalized. Put that point on the graph. Describe the event to me in as much detail as you can remember including what your family members said and did that made you feel marginalized.

    c. The event you just described can be thought of as a "turning point" in your family relationship. A turning point is an event that **changes** a relationship in an important way. It can change for **better or worse**. In this case, the event changed your family relationships in how marginalized you felt. Any event that made you feel **more or less** marginalized could be a turning point. It is important to think about events where you felt more included, similar, and liked, as well as events that made you feel excluded and disapproved of.

    d. Identify as many other turning points as you think are important that occurred since you turned 18. Remember, these could be specific events or times when you felt more marginalized or less marginalized. It may help to think about when you were first aware of a **change** in how much you felt marginalized by your family.

    e. As you plot each turning point on the graph showing whether you felt more or less marginalized by your family at that time, please provide details and context about each event.

        i. Who was involved? What happened? Why did you identify it as a turning point?

    f. Reflect on and share how each point changed your family relationships and how the events are connected. (Once all turning points have been placed on the graph, a relationship trajectory line will be drawn to connect the plot points.)

    g. Do you believe the line I just drew accurately reflects the path your family relationships have taken? If not, make changes to the graph you think are needed to show the correct path.

9. Why do you think you are excluded, disapproved of, and or/different from your family?

10. Would you say you are like your brothers and/or sisters? How? (Think about career, interests, etc.) Why?

11. Do you feel that your siblings (or other family members) treat you differently than your parents? How?

12. Do you think anything you did or said contributed to your current place in the family in any way? How?

13. Do you feel accepted by some members of your family? How do they show that they accept you?
14. All families have strengths and limits. What are some of the strengths of your family?
15. Is there anyone inside or outside your family you can turn to at times when you feel marginalized by multiple family members? How do they make you feel included?
16. Finally, do you know of any other people who feel marginalized by their families that are 25-35 years old and might be willing to participate? If yes, would you pass on the study information (via email or hard copy) and my email to them?

Thank you for taking part in this interview. I will send your gift card to your email or home address (if provided) in the next two weeks. If you ever want to talk to a counselor about anything we discussed today there are professionals and resources at Purdue University and in the community at Bauer Family Resources that can help. If you have other questions about the study I am available by email. (I will offer to provide a handout containing information about local counseling services if the participant would like one).

ID#: _____

Most
marginalized
excluded,
different from
family

100%

90%

80%

70%

60%

50%

40%

30%

20%

10%

0%

Least
marginalized
included,
approved of by
family

18 Years
Old

Present
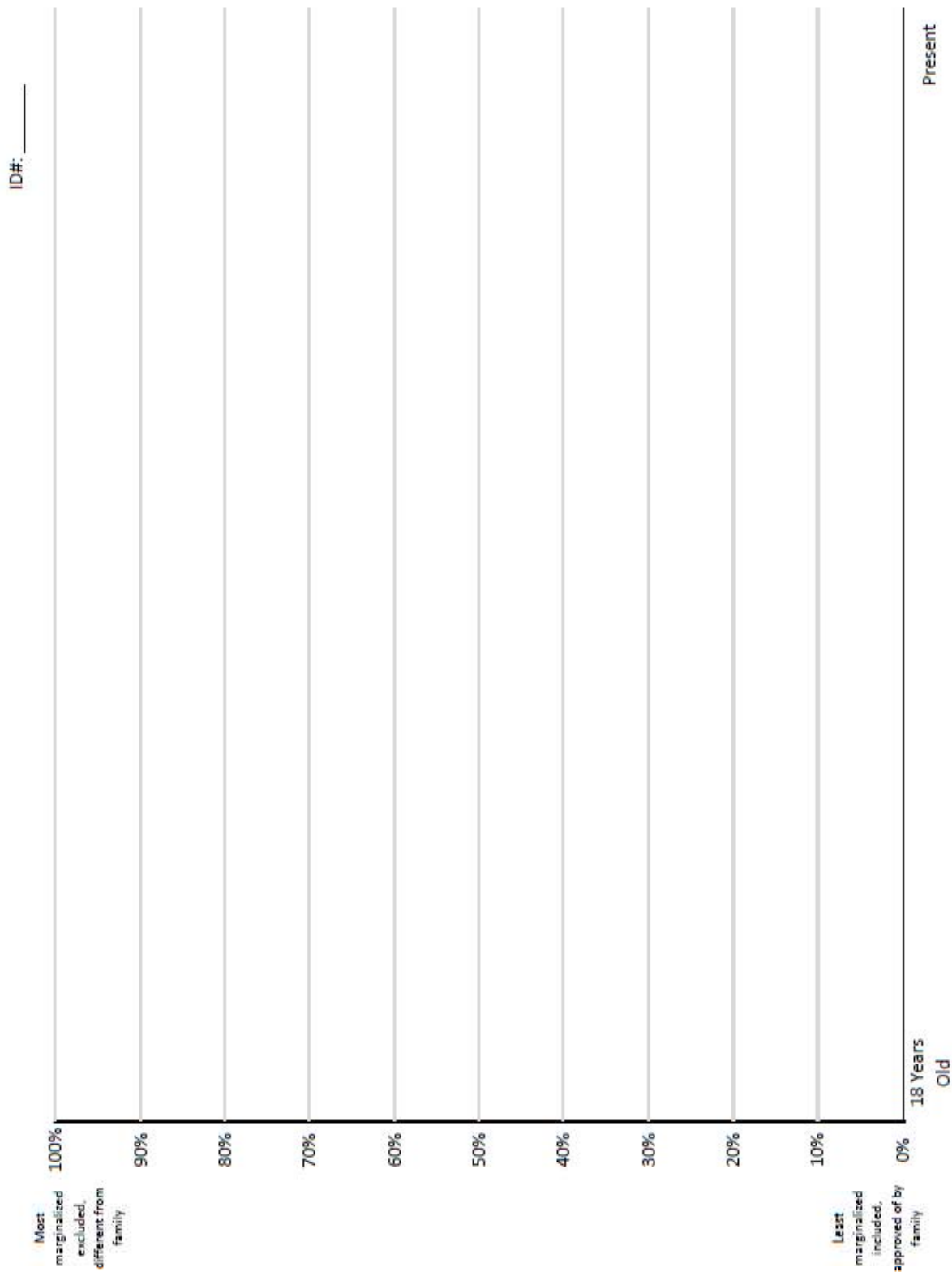
Appendix E: Counseling Resources Handout

Purdue University Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS)

Visit www.purdue.edu/caps or call 765-494-6995 to schedule an appointment.

- Purdue Student Health Center (PUSH) Room 246
  601 Stadium Mall Drive, West Lafayette, IN 47907
- Psychological Sciences Building (PSYC) Room 1120
  703 Third Street, West Lafayette, IN 47907

Purdue CAPS offers the following services:

Group Therapy
- Peer to peer interactions within a therapist facilitated group setting
- Provides the opportunity to share and learn from others
- Gives an opportunity to provide and receive feedback and support

Individual Therapy

- Discuss and explore problems or feelings that are important to you
- Grow toward greater freedom in making informed choices

Couples Therapy

- Address sources of stress and conflict within your relationship
- Are available to non-student spouses and partners when part of conjoint therapy with a currently enrolled student

Bauer Family Resources – Bauer Counseling

Visit www.bauerfamilyresources.org or call 765-742-4848 for an appointment.

- 409 South 3rd Street, Lafayette, IN 47905

Bauer Counseling seeks to equip individuals and families with concrete resources in a goal-focused environment to strengthen families. Therapy is facilitated by Master-level clinicians and includes the following services:

HOMEBUILDERS®
Family Centered Services
Relationships Anchored in Strength for Everyone (RAISE)
Sexual Abuse Family Intervention Program (SAFTIP)
General Counseling
Substance Abuse

Appendix F: Study 1 Turning Point Events Code Book

A turning point is an event or occurrence that changes a relationship in an important way, for better or worse (Baxter et al., 1999). The turning points described by participants changed their family relationships in how marginalized they felt.

Coding directions: Each turning point description should be coded for the "type" of event described. Read the event description, notice the percentage of marginalization and pay attention to what the participant "named" the event. All of these should factor into your coding decision.

Rules: If more than one event or category is mentioned within a single turning point description:

- Defer to the event that matches the name they provided and the event they talk about as an explanation for their level of marginalization (i.e., what is making them feel marginalized?). For example, #10's event "Fly to the US" is about moving as well as attending college but moving to the US is the marginalizing event the participant spends time describing.
- If one event is explicitly mentioned while the other is implied or implicit, code the event the participant is more explicit about. For example, #04's event "mom" is a description of the participant telling her mom she is contemplating divorce. While the underlying motivation of this event is to seek support, the participant explicitly states she is telling her mom important information (i.e., divorce).
- If it is still unclear, determine the root of the problem and use that along with the title of the event to determine the category.
- If there are 2 events in the title, pick the one the turning point description focuses on.
- Avoid the other category if possible. Only use this category if there are no other viable options.

Key:

"Normative" Life Events – Events that follow the predictable developmental pattern of the life-cycle (grow up, education, marriage, children, work, retire, etc.)
Sporadic Events - Non-normative events have been defined as significant, unexpected, and unpredictable events – don't follow the predictable developmental pattern of life-cycle. I also included infrequent/rare events here like family reunions.
Communication Events - These are events that revolve around communication itself. For example, a memorable conversation or disclosure or receiving an important apology. Participants named these as "events."
Other Events (do not fit elsewhere) – For example, an intrapersonal event of losing hope or realizing it is what it is – the participant could not pin down an event that happened but wanted to include it as a turning point – could signify a mental shift or reframing.

Code	Definition	Examples
1. Marriage	Includes the participant getting engaged, married, or attending a wedding or wedding related activities like showers and rehearsal dinners.	#06 (96%): "At the reception there were several instances, one in particular where they were taking a family picture. And they didn't even ask us to get into the family picture. So they did a family picture with everybody right in front of us but they didn't even ask us to be in it. So it was, you know, aunts, uncles, my uncles new girlfriend, you know there's all these uh, kind of almost like random people that they're you know, friends with and everything, we weren't asked to be part of the picture." #03 (70%): "Um, so I mean on my wedding day I guess I felt different from them because here I am sharing my life with someone and I'm moving in with my husband. I'm not with my family anymore."
2. Children	Children can include having a child (birth) or becoming pregnant	#04 (90%): "I gave birth… When I was pregnant I was talking to my mom about how I wanted her to be in the birth and she had agree that she will be there. The day before I had my daughter you know, my husband talked to her, cause we thought she was on her way and she just said oh I have to work. I'm not gunna make it. And I just remember you know crying my eyes out in labor just cause it hurt my feelings." #05 (60%): "And up until my pregnancy we didn't see eye to eye but once I got pregnant that brought us closer together."
3. Moving/ Change in Living Arrange-ments	Moving includes moving away from family (greater geographical distance) and can include siblings moving in with the participant and getting the first place independent of parents	#08 (10%): "My brother was just, got into some, just like, he quit jobs and um, like there was some, he just he moved with me and you know, I was able to help him." #13 (94%): "That summer I didn't want to live at home. So I got my first apartment. Which developmentally, a 21 year old getting her first apartment should be something good. Um, my family went nuts saying we live in the same town, people are gunna talk about us if you're getting an apartment."
4. Attending College or Graduate School	Attending college can include the decision to attend and actually attending college or graduate school. It can also include deciding on a major/ concentration and how participants felt about college as a whole. Experiences of misunderstanding what the student does should be included here.	#03 (20%): "I felt like I was still on their playing field cause well with the exception of the youngest ones, just being kind of the party atmosphere we could all relate, um. We would tell stories, we'd even you know drink together." #13 (80%): "I chose to come here to Purdue. Um, for engineering which most people would say, oh my god, Purdue, engineering, awesome. My mother threatened to disown me for it. Because she felt like she couldn't control me." #14 (60%): "Well you know, so at 21 I did graduate from college and move out here and that was very distinct point at which I was now definitely on my own."
5. Gradua-tion	Graduation ceremony, parties, or other events surrounding graduation from college (own or other	#16 (60%): "I think that's the only time they wanted to hang out with me. Um, what is it. My mom threw a party. Very few of my family came." #02 (92%): "[My cousin] invited us to go to her college

graduation)	graduation. So [husband] and the kids and I went, and of course her parents were there. And my mom was there. And it was the most awkward experience of my life. Like, it was the kind of thing where I'd be like, just trying to be nice, be like hey how are you and was, snubbed."	
6. Death in family	This includes losing a family member, attending a funeral (or inability to attend the funeral)	#07 (40%): "My mom's mom parents were still alive, um, my great grandfather and great grandmother. And they passed away within three weeks of each other." #16 (100%): "It turns out um, my cousin had passed away um, he was in a car accident. Um so I got a phone call from my mom. My mom told me what's going on so of course I'm feeling distraught."
7. Dating	Dating includes going on dates, reactions (disapproval or support) toward new boyfriends/girlfriends or dating activities in general	#04 (100%): "When I started dating I turned 18 and I was ready, I actually told my mom cause I thought it would be easier, you know hey mom, you know whenever I get my first boyfriend I want to introduce him to you guys… one night they were both in the living room and I said I'm gunna be outside talking to my boyfriend… my dad walk out and he just went crazy. He started screaming at him, and he just, I mean it was so horrible… he said you need to break up with him."
8. Job change	Change in career can go along with moving, family members not respecting decisions to leave a job, or an increase in pay causing other FMs to ask for support	#05 (60%): "I was more settled and I felt more included but it was because that's when I started making, you know just a little bit more money so I felt more included because when people want something from you, you hear from them." #12 (80%): "There were a lot of layoffs going on so I jumped ship and didn't really wanna continue in that industry so um, I moved back to Thailand and did my graduate certificate in Southeast Asian studies and my dad was not happy about that decision."
9. Family Vacation	Family vacations include trips taken as a family	#11 (70%): "So me and my brother Brian took a trip with my grandma to Greece and then, during the trip, even though I have like a pretty close relationship with my brother, he just completely like ostracized me." #12 (40%): "That was the first time we had ever like taken a vacation as a family since I was like maybe 9 or something… We went to watch um, I forget which, it was a Michigan State game and my dad went to Michigan State and uh, and my brother roots for them as well as um, so we went someplace to watch the game and my dad had bought um, Michigan State gear for everybody except me."
10. Family reunion or gathering	Reunions include formal reunion events but also seeing a family member after a period of separation. Family reunions tend to be less frequent, potentially small gatherings Family gatherings	#07 (50%): "Chase coming home, my brother Chase, served a 2 year Mormon mission. And that was the summer he came home from his mission. And um, that was pretty good because it was like, for the first time in 2 years we had like our whole, like our whole family was together." #16 (90%): "But he came back and so they decided they wanted to have a cousins reunion. Um, they all got together, went to the beach from, so we, most of my familys in Miami, so went to go to Miami Beach, go to the clubs, go eat, hang out. pretty much"

	include parties, holiday get-togethers (e.g., Christmas, Thanksgiving) and can sometimes include family *and* friends	spend a huge party out, just to get all the cousins together and I wasn't invited." #06 (90%): "I forget what the reason for the party was but that's where they had quite a few friends of theirs and they were all commenting on how they had no idea that I existed. And um, it almost, made a joke out of it which you know, I thought was, you know if I knew somebody for some time and didn't know they had, only told me they had 2 out of 3 kids I probably wouldn't be joking so much about that with the left out child."
11. Visit home	Visits home occur when the participant lives away from family and travels home to spend time with them	#10 (95%): "So I went home. At least I thought I would at least have a home to go home to. She wouldn't let me stay at my own home. So I had to live with my uncle and friends." #11 (70%): "So I visit them and so at that point they were living in Israel and it was kind of like, their last like, brainwashing attempt."
12. Religious event	Religious events are broadly defined and include attending church/mass/etc. or other religious-events, religious ceremonies, no longer attending church, the religious part of Christmas, etc.	#01 (77%): "So one year for Christmas each uh, each night my family assigned a member to like read a verse from the scriptures. You know, the book of Mormon or the Bible, um, and then mine, they didn't want to leave me out so they said [name], you do whatever you want on your night."
13. Planning an event	Often times when siblings/family members come together to plan an event for another family member, could also be planning own wedding, or could be being excluded from the planning process, etc.	#13 (25%): "So on the one hand um, I was asked and included in the planning process for this Disney trip. It was for my grandparents somethingth anniversary." #04 (40%): "The planning and the event, everything, it was just we all came together to like it was kinda like my brothers and sisters idea to plan this party for them and we all came together you know. To do this. It was great."
14. Health issue	Can include experiencing own medical issues or being involved (helping, etc.) with a family member's medical issues. Can include seeking therapy for mental health symptoms	#07 (75%): "And I was in psychotherapy at the time and just that whole experience when my mom found out it was just awful." #11 (70%): "And I got really sick because there was like um, like a dessert storm like a heat storm. And so I had to be taken to the hospital and so then my step-mom kind of like took care of me like she decided that she was going to take care of me and like, show me how like, motherly she was."
15. Needing/ asking for support	Participants sometimes asked family members for monetary support or reached out for other kinds of support, could include stepping up and providing	#14 (65%): "I did my OP, my original proposal in grad school in my 3rd year. So, when I was 24. And that was the point at which I very clearly started telling them I can't take care of things right now." #16 (100%): "Um, there was a point where I couldn't take out loans because I wasn't a citizen at the time. Um, so I needed help

	support for others	from family… I remember calling up cousins and aunts and uncles um, and they just blatantly refused to help me."
16. Disclosure	Telling important information to another family member. Could include coming out or sharing about a changed world view (leaving the religion, etc.) Includes verbal and written communication received or sent by participants (written often in the form of email)	#11 (60%): "So I wrote a letter to my dad um, basically saying like, this is all the, uh, like all the feelings I've been carrying um, my like since I was like 11 years old. But like I've never told you and like, why it makes me feel so um, just like angry that like he never stood up for me. And that like he let everyone just trample me basically." #15 (20%): "I think we had, we like ate and um, we were just having some drinks and talking and uh, and I told him about my last year um, I was actually me and my roommate ended up like falling in love and then it was this big drama. I remember him looking at me and being like, and I'm like how do I deal with this. Like how do I (?) these feelings and I was like what does this mean. And he's like maybe it's okay. Maybe you're not ready, think about that."
17. Open conversa-tion	Related to disclosure – open conversations are usually defined by the participant as conversations where their partner really listen and respected their opinions. Understanding is reached. They didn't necessarily agree, but the participant felt heard.	#01 (60%): "After awhile he called me up and said hey let's have a conversation about this. Um, kind of not expecting to change each other's minds you know, it's like when was the last time someone had an argument about religion that changed someone's mind. But kind of wanting to understand each other a little better. So in the spirit of understanding each other we agreed to talk about it" #15 (10%): "So I just like told my brother cause I was having a really hard day and I was just like you're my best friend and I'm really tired of you not knowing about what's going on and I really care about what you think about me and blah blah blah and so I uh, I just like, I told him like everything and it was so refreshing just to know that he's like literally one of, (?) like everything, we can talk about absolutely anything… It's just very like he's just a very genuine person and I just like crave that in people now."
18. Apology	Apologies include written or verbal expressions of apology or acknowledgment of wrongdoing. Apologies can be regarded as genuine or fake.	#11 (100%): "And then brought me back to the house and then we all sat down and she was made to apologize for like, the first time in our whole relationship I guess. And then I decided that I had enough so I just left." #05 (80%): "She's actually apologized to me on several occasions about the way she's treated me. When she apologized the first time it mattered. After that it didn't make a difference because she's apologized probably less than 5 times."
19. Conver-sation about ceasing contact	When participants and family members spoke about no longer seeing or communicating with each other. This includes being "cut-off" and actively "cutting-off" family members.	#12 (90%): "And I tried for I don't know, it was about a year, a year and a half to kind of have a relationship with her but um, it just kept on getting worse and eventually just, I had enough and I just cut things off." #13 (70%): "A few months ago I actually kind of, for a lack of a better word, disowned my mother. So I don't really have a whole lot of contact with my family."

20. Deception	Not sharing information with family, keeping secrets, or being lied to or deceived by family members	#10 (60%): My youngest sister even tricked me back home when I was transferring to UC San Diego from my community college. It was a lot of drama. So she tricked me home. She told me my mom got cancer. So I gave up school. My mom told me my sister got in an accident also to trick me home. So I gave up my education and that time when I went home for 3 months nobody knew I went home.
21. Intra-personal Event/ Realiza-tion	Some participants identified events that were intrapersonal, like coming to the realization that a family member won't change or things will not improve.	#05 (95%): "I called that "learning it is what it is." Its saying that the age I am now, I mean that was a pivotal point in my life, just realizing it is what it is. It can't change. You have to accept things about people. This is your family. Unfortunately I didn't get to pick who they are." #10 (65%): "That was when I felt like, I don't know. Either she has changed or I have changed that I just could not talk to her. That's when I feel like we already lost that basic communication trust and belief perspective. Everything just start to fall apart."
22. Other	Events that do not fit elsewhere	

Appendix G: Study 2 Sample Recruitment Materials

Purdue Today Announcement

Title: Study on Being "Marginalized" by Family

Adults ages 25-35 who have at least one sibling and who feel like the "black sheep" of their family are needed for a study on family relationships.

In some societies, marginalized family members are called "black sheep" because they stand out from the rest of the group. Being marginalized refers to feeling different, not included, or not approved of by family. Everyone feels marginalized by family at one time or another but participants must have been made to feel this way by multiple family members from their family of origin (the family they grew up with) and have felt this way for at least one year at any point during the past ten years.

Participants will complete a 30-40 minute survey. Participants who meet the eligibility criteria will be compensated for their time with a $5 Starbucks gift card. Participation is voluntary and confidential.

For more information contact Elizabeth Dorrance Hall in the Brian Lamb School of Communication at edorranc@purdue.edu or click on the link below to participate.

Email to Graduate Directors

Email Title: Family Research Help Needed

Good morning/afternoon Professor _____, (name of graduate director)

I am writing to you today to ask for your help with my dissertation research about family member marginalization. Marginalized family members are sometimes referred to as the "black sheep" of the family. I am researching how family member marginalization occurs with the hopes of understanding how marginalized people feel and what kinds of conversations they have with their family members. This research may help inform programs that help families manage their relationships.

I am asking for your help in passing this study announcement along to the graduate students in your program. Participation is voluntary and is open to individuals ages 25-35 who feel marginalized by their families and have been made to feel this way by multiple family members from their family of origin (the family they grew up with). They must also have felt this way for at least one year at any point during the past ten years. Domestic and international students are welcome to participate. Participation is confidential and participants who meet the eligibility criteria will receive a $4 Starbucks gift card for completing the survey.

I hope you will consider sending the following message to your contacts. I thank you in advance for your help. If you have any questions feel free to contact me or my advisor, Dr. Steven R. Wilson (wilson25@purdue.edu).

Elizabeth Dorrance Hall
Doctoral Candidate, Brian Lamb School of Communication
Purdue University
edorranc@purdue.edu

Study Announcement:
Adults ages 25-35 who have at least one sibling and who feel like the "black sheep" of their family are needed for a study on family relationships.

In some societies, marginalized family members are called "black sheep" because they stand out from the rest of the group. Being marginalized refers to feeling different, not included, or not approved of by family. Everyone feels marginalized by family at one time or another but participants must have been made to feel this way by multiple family members from their family of origin (the family they grew up with) and have felt this way for at least one year at any point during the past ten years.

Participants will complete a 30-40 minute online survey. Participants will be compensated for their time with a $5 Starbucks gift card. Participation is voluntary and anonymous.

To participate, click the survey link below. If you have any questions you can contact Elizabeth Dorrance Hall in the Brian Lamb School of Communication at edorranc@purdue.edu.

MTurk Announcement

Title: Purdue University Study—Family Relationship Change

Description: A 30-40 minute survey asking you to answer questions about your relationship with your family. Open to those who feel like "black sheep," have at least 1 sibling, and are 25-35 years old.
Keywords: survey, family, communication, black sheep, Purdue University
Reward: $1.25
Number of assignments per HIT: 200
Time allotted per assignment: 60 minutes (maximum time allotted to complete the survey)
HIT expires in: 7 days
Auto-approve and pay Workers in: 2 days
Worker requirements: HIT approval rate (%) is not less than 85, Location in the US, 25-35 years old

Appendix H: Survey Instructions

Survey Entry Page for MTurk Participants

You have been directed to this online survey because you signed up for this study on the Amazon Mturk system. To ensure receipt of compensation please follow the instructions that appear after you submit the survey. These instructions will direct you to submit a confirmation number through Amazon Mturk. Thank you for your interest in taking part in this important research!

Please review the following information before proceeding:

Purpose of Research
The purpose of this research is to learn about how family relationships change over time including how family members come to feel marginalized.

Specific Procedure
Your participation will involve completing an online survey that asks questions about your demographics and your family. It should take approximately 30-40 minutes to complete.

Participation in this research project is voluntary and open to those ages 25-35 who are living in the United States and feel like they are not included or are different from their family. These feelings may lead to perceptions that they are not part of the group, not as well liked, or not accepted by multiple family members from their family of origin (the family they grew up with). These feelings must be chronic in that they have lasted for at least one year at any point during the past 10 years. Should any of the questions make you uncomfortable, you are free to stop taking the survey at any time.

Risks
Risks for participating in this research are minimal, which means no greater than you would encounter in everyday life. You are free to skip any survey questions you are not comfortable answering. Breach of confidentiality is a potential risk of this research. Safeguards to protect anonymity are described below.

Benefits
There are no direct benefits from participating in this research. The knowledge gained from your participation may help us understand factors that affect family relationships.

Compensation
Participants who meet the eligibility requirements can earn $1.25 for completing this study.

Confidentiality
This research is confidential and anonymous. That is, only the researchers will be

allowed to see the information you provide, except as may be required by law. The survey does not ask for your name or other identifying information. If a report of this study is published or presented at a professional conference, results will be reported grouped across participants.

Contact Information

If you have any questions about this research project, you can contact Elizabeth Dorrance Hall or Dr. Steven R. Wilson at the Brian Lamb School of Communication, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN 47907, email: edorranc@purdue.edu. If you have concerns about the treatment of research participants, you can contact the Institutional Review Board at Purdue University, Ernest C. Young Hall, Room 1032, 155 S. Grant St., West Lafayette, IN 47907-2114. The phone number for the Board is (765) 494-5942. The email address is irb@purdue.edu.

By clicking next below you are consenting to take part in this research study of your own free will and agree that you have had the opportunity to read the study description above.

Appendix I: Demographic Survey Questions

1. What is your gender?
     a. Male
     b. Female

2. How old are you? (open ended___ years)

3. Please identify the racial/ethnic category you most closely identify with:
     a. White, not of Hispanic origin
     b. Hispanic
     c. African American, not of Hispanic origin
     d. Asian/Pacific Islander
     e. American Indian orAlaskan Native
     f. Other (please specify)
     g. I choose not to disclose this information

4. What state do you currently live in? (drop down)

5. How many siblings do you have? (open ended)

6. How would you describe your relatedness to your family of origin, that is, family members you are to related by birth, adoption, or have lived with for an extended period of time? In other words, the family you grew up with (e.g., parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, and uncles). (check all that apply)
     a. biological
     b. legally adopted
     c. adopted (not through legal documentation)
     d. through marriage (step-family)
     e. other _____

7. Please provide the initials of each of your siblings followed by their age and gender.

8. Which of the following best describes your birth order? I am the _____ in my family.
     a. First Born
     b. Second Born
     c. Third Born
     d. Fourth Born
     e. Fifth Born
     f. Other (please specify) _____

9. How far do you live from the immediate family member who **lives closest** to you?
     a. I currently live with an immediate family member
     b. We live in the same state but different cities

       c. They live in a different state than I do

       d. They live in a different country than I do

10. How far do you live from your parents or the parent that **lives closest** to you?

       a. I currently live with an immediate family member

       b. We live in the same state but different cities

       c. They live in a different state than I do

       d. They live in a different country than I do

11. Which of the following best describes your occupation? (if you are not working now, please tell us about your last job)

       a. Professional or Technical

       b. Higher admin

       c. Clerical

       d. Sales

       e. Service

       f. Skilled worker

       g. Semi-skilled worker

       h. Unskilled worker

       i. Farm

       j. Never had job

       k. Other (open-end)

12. What is the highest degree you have earned?

       a. High school

       b. Associate's

       c. Bachelor's

       d. Master's

       e. MBA

       f. Law

       g. PhD

       h. MD

       i. Other (open-end)

13. Which of the following best describes your marital status?

       a. single

       b. cohabitating

       c. engaged

       d. married

       e. divorced

       f. widowed

14. What is the marital status of your parents?

       a. never married

       b. cohabitating

        c. engaged
        d. married
        e. divorced
        f. widowed

15. Do you sometimes feel like the "black sheep" of your family?
        a. yes
        b. no

(If yes)
16. How long (in total) out of the past 10 years have you felt this way?
        a. less than 3 months
        b. 3-6 months
        c. 6 months-1 year
        d. 1-5 years
        e. 5-10 years
        f. More than 10 years

17. Do you currently feel this way?
        a. yes
        b. no

18. Which of your family members make you feel this way? (check all that apply)
        a. parents
        b. siblings
        c. grandparents
        d. aunts and uncles
        e. cousins
        f. other (text entry)

19. Are you currently in graduate school?
        a. yes
        b. no

(If yes,)
20. Among members of your family of origin (the family you grew up with), are you the first to attend graduate school?
        a. yes
        b. no

Instructions: The following questions should be answered about your family of origin, that is, family members you are to related by birth, adoption, or have lived with for an extended period of time. In other words, the family you grew up with. For example, your parents and siblings.

Appendix J: Difference

Perceived Homophily Measure (McCroskey, Richmond, & Daly, 1975)

Instructions: Answer the following questions about how you feel about your family of origin (the family you grew up with).

My family…

1	Doesn't think like me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Thinks like me
2	Behaves like me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Doesn't behave like me
3	Similar to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Different from me
4	Unlike me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Like me
5	From social class similar to mine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	From social class different from mine
6	Economic situation different from mine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Economic situation like mine
7	Status like mine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Status different from mine
8	Background different from mine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Background similar to mine
9	Morals unlike mine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Morals like mine
10	Sexual attitudes unlike mine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sexual attitudes like mine
11	Shares my values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Doesn't share my values
12	Treats people like I do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Doesn't treat people like I do
13	Looks similar to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Looks different from me
14	Different size than I am	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Same size I am
15	Appearance like mine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Appearance unlike mine
16	Doesn't resemble me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Resembles me

Appendix K: Disapproval

Reflected Appraisals Scale (Murray, Holmes, MacDonald, & Ellsworth, 1998)

Instructions: Indicate the degree to which you feel the following statements are true.

1 = not at all true   9 = completely true

1. My family makes me feel very secure and confident about myself.
2. I am confident that my family will always want to look beyond my faults and see the best in me.
3. My family is less critical of my faults than I am.
4. My family sees special qualities in me, qualities that other people might not see.
5. I couldn't do anything that would make my family think less of me.
6. My family overlooks most of my faults.
7. My family loves me just as I am; they wouldn't want to change me in any way.

Appendix L: Exclusion

Revised Workplace Exclusion Scale (WES-R; Hitlan & Noel, 2009)

Instructions: Indicate how often you experience the following behaviors (5 point scale, 1 = never, 5 = most of the time).

How often have you experienced…

1. Family members complimenting you on a job well done.*
2. Family members giving you the "silent treatment."
3. Family members shutting you out of their conversations.
4. Family members giving you the impression that they enjoy your company.*
5. Family members interacting with you only when they are required to do so.
6. Feeling accepted by family members.*
7. Family members updating you about important activities.*
8. Family members not replying to your requests/questions within a reasonable period of time.
9. Family members making you feel like you were not a part of the family.
10. Family members inviting you to participate in activities.*
11. Family members keeping important information from you.
12. Family members interacting with you.*
13. Feeling as if you were being ostracized by family members.

*Indicates a reverse scored item

Appendix M: Confirmation

Ellis (2002) Parental Confirmation Behavior Indicator (PCBI)
Indicate how frequently the family you grew up with engages in each of the behaviors
below from 1 – never to 7 – always.

1. Attends the events or other activities in which I participate.
2. Makes statements that communicated to me that I am a unique, valuable human being.
3. Demonstrates that they are genuinely listening when I am speaking about issues important to me.
4. Makes statements that communicate that my feelings are valid and real (e.g., made statements like, "I'm sorry that you're so disappointed, angry, etc.").
5. Gives me undivided attention when engaged in private conversations.
6. Maintains meaningful eye contact with me when we are engaged in conversation.
7. Asks how I feel about school, family issues, work, etc.
8. Gives me appropriate facial responses such as smiling or nodding during conversations with me.
9. Allows me to express negative feelings.
10. Gives clear, direct responses to me during conversations.
11. Asks my opinion or solicits my viewpoint.
12. Reserves uninterrupted time with me.
13. Goes off on unrelated tangents during conversations with me.*
14. Gives ambiguous (unclear, vague) responses.*
15. Gives impersonal responses (e.g., loaded with clichés or responses that did not truly respond to me).*
16. Sends double messages (verbal and nonverbal messages that differed).*
17. Interrupts me during conversations.*
18. Ascribes motives to my actions (e.g., made statement like, "You're only doing this because…").*
19. Avoids physical contact such as touching, hugging, pats on the back, etc.*
20. Discounts or explains away my feelings.*
21. Engages in monologue (continuing on and on with whatever they had to say, failing to acknowledge anything I said or tried to interject).*
22. Uses killer glances (put-down looks).*
23. Ignores me while in the same room.*
24. Criticizes my feelings when I express them.*
25. Ignores my attempts to express my feelings.*
26. Belittles me.*
27. Engages in negative name calling (labeling).*

Appendix N: Self-Esteem

Single-Item Self-Esteem Scale (SISE; Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski, 2001)
(1 – not very true of me, 5 – very true of me)

     1. I have high self-esteem.

Appendix O: Depression

Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression (CES-D)

Items 1-12 measure depressed affect using the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale. The scale measures current depressive symptoms, with an emphasis on mood and consists of twelve self report items and a four point response format ranging from 1 = rarely or none of the time to 4 = most or all of the time. The scale should be summed.

For each statement, please indicate how often you have felt this way **recently** by selecting the option you most agree with.

1 – Rarely, 2 – Some of the Time, 3 – Occasionally, 4 – Most of the time

1.   I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.
2.   I felt depressed.
3.   I felt that everything was an effort.
4.   I felt hopeful.*
5.   I thought my life had been a failure.
6.   I felt fearful.
7.   I was happy.*
8.   I talked less than usual.
9.   I felt lonely.
10.   People were unfriendly.
11.   I felt sad.
12.   I could not "get going."

Appendix P: Family Identification

Family Identification (Adapted from Mael & Ashforth, 1992)

> 5-point scale with 1 representing "strongly agree" and 5 representing "strongly disagree."

1. When someone criticizes my family, it feels like a personal insult.
2. I am very interested in what others think about my family.
3. When I talk about my family, I usually say "we" rather than "they."
4. My family's successes are my successes.
5. When someone praises my family, it feels like a personal compliment.
6. If a story in the media criticized my family, I would feel embarrassed.

Appendix Q: Online RIT – Turning Points

In some societies, marginalized family members are called "black sheep" because they stand out from the rest of the group. Certain times, events, or conversations from your life might have made you feel very 'marginalized,' different, or excluded from your family. Other events might have made you feel the opposite. These could be times you felt included or felt like you belonged with family.

1. Rate how marginalized by your family you **currently feel** from 0-100% with 100 representing the most marginalized, different, or excluded you believe a person can feel by their family and 0 meaning feeling included, approved of and not at all marginalized from family. (Slider)

    0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100%

2. Think about how old you were 10 years ago. How marginalized by your family did you feel then? (Slider)

    0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100%

3. Think of a time, event, or conversation in the **past 10 years** that made you feel especially different, excluded, or disapproved of. That would be a time when you felt very marginalized.

    Please describe the event in as much detail as you can in the box below. Include any memorable conversations, behaviors, or actions taken by the people involved that made you feel marginalized.

    ┌──┐
    │   │
    │   │
    │   │
    └──┘

4. Rate the event from 0-100% on how marginalized you felt by your family at the time of the event with 100 representing the most marginalized, different, or excluded you believe a person can feel by their family and 0 meaning feeling included, approved of and not at all marginalized from family. (Slider)

    0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100%

5. When did this event happen? (drop down: approximate date)

6. Who was involved (e.g., sister, dad)? (open-end)

7. Why did you choose this event to write about? (open-end)

The event you just described can be thought of as a "turning point" in your family relationship. A turning point is an event that changes a relationship in an important way. It can change be a change for **better or worse**. In this case, the event changed your family relationships in how marginalized you felt. Any event that made you feel **more or less** marginalized could be a turning point. It is important to think about events where you felt more included, similar, and liked, as well as events that made you feel excluded and disapproved of.

In each of the four "event description" boxes below, identify four other turning points **within the last 10 years** that have changed how marginalized you felt by your family. These events could have occurred before or after the event you just described. Remember, these could be specific events or times when you felt more marginalized or less marginalized.

It may help to think about when you were first aware of a **change** in how much you felt marginalized by your family. You will be asked to name each event, give a detailed description of what happened, and identify the approximate date of the event. It is important that you really do recall **four additional events** because this will help describe your feelings of marginalization over time. Remember these can be events that made you feel more or less marginalized than before.

Event 1

Event Name (open end)

Event Description

Please describe the event in as much detail as you can in the box below. Include any memorable conversations, behaviors, or actions taken by the people involved that made you feel marginalized.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                               │
│                                               │
│                                               │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

1. Rate the event from 0-100% on how marginalized you felt by your family at the time of the event with 100 representing the most marginalized, different, or excluded you believe a person can feel by their family and 0 meaning feeling included, approved of and not at all marginalized from family. (Slider)

0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%

2. When did Event 1 happen? (drop down: approximate date)

3. Who was involved? (open-end)

4. Why did you identify it as a turning point? (open-end)

Event 2

Event Name (open end)

Event Description

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1. Rate the event from 0-100% on how marginalized you felt by your family at the time of the event with 100 representing the most marginalized, different, or excluded you believe a person can feel by their family and 0 meaning feeling included, approved of and not at all marginalized from family. (Slider)

0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%

2. When did this event happen? (drop down: approximate date)

3. Who was involved? (open-end)

4. Why did you identify it as a turning point? (open-end)

Event 3

Event Name (open end)

Event Description

```


```

1. Rate the event from 0-100% on how marginalized you felt by your family at the time of the event with 100 representing the most marginalized, different, or excluded you believe a person can feel by their family and 0 meaning feeling included, approved of and not at all marginalized from family. (Slider)

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100%

2. When did this event happen? (drop down: approximate date)

3. Who was involved? (open-end)

4. Why did you identify it as a turning point? (open-end)

Event 4

Event Name (open end)

Event Description

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1. Rate the event from 0-100% on how marginalized you felt by your family at the time of the event with 100 representing the most marginalized, different, or excluded you believe a person can feel by their family and 0 meaning feeling included, approved of and not at all marginalized from family. (Slider)

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100%

2. When did this event happen? (drop down: approximate date)

3. Who was involved? (open-end)

4. Why did you identify it as a turning point? (open-end)

5. How have the events you just described changed your family relationships during the last 10 years? (open-end)

Appendix R: Final Questions

1. Why do you think you are excluded, disapproved of, and/or different from your family? (open-end)

2. All families have strengths and limits. What are some of the strengths of your family? (open-end)

3. Is there anyone inside or outside your family you can turn to at times when you feel marginalized by multiple family members? How do they make you feel included? (open-end)

4. Is there anything else you want us to know about feeling different or marginalized by family? (open-end)

Appendix S: Study 2 Turning Points Codebook

A turning point is an event or occurrence that changes a relationship in an important way, for better or worse (Baxter et al., 1999). The turning points described by participants changed their family relationships in how marginalized they felt.
Directions: Each turning point description should be coded for the "type" of event described.

Coding Steps
1. Read the event description first, try and decide the code from this description only. If one code is clear, choose this code. If it is unclear or more than 1 event is mentioned, move to step 2.
2. Read the title of the event. If it matches one of the codes you were considering or clears up an unclear event, use this to code the event. If you are still unsure, move to step 3.
3. Read the "why" for the event. This may help clarify further.
4. If still no code explains the event, use the "other" category.

Rules: If more than one event or category is mentioned within a single turning point description:

- Defer to the event that matches the name the participant provided and the event they talk about as an explanation for their level of marginalization (i.e., what is making them feel marginalized?). For example, #10's event "Fly to the US" is about moving as well as attending college but moving to the US is the marginalizing event the participant spends time describing.
- If one event is explicitly mentioned while the other is implied or implicit, code the event the participant is more explicit about. For example, #04's event "mom" is a description of the participant telling her mom she is contemplating divorce. While the underlying motivation of this event is to seek support, the participant explicitly states she is sharing about her relationship turmoil (i.e., divorce).
- If it is still unclear, determine the root of the problem and use that along with the title of the event to determine the category.
- If there are two events in the title, pick the one the turning point description focuses on.
- If the description is ambiguous, for example, the participant describes noticing parental differential treatment but also mentions support seeking, choose the event (support). The codes are designed to capture actual events, so code events as often as possible.
- Only use the other category if there are no other viable options.

Code	Definition	Study 2 Data Excerpt Examples
1. Marriage and Children	Includes the participant getting engaged, married, attending weddings, or wedding related activities like showers and rehearsal dinners, having a child, or becoming pregnant. Can include pressure to get married or have children from family, siblings having children, or arguments/ conversations about how to raise children.	#83 (100%): "My parents and siblings attended the rehearsal dinner for my wedding 8 years ago…my spouses parents were making toasts about how happy they were and proud of their child they were. My parents were speaking to my in-laws and telling them that they definitely got the worse end of the deal because their family was going to have to put up with me." #137 (34%): "My second child was born in January of this year. My dad and stepmom came to the hospital to visit after we settled into a room. My dad held the baby and kissed my forehead. He said, "You did good, girl." #90 (85%): "At my sister's wedding in Atlanta, I felt like an outsider and I was a groomsman. One uncle talked to me in total. One cousin talked to me. The rest of the aunts, uncles and cousins pretty much ignored me." #39 (100%): "A similar shutting-out happens because I don't have or want children. Since I am female, I am supposed to want a lot of children and to stay at home and take care of them. They have been asking for the past ten years when I am going to have kids. It gets very frustrating because I constantly explain I don't want any."
2. Romantic Relation-ships (dating, conflict, and divorce)	Dating includes going on dates, reactions (disapproval or support) toward new boyfriends/girlfriends, conversations about sex or sexual related experiences with a dating partner, and dating activities in general. This category also includes events marked by relationship turmoil such as talking about or getting a divorce, cheating or being cheated on, custody battles due to relationship turmoil, breakups etc. Could also include parents or siblings divorcing.	#37 (98%): When I was younger I began dating a man over the internet, and basically fell away from all of my family worse than now. I spent hours away from them with little contact, and they all disapproved of him and what I was doing." #116 (85%): "I felt excluded when I decided to get a divorce. I was looked down on because no one in my family has ever gotten a divorce." #28 (100%): "So me and my husband got into a fight and he left. In the months following, I was depressed, but my behavior was extreme. I had no support from my family. I heard very negative comments about the whole thing being my fault, I was to blame." #134 (100%): "My aunt accused me of sleeping with her husband. I never slept with her husband, but he was a cheater... My aunt called my family to inform them that I was sleeping with her husband. I thought my family would stand up for me, but they did not. My siblings agreed with her and used this time to call me names.
3. Moving/ Change in Living Arrange-ments	Moving includes moving away from family (greater geographical distance) and can include siblings moving in with the participant, moving back in with parents, being asked to pay rent to parents, getting the	#01 (100%): "I was forced to move 3 states away because of my beliefs." #122 (43%): "I left my crappy life in Texas and moved to Utah with my parents to try and turn my life around. My parents were proud of this decision." #47 (100%): "My step dad figured since I wasn't one of his kids I either had to have sex with him or be kicked out of

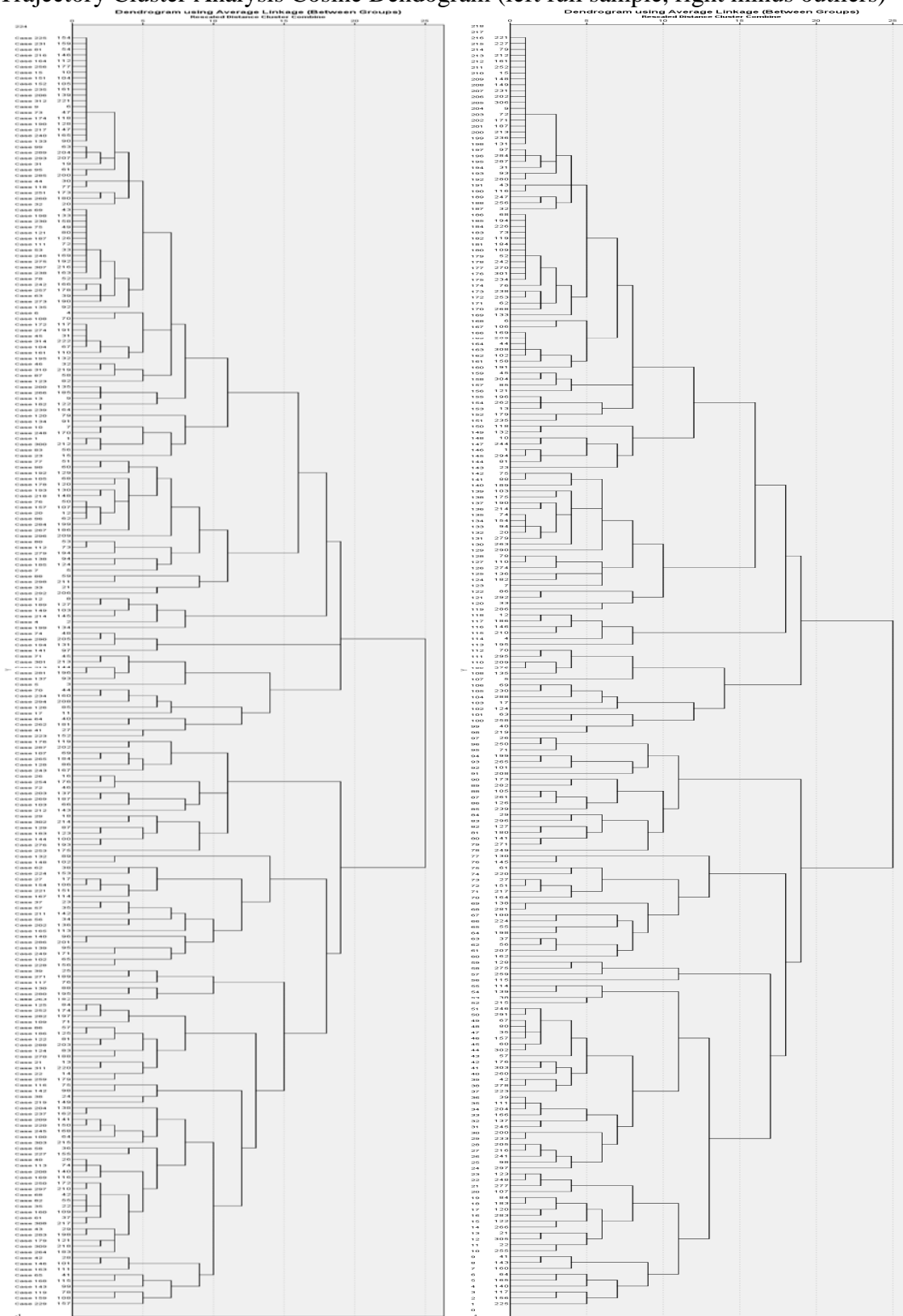|		
	participants first place independent of parents etc.	the house when I turned 18." #252 (0%): "I made a decision for myself and decided to move across the country."
4. Education and Career	Education includes the decision to attend and actually attending college or graduate school. It can also include deciding on a major/concentration, dropping out of college, or graduating from high school or college (including graduation ceremonies and parties, own or family members'). Career includes looking for, changing and leaving jobs. Misunderstanding or lack of support about what the participant does as a student or in their career should also be included here.	#02 (91%): "I remember telling my parents I was dropping out because of my bad grades and they just cried and told me how I screwed up my life." #93 (47%): "I took up a job against wishes of a parent." #80 (19%): "I felt less marginalized because I was doing what my parents wanted me to do and I was achieving something that my brother had not yet." #39 (100%): "I'm the only one in my family to have gone to college (at least until my sister and brother were old enough). None of my cousins, parents, aunts, or uncles did. They enjoy making fun of that because they think college is a waste of time… They really banded together against me when I enrolled." #85 (80%): "When my brother graduated from college I was not invited to it. He was out of state and I was in another state but I was not told when his graduation was going to take place."
5. Family Gatherings	Includes holidays, parties, vacations, trips, visits with or from family, religious events (e.g., ceremonies), planning events, and funerals. Also included are gatherings where the marginalized member was not invited or not told about the trip etc. and neglecting to visit the marginalized member.	#96 (100%): "I overheard my mom and 2 younger sisters discussing a planned trip out of state where they would be meeting up with my older sister for a girls vacation…I was never mentioned, and they talked quietly about it, as if they didn't want me to hear them." #125 (0%): "I was at my grandmother's house on Christmas eve. My mom's mom. My mom's side of the family has always included and accepted me. I was there with my partner and my family was okay with me being there with my partner. We opened Christmas gifts and had nice time enjoying each other's company." #7 (69%): "My parents like to have people over for dinner and entertain. I have known these people since I was born but my parents did not invite me. That hurt my feelings because it was not strangers or people I did not know, these people are practically family." #30 (40%): "At the funeral, my mother's family ignored her (and her children). They acted rather cruel and that saddened me. I never felt close to them, but I was respectful."
6. Criminal Behavior and Abuse	Criminal behaviors include illegal substance abuse, drinking and driving, misuse of prescription drugs, underage drinking, fighting, violence, sexual	#153 (100%): "I was arrested for drinking underage in college, while on probation I failed a drug test for marijuana. Everyone in my family was disappointed, my father being a principal asked me how I thought that made him looked." #31 (80%): "One of my siblings went to prison. Now my

	or physical abuse, or being arrested for any offense. This can also include family members being arrested/imprisoned	other two siblings grew more connected due to this sad, unexpected event in our lives. I didn't take part in consoling." #157 (100%): "It started with my sister calling me and expressing some feelings of uncomfortableness around my step-father. I was scared so I called my cousin to pick her up and take her to their house. Then my aunt called me and told me of my sister's abuse. I talked to my sister to confirm, and to my shock, it was all true." #113 (60%): "I got arrested for possession of marijuana and my parents kinda shunned me from then."
7. Support	Includes support-seeking and support-receiving, often connected to a health issue. Participants sometimes asked family members for monetary support or reached out for other kinds of support (emotional, acceptance). These events include stepping up and providing support for others (needing or asking for support) and can include seeking therapy for mental health symptoms. Rejection of support or misuse of support is also included here.	#40 (64%): "My brother was playing in a championship game, but the night previous I was severely sick and had to go to the hospital. Instead of staying with me or checking up on me, they left to do to his game." #33 (90%): "My dad was helping me move into my dorm when he saw that I was beginning to dress like a man. Instead of being supportive or even just not opening his mouth, he began to berate me. He commented that I would never be accepted as a man, and that I would never look like a man…The words cut really deep." #290 (96%): My 2nd oldest brother put down the thought of me even being with someone who was 12 years older than me and laughed it off as a joke. None of my siblings were supportive of it at the time." #301 (15%): Becoming severely ill a few years ago and being largely unable to care for myself for the better part of a year and having to move back home was actually strangely a positive experience. My mother was patient, and took me to all of my doctor's appointment, and I felt generally supported.
8. Disclosures	Disclosures and consequential conversations include participants sharing information with another family member (e.g., coming out, apologizing, telling a family member about changed world view) This category includes verbal and written communication received or sent by participants and open conversations which are defined by the participant as times when their partner really listened and respected their opinions	#103 (70%): "Around 8 years ago I 'came out' to my parents about being an atheist. This did not go amazingly well and has caused tension ever since." #49 (100%): "I remember getting a phone call from one of my cousins regarding an argument that my mother and another cousin were having. This cousin was fishing for details, gossip from me. She pretended to be mildly interested in my life and then immediately asked me about what i knew regarding the fight." #62 (99%): "I told my family that I was gay, and they looked at me disgusted. Then I got kicked out of the house." #66 (100%): "In the religion in which I was raised, there are very clear cut gender roles. I have always felt that women should not have to be subservient to men, and I told [my father] so. He became incredibly agitated and upset. His

	as well as conversations about no longer seeing or communicating with family. This also includes ambiguous descriptions of no longer talking or being shut out.	face got really red, that vein in his forehead stood out and started throbbing, and he spent the better part of an hour screaming at me and telling me how, if I didn't accept that part of the religion, I would go to hell and never see them again."
9. Other	Events that do not fit elsewhere including intrapersonal events, like coming to the realization that a family member won't change or things will not improve. Can include realizing differential treatment (unequal treatment of siblings **if** no other event happens).	#82 (51%): "family problems and misunderstandings" #134 (87%): "Whenever there is a phone call from the aunts or uncles, they talk to dad. There is no mention at all of how I am doing or curiosity. Not even as much as a "Tell him we said Hi". I am just here I guess." #218 (91%): "I am modern rationalist but my parents are not like that. I will always do only sensible things but they do not do like that." #240 (49%): "My family members forced their opinion on me."

Appendix T: Marginalization Dimensions and Trajectories Cluster Analysis Cosine Dendograms

Dendrogram using Average Linkage (Between Groups)
Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine
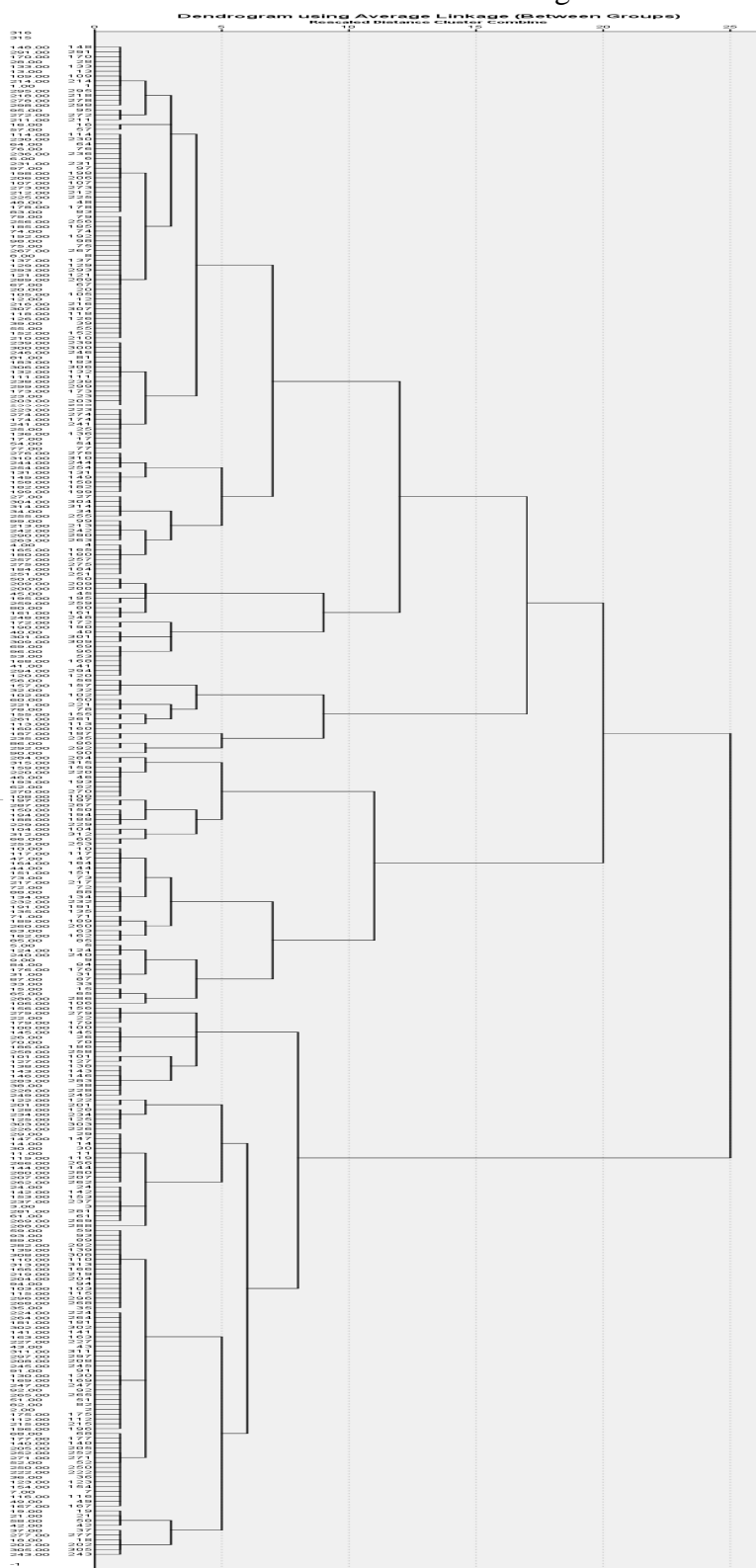
Trajectory Cluster Analysis Cosine Dendogram (left full sample, right minus outliers)

VITA

VITA

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PUBLICATIONS

McNallie, J., & **Dorrance Hall, E**. (2015). The role of perceptions of sibling
    maintenance behavior in ratings of relationship satisfaction. *Communication
    Research Reports*, *32,* 149-158. doi: 10.1080/08824096.2015.1016147

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Greene, J. O., Morgan, M., Anderson, L. B., Gill, E., **Dorrance Hall, E.,** Berkelaar, B. L., Herbers, L. E., & Hingson, L. (2014). Formative communication experiences and message production ability in adulthood: Family communication patterns and creative facility. *Communication Research Reports*, *31*, 41-52. doi: 10.1080/08824096.2013.843166

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Dorrance, E., Travis, M., Anderson, S., Henley, A. (2013). Complaining and Knapp's relationship stages: Gender differences in instrumental complaints. *Florida Communication Journal*, *41*, 49-61.

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Ferrara, M.H., Kopfman, J., **Dorrance Hall, E.,** Navon, E., Septor, K. (2011). Talk to take: Multivitamin usage in college-aged women. *Journal of Communication in Healthcare*, *4*, 271-280.

CONFERENCE PAPERS

**Top Paper Designation

Dorrance Hall, E. (May, 2015). The process of family member marginalization. *Paper presented at the International Communication Association Conference, San Juan, Puerto Rico.*

Dorrance Hall, E. (November, 2014). The effect of emerging adult technology use on self-esteem, loneliness, and family satisfaction. *Paper presented at the 100^th Annual National Communication Association Conference*, Chicago, IL.

Dorrance Hall, E. & McNallie, J. (November, 2014). Sex and constellation differences in perceptions of self and sibling relationship maintenance behaviors. *Paper presented at the 100^th Annual National Communication Association Conference, Chicago, IL.*

Wilson, S. R., **Dorrance Hall, E.,** Gettings, P. E., & Pastor, R. (November, 2014). The impact of deployment, relational, and personal factors on how families talk with U.S. service members about mental health concerns: A multiple goals mediational model. *Paper presented at the 100^th Annual National Communication Association Conference, Chicago, IL.*

Dorrance Hall, E. (May, 2014). Family identification and the transition to college: A mixed method construct exploration. *Paper presented at the International Communication Association Conference, Seattle, WA.*

Wilson, S. R., Gettings, P. E., **Dorrance Hall, E. & Pastor, R. (May, 2014). Dilemmas families face in talking with returning U. S. Military service members about seeking professional help for mental health issues. *Paper presented at the International Communication Association Conference, Seattle, WA.*

McNallie, J. & **Dorrance Hall, E**. (May, 2014). Sex constellation and sibling relationship maintenance. *Paper presented at the International Communication Association Conference, Seattle, WA.*

Dorrance Hall, E., Ferrara, M. H., Kopfman, J. (November, 2013). The language of clothes: Nonverbal communication intention and misinterpretation. *Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, Washington, DC.*

Dorrance Hall, E., & Kenny, M. W. (November, 2013). Communication technology and the transition to college: Family relationships, maintenance, and technology choice. *Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, Washington, DC.*

Wilson, S. R., **Dorrance Hall, E.** & Gettings, P. E. (November, 2013). Multiple goals during complex family conversations: Developing a measure of family members' goals for talking with military service members about seeking mental healthcare. *Paper presented at the National Communication Association, Washington, DC.*

Dorrance Hall, E., & McNallie, J. (June, 2013). The role of expectations and perceptions of sibling maintenance behavior in ratings of sibling relationship quality. *Paper presented at the International Communication Association Conference, London, UK.*

Wilson, S. R., Gettings, P. E. and **Dorrance Hall, E**. (June, 2013). Multiple goals during complex family conversations: What goals do family members pursue when talking with returning military service members about seeking mental healthcare? *Paper presented at the International Communication Association Conference, London, UK.*

Greene, J. O., Morgan, M., Anderson, L. B., Gill, E., **Dorrance Hall, E.,** Berkelaar, B. L., Herbers, L. E., & Hingson, L. (June, 2013). Formative communication experiences and message production ability in adulthood: Family communication patterns and creative facility. *Paper presented at the International Communication Association Conference, London, UK.*

Dorrance Hall, E. (April, 2013). A context driven model of privacy needs and perceptions. *Paper presented at the Southern States Communication Association Conference, Louisville, KY.*

Dorrance Hall, E. (April, 2013). Strengths and limits: Family communication patterns theory evaluation. *Paper presented at the Southern States Communication Association Conference, Louisville, KY.*

Dorrance Hall, E. (February, 2013). Social Network Analysis and the Transition to Parenthood: Advice, Support, and Uncertainty Reduction. *Paper presented at the Communication Graduate Student Association Conference, West Lafayette, IN.*

Dorrance Hall, E., & Kenny, M. (February, 2013). Emergent Technology and Communication in Diverse Family Relationships: A Qualitative Exploration. *Paper presented at the Communication Graduate Student Association Conference, West Lafayette, IN.*

Dorrance Hall, E., & McNallie, J. (February, 2013). The role of expectations and perceptions of sibling maintenance behavior in ratings of sibling relationship quality. *Paper presented at the Communication Graduate Student Association Conference, West Lafayette, IN.*

Dorrance Hall, E., Ferrara, M.H., Ruth-McSwain, A., (November, 2012). Are you really going to eat that?: Parental influence on healthy lifestyle choices. *Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, Orlando, FL.*

Wilson, S. R., Gettings, P.E., **Dorrance Hall, E.** (August, 2012). Family members' roles in Veterans health care decisions: A multiple goals perspective. *Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Conference, Orlando, FL.*

Dorrance Hall, E., Simmons, E. (March, 2012). A sense of belonging: New technologies' effect on recruitment practices of graduate programs. *Paper presented at the Central States Communication Association Conference, Cleveland, OH.*

Ferrara, M.H., **Dorrance, E.A**., Kopfman, J. (November, 2010). Talk to take: The who and what of compliance regarding multivitamin usage in college women. *Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, San Francisco, CA.*

Dorrance, E.A., Anderson, S.E., Travis, M.M. (October, 2010). The effect of communication technology on long-distance interpersonal relationship satisfaction. *Paper presented at the Carolinas Communication Association Conference, Conway, SC.*

Dorrance, E.A. (October, 2010). Upper East Side queen bees and the American dream: Oppression and the American myth narrative in Gossip Girl. *Paper presented at the Carolinas Communication Association Conference, Conway, SC.*

CONFERENCE POSTERS

Dorrance Hall, E. (September, 2014). The process of family member marginalization. *Organizational Communication Mini-Conference. West Lafayette, IN.*

Wilson, S. R., Gettings, P. E., **Dorrance Hall, E.** & Pastor, R. (March, 2014). Dilemmas families face in talking with returning U.S. Military service members about seeking professional help for mental health issues. *Purdue University Health and Disease: Science, Culture, and Policy Poster Session, West Lafayette, IN.*

Dorrance Hall, E., Gettings, P. E., Pastor, R. Rayburn, E. & Wilson, S. R. (April, 2013). Family conversations about mental health concerns after military deployment. *Purdue University Health Communication and Family Dynamics Conference. West Lafayette, IN.*

Dorrance, E.A. (January, 2011). Communication accommodation and clothing code nonverbal messages in first impressions. *College of Charleston Graduate Poster Session. Charleston, SC.*

Dorrance, E.A., Anderson, S.E., Travis, M.M., & Henley, A. (January, 2011). Get your towel off the floor: Complaining and Knapp's relationship stages. *College of Charleston Graduate Poster Session. Charleston, SC.*

Dorrance, E.A., Anderson, S.E., & Travis, M.M. (January, 2010). The effect of communication technology on long-distance interpersonal relationship satisfaction. *College of Charleston Graduate Poster Session. Charleston, SC.*

GRANT ACTIVITY

Global Synergy Research Grant, $14,020 (2015)
Office of the President, College of Liberal Arts, Purdue University
"The Effect of Family Communication and Social Media Use on First Year College Student Academic and Social/Psychological Adjustment in the United States and Belgium."

Doctoral Honors Seminar Travel Grant, $250 (2014)
National Communication Association

Center for Families Grant (2013)
Center for Families, Purdue University
Funded as a research assistant for Steve Wilson on the project "Complex Conversations: How do Military Families Talk about Mental Health Concerns"

Graduate Research Presentation Travel Grant, $100 (2013, 2014)
Communication Graduate Student Association, Purdue University

Graduate Research and Presentation Grant, $100 (2010)
Department of Communication, College of Charleston

Graduate Student Research Grant, $100 (2010)
Graduate Student Association, College of Charleston

AWARDS

Bruce Kendall Award for Excellence in Teaching, Honorable Mention	2015
Brian Lamb School of Communication, Purdue University	
Doctoral Honors Seminar Participant	2014
National Communication Association, Hosted by the University of Maryland	
Top Student Paper, Interpersonal Communication Division	2014
International Communication Association, Seattle, WA	
Top Paper, Health Communication Division	2014
International Communication Association, Seattle, WA	
Alan H. Monroe Graduate Scholar Award	2014
Brian Lamb School of Communication, Purdue University	

Graduate Teaching Certificate   2012
       Center for Instructional Excellence, Purdue University
       Recognition for exceptional pedagogical development and experience
Outstanding Graduate Student of the Year   2011
       Department of Communication, College of Charleston

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Purdue University
Principles of Persuasion   Fall 2014, Spring 2015
Introduction to Organizational Communication (2 sections)   Fall 2014
Approaches to Interpersonal Communication (4 sections)Spring & Fall 2013, Spring 2014
Interviewing: Principles and Practices   Fall 2012, Summer 2014
Washington DC Practicum at C-SPAN with Ambassador Carolyn Curiel   May 2013
Media and Politics: The Communicators with Brian Lamb   Spring 2013
Science Writing and Presenting   Fall 2012
Introduction to Public Speaking (5 sections)   Fall 2011, Spring 2012

College of Charleston
Gender and Communication with Dr. Merissa Ferrara   Spring 2011
Research Methods with Dr. Jenifer Kopfman   Fall 2010

INVITED TALKS AND GUEST LECTURES

KU Leuven Satellite Seminar Invited Respondent, Purdue University (2014)
       "Reciprocal relationships between music television exposure and adolescents' sexual
       behaviors: The role of perceived male and female peer norms"

Family Studies Research Colloquium, Purdue University (2013)
       "Complex conversations: How do military families talk about mental health concerns?"

KU Leuven Satellite Seminar Invited Respondent, Purdue University (2012)
       "The impact of parental work demands on children's television time: The mediating role
       of parental distress, parenting time pressure and shared activities"

Interpersonal (Nonverbal) Communication Guest Lecture, College of Charleston (2010)

SERVICE

Health Education & Behavior, Ad-Hoc Reviewer   2015

National Communication Association, Paper Reviewer   2014-2015

Family Communication Division

International Communication Association, Paper Reviewer Interpersonal Communication Division	2015

National Communication Association, Paper Session Chair
    "Families managing uncertainty: Studies across the lifespan"
    Family Communication Division
	2014

Organizational Communication Mini-Conference, Session Chair
    "Leadership, change, and resilience in organizations: Health and organizing"
    Brian Lamb School of Communication, Purdue University
	2014

Organizational Communication Mini-Conference, Planning Volunteer Purdue University	2014
National Communication Association, Paper Reviewer Nonverbal Communication Division	2014
Purdue Graduate Student Summer Writing Retreat Organization, Programming and Facilitation	2014
Communication Graduate Student Association, Paper Reviewer	2013-2014
Graduate Student Recruitment Representative National Communication Association Conference in Washington, DC	2013
Central States Communication Association, Paper Reviewer Honors Conference	2013
National Communication Association, Paper Reviewer Student Division	2012-2013
National Communication Association, Convention Volunteer	2010, 2012

MEMBERSHIPS

National Communication Association	2010, 2012-Present
International Communication Association	2013-Present
Communication Graduate Student Association	2011-2014
Purdue University, Vice President of Administration	2012-2013
Southern States Communication Association	2013
Central States Communication Association	2012
Carolinas Communication Association	2010-2011

Masters of Communication Association, Graduate Student Association	2009-2011
College of Charleston, Treasurer	
Phi Beta Kappa	2009-Present
Lambda Pi Eta, Communication Honorary	2008-Present

ACADEMIC PREPARATION

Purdue University, Ph.D.
Interpersonal Communication/Family Studies
       Theories of Interpersonal Communication, *Steven R. Wilson*
       Nonverbal Communication, *John O. Greene*
       Theories of Family Communication, *Steven R. Wilson*
       Sibling Communication Research, *Steven R. Wilson*
       Advanced Family Studies Theory, *Melissa Franks, Family Studies*
Organizational Communication
       Foundations of Human Inquiry, *Stacey Connaughton & Torsten Reimer*
       Theories of Organizational Communication, *Seungyoon Lee*
       Organizational Identity and Identification, *Stacey Connaughton*
Research Methodology
       Social Network Analysis, *Seungyoon Lee*
       Experimental Design, *William Graziano, Psychological Sciences*
       Advanced Qualitative Methods, *Nadine Dolby, Curriculum & Instruction*
       Advanced Quantitative Methods, *Shawn Whiteman, Family Studies*
       Structural Equation Modeling, *Sharon Christ, Family Studies*

College of Charleston, M.A.
       Communication Theory, *Merissa Ferrara*
       Quantitative Research Methods, *Douglas Ferguson*
       Qualitative Research Methods, *Robert Westerfelhaus*
       Advanced Communication Research Methods, *Merissa Ferrara*
       Intercultural/International Communication, *Kirk Stone*
       Modern and Contemporary Rhetoric, *Brian McGee*
       Communication Pedagogy, *Merissa Ferrara*
       Executive Communication, *Julie Davis*
       Dramaturgical Perspective and Events, *Deborah McGee*