Maternal Socialization and Anti-racism Mothering: A Grounded Theory

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Keywords: intensive mothering, anti-racism, maternal ideologies

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ABSTRACT

White mothers have historically felt exempt from discussing race and racism with their children and have placed this added emotional labor onto mothers of color (Depouw & Matias, 2016; Priest et al., 2014). Budding anti-racism scholarship has begun to examine why well-intending white parents report an interest in engaging in anti-racism but fail to follow-through (Aanerud, 2007; Allen, 2017; Comeau, 2007; Depouw & Matias, 2016; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). While this body of literature has highlighted important missteps and shortcomings of white families' engagement in anti-racism, examining how maternal socialization, within the current intensive mothering (IM) paradigm (Hays, 1996), informs the integration of anti-racism has yet to be considered. Guided by symbolic interactionism and feminist theories and methodology, this study functions to answer the following research questions: (1) How might, if at all, race, gender, and class socialization inform affluent white mothers' adoption of IM? (2) What is the process of affluent white mothers challenging or adopting IM to incorporate anti-racism into their maternal identity and mothering practices? and (3) What are the perceived barriers or motivators, if any, to affluent white mothers' integration of anti-racism within the current IM paradigm? Data from 18 semi-structured, virtual individual interviews with affluent white mothers, post-interview survey questions, and follow-up member

checking interview questions derived from coded transcripts were analyzed using constructivist grounded theory. Findings indicate that affluent white mothers who endorse interest in engaging in anti-racism within the context of IM report several tensions within the process of integrating anti-racism into their existing maternal identity. Foundational to each of these tensions is internalized white supremacy and gender ideologies that surface in striving to excel at both IM and anti-racism. While tenets of IM (i.e., all-consuming; labor intensive) and white supremacy (i.e., perfectionism; bigger is better; either/or thinking) presented as perceived barriers toward integration of anti-racism into maternal identity, some tenets of IM (i.e., optimal child outcomes; professionally informed) were named as motivation for this sample to incorporate anti-racism into their maternal identity and daily practice. Aligning with optimal child outcomes and professionally-informed mothering, two points of intervention were named, creating space for the development and assessment of future interventions aimed to increase the presence of anti-racism within white mothering.

Key Terms: intensive mothering, anti-racism, maternal ideologies

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

White families have historically felt exempt from discussing race and racism with their children and have placed this added emotional labor onto families of color (Depouw & Matias, 2016; Priest et al., 2014). Budding anti-racism scholarship has begun to examine why well-intending white parents report an interest in engaging in anti-racism but fail to follow-through (Aanerud, 2007; Allen, 2017; Comeau, 2007; Depouw & Matias, 2016; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). While this body of literature has highlighted important missteps and shortcomings of white families' engagement in anti-racism, examining how maternal socialization, within the current intensive mothering (IM) paradigm (Hays, 1996), informs the integration of anti-racism has yet to be considered. Guided by symbolic interactionism and feminist theories and methodology, this study functions to answer the following research questions: (1) How might, if at all, race, gender, and class socialization inform affluent white mothers' adoption of IM? (2) What is the process of affluent white mothers challenging or adopting IM to incorporate anti-racism into their maternal identity and mothering practices? and (3) What are the perceived barriers or motivators, if any, to affluent white mothers' integration of anti-racism within the current IM paradigm? Findings indicate that affluent white mothers who endorse interest in engaging in anti-racism within the context of IM report several tensions

within the process of integrating anti-racism into their existing maternal identity. Foundational to each of these tensions is internalized white supremacy and gender ideologies that surface in striving to excel at both IM and anti-racism. While tenets of IM (i.e., optimal child outcomes; professionally informed) presented as perceived barriers toward integration of anti-racism into maternal identity, some tenets of IM (optimal child outcomes, professionally informed) were named as motivation for this sample to incorporate anti-racism into their maternal identity and daily practice. Aligning with optimal child outcomes and professionally informed mothering, two points of intervention were named, creating space for the development and assessment of future interventions aimed to increase the presence of anti-racism within white mothering.

DEDICATION

To my mother, Brenda and my daughter, Evelyn, who have taught me first-hand about the challenges, nuances, and unconditional love that are endlessly weaving together in motherhood. To my informants, who graciously shared their stories with me and trusted me with their lived experience and knowledge of mothering. I dedicate this dissertation to you.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background and Significance

In the state of Virginia, where I sit and write, the new GOP governor signed executive orders during his first few hours in office to ban the teaching of critical race theory (CRT; Bell, 1991) in public schools. Governor Youngkin also created a tattle-tell tip line, empowering "concerned" parents to inform him of any "divisive" teachings that their children encounter at their schools or by their teachers. With this tip line, parents are being guided to report if their children are being educated on the presence and role of systemic racism in the United States. While the news of Governor Younkin's recent executive order created debate in school board meetings across the state of Virginia (Barthel, 2021), the tension around CRT is present across the United States (U.S.). Within this political friction is confusion about how young children understand race and racism and an argument to maintain the innocence of young white children through banning books and the teaching of U.S. history that names systemic racism (Harris & Alter, 2023). As a family science scholar, I am concerned what these anti-progressive and postracial policies communicate to mothers about what it means to be a concerned parent and more specifically, how these policies and the manner in which CRT is being discussed on mass media have the potential to influence how white mothers think about and engage in racial ethnic socialization (RES) (Hughes, et al., 2006) with their white children, especially young children.

Empirically-based literature in early childhood highlights the importance of early education and racial socialization (Bonilla-Silva, 2018; Clark & Clark, 1939; Helms, 1990, 2020; Rhodes & Baron, 2019). Bonilla-Silva (2018) and Helms (1990, 2020) both stress that early exposure to diversity and open conversations about race and racism are foundational to how a person understands their own position in a racialized society. When this early exposure is

missing, Bonilla-Silva (2018) found that white college students, even those who self-identified as racially progressive reported having difficulty making friends outside of their own race. This finding supports the developmental trajectory of in-group preferences communicated by developmental psychologists studying social cognition, stating that children as young as age 3 years old begin to prefer in-group peers (Mandalaywala, et al., 2021; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011) and that exposure to diversity and open conversations about race mitigate this in-group preference (Mandalaywala & Rhodes, 2020; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Rhodes & Baron, 2019).

These radical requests to cancel teachings from a CRT framework within public schools, ban books from libraries, and "protect" young white children from U.S. history may have the potential to prompt more white parents to engage in discussions about race and racism within their families to counter the agenda of the governor and other GOP politicians throughout the U.S. For instance, there already are progressive white parents stepping up to confront the Virginia governor's agenda by attending school board meetings, writing emails to the governor, and joining forces via social media forums (MCPS Virginia Parents United, 2022; We are VA Parents Too, 2022). However, literature on racial ethnic socialization (RES) and performative allyship within white families suggests that these acts of protests are unlikely to go beyond the surface where white parents are truly engaging in teaching their children about race (Kutlaca & Radke, 2022; Priest et al., 2014) and prompt us to critically question the underlying intention for these protests. Do these white parents genuinely want social justice for marginalized families or are they simply engaging in these acts of performative allyship (Hesford, 2021) to maintain their own impression as *nice white parents* (DiAngelo, 2021; Snyder, 2020)? Grounding my interest in the complexity of intentionality and allyship is empirically informed literature that examines how progressive white parents navigate teaching their children about race and racial injustice

(Comeau, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015). Self-identifying progressive white parents do attend anti-racism protests and display Black Lives Matter (BLM) signs in their yards and on social media (Hesford, 2021). However, scholars such as Bonilla-Silva (2017), Hagerman (2018), and DiAngelo (2021) have highlighted how these steps are being made through these parents' own *white gaze* (Morrison, 1994) without reflexivity on their privilege, more specifically how their positionality informs how and why they engage in social justice work within their family and decisions they make, including how they parent their children. Recent work from DiAngelo and Snyder suggests that it becomes difficult for well-intending white parents to see how their engagement in racial justice work is still directed by their own race and class ideals. Helms (1991; 2020) argued that this is due, in part, to their own lack of racial identity.

Historically, the emotional labor of RES has primarily been carried by parents of color (Depouw & Matias, 2016; Priest et al., 2014). Even well-intending white parents who report wanting to engage in RES and anti-racism teachings within their families fail to follow-through with their intentions, citing reasons such as: (a) believing their children are too young to recognize and understand race; (b) protection and preservation of innocence in childhood; (c) lack of awareness that they "deal with" race; and (d) colorblind racism (Aanerud, 2007; Allen, 2017; Comeau, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Current literature lacks an in-depth investigation of these motivations and perceived barriers to engaging in anti-racism work within RES in white families (Hagerman, 2018). To better understand the underlying mechanisms that influence how white progressive parents, specifically mothers who say they aim to practice anti-racism behaviors in their mothering practices fail to do so, it would behoove family scientists and

clinicians to better understand how the process of maternal identity development through race, class, and gender ideologies inform, if at all, how mothers integrate an antiracism worldview into their maternal identity, think about their positionality, and follow through with anti-racism behaviors.

We are in a time of racial and political division in the United States, creating discourses that prompt white parents to critically examine how their race privilege and socialization through the lens of white supremacy might inform how they digest racist policies, such as the attempt to ban the teaching of CRT in Virginia schools (Pew Research Center, 2021). While the banning of CRT is currently in the works in the state of Virginia in the year of 2022, the act of protecting morals by keeping secrets and holding back truths or teaching only through the *white gaze* (Morrison, 1994) is not a new phenomenon (Christian, Seamster, & Ray, 2019; Crenshaw, et al., 1995). White washing history and quieting individuals or stories of those who are marginalized has been a way to maintain social order for centuries in the United States (Christian, Seamster, & Ray; Hagerman, 2018; hooks, 1994; Lorde, 2017; Trepagnier, 2010). This current study attempts to understand how the controlling image of the *good* [white] *mother* informs how white mothers navigate racist policies and possibly transgress them by incorporating an anti-racism worldview into their mothering identity.

Reviewing literature on dominant discourses about the *good mother* and white supremacy tenets reveals how mothering ideologies align with white supremacist tenets such as: (a) perfectionism; (b) one right way; (c) either/or thinking; (d) individualism; (e) progress is more; and (f) right to comfort (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2016; Glenn, 1994; Hagerman, 2018; Hays 1996;

Showing Up for Racial Justice, 1999). Awareness of this alignment supports a critical examination of how mothering ideologies possibly buttress the intergenerational cycle of racial injustice. It is also important to note here that mothering ideologies that follow the above tenets have been supported by developmental theorists (Aanerud, 2007; Edwards & Few-Demo, 2016; Lei & Rhodes, 2021; Pérez, 2017) and the white logic and white methods of social scientists for decades, with little reflection as to how one's own positionality might influence their interpretation of the data (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). While white race carries with it the right to unearned family privileges (Letiecq, 2019; McIntosh, 2007) and the false assumption of exemption to consider race (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Hagerman, 2018), considering race alone leaves a lot of unanswered questions about maintenance of family privilege. To more fully understand the drive to maintain privilege, family scientists also need to consider socioeconomic status and affluence culture.

Socioeconomic status (SES) includes an account of an individual's income, occupational prestige, and level of education (Thompson & Hickey, 2002). The class system in the United States is divided into four main classes: (a) lower; (b) working; (c) middle; and (d) upper classes, with the middle class further ranked as lower-middle, middle, and upper-middle class (Thompson & Hickey, 2002). This study focuses on maternal socialization of mothers who belong to the upper-middle and upper classes, collectively referred to as affluent. The typical annual household income of families in the upper-middle and upper class is roughly $120,000 and $140,000 to $250,000, respectively (Gilbert, 2003), with a high percentage of members of

these social classes having college or graduate degrees (Thompson & Hickey, 2002), setting them up for careers in medicine, law, academia, or upper-level management (Thompson & Hickey, 2002). It is also common for those in the upper class to have additional assets from inheritance and intergenerational wealth (Gilbert, 2003). Being a member of a particular SES group provides an individual a sense of belonging, and membership in affluent society provides families a position of power and privilege that accompany social benefits (Handel, et al., 2007). Sociologist and feminist scholar, Sara Ahmed (2007, 2010, 2017) argued that families who reach and/or maintain affluent status are in a position to claim success and happiness. Their status proves that they have followed the *right* path, being rewarded for conforming to dominant social scripts along the way (Ahmed, 2010, 2017).

Maintaining affluence and the status of the *happy family* (Ahmed, 2010), which is of utmost importance in affluent culture (Haselschwerdt & Hardesty, 2017), requires conformity to a set of cultural norms and expectations (Handel, et al., 2007). One such expectation is to engage in intensive mothering (IM) (Green, 2015; Henderson, et al., 2016). Empirical literature on in IM (Hays, 1996) suggests that white affluent mothers are best supported through their class and race privilege to engage in the tenets of IM and earn the title of the *good mother* (Dow, 2011, 2016; Green; Henderson, et al.; Ishizuka, 2019). Their social location also affords them the ability to collect *happy objects* that symbolize their success as mothers (Ahmed, 2017). Ahmed explains how children themselves, through trophy winning performances or acceptance into private

schools and prestigious universities, can become *happy objects* that symbolize maternal and family success.

With the luxury of time and money to dedicate to IM (Hays, 1996) and concerted cultivation, supporting the production of the *happy child object* (Ahmed, 2010; Lareau, 2012), it is this same demographic of women who take on roles as social influencers and opinion leaders through their social media presence on topics of mothering, reinforcing white, affluent norms of the *good mother,* even in their attempts to normalize the messiness of mothering (Hartman, 2015; Rome, 2020). Current literature examining social influencers provides evidence that successful social movements start with the interests of affluent whites (Harrigan, et al., 2021). In sum, those with race and class privilege sit in a position of power to start social movements (Harrigan, et al., 2012; Langner, et al., 2013), and a clearer understanding of how affluent white mothers integrate anti-racism into their maternal identity has the potential to guide family scientists and clinicians in supporting a culturally responsible social movement that incorporates anti-racism into the good mothering ideal.

Affluent white families in the United States have held social, political, and economic privileges for generations and continue to do so through their investment and compliance to institutional policies and practices that support their positionality and encourage their silence about social injustice and inequities (Aanerud, 2007; Bonilla-Silva, 2017; DiAngelo, 2017; Kendi, 2019), and a lack of self-reflexivity of the unearned privileges provided by their racial

identity and socioeconomic class positioning (Ahmed, 2007; Collins, 1986; Helms, 2020; Waldorf, 2020).

Reflexivity (Allen, 2000; Harding, 2008; Hesse Biber & Piatelli, 2017; Pillow, 2003), a practice of consciousness of social position and transparency is often practiced in qualitative research to increase rigor and trustworthiness of the project. Within the practice of reflexivity, it is important for the researcher to stay aware of their interest in and relationship with participants (Hesse Biber & Piatelli; Riach, 2009). For the purposes of this study, I am specifically interested in a sample of mothers who are in a social position to reproduce inequitable social systems. Through studying affluent white mothers, I bring visibility to a population of mothers who otherwise continue to get labeled as the ideal norm and remain at the top of the social ladder, where they can puppeteer those below, consciously or unconsciously.

Overview of the Study

Rationale for the Study

Empirically driven literature on RES, critical race parenting, and anti-racism parenting highlights that progressive white parents, despite good intentions, are not engaging in discourse about racial identity and systemic racism within their families (Aanerud, 2007; Allen, 2017; Comeau, 2007; Depouw & Matias, 2016; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). These emotion laden tasks continue to be the responsibility of parents of color, particularly Black parents, while white parents claim that: (a) their children do not see race; (b) their children are too young to understand race; (c) they do not have to "deal with" race; (d) they are waiting for their children to initiate this conversation; and (e) they believe that talking about race is what causes their children to see race (Aanerud, 2007; Allen, 2017; Comeau, 2007; Depouw & Matias, 2016;

Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). While the above list of perceived barriers informs family scientists how white parents are navigating anti-racism work within their families, the list fails to address what processes inform these decisions. In a time when GOP politicians are rallying to ban teaching from a CRT framework in public schools, under the guise of "parent empowerment," I argue that it is advantageous for family scholars and clinicians to critically examine the processes that potentially inform white affluent mothers' decisions to incorporate anti-racism values and practices into their mothering, conceivably transgressing the good mothering ideology that is rooted in classist and racist ideals they have been socialized to imitate since childhood (Glenn, 1994; Green, 2015; Hays, 1996; Henderson, et al., 2016), so that we are better informed how to support their anti-racism intentions. Examining this process within affluent white culture offers an opportunity to disrupt the white supremacist notions present in maternal ideologies and identity development and disallows white affluent culture to remain invisible or viewed only as the ideal social norm (Letiecq, 2019; Walsdorf, et al., 2020). Lastly, gaining an understanding of how maternal ideologies inform how mothers engage with their children about race and racism has the potential to help family scientists better understand how controlling women through maternal ideologies (Baber & Allen, 1992; O'Reilly, 2022), not only affects women but informs the maintenance of the status quo by silencing important family conversations.

Purpose of the Study

Given the current gaps in anti-racism parenting literature, the perceived exemption from RES in white families (DePouw & Matias, 2016; Priest et al, 2014), and the positionality of affluent white mothers as the gatekeepers of the *good mother* ideal (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2016; Hays, 1996; Ishizuka, 2019), the purpose of this interventionist study is to

better understand the inner dialogue of mothers as they navigate incorporating anti-racism into their maternal identity within the context of their maternal socialization in the current paradigm of the *good mother* ideal.

To better understand the above process, the overall focus of this study is to examine how gender, race, and class socialization of mothers informs, if at all, the integration of an anti-racism worldview into a mother's developing maternal identity and practices. More specifically, the current study examines how race, gender, and class socialization inform, if at all, the endorsement of IM tenets, the process in which white affluent mothers adopt or transgress IM to integrate anti-racism in their maternal identity, and perceived barriers of white affluent mothers to integrating anti-racism within the current IM paradigm.

Research Questions

This study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. How might, if at all, race, gender, and class socialization inform affluent white mothers' adoption of IM?
2. What is the process of affluent white mothers challenging or adopting IM to incorporate anti-racism into their maternal identity and mothering practices?
3. What are the perceived barriers or motivators, if any, to affluent white mothers' integration of anti-racism within the current IM paradigm?

Definitions

Throughout this manuscript, I will be discussing and using terms that overlap and are defined and conceptualized differently throughout the fields of sociology, women and gender studies, and family science. Thus, it is important to clarify how they will be defined in this study.

Intensive Mothering

Intensive mothering (IM) was introduced by Sharon Hays (1996) in her book, *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood.* Intensive mothering: (a) demands that women dedicate their lives to caring for their children; (b) insists that children require consistent care and nurturing from one primary attachment figure; (c) states that the mother is best suited as the primary attachment figure; (d) requires mothers to spend an immense amount of time and energy caring for their children; and (e) believes children should be given special treatment because of their individual and unique value. For a mother to perform IM perfectly and be awarded the title of the *good mother*, she needs to adhere to the following tenants: (a) child-centered; (b) expert-guided; (c) emotionally absorbing; (d) labor intensive; and (e) financially expensive (Green, 2015; Hays; 1996; Henderson, et al., 2016;; Ishizuka, 2019). IM continues to be the gold standard of mothering within the culture of affluence (Green; Ishizuka). Because of this, I use the term *good mother* throughout this study to describe mothering that aligns with tenets of IM.

Politically Progressive

Defining what it means to be progressive is a challenging task. While numerous empirical articles exist that discuss how "progressives" navigate anti-racism within their family (see: Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018), none of these articles specifically define what it means to be politically or racially progressive. Critical race scholars, such as Bonilla-Silva (2017) reminds us that progressive is a subjective term, especially for those who self-identify as progressive. DiAngelo (2021) and Hagerman (2018) add to this discourse by suggesting that progressive whites focus much of their attention on maintaining this title through their actions of performative allyship but remain unaware of how their daily practices influence the cycle of inequity. For the purpose of

this project, I define progressive as being aligned with political agendas that work towards transformative social change rather than the maintenance of the status quo. This working definition is inspired by definitions found in both the Merriam-Webster online dictionary and dictionary.com along with examples of progressive worldviews discussed in the above example literature. The use of the word progressive will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, where I lay out the inclusion criteria for the informants of this study.

Anti-racist

Antiracism is defined by Basham (2004) and Bonnet (2000) as a political stance seeking to counter racism as a system of privilege, inequality, and oppression and reflects forms of thought and/or practice that seek to confront and eradicate racism. Kendi (2019) defined *antiracist* as, "one who is supporting an antiracist policy through their actions or expressing an antiracist idea," (p. 13). More recently, anti-racist scholars have begun using the term, anti-racism to refer to the practice of being anti-racist and not the individual person as being racist or anti-racist (K. Benson, personal communication, November 4, 2021). This change echos Kendi's perspective, stating that one does not become anti-racist and simply embody this identity forever. Being anti-racist or practicing anti-racism is a conscious choice one makes from moment to moment (DiAngelo, 2021; Kendi, 2019;). DiAngelo (2021) highlighted the importance of understanding this moment to moment choice in her work on nice racism and stresses the importance of self-awareness and reflexive practice of self-identified white progressives who blame "others" for being racist. She stated that this faulty perception that they have reached a point of enlightenment leads them to believe that they no longer need to remain critically self-aware of how their actions are reinforcing systemic racism. To reflect where family scientists are

in the practice of using the terms, *anti-racist* and *anti-racism,* I use them interchangeably throughout this manuscript.

Anti-Racism Parenting

Anti-racism parenting (ARP) asks parents to challenge the reproduction of a racialized social structure that benefits their own white children, making the choice to depart from the assumption that whiteness is the natural or ideal way of experiencing life (Aanerud, 2007; Ahmed, 2007). Core tenets of anti-racism parenting are: (a) understanding white privilege and white supremacy; (b) challenging colorblind racism; (c) countering internalized white supremacy; (d) being an ally; (e) being accountable to individuals and families of color; and (f) engaging in activism (Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of anti-racism parenting, specifically as it relates to mothering practices within white families, is in its infancy (Hagerman 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015). To my knowledge, no studies have explicitly examined how the process of maternal socialization within the context of race, class, and gender ideologies informs how mothers integrate anti-racism behaviors into their maternal identity. Due to the lack of specific literature exploring maternal socialization and anti-racism practices within mothering, the purpose of the following sections is to begin building a foundation based on empirical literature that highlights the relationships between gender, race, and class ideologies and the dominant discourse of the *good mother*. Our current understanding of anti-racism parenting within white families as found in literature from the fields of family science, sociology, and early childhood education will also be discussed.

Ideologies and Mothering

Ideologies function as cultural standards and work as a mode of directionality (Glenn, 1994; Kerrick & Henry, 2017), pointing society in the *right* direction towards the well-worn path that promises happiness and success, as defined by those with the most power (Ahmed, 2017). Patriarchal systems of oppression dictate the real and perceived choices mothers can and should make to secure their child a position on the optimal path (Ahmed 2010. 2017; Baber & Allen, 1992). In turn, these daily choices mothers make influence the direction of social change (Baber & Allen, 1992). Empirical literature within family science shows that family systems holding the most privilege and power have historically been white, affluent families who follow the Standard North American Family (SNAF; Smith, 1993) ideal (Allen, 2010; Coontz, 2016; Letique, 2019; Walsdorf, 2020). In this proposed study, I am particularly interested in the historical leadership of affluent white mothers in the discourse of the *good mother*, defining what it means to engage in *optimal* maternal practices (Coontz, 2016; Collins, 1994; Dow, 2016; Glenn, 1994; Hays, 1996). It is this

same demographic of women who are also supported by a heteropatriarchal system to embody this controlling image of the *good mother* (Hays, 1996; Ishizuka, 2019).

There is a potency in symbols that direct attention and prompt conformity towards the status quo (Ahmed, 2007, 2017). Controlling images and dominant discourses of the *best* way to do mothering are copiously present within contemporary mothering ideologies, such as, but not limited to, intensive mothering (IM) (Green, 2015; Hays, 1996; Henderson, et al., 2016; Kerrik & Henry, 2017; Ishizuka, 2019) and have roots in gender, race, and class ideologies (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2016; Glenn, 1994; Hays, 1996; O'Reilly, 2021).

Following the dominant discourse provides a means to connect and allows one to feel seen and establish an identity as a group member (Ahmed, 2017; Fessler, 2007; Harris, 2019; Scheff, 1988, 2009). This need to connect and feel like one is doing [mothering] *right* is a strong drive for first time mothers as they navigate their new role and identity (Forbes, et al., 2020; Hartman, 2015; Kerrik & Henry, 2017; Liss et al., 2013; Sutherland, 2006). The dominant discourse in mothering states that this new role is child-centered and requires mothers to protect their children by nurturing them towards success and happiness within their social surroundings; it involves keeping a child "in line" (Ahmed, 2007, 2017; Hagerman, 2018; Hays, 1996; O'Reilly, 2006; Ruddick, 1995). The social script in the U.S. directs mothers to follow the path of least resistance, as carved out by white affluent ideologies of mothering and child trajectories (Ahmed, 2007; 2010; 2017; Applebaum, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2017; O'Reilly, 2006). Socializing

mothers to feel pressure to put their child on this course towards happiness reinforces the idea that living a life that aligns with white, affluent, heteropatriarchal ideals is the best choice for the child and that their maternal choices need to align with this narrative (Ahmed, 2017; Hays, 1996). To transgress the *good mother* discourse is to liberate oneself from the heteropatriarchal cisgender system that instructs women on how they should think and act in proper [white] society and whom

their behaviors and practices should serve. Ahmed would argue that the promise of happiness by adhering to this discourse is what prompts women to fall in line.

Empirical literature by Scheff (1988, 2005, 2009) and Abell (1997) suggest that avoiding unhappiness, embarrassment, and shame serves as a driving force towards social conformity. Scheff explained this phenomenon through symbolic interactionism, stating that individuals are continuously looking for confirmation from members of their group that they are successfully performing their role. Perceived failure to do so prompts feelings of shame and fear of rejection (Scheff, 1988, 2005, 2009). Ahmed's (2017) work adds the avoidance of oppression to this list of mechanisms informing conformity. For mothers, these feelings of shame, fear of rejection and avoidance of oppression go beyond themselves, as women are socialized to believe that they are solely responsible for their children's successes and failures (Arnold-Baker, 2019; Baber & Allen, 1992; Liss et al., 2013; Taylor & Wallace, 2012; Walls et al., 2016). According to scholars like Sara Ruddick (1995), providing comfort on this path towards social success is also the role of the mother. It can be argued that we see this currently playing out at school board meetings across the state of Virginia where white parents are arguing that their white children should not be made to feel discomfort when discussing systemic racism in the United States (Wilder, 2021).

Analysis of mothering must include an examination of mothering ideologies and prevailing social scripts that dictate maternal choice making (Baber & Allen, 1992) within the contexts of race, class, and gender from which mothers are socialized (Collins, 1994; DiQuinzio, 2021; Glenn, 1994; hooks, 2015; 1994; Lorde, 1984a). The following sections highlight how the definition of the *good mother* has its foundation in the dominant discourses of gender, race, and class ideologies.

Gender Ideologies and Mothering

Historically, the image of the *good mother* depicts an imaginary prism of white supremacist, heteronormative, and sexist ideologies (Story, 2014). In short, the *good mother* image that fits the

dominant discourse is cisgender, white, heterosexual, married, monogamous, and affluent (Baber & Allen, 1992; Collins,1990, 1994; Coontz, 2016; Fineman, 1995; Glenn, 1994; hooks, 2015; Pitts, 2014; Smith, 1993; Thorne, 1993). Gender ideologies about mothering suggests that the maternal role should be a woman's single-minded identity (Forcey, 1994; Rich, 1995; Rogers & White, 1998), the mother is best suited for the role of the primary caregiver (Forcey, 1994; Hays, 1996; Taylor & Wallace, 2012), a woman needs to be submissive, selfless, and nurturing, fully offering her body and time as a comfort for others (Baber & Allen, 1992; Chodorow, 1978; Friedan, 1963; O'Reilly, 2008; Rich, 1995; Thurer, 2021), and there is little margin of error in maternal practices (Gore, 2021; Hays, 1996; Ruddick, 1995). To this end, she is socialized to believe that she should follow expert advice while questioning her own self- efficacy (Hartman, 2015; Hays, 1996; Sonnenburg & Miller, 2021), supporting the idea that the *good mother* ideal is a controlling image of feminine identity meant to keep women in their place (Allen & Goldberg, 2019; Friedan; O'Reilly; 2006; Rich, 1977) and social systems working to support heteropatriarchal norms (Coontz, 2016).

Identity is a social product (Cooley, 1902; Oyserman, et al., 2012; Stryker, 2001), and societal expectations that a cisgender female will want to become a mother begin in early childhood with symbols of what little girls should play with (i.e. dolls, strollers, kitchen sets), how they should play (i.e. quietly, softly, gently), and with assuming statements (i.e. "when you get married," or "when you become a mommy") from others (Powlishta, et al., 2001; Rich, 1995; Woollett & Marshall, 2001). The performativity of female gender and motherhood are socially constructed to go hand and hand (Butler, 1993; Laney, 2014). For instance, being female and becoming a mother are often perceived to be synonymous roles one should perform throughout their life course (Chodorow, 1978; DiQuinzio, 2021; Donath, 2017; hooks, 2015; O'Reilly, 2020, 2021; Rich, 1995; Woollett & Marshall, 2001) and that becoming a mother is the ultimate expression of being

traditionally feminine (DiQuinzio, 2021; Laney, 2014; hooks, 2015; Rich, 1995). Messages and symbols received throughout one's life course about what it means to be feminine accumulate over time, becoming internalized as part of one's identity (Butler, 1988).

While these messages once were passed down generationally through family ideals, it is becoming increasingly common for cisgender girls to find images of the traditionally ideal feminine on social media (Chae, 2015; Tiggermann & Anderberg, 2019). These idealized controlling images and messages in our heteropatriarchal system serve as guiding symbols, defining what it means to embody femininity and perform mothering, support the white supremacist tenets of *perfectionism* and *one right way* (Showing Up for Racial Justice, 1999). Among these messages is that mothering is a private act meant to support the Standard North American Family ideal (Smith, 1993), in which the cisgender, heterosexual male partner works in the public sphere and financially supports the family (Coontz, 2016).

Adrienne Rich (1976) highlighted how this private familial role of mothering serves to support a patriarchal sociopolitical institution that carries with it the cultural beliefs and expectations for how mothers should behave and what they should value. By presenting mothering as a private act that serves only the needs of the mother's immediate family, the image of the *good* [white] *mother* lacks connection to the community and larger social systems in which her family resides (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2011; Glenn, 1994). Critical analysis of mothering ideologies requires family scientists to deconstruct this idea that mothering is a private practice (Collins, 1994; Glenn, 1994). While this ideal of the mother being at home to serve her individual family clearly aligns with gender ideologies, we cannot ignore how race and class ideals inform this conceptualization of mothering.

White Supremacy and Mothering

The invisibility of whiteness as a race supports the myth that whites are exempt from

considering race, specifically their own, in their daily lives (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Case, 2012; Helms, 1992). This belief that whiteness is the norm and more pretentiously, the ideal, allows whites to see themselves as individuals rather than a community systematically linked to a white supremacist society (Mahoney, 1997). This race-neutral charade reinforces racial oppression (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; DiAngelo, 2021), and white women are not innocent in their role in reinforcing systemic racism (Collins, 2000; Lorde, 1984b). Second-wave feminism is just one example of how white, affluent women's hyperfocus on sex discrimination hinders their ability to see and acknowledge race and gender as intersectional influences on the oppression of women and families of color (Combahee River Collective, 1977; Crenshaw, 1989, 2017; hooks, 2015). In circumstances where white women become aware of their identity as a racial oppressor, they often turn their focus on their social position as victims of sex discrimination (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989, 2017; Grillo & Wildman, 1995; hooks, 2015; Lorde, 1984a), relinquishing the responsibility of transformative change to others (DiAngelo, 2021). One example of handing responsibility off is the expectation that mothers of color will do the work of RES with their children, preparing them for life in a racist society (Burton, et al., 2010; Matias & DePauw, 2016; Priest, et al., 2014).

This section highlights how Black feminist thought exposes the presence of white supremacy tenets, such as: (a) perfectionism; (b) one right way; (c) individualism; (d) progress is more; and (e) right to comfort (Showing Up for Racial Justice, 1999) in the *good mother* image (Collins, 2000). It also introduces concepts of motherwork and community other mothers (Collins, 1994; 2000), dismantling the notion that there is one right way to perform mothering.
These concepts also shed light on the importance of considering community in the practice of mothering and how a switch from individualistic practices and outcomes to community-oriented mothering has the potential to support the integration of anti-racism values into the *good mother*

image and challenge the narrative suggesting mothers of color, especially Black mothers, should carry the full weight of RES.

Black feminist scholar Patricia Hill Collins (1987, 1994, 1998) brilliantly critiques the foundation of whiteness and affluent ideologies present in the dominant discourse of mothering. She argued the importance of considering mothering as a community-oriented practice (Collins, 1994) and described motherwork in Black communities as embodied activism. Motherwork, as activism, clearly rejects separateness and individualism, focuses on the connectedness with others, and commits to maternal practices that move the community forward (Collins, 2000). The idea that mothering can be a community-oriented practice is in stark contrast to the SNAF (Smith, 1993) ideal, where families are seen as isolated systems in competition with each other, and conformity to this idyllic family formation signifies wealth and independent functioning, free of the need for community assistance (Coontz, 2016). For example, the white SNAF is more likely to hire private nannies or enroll their children in highly acclaimed private preschools rather than employ help from their extended family or community (Collins, 1994; Coontz, 2016).

This strive for independence aligns with the *winner take all* mentality present in white supremacist tenets as listed above, the maternal practices of IM (Dow, 2016; Green, 2015; Hays, 1996; Ishizuka, 2019) and concerted cultivation (Dow, 2016; Lareau, 2003). Within the SNAF ideal, children and their successes become *happy objects* (Ahmed, 2010), symbolizing that their mothers took the proper steps throughout their own life course to set the stage for their child's progression toward and attainment of a privileged social position (Ahmed, 2007, 2017; Coontz, 2016). Annette Lareau (2003) described *concerted cultivation* as a parenting style employed by affluent families where parents encourage discussion and negotiation, foster their child's unique talents through hiring professional coaches, and welcome questions of authority, all with the goal of securing their child's future success and happiness. Mothers who engage in intensive mothering

participate in similar practices, with the foundational belief that their sole focus should be on their child's development and comfort (Hays, 1996).

While white mothers have the privilege to focus their individual maternal efforts on the success and comfort of their children, mothers of color do not have the luxury of ignoring how larger social issues, specifically systemic racism, inform their maternal behaviors and choices (Collins, 2000; Dow, 2012, 2016; Hughes, et al., 2006; Matias & DePouw, 2016 Priest, et al., 2014). Simply stated, mothers of color cannot pretend that their maternal behaviors do not affect the community or society in which their children are being raised (Collins, 2000; Dow, 2016; Matias & DePouw, 2016). In her interview with Kaila Adia Story (2014), Collins stressed the importance of viewing mothering as an institution situated in social context, stating that mothering is not simply an individual relationship between mother and child but a powerful political role. From this perspective, mothering is seen as a driving force for public and political action, creating a counterstory to the white feminist discourse of mothering as an oppressive role, isolating women from any connection or influence on society (Collins, 1994, 2000; hooks, 2015). Disconnecting mothering from its role in the reproduction or fight against social injustice allows white mothers the luxury of looking away (Aanerud, 2007; Hagerman 2018; Matias & DePouw, 2016; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015). This exemption of a mother's role in society is supported by the *good mother* discourse, stating that the mother's sole focus should be on the development of her individual child (Dow, 2012; Hays, 1996). From the patriarchal hegemonic perspective of white feminists' views on mothering, there is no power in this isolated role. In contrast, Black feminists view mothering as a powerful, political role in which mothers rise up to the position of a community leader (Collins, 2000).

As community *othermothers* (Collins, 2000), Black mothers use family language to symbolize their connection to and awareness of their social responsibility to the larger community

for which they nurture. In their role as mother, they reject the notion of separateness and the individualistic concept that drives the competitiveness and perfectionism of IM (Dow, 2012, 2016) and instead include the role of social activist in their definitions of *motherwork* and the *good mother* (Collins, 2000).

Now that I have highlighted how gender ideals and white supremacy tenets are present in the *good mother* discourse, I now turn my attention to affluent culture.

Affluence and Mothering

Black feminist scholar, bell hooks (2015b) discussed the preeminence of affluence, arguing that classism upstages sexism in its importance of gaining and maintaining power. This drive towards class status often prompts women to relinquish a sense of autonomy to maintain class status for their family (hooks, 2015b; Haselschwerdt & Hardesty, 2017).

Affluent mothers sit in a social location that affords them numerous opportunities and benefits (Baber & Allen, 1992). This privileged position allows them leadership over the dominant discourse of the *good mother* (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2016; Glenn, 1994).

However, within affluent culture, mothers also experience an immense amount of pressure to perfectly perform mothering (Levine, 2006).

Competition and perfectionism are foundational in affluent culture, driving interests in attaining and maintaining social status (Levine, 2006). Within affluent culture, mothers report feeling that they fail to maintain the level of perfection that is expected of them (Haselschwerdt & Hardesty, 2017; Levine, 2006; Weitzman, 2000). Preparing their children for a life of success and happiness is believed to be the affluent mother's main purpose, as she is viewed by society as someone who does not need to work outside of the home unless she wants to (Cashman & Twaite, 2009; Dillaway & Paŕe, 2008). This hyperfocus on success and performance in affluent culture also informs how children begin to view themselves as not enough and feel pressure to excel across multiple domains

(Luthar & Sexton, 2004). A parental style that pushes children to this degree of stress is concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2003).

Annette Lareau (2003) wrote more specifically about the role of the affluent mother in her work on concerted cultivation, a style of parenting that focuses on supporting the individuality and specialness of the child. Within this parenting style, children have full schedules of extracurricular activities and personal coaching meant to help them maintain their family's status (Dow, 2016; Lareau, 2003). In her longitudinal, ethnographic study, Lareau found that this style of parenting, while successful at nurturing children to feel confident enough to question authority and negotiate their ideas, often leads to feelings of entitlement. Foundational to these outcomes is the lack of communication in these families about financial privilege (Lareau, 2003).

This level of financial privilege in affluent culture provides these families with opportunities of privacy, as their homes are often in gated communities and are on large plots of land, keeping them isolated from even their next door neighbors (Haselschwerdt & Hardesty, 2017). Research on affluent culture also shows a correlation between wealth and agentic behaviors, where one's primary concern is on their own achievements and less on the welfare of others (Kushlev, et al., 2012). Symbolically and without question, these affluent families are allowed to take up space. This amount of privacy informs affluent families' lack of connection to community and others (Luthar & Sexton, 2004; Weitzman, 2000).

Once again, we see individuality, perfectionism, right to comfort, and focus on progress as driving forces of the *good mother* ideal.

Critique of the Good White Mother

Mothering is political (Collins, 1994, 2000). The institution of mothering has historically been designed and controlled by white, heteropatriarchal and capitalist ideals (Dow, 2016; Hays, 1996; O'Reilly, 2006; Rothman, 1994) and used as a tool to preserve *good* white breeding (Hays, 1996; Rothman, 1994), maintain the social location of privileged class whites (Rothman, 1994), and nurture specific traits in offspring that promise them future societal success, happiness, and power (Ahmed, 2010, 2017). White affluent mothers have historically been viewed as the model mother because their social location prompts and supports their conformity to the *good mother* ideal that fits neatly within the SNAF (Smith, 1992) ideal (Coontz, 2016; Hays, 1996), allowing them class, race, and family privilege (Letiecq, 2019).

Roles and rules intended to ease our progression through life create a momentum that carries society along (Ahmed, 2017). As noted above, the mother's role is to follow the rules of motherhood set by a white supremacist, heteropatriarchal society; rules to follow that will allow her child to get on the *right* path towards success and happiness. Putting her child on this trajectory is her sole purpose as a mother (Ruddick, 1992). According to the racist and classist ideologies of mothering, to practice anti-racism in the institution of white mothering is to transgress the well-worn path of the ideal mother.

Maternal Ideology and Maternal Identity Development

Dominant discourses and storylines serve as symbols for meaning making and identity development as new mothers construct their maternal identity (Hartman, 2015; Kerrik & Henry, 2017; Lamar & Forbes, 2019). In their chapter on symbolic interactionism, LaRossa and Reitzes (1993) used the role of the mother within the family to highlight how shared sets of goals, values, and norms create a symbolic reality from which an individual forms metaperceptions that inform their own self-assessment of how they are performing their role (Wallace & Tice, 2012).

Carver (2012) added that individuals come to evaluate themselves within the framework of social standards held by their families and peers and become self-critical when they believe they fail to live up to these standards. The significance of this self-assessment and drive to conform to ideologies increases with the salience of one's role (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). As we know from empirical literature on IM, gender ideologies, and affluent culture, the role of mother is expected to be the most important in an affluent white woman's life (Baber & Allen, 1992; Hays, 1996; Levine, 2006). The drive to become *good* within this identity as mother becomes even more complicated as IM tenets dictate that mothers should employ the help of experts to make certain they are performing their maternal role in the *best* way (Green, 2015; Hays, 1996; Henderson, et al., 2016; Ishizuka, 2019). Socialization towards the norm (Ahmed, 2017), avoidance of shame (Scheff, 1988, 2005), and metaperceptions (Carver, 2012) inform how individuals construct their identities. Internalized narratives about how one is expected to behave in specific roles draw from current dominant discourses of cultural norms and expectations that define the meaning-making parameters for the development of one's self-concept (Wallace & Trice, 2012). One narrative that is often suppressed in affluent white mothers is an awareness of their race (Dow, 2016). As members of the dominant race, it becomes too easy to forget that their whiteness is part of their identity and informs how they form and navigate their role as mother (Collins, 1994; Helms, 1990, 2021).

Racial Ethnic Socialization in White Families

This current project pulls from concepts in maternal ideology and socialization literature and empirical findings in the study of racial and ethnic socialization (RES) within white families. The following sections highlight RES, critical race parenting (CRP), and anti-racism parenting (ARP) literature to showcase how white mothers are currently integrating RES, CRP, and ARP into their parenting practices and the perceived barriers they report facing.

Racial Ethnic Socialization and Critical Race Parenting

Racial-ethnic socialization (RES) literature has historically focused on practices parents of color engage in to help their children navigate a society steeped in racial inequality (Priest et al., 2014). RES is a set of behaviors and responsibilities shared by parents of color to psychologically prepare their children to navigate a racially stratified society (Burton, et al., 2010). Four main practices of RES are: (a) cultural socialization; (b) preparation for bias; (c) promotion of mistrust (less often practiced); and (d) egalitarianism (Hughes et al., 2006). White parents often feel exempt from this practice, passing this added emotional labor to families of color (DePouw & Matias, 2017). Depouw and Matias coined critical race parenting (CRP), linking the concepts of RES with critical race theory (CRT). CRT stresses the following: (a) centrality of race and racism; (b) the challenge to dominant ideology, including colorblindness and race neutrality; (c) a commitment to social justice; (d) the importance of real-world knowledge; and (e) an historical framework and interdisciplinary perspective (Burton et al., 2010; Crenshaw et al.,1995). Parents who engage in CRP practices stress the centrality of race and racism, challenge white supremacy and colorblind racism through counterstories, and commit to transformative social change through parenting (DePouw & Matias, 2017).

Anti-racism Parenting

Empirical literature on RES, CRP, and ARP has shown that white parents are slow to engage in discourse about racial identity and racial inequity within their families, even when they claim to have the goal of raising race-conscious children (Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015). White parents cite development, protection and preservation of innocence in childhood, and colorblind racism as reasons to not engage in these practices (Aanerud, 2007; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). The following paragraphs highlight further empirical findings that demonstrate how white parents navigate RES, CRP, and

ARP in their families.

How White Parents Navigate Racial Discourse within Families

Current literature on ARP highlights the following perceived barriers white parents cite for note practicing ARP: (a) lack of white racial identity; (b) colorblind racism; (c) desire to protect and preserve childhood innocence; (d) illusion of "good" whites versus "bad" whites; (e) attachment to white privilege; (f) belief that their children do not recognize race; and (g) belief that their children are too young to understand complex issues like racism (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). The following paragraphs detail these perceived barriers.

Lack of White Racial Identity

A foundational reason white parents do not engage in RES or CRP is that they lack an understanding of their own white racial identity and privilege (Christian, Seamster, & Ray, 2019; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Helms, 2020; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015;; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). This lack of awareness distorts their perception of how their everyday behaviors and parenting choices model racism and white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, 2017).

Lack of white racial identity presents in several ways in white parenting. Parents explain that they do not talk about race because it simply is not an issue or that they do not have to face race in their schools or neighborhoods (Hagerman, 2014; Vittrup, 2016). Parents also report that the topic just never comes up (Hagerman, 2014; Vittrup, 2016). Matlock and DiAngelo (2015) found that the key difference between antiracist parenting and non-antiracism parenting was the parents' awareness of their own racial identity. Other ways this lack of racial identity presents in white parents is the illusion of "good" versus "bad" whites (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; DiAngelo, 2018; Gillen- O'Neel, et al., 2021), attachment to white supremacy (Hagerman, 2014), and white fragility (DiAngelo, 2018).

Whites who identify as progressives often live under the illusion that they are the *good* whites and that racism only exists among conservative, poor whites and white nationalists (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; DiAngelo, 2021). Within this pretense, they remain unaware of their own internalized racism (Helms, 2020), systemic racism, and their privileged white behaviors that are grounded in white supremacy and reinforce racial stratification (DiAngelo, 2021; Haggerman, 2014). When these nice, liberal whites are made aware of their racist behaviors, they often become defensive (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; DiAngelo, 2018, 2021; Helms, 2020). Bonilla-Silva (2017) explained how this belief in a post-racial United States creates a culture of colorblind racism.

Colorblind Racism

According to the literature on CRP and antiracist parenting, colorblind racism is one of the top cited reasons white parents do not discuss race or racism with their children (Aanerud, 2007; Allen, 2017; Comeau, 2007; Hagerman, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Bonilla-Silva (2017) defined colorblind racism as the belief that racism no longer exists and that everyone has equal opportunity and dubs the practice of colorblind racism as the new Jim Crow era. Instead of facing the reality of racial inequality, many white parents teach their children to believe that everyone is equal, no matter the shade of their skin. White parents often avoid educational moments, when their small children ask about a person of color in the grocery store, indirectly teaching their children that it is taboo to talk about race (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; DiAngelo, 2021; Menakem, 2017). In this same interaction, they are teaching their children to be uncomfortable and feel shame when they notice race. These moments become intrinsic memories, stored in our bodies and later inform our behavior (Menakem, 2017). It is important to note that even in these white parents' attempts to ignore race, they are still sending implicit messages (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; DiAngelo, 2021; Menakem, 2017). Christian, Seamster, and Ray (2019) referred to this as "racial

ignorance," an epistemological position that seeks to deny the importance of racialized structures, despite strong empirical evidence of their enduring nature," (p. 1733). Colorblind racism is present when parents tell their children that everyone simply needs to work hard to achieve success (Hagerman, 2014), ignoring racial inequality. This narrative drives the idea that everyone starts on an equal playing field and that one simply needs to apply themselves in order to succeed. It reinforces the *winner take all* mentality that is present in white supremacist thinking and the belief that laziness, inferior intellect, or bad behavior is at the root of racial stratification in the United States (Bonilla-Silva, 2017).

Belief that Young Children do not Recognize Race

Aligned with colorblind racism is the belief that young children do not recognize race and that talking to them about it will create bias (Vittrup, 2018; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). However, we know from the Clark and Clark (1939) study that very young children recognize race and begin to form narratives about what it means to be Black (Dilworwth-Anderson, Burton, & Johnson, 1993; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008).

Parents who cite development as a reason to not engage in RES or CRP often share the belief that racism is something that is "caught," and that it is better to not talk about it, because they want to preserve their child's innocence (Vittrup, 2018). When conversations about race do surface, they are typically focused on historical narratives about slavery and bookend with stories about Martin Luther King Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement, keeping racism as something that happened in the past and that good white people no longer engage in it. By ignoring the presence of racism, white parents believe they are preserving the child's innocence (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Gillen-O'Neel, 2021; Hagerman, 2014; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015).

Protection and Preservation of Childhood Innocence

Aligning with Ruddick's (1995) work on maternal thinking and Hays' (1996) work on

intensive mothering, white parents cite wanting to preserve their child's innocence. Similar to engaging in colorblind racism, this is done by avoiding conversations about race or only talking about racism as something that happened a long time ago when some white people owned slaves (DePouw & Matias, 2016; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Vittrup, 2018; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). This preservation of innocence is practiced out of the belief that young children cannot understand the complexity of race (Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Helms, 1990, 2020; Vittrup, 2018; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). However, literature in developmental psychology tells us that this is simply not true (Helms, 1990, 2020). DiAngelo (2018) suggested that behind this avoidance is white fragility. Helms dived deeper into this avoidance of racial realism with her theory of white identity development, stating that the avoidance of race and racism that begins in early childhood is the foundation of white discomfort around race, arguing that whites are taught to be uncomfortable and confused about race. And, so the cycle continues.

In summary, previous research examining how self-identifying progressive white families integrate anti-racism practices into their parenting style and daily choices offers family scientists a window into how white families perceive and define barriers to fully engage in anti-racism practices within the family context (see Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). However, these recent studies fail to consider how deeper social processes, such as maternal identity development, can potentially help us develop a deeper understanding as to why these families continue to name the same perceived barriers that drive their behavior. In the following chapter, I discuss how engaging symbolic interactionism and feminist theoretical frameworks lays a solid foundation from which we can more closely examine these processes.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To examine how the process of gender, race, and class socialization of mothers informs how new mothers integrate anti-racism values into their developing maternal identity and practices, I am engaging an integrated theoretical framework, based in symbolic interactionism and critical feminist theories. In this section, I provide an overview of each individual theory and my integrated framework, highlighting how these theories lay the foundation for how I am conceptualizing this current project.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism has long been a major theory in the discipline of family science (Allen & Henderson, 2017; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993) and has origins from several early theorists. For the purpose of this study, I will be focusing on the following concepts from symbolic interactionism that help explain how social ideologies within the contexts of race, class, and gender inform the process of maternal identity development: (a) looking-glass self; (b) the generalized other; (c) identity; and (d) impression management.

Assumptions and Key Concepts

LaRossa and Reitzes (1993) organized major assumptions of symbolic interactionism under three central themes. As I highlight major assumptions, I will be integrating the second and third themes, which focus on the development of self-concept and assumptions about society, respectively.

Looking-Glass Self

Symbolic interactionism views the individual as a social and active self (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993) and assumes that an individual's self-concept develops through the process of social interactions (Cooley, 1902; Cook & Douglas, 1998; Wallace & Tice, 2012). Cooley used

the term, “looking-glass self” to describe this three step process where individuals first imagine how others might perceive them. This stage involves thinking about how one wants to present themselves (Allen & Henderson, 2017). The second stage involves interpretation of others’ responses to their presentation or performance, which symbolic interactionist assume is fairly accurate (Cook & Douglas, 1998; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). Lastly, the individual engages these interpretations in their development of self (Allen & Henderson, 2022; Carver, 2012; Cooley, 1902). As one processes their interpretations, they form reflected appraisals or metaperception of how others view them (Wallace & Tice, 2012), informing their future interactions and behaviors (Allen & Henderson, 2022; Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; LaRossa & Reitzes, 2012; Wallace & Tice, 2012).

The concept of the *looking-glass self* helps explain the process mothers engage in, attempting to assure that they are seen in the best light and why they might adjust their choices and behaviors to better reflect how they want to be seen in future interactions and seen by themselves in this role.

The Generalized Other

Theorists who engage symbolic interactionism believe that behavior and self-assessment are influenced and possibly constrained by larger social and cultural processes and norms (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). George Herbert Mead outlines the social process of self- development and the “generalized other,” (Allen & Henderson, 2017). As an individual develops an understanding of their self in the context of others, they begin to become aware of their role in society, or their role in the *game* (Morris, 1962). These roles that they play are directed by rules and expectations of the generalized other, which change over time and across generations (Allen & Henderson, 2022; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). Sharon Hays (1996) highlighted these changes in social norms that dictate the rules directing maternal practices. In her book, *The Cultural Contradictions of*

Motherhood, Hays pointed out how the foundations of generational maternal ideologies were formed based on current beliefs of popular male pediatricians of the time. As more and more mothers began to follow the advice of these pediatricians, they became the generalized other from which the individual mother judged her performance.

Identity

The identity of mother is one of salience in our heteropatriarchal society, where the SNAF (Smith, 1993) ideal continues to be revered (Coontz, 2016) and mothers are blamed for child outcomes (Allen & Goldberg, 2020; Baber & Allen, 1992). Stryker (1968) theorized that identities are hierarchical, based on the probability of an identity being invoked in a given situation. The higher value an identity is given, the more power it has in motivating an individual to excel in this role (McCall & Simmons, 1978). Developmental psychologist, Diane Ehrensaft (1985) found that mothers tend to think of mothering as part of who they are, while fathers think of fathering as something they do. This perspective of mothering as a salient role in a woman's life aligns with the tenet of intensive mothering, stating that a mother should fully devote herself to her children (Hays, 1996) and gender ideologies that suggest mothering and being traditionally feminine are parallel identities (Chodorow, 1978; DiQuinzio, 2021; Donath, 2017; hooks, 2015; O'Reilly, 2020, 2021; Rich, 1995; Woollett & Marshall, 2001).

Stryker (1968) explained that hierarchical organization of identity is influenced by one's commitment to a role. He also argued that individuals fulfill behavioral expectations that are informed by social structures and norms (Appelrouth & Edles, 2011). In the case of Ehrensaft's (1983) findings, I believe that it behooves family scientists to consider how the valorization of mothering in comparison to other roles a cisgender woman might be expected to embody influences the perceived salience of the mothering identity, both for the individual mother and for the generalized other from which she compares herself. Identity salience might also help explain

why a mother might choose, whether consciously or unconsciously, to remain more committed to her identity as a *good* mother (as seen in current literature on anti-racism parenting) than her identity as anti-racist and how she navigates managing her impression of one or both of these identities.

Impression Management

Erving Goffman (1959) focused on the presence and utility of motivation within his conceptualization of SI, arguing that individual actors feel compelled to manage the impression others have on them (Allen & Henderson, 2022). It is important to note here that the audience plays a key role in what impression an individual is trying to make or maintain (Allen & Henderson, 2022; Scheff, 2005, 2014; Schlenker, 2012). This conceptualization of SI potentially explains why in the presence of other progressive-idenitifed, white affluent mothers "talk the talk" about being anti-racist and wanting to engage in anti-racism behaviors but in the presence of an arguably larger audience, who is witnessing their performance in mothering, they focus on managing the impression others have of their salient role as mother (Allen, 2017). Lastly, impression management might help explain how preservation might influence how and to what extent mothers engage in specific behaviors that show their commitment to one identity over another.

Strengths and Criticisms

As noted above, symbolic interactionism has made a significant impact in the field of family science (Allen & Henderson, 2022; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). This is in part due to its usability to explain interpersonal processes and identity development within family systems (Allen & Henderson, 2022). Symbolic interactionism also epistemologically aligns with qualitative methodologies used to examine and explain family function (Allen & Henderson, 2022; Daly, 2007). Lastly, SI is easily integrated with other theories, helping to connect macro and micro interactions (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). More specifically to this study, feminist theorists have

recognized the ability of SI to demonstrate the connection between the personal and political (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993).

While SI can guide quantitative methodologies, it is in this arena where SI gets more criticisms, specifically the notion that research guided by SI lacks methodological rigor (Allen & Henderson, 2022; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). For instance, SI has been accused of merely being a collection of loosely related concepts rather than a unified theory that can be operationalized and tested (Allen & Henderson, 2022). SI also gets critiqued for oversimplifying the cognitive and emotional processes present in metaperceptions, self-assessment, and impression management, assuming that individuals are fairly accurate in their assessment of how others see them (Allen & Henderson, 2022; Cook & Douglas, 1998; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993; Smith & Hamon, 2012).

Application to the Current Study

With its focus on reflected appraisal and the development of self-concept within social interactions and norms, symbolic interactionism aligns with the purpose of this study and provides a theoretical framework that supports data analysis and communication of findings. Symbolic interactionism also lays an epistemological and theoretical foundation for constructivist grounded theory methods to explore the process of maternal identity development within the contexts of race, class, and gender ideologies.

Along with studying the process of maternal identity development, the intention of this study is to critically examine maternal ideologies and explore how their roots in white heteropatriarchal worldviews possibly influence how these ideologies govern women and direct the maintenance of power and privilege through the controlling image of the *good mother*. For this, I will incorporate a feminist theoretical framework.

Feminist Theories

Feminist theory is a complex and ever evolving theory that centers around challenging the

norms and ideologies of the heteropatriarchal system in which we live and how these systems direct possession and maintenance of power (Allen, 2022; hooks, 2000, 2015). Some scholars describe feminism as a movement or ideology rather than a solidified and testable theory (Allen & Henderson, 2022), but how we choose to label feminism does not diminish the impact feminist frameworks have had on family science (Allen, 2022; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020).

Feminist theorists and methodologists focus on developing knowledge, often in collaboration with research participants/informants, that has the potential to facilitate transformative social change (Allen, 2022; Allen & Henderson, 2022; Harding, 1987; Osmand & Thorne, 1993). This focus on social justice praxis is a defining goal of feminist theorizing (Allen, 2022; Allen & Henderson, 2022; Few-Demo & Allen 2020; Risman, 2018) and one I do not take lightly as I design this proposed project. While my sample is one of privileged social status, as defined by their race and class identities, I was intentional in considering how studying privilege rather than leaving it an unexamined ideal (Allen & Henderson, 2022; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Letiecq, 2019; Walsdorf, et al., 2020) allows family scientists to critique the seductive nature of privilege maintenance and how the controlling image of the *good mother* perpetuates the reproduction of systemic injustice. The following sections highlight key concepts of feminist theories and how they support and guide this project.

Assumptions and Key Concepts

Numerous books have been dedicated to the study of feminist theories and their ever-evolving focus (Allen, 2022), and feminist theories, along with the societies in which they aim to critique, are in a constant state of development and change (Allen, 2016, 2022; Allen & Henderson, 2017; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; hooks, 2015a 2015b). For the purpose of this study, I highlight the concepts of power, privilege, oppression, and social movements and how they have acted as guideposts (Bowen, 2006; Charmaz, 2016) during the foundational stages of development.

Power

Foundationally, feminist perspectives critique power and explore methods of creating a more equitable society (Ahmed, 2017; Allen, 2022; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; hooks, 2015a, 2015b; Lorde, 1984; Collins, 2012) by standing against all forms of domination (hooks, 2015a). One way family scientists have engaged feminist perspectives is to deconstruct the fabricated separation between the public and private spheres within families, uncovering how broader systems of power and privilege present in family relationships and behaviors (Doucet, 2016; Ferree, 1990).

It is important to note here the critiques and necessary changes Black feminist theorists have contributed to the evolution of feminists' views on power structures (Collins, 1993, 2000; Combahee River Collective, 1977; hooks, 1981). With an original focus on gender inequality, white feminist thought lacked the recognition of how hierarchical power is informed by intersecting pillars of privilege based on gender, race, class, sexuality, and other systems of stratification (Collins, 2005; Combahee River Collective, 1977; Curran et al., 2015; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; Few-Demo et al., 2016; Walker, 2009). My sample for this study, while identifying as a marginalized gender, has overlapping pillars of power and privilege (e.g. white race; cisgender identity; SES; and status as mother) that provide them membership within elite groups. With this elite status, they are in a social position to define expectations, establish rules, and police the performance of their [perceived] subordinates (Collins, 2019; Dow, 2011; Few- Demo, et al., 2022).

Throughout this study, I will be closely examining how my sample integrates their dominant position as white affluent mothers and their subordinate position as female in a white-dominated, patriarchal society and how these systems of power are present in their identity development and daily maternal practices.

Privilege and Oppression

Feminist theories scrutinize the connection between privilege and oppression, arguing that they are interlocking systems that afford privileges to dominant groups and judges those who in marginalized groups to be less deserving (Ahmed, 2017; Allen & Henderson, 2022; Allen and Jaramillo-Sierra 2015; Kaestle, 2016).

Membership to dominant social groups accompany access to unearned privileges (Allen & Henderson, 2022) that often go unnoticed by those who hold them (Crenshaw, 1991; McIntosh, 1995). Adherence to the *good mother* ideal is an example of how membership in a privileged social group (i.e., affluent and white) informs one's awareness of how their conformity to the dominant discourse might influence the reproduction of advantage and disadvantage and symbolism which may speak to women across diverse constellations of power, privilege, and marginalization (Allen & Henderson, 2022). This study seeks to examine how the social location of affluence and white race informs how mothers perceive their maternal choices within the context of anti-racism and intensive mothering (Hays, 1996). An integral question that needs to be asked here is to what extent my sample is aware of their privileged social position.

Previous literature on anti-racism parenting suggests that white parents, who self-identify as progressive, do have an interest in engaging in discourses about race and racism with their children (Aanerud, 2007; Abaied & Perry, 2021; Allen, 2017). However, even with these intentions, they fall short of integrating anti-racism behaviors and practices into their parenting. One reason for this misstep is that they lack awareness of how their position of privilege influences their perceived choices (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015). Feminist frameworks help explain how proximity to privilege and the fear of losing this status and the benefits that accompany it, both for themselves and their children, informs these choices (hooks, 2015b).

This current study aims to explore the complexity of the intersections of privilege and oppression found in the social location of being affluent, white, and female. Empirical literature on IM demonstrates how the controlling image of the *good mother* informs how women feel they need to do mothering (e.g., child-focused; financially expensive; emotionally intense) and the shame they feel when they perceive they have failed to live up to this idealized image (Green, 2015; Hays, 1996; Ishizuka, 2019; Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). Gleaning and understanding of how this pressure to perform mothering informs how mothers integrate anti-racism practices into their childrearing has the potential to challenge the dominant discourse of mothering, helping family scholars better understand how the controlling image of the *good mother* is not only oppressive to women but works to keep other marginalized groups in their place.

Social Movements

Feminism calls for action argue that social change first requires critical self-awareness of one's social location and how this location shapes the lens through which they view and experience society (Ahmed, 2017; Allen, 2000, 2022; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; hooks, 2015). Feminists believe that it is through this practice of reflective consciousness (Allen, 2000) that social movements begin.

Lorde (1984b) argued that self-reflection requires an awareness of "the oppressor that is planted deep within each of us (p. 123)," and without this awareness, only superficial changes that temporarily ease our own consciousness can be made (Collins, 1993). This level of reflexivity calls for an ability to become vulnerable, a willingness to relinquish our own privileges, and an openness to gaining new knowledge that facilitates a change in perspective (Allen & Henderson, 2022). It is hoped that the interview protocol will evoke self-reflectivity among participants by prompting participants to process the motivations behind their parenting choices in regard to activities that are

emblematic of anti-racism engagement and disengagement (see Appendix B) in the context of current mothering ideologies.

Strengths and Criticisms

Valuing Participant Voices

Feminist theorists have long critiqued the institution of motherhood, specifically the divergence between maternal ideologies and the lived experiences of mothers (Baber & Allen, 1992; O'Reilly, 2008; Osmond & Thorne, 1993; Rich, 1977). Rich argues that the institution of motherhood is founded on women's subordination to the perceived expertise of male voices in the fields of medicine, religion, and child development. She also proposed that for a mother to be fully realized, she needed to be given the freedom to define her own experience.

Adaptability

The fluidity of feminist theories support growth necessary to adequately challenge the status quo (Allen, 2022). As society changes, feminist theory adapts along with it, never settling for outdated concepts or superficial solutions (Allen & Henderson, 2022). Previous research on anti-racism parenting within white families offers a superficial understanding about how white parents fail to incorporate racial and ethnic socialization within their families, but a gap still remains. It is my hope that by critically examining the controlling image of the *good mother*, we can have a deeper understanding of how levels of oppression and control help maintain the status quo.

Predictability or Explanatory Aims

Feminist theories are historically critiqued for not fulfilling all the requirements to make it a true parsimonious and testable theory (Harding, 1987; Jaggar, 2008; Osmond & Thurne, 1993). Part of this critique stems from the intuitive nature of feminist theories and a belief that feminist theories are not objective enough to contribute to scientific knowledge production (Anderson, 2012; Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1993; Tannoch-Bland, 1997). In this way, however, feminist theories and

methodologies align with a constructivist worldview that honors the contributions to science that can be made by building knowledge from the ground up, challenging a hierarchical system that works to gatekeep knowledge production (Allen, 2000; Daly, 2007; DeVault & Gross, 2014).

Application to the Current Study

Feminist frameworks are rooted in critiquing and dismantling power systems (Ahmed, 2017; Allen, 2022; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; hooks, 2015a, 2015b; Lorde, 1984a, 1984b; Collins, 2012). The institution of mothering is a political social system (Collins, 1994) in which white affluent mothers have more power to direct the dominant discourse of mothering (Hays, 1996; Elliott, et al., 2015) and police other mothers who do not have that social location that allows them to easily conform to the ideal (Dow, 2011, 2016). However, this position of power does not exempt them from being directed and controlled by patriarchal systems. Scholars and activists working towards social change too often want to oversimplify the concepts of privilege and oppression, making them appear to be mutually exclusive (Lorde, 1984b; Collins, 1993). This dichotomous way of thinking about oppression is ineffective at creating long term social change (Collins, 1993). Critical awareness of the complexities present in the interlocking systems of oppression and privilege and how individuals and social groups have the capacity of playing the role of both the oppressor and the oppressed (Lorde, 1984b) is a key focus of this proposed study. It is easy to point blame. It is much harder to recognize the complexities of someone else's choices. With its deep focus on injustice and its desire to bring voice to unspoken stories, feminist theory lays a strong foundation from which to study the process of integrating anti-racism into the dominant discourse of mothering.

Integrative Theoretical Framework

While SI is a strong theory for explaining identity development, it does not fully delineate how social power and the complex systems of privilege and oppression inform the process of

maternal identity development and practices. Integrating the critical lens of a feminist framework helps to fill in these important gaps by acknowledging parameters of expected behaviors based on the social construction of ideologies and the performance of gender identity within families (Baber & Allen, 1992; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020).

Feminist theories and SI both support the exploration of how identity unfolds over time and pivots in response to context. Both stemming from a constructivist worldview, these two theories complement each other in explaining the story of the constructed self and how an individual comes to know who they are. More specific to this study, feminist theory can also support our understanding of why white affluent mothers might concede to or transgress the expectations of the generalized other.

Both SI and feminist frameworks are critiqued for not providing a foundation for trustworthiness and rigor in research (Allen & Henderson, 2022; Anderson, 2012; Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1993; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993; Tannoch-Bland, 1997), but this critique is mainly found within positivist methodologies (Allen & Henderson, 2022; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993). Within this proposed study, both feminist and SI theories epistemologically align with constructivist grounded theory methods, where predictability is not the goal (Charmaz, 2014; Daly, 2007)

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

I propose engaging constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014) to examine the following research questions:

1. How might, if at all, race, gender, and class socialization inform affluent white mothers' adoption of IM?
2. What is the process of affluent white mothers challenging or adopting IM to incorporate anti-racism into their maternal identity and mothering practices?
3. What are the perceived barriers, if any, to affluent white mothers' integration of anti-racism within the current IM paradigm?

The following sections highlight the conceptualization of this project through my foundation in feminist epistemologies and methodologies, rationale for constructivist grounded theory, and utility of sensitizing concepts as guideposts during the initial phases of my research. I also include rationale for sample and data collection methods. The research design includes virtual individual interviews with informants (via Zoom), one exit interview question collected via an online survey, using Question Pro, and an opportunity for informants to engage in member-checking.

Feminist Methodologies

Feminist methodologists critically consider the purpose of their research, their privileged positionality as scientists, who benefits from their research, (Allen, 2000; Daly, 2007; Hesse-Biber, 2007; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008), and who is granted the title of knowledge producer (Gannon & Davies, 2007; hooks, 2021; Keating & Bhattacharya, 2021). The construction of knowledge has historically been limited to chosen elites, recognized by a measurable level of intellect that places them in a position of power to create and share knowledge (Hardesty, 1993;

Jaggar, 1989; Tannoch-Bland, 1997). This type of gatekeeping is rooted in white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and colonialism (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007; Keating & Bhattacharya, 2021; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008), which is not unlike the policing present in the institution of mothering. Feminist scholars interrogate what is believed to be authority and complicate the dominant discourse concerning what accounts for knowledge and who is in the right social position to create it (Gannon & Davies, 2007; Hardesty, 1993; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007). This proposed constructivist grounded theory study is heavily rooted in feminist epistemologies and social constructivism.

Constructivist Grounded Theory

Epistemology is the foundation from which integrity of the research process begins (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Daly, 2007). The researcher must have awareness of their beliefs, principals, and assumptions about knowledge construction as they conceptualize, recruit, collect, and analyze data (Allen, 2000; Harding, 1993; Hesse-Biber, 2007). Aligned with feminist epistemological and methodological worldviews, constructivist grounded theory (CGT; Charmaz, 2014) is based in the belief that knowledge is constructed through subjective meaning making and is not a universal truth (Charmaz, 2014; Clarke, 2007; Daly, 2007). CGT takes a deconstructive approach to analysis, building theory grounded in the data rather than imposing theory or preconceived ideas onto participants' experiences and processes (Bowen, 2006; Charmaz, 2014; Clarke, 2007). Having roots in symbolic interactionism, CGT calls attention to the lived experience of participants, creating a platform for their ideas to be heard and emphasizes multiplicity and the importance of context, social structures, and interpersonal interaction (Clarke, 2007; Starks & Trinidad, 2007).

My own philosophical assumptions fall in between constructivism and transformative

worldviews, aligning with the ontological and epistemological beliefs that lay the foundation for CGT (Charmaz, 2014; Clarke, 2007). I do not believe that there is one right reality, and instead believe that reality is multifaceted, based on an individual's life experiences, proximity to power, and cultural values (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). I value participants' voices and co-creation of knowledge, while acknowledging that different projects call for varying levels of participant collaboration and that collaboration can be empowering or daunting, depending on the individual and the topic of study. I am more interested in taking an inductive approach to data analysis and involving participants at different stages of data collection, analysis, and reporting.

Constructivist grounded theory supports this project for several reasons: (1) this study proposes to examine the social process of identity development and integration; (2) CGT aligns well with my integrated theoretical framework, utilizing both feminist theories and symbolic interactionism; and (3) the process of maternal identity development within the current IM paradigm and integration of anti-racism has yet to be studied.

Sensitizing Concepts

Some scholars believe that grounded theory is a purely inductive process, where there is no or very limited literature review or theoretical framework guiding the study (Charmaz, 2014). While there can be benefits to the purity of this ideal, it is naive to think that scholars step into a research project without preconceived ideas. With the reality that researchers are not blank slates, it is important to acknowledge theoretical frameworks and sensitizing concepts when starting a grounded theory project (Bowen, 2006; Goldberg & Allen, 2015). During initial data collection and coding, sensitizing concepts can serve as guideposts (Bowen, 2006; Charmaz). Literature on IM (Hays, 1996) and anti-racism parenting, along with my integrated theoretical framework in symbolic interactionism and feminist theories lay the foundation for the

development of my initial interview protocols and my initial coding, but will not definitively guide this study through its completion (Bowen, 2006; Charmaz, 2014). Instead it will become an interactive process guided by the data (Charmaz, 2014).

Participants and Recruitment

Sample Rationale and Inclusion

Previous research on anti-racism parenting did not consider mothering ideologies and socialization as contexts from which to understand how white mothers integrate anti-racism into their maternal identities and practices. However, failing to consider socialization within the controlled institution of motherhood (O'Reilly, 2006) creates a gap in our understanding of why white parents, specifically mothers, who report wanting to engage in anti-racism parenting, but fail to do so. To fill this gap in family science literature, I am proposing to recruit affluent, white, cisgender mothers of white children, ages 2 years to 10 years old, encompassing both preschool and primary school ages. The following paragraphs highlight the rationale and inclusion criteria for this sample.

Rationale for White Affluent Mothers

The *good mother* image within the United States has historically been linked to white race, cis gender expression, and affluence (Hays, 1996). Based on literature on IM, affluent mothers have the financial resources to fully endorse IM (Hays, 1996; Ishizuka, 2019). Affluent mothers are also in a financial position that affords them to make a wide variety of choices for their children's schooling, their neighborhood and housing, and extracurricular activities that have the potential to expose their children to diversity or keep them segregated in white spaces (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Dow, 2016; Lareau, 2012). We also know from Black feminist critiques of

the institution of white motherhood that white mothers sit in a position of power allowing them to dictate through complacency what it means to be a *good mother* (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2016).

White mothers have historically been uncomfortable talking about race and racism with their children (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Helms, 2020). To help mitigate reactive response and social desirability bias (Bergen & Labonté, 2020), participants in the study need to endorse a comfort level for talking about sensitive issues and self-identify as politically moderate or progressive, with an interest in discussing social justice.

Rationale for Child Age

Aligning with empirical literature in social development, the rationale for this specific inclusion criteria is multifold: (1) early childhood is a sensitive period for the formation of implicit prejudice (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Rhodes, 2020) and lays the foundation for racial understanding (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; Clark & Clark, 1947; Helms, 1990, 2021; Mandalaywala, et al., 2020; Rhodes & Baron, 2019) ; (2) decisions about preschool placement and future primary education start in early childhood (Roda & Wells, 2012); (3) children as young as 3 years old recognize and prefer ingroup social interactions with peak prejudice starting at age 5 and continuing with a slight decline through age 10 (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011); (4) early contact opportunities with diverse populations help mitigate the development of prejudice (Mandalaywala & Rhodes, 2020; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011; Rhodes & Baron, 2019); (5) literature on anti-racism within white families has previously focused on middle childhood and adolescents, leaving a gap in our understanding of how mothers integrate anti-racism into the interactions with young children (Hagerman, 2018;Vittrup, 2018; Zucker & Patterson, 2018).

Inclusion Criteria

Intentional inclusion criteria concerning race, class, and gender are present in this proposed study to contextualize the data and support the integrity and credibility of this study (Daly, 2007; Roy et al., 2015). Eligibility to participate includes: (a) self-identified white racial or ethnic identifying mothers, socialized and raised primarily in the United States, who are raising white children; (b) household income above $140,000 annually along with some college education; (c) self-identified as cisgender female; (d) have at least one child between the ages of 2 and 10 years old; (e) self-identified as politically moderate or progressive (i.e. liberal, progressive, left of center, moderate); (f) endorse IM, as defined by Hays (1996) and determined by mean scores, within standard deviation values, on the Intensive Parenting Attitudes Questionnaire (IPAQ; Liss, et al., 2013); and (g) endorse at least impartial comfort in engaging in conversations about social justice, including race and racism. Recruitment material will highlight some of these criteria while others will be examined through demographic questionnaires (see Appendix B). Marital status and sexual identity are not determining criteria for inclusion in this present study. Rationale for child age and household income is listed in the previous section (see Rationale for Sample), and empirical literature in racial ethnic socialization, anti-racism parenting, and IM supports additional inclusion criteria with the following findings: (1) self-identifying progressive white parents, despite reporting intentions to incorporate anti-racism practices into their parenting, fail to follow through (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018); (2) literature on white parents' engagement in racial ethnic socialization is limited (DePouw & Matias, 2016; Hughes, et al., 2006;; Priest, et al., 2014); and (3) gender and racial ideologies inform IM tenets (Dow, 2011, 2016; Hays, 1996;).

As discussed in Chapter 1 (see Definitions), politically progressive is a fluid identity (A Wider Gap between More and Less Educated Adults, 2016; Gilberstadt & Daniller, 2020) and challenging to define and measure (Gentry, 2018). Aligning with feminist methodologies and constructivist views of identity (Clarke, 2007; Daly, 2007; Haraway, 1988), this study is more concerned with how participants self-identify. Further rationale for self-identification is supported by empirical and conceptual literature that explores the malleability of political identity within context, stating that (Bernstein, 2008; Joireman, 2003).

Recruitment

Scholars, such as Bonilla-Silva (2017), Helms (1990, 2021) and DiAngelo (2018, 2021), remind us that white individuals are habitually hypersensitive during conversations about race and racism. It is also well documented that social desirability can influence participant responses to interview and survey questions (Bergen & Labonté, 2020). Keeping white fragility (DiAngelo, 2018) and social desirability in mind, it is essential for quality data collection that I remain mindful of participants' perceptions of the research during the entire process. Their experience and the relationship they build with me begins during recruitment. Staying mindful of ethical considerations, white fragility, and social desirability, I invited participants who are interested in discussing their experience of current mothering ideologies in the context of social justice movements. While fully disclosing the topic of study could potentially influence fragility and desirability bias, choosing to be completely opaque during recruitment does not align with trust building between researcher and informant, impacting the quality of collected data (Lincoln & Guba, 1986).

Based on Creswell and Plano Clark's (2011) recommendations for grounded theory sampling, the current study has a goal of 15-20 participants, but is more focused on the goal of

theoretical saturation over a specific number of participants (Charmaz, 2014). Recruitment happened in stages. First, mothers of children, ages 2 to 10 years of age, wererecruited via statewide (excluding Blacksburg, VA) and national social media platforms that focus on mothering, progressive parenting, and more specifically anti-racism and social justice parenting. Recruiting semi-locally and nationally allowed for diversity within the sample, while mitigating the risk of the primary investigator knowing participants local to Blacksburg, VA. After preliminary recruitment, I virtually met with potential participants individually to discuss their rights and responsibilities of participation as indicated by IRB protocols.

Data Collection

Informants who agreed to participate were asked to complete on-line inclusion criteria surveys via Quesion Pro, including demographic information (see Appendix B) and endorsement of IM (see Appendix C). The Intensive Parenting Attitudes Questionnaire (IPAQ; Liss, et al., 2013) gauges potential participant's endorsement of IM factors, as this is the context within which the research questions are focused. Based on central tenets of IM: (a) child-centered; (b) expert-guided; (c) emotionally absorbing; (d) labor intensive; and (e) financially expensive (Hays, 1996), the IPAQ consists of 25 items and is measured with a six-point Likert scale (Liss et al., 2013). Extensive quotes and authentic language from qualitative interviews examining IM were used to create IPAQ survey items, which measure five factors of IM: (1) essentialism of mother as primary caregiver; (2) maternal fulfillment from the sacred and innocent nature of childhood; (3) mothering requires stimulation for optimal child outcomes; (4) belief that mothering is challenging; and (5) belief that mothering should be child-centered. Three items are designed for reverse coding (Liss, et al., 2013). Mean scores, within the standard deviation, based on empirical studies by Liss, et al. (2013) and McGregor (2022) for each factor: (1) essentialism (2.98); (2) fulfillment (2.92); (3) stimulation (3.30); (4) challenging (4.34); and (5)

child- centered (2.65), was used as cut-off scores to determine inclusion. All recruited individuals that participated in screening were compensated with a $5 Amazon gift card. Participants who meet the inclusion criteria (see Inclusion Criteria) received an additional $20 Amazon gift card for participating in the study.

Sample Demographics

A total of 30 white mothers responded to the recruitment ad initially shared on my personal Facebook page with 18 participants meeting all inclusion criteria and agreeing to fully participate in the study. The following paragraph details how participants were recruited and sample demographics for the 18 participants.

Six people shared my recruitment ad to mothering groups to which belonged on Facebook. One of these groups was *Academic Mamas*, resulting in a sample where 33.3% (n = 6) of participants held a master's degree and 50.0% (n = 9) held doctorate degrees. Of the remaining participants, 5.56% (n = 1) had an associate's degree and 11.1% (n = 2) held bachelor's degrees. Within this sample, 72.2% (n = 13) of the women were employed full-time, 16.7% (n = 3) were self-employed, 5.6 % (n = 1) was unemployed, and 5.6% (n =1) chose the option of, "other." Participants ranged in age from 25 to 55, with 83.3% (n = 15) falling between the ages of 34 to 45. All 18 participants identified as heterosexual, were mothers of children between the ages of 2 and 10 years old, with the following breakdown: 24-36 months (n = 6, 21.4%); 3-5 years (n = 10, 35.7%); and 6-10 years (n = 10, 35.7%) and self-identified as moderate to liberal in their political leanings. Of the 18 participants, 72.2% (n=13) reported feeling very comfortable and 27.83% (n=5) reported feeling somewhat comfortable discussing social justice issues.

Screening and Pre-Interview Procedures

All 18 participants completed a demographic questionnaire, the IPAQ, (Liss, et al., 2013)

and questions created to measure their political leanings and comfort in discussing social justice issues. Embedded in the Question Pro survey was an IRB-approved consent form (see Appendix A) to which all participants agreed to engage.

Question Pro surveys were reviewed within 48 hours of their completion and potential participants were contacted via email regarding their participation status. Potential participants who did not meet inclusion criteria were told specifically why they were not eligible to participate and emailed a $5 Amazon gift card for completing the survey. Those who matched the inclusion criteria (see *Inclusion Criteria* in Appendix X*)* were invited to participate in the 60–90-minute individual Zoom interview and complete a Question Pro exit interview, consisting of one question. Individual Zoom interviews were scheduled at the convenience of the participants and exit interviews were completed within 2 weeks of the interview at the convenience of the participant.

Individual Interviews

Data was collected at two points: (1) individual Zoom interviews; and (2) anonymous exit interviews via Question Pro. Individual Zoom interviews, lasting 60-90 minutes, were guided by an interview protocol (see Appendix D). The initial questioned focused on the process of maternal socialization, helping to fill the gap in previous literature on anti-racism parenting, where the focus was on the discrepancies between white parents' intention to engage in anti-racism and their follow-through behaviors (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). The next segment of the interview protocol invited participants to share their thoughts and experiences about engaging in general social justice and their process of becoming more aware of systemic injustice. These questions led into more specific questions about integrating anti-racism tenets into participants' maternal

identity and concluded with questions focused on understanding perceived barriers and motivations for integrating anti-racism into maternal identity.

Aligning with feminist methodologies, I was intentional about disclosing my insider status as a mother and the purpose of the study. I also remained mindful to keep the interview process conversational and reflexive of my power within my role as the researcher (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007). Due to the sensitive nature of the interview questions, the topic of the study, and the awareness of white fragility, discomfort among whites to discuss race, and defensiveness (Bonilla-Silva, 2017; DiAngelo, 2018; Helms, 2020) it was imperative that I created an atmosphere of trust that would facilitate the collection of trustworthy data (Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Roy, et al. 2015).

Feminist methodologies and CGT are both rooted in ontologies and epistemologies that value individual lived experience and knowledge grounded in data rather than pre-conceived hypotheses of the researcher (Charmaz, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2007; Leavy & Harris, 2019; Scott, 1991). To support this process or power sharing, it was important for me to create a non-judgmental environment, keeping my positionality and biases in check (Allen, 2000; Leavy & Harris, 2019). While positivist epistemologies value objectivity of the researcher and distance between the researcher and object of study, feminist methodologies accept the fact that the researcher is a subject in the study, merely by their presence and does not shy away from honoring the connection and emotional exchange present during the interview process (Haraway, 1988; Jaggar, 1989). My own vulnerability as a mother and my honesty about my own imperfect process of integrating anti-racism into who I am as a mother served to build rapport and trust with participants, supporting co-construction of knowledge (Haraway, 1988; Jaggar 1989).

Below are a few examples of conversation exchange between informants and me during individual interviews.

> Thank you for sharing your experience about what it means to be a good mom. I am also curious to learn more about how you think mothers can incorporate social justice-oriented practices into their mothering. Is there anything else you want to add to the previous questions before we move forward with our interview? Also, I want to acknowledge that talking about social justice and anti-racism can feel intimidating, and at times it feels like there is a competition about who is the most woke or PC. I assure you that this is not the purpose of this study and that I am currently navigating my own inner-dialogue about some of the same questions I am about to ask you. It is a unique process for each mother, and your experience is valid. So, no judgement from me! (See Appendix E)

> Know that you're not alone, if you don't know how to navigate this…there's a lot of moms who are kind of at a loss of how to navigate some of this (Mandy, personal communication, n.d.)

Other ways in which I built rapport was to remain flexible with the interview protocol, repeat back what participants said, and incorporate their previous answers into how I asked future questions (Weiss, 1994). For example, rather than rote engagement with the interview protocol from participant to participant, I followed the lead of the participant, often starting questions with phrases, such as, "previously you said…" or "let's circle back to something you said earlier." Two participants were yoga teachers, so I intentionally mirrored back yoga language they used to communicate child outcome goal (i.e., light, awake, mindfulness). Holly and Eliza both spoke about their experiences with early mothering and the challenges of breastfeeding shame and perinatal mood disorders. Allowing space for this offered points of connection. Similarly, Jackie and Emily shared their continued concerns about COVID-19 and how this informed their school choice. In these moments, I chose to be honest about my own anxieties, demonstrating an understanding and acceptance of the complexities involved in human experience and choice-making.

Scheduled individual Zoom interviews began with a review of the consent form, confirming that participants were comfortable with the Zoom interview being recorded and transcribed. I adjusted the settings in Zoom to automatically transcribe the interviews. Once the downloaded transcription data was cleaned, I deleted the visual recording of the Zoom interview. All identifying information was removed from the transcripts and saved in a private folder under a pseudonym. Participants were made aware of this process at the beginning of the interview and were invited to ask questions. After answering questions, I reminded participants of the purpose of the study, thanked them for deciding to participate and encouraged them to be as authentic as they felt comfortable in their answers. Due to the level of education of my sample, many participants were aware of the research process. However, two of the first few participants were trained in quantitative analysis and asked several times if they were giving me the "answers I was looking for." These early questions prompted me to share with future participants that the purpose of this study and the research method used is to collect authentic, lived experiences from participants and that there are no right or wrong answers.

Follow-Up Exit Interviews

Follow-up exit interviews, inviting participants to share lingering thoughts and feelings about their interview, offer a point of triangulation in data collection, and were submitted via Question Pro. Directly after individual interviews and before the Question Pro link is released, participants were reminded that I would be contacting them via email within 2-3 weeks of the interview, inviting them to engage in member-checking of the interview and exit survey data.

Initial Analysis

Following CGT protocol, initial analysis and data collection occurred simultaneously (Charmaz, 2014). I transcribed early interviews (n = 6) and coded for initial codes within 4 days of the interview, helping to guide and shape future interviews (Charmaz, 2014). I also engaged

in memo writing (Charmaz, 2014; Daly, 2007) and reflexive consciousness (Allen, 2000) to facilitate bracketing of my initial reactions to the data. Added support during this process was received through meetings with my committee members, who helped me sift through my intellectual and emotional responses to the data. While positivist epistemologies assume objectivity of the researcher, feminist epistemologies that guide methodology and method consider this assumption of objectivity a fallacy (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1993) and instead recognize the awareness of emotion as a central aspect of knowledge building (Jaggar, 1997). Taking the time to acknowledge my emotional response to both the data being collected and the pressure I was putting on myself to collect a satisfying story from the interviews helped me clear space for a more authentic process necessary for trustworthy data collection and analysis (Leavy & Harris, 2019).

Data Analysis

Constructive grounded theory (CGT) is a fluid process, where data collection and analysis happen simultaneously, trusting that what needs to be studied emerges throughout the process (Bowen, 2006; Clarke, 2007; Charmaz, 2014; Daly, 2007). Engaging in constant comparison of observations during data collection and stages of coding helped me remain critically aware of my preconceived notions and remain open to the direction in which the data directed this study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2014).

Initial Coding

As mentioned above in the Data Collection section, I began initial coding during the early stages of data collection, starting with recorded individual interview transcripts and exit interview answers. Initial coding was conducted word by word and/or line by line, facilitating my emerging observation of patterns and processes in the data (Clarke, 2007; Charmaz, 2014; Daly, 2007). During initial coding, I also engaged in memo-writing, which served several

purposes: (1) maintaining awareness of my sensitizing concepts; (2) reflexivity; and (3) data analysis (Clarke, 2007; Charmaz, 2014). Throughout this stage of analysis, I was mindful of the language and process of communication I observed in participants, allowing space for in vivo codes that could be used later in more integrated analysis and theory construction (Charmaz, 2014).

Focused Coding

Using MAXQDA Plus to organize the data, I began focused coding after themes began to emerge from initial coding. Attending to how initial codes highlight the story in the data and relate to each other, I moved initial codes into categories (Charmaz, 2014). At this point in analysis, I also considered what gaps remained in the data and adjusted my interview protocol accordingly (Charmaz, 2014).

With the purpose of adding trustworthiness and validity to my analysis along with another point of data, (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1986), I invited participants to engage in member checking at this point, offering time and space for participants to elaborate on data collected from their individual interviews and emerging themes. Taking this time to re-engage with informants and hearing their thoughts about the data also adds a point of triangulation, adding multiple perspectives and complexity to the analytic process and theory construction (Daly, 2007; Maddison, 2007; Miner-Rubino, et al., 2007). A total of 6 (33.3% of the sample) informants engaged in member-checking.

Attuning the interview protocol to the lived experiences of informants thus far and engaging in member-checking allowed me to move forward with more clarity into axial coding (Charmaz, 2014; Daly, 2007).

Axial Coding

While I did not engage in axial coding as systemically defined by Strauss and Corbin

(1990, 1998), I did observe and name emerging subcategories throughout constant comparison of the data that helped me make sense of the data as a whole (Charmaz, 2014). This extended step of focused coding also facilitated clearly defining categories and collapsing codes. With distinctly defined categories, I created concepts maps as the beginning process of theoretical coding.

Theoretical Coding

After presenting and discussing concept maps with my advisor, I moved forward with theoretical coding Charmaz, thoughtfully observing how categories informed each other throughout the data (Charmaz, 2004). Engaging in process meetings with my advisor, we used Google Jamboards (see Appendix I) to discuss how categories were in relation with each other and the tensions present throughout the concept maps.

While I remained open to the possibility of engaging in theoretical sampling, constant comparison of the data indicated that theoretical saturation was met within the sample of 18 affluent white mothers. At this point, data began to read as repetitive and a clear story of the process of identity integration was revealed (Charmaz, 2014; Starks & Trinidad, 2007).

During data analysis, I continued to engage in critical self-reflection, including engaging in memo-writing and process meetings with my advisor and committee members, adding rigor and trustworthiness to the study (Charmaz, 2014).

Iterative Process

Familiarity with the data is imperative in qualitative research (Goldberg & Allen, 2015). Transcribing my own data supported my familiarity with the overall narratives present in the data and also the process in which individual participants integrated anti-racism into their maternal

identity. I took care to listen to interviews several times as I cleaned rough transcripts generated by Zoom. Engaging in this process allowed me time to read through each transcript before I started analysis. During this initial experience with the data, I engaged in memo writing and movement improvisation to help me bracket my early reactions to the stories shared by participants. I also met with committee members, creating another opportunity to process and bracket my experience of the data and gain additional perspectives on the data, adding points of investigator triangulation (Daly, 2007).

These early interactions with the data also informed future interviews. I was intentional about spacing interviews out, giving me time to engage in collected data before moving forward with more interviews. Given the positive response to my initial recruitment efforts, it become important for me to stay mindful of timing, balancing the required time necessary to review and code data while also respecting the time of interested participants.

During data collection, when initial coding began and throughout the entirety of data analysis, I met with my advisor to discuss, refine and collapse codes. These meetings and code refinements created multiple opportunities for me to engage with the data, revisiting previously coded transcripts to update codes and developing concepts. This cycle of coding and refinement continued, even throughout initial stages of writing as the connection between concepts continued to increase in clarity and direction.

Reflexivity Statement

Critical awareness of self is essential for engaging in rigorous and anti-racism analyses (Allen, 2000; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). I come to this work as a white, upper-middle-class mother of one biological child of color, who identifies as female. I am also the daughter of white, working-class parents and was raised in a small coal-mining town in northern Appalachia. As a

cisgender female who grew up surrounded by poverty, conservative worldviews, and limited opportunities for higher education, I take pride in my own progressive worldview.

I am also a [recovering] perfectionist with a background in developmental psychology and came into mothering with idealistic expectations of myself. My interest in studying maternal behavior and ideologies stems from my overall curiosity in how shame informs social conformity and the reinforcement of the status quo, mother-child interactions in infancy and early childhood, and the nurturance of authenticity within a society that fears it (Ahmed, 2017). I am curious how maternal behavior is informed by social ideologies of motherhood and ideologies of child outcomes reinforced in developmental psychology research, where theoretical frameworks lack an intersectional lens (Edwards & Few-Demo, 2016; Garcia Coll, et al., 1996; Pérez, 2017). Advocacy for women and for children coexist within me and contribute to my own inner dialogue about mothering. I have high expectations of adults as they interact with children and an awareness of the intrusiveness of white, heteropatriarchal ideologies present in contemporary mothering paradigms (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2016; Hays, 1996) and developmental research (Edwards & Few-Demo, 2016; Garcia Coll, et al., 1996; Pérez, 2017) that help shape my opinions. I am a critical feminist theorist and methodologist with a social constructivist worldview. Knowing that the lens through which I view mothering and child development informs my analysis and meaning making, it is important to remain transparent. The following section highlights how I plan to use critical self-awareness and other tools to stay grounded in the data throughout this project.

Trustworthiness and Rigor

There are several practices I engage in to mitigate the risk of my personal biases and experiences being projected onto the data and guiding analysis. Throughout the entirety of data

collection and analysis, I engaged in memo-writing, helping to bracket my own experience from those of the participants (Charmaz, 2014; Daly, 2007). I also incorporated member-checking as an additional method to check my bias of emerging themes and triangulate the data (Charmaz, 2014; Daly, 2007). Lastly, I regularly met with my advisor, who served as an auditor, for counsel throughout different stages of data analysis and coding and maintained communication with my committee members for accountability, support and guidance.

My own experience as a mother gave me a seat at the table, credibility, and a foundation to establish trust with my participants. My background as a mental health therapist supported by ability to create space for participants to lead the direction of conversation, to remain present in the moment, and tune into the informants' process and experience. Keeping in mind my ability to improvise and change direction as needed, it became imperative that I remained aware of the purpose of the interviews, allowing them to play the role of data collection and not therapeutic relationship building.

Lastly, I come to this project with a strong background in child development, extensive knowledge in women's, gender, and sexuality theories and methodologies, and a clinical background as a dance/movement psychotherapist with a focus on early parent-child interactions. These academic and professional experiences, along with my training as a family scientist supported my ability to analyze the data from multiple disciplinary perspectives and theoretical approaches, offering points of theoretical triangulation (Daly, 2007).

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

In this chapter, I communicate findings aimed to answer the following research questions: (1) How might, if at all, race, gender, and class socialization inform affluent white mothers' adoption of IM? (2) What is the process by which affluent white mothers challenge or adopt IM to incorporate anti-racism into their maternal identity and mothering practices? and (3) What are the perceived barriers or motivators, if any, to affluent white mothers' integration of anti-racism practices within the current IM paradigm? To begin, I share findings within individual questions then discuss how the above research questions and their subsequent findings are in communication with each other, helping to paint a picture of the internal process of integrating anti-racism into maternal identity within the context of the current *good* mothering paradigm, directed by IM tenets.

Process Model 1: Race, Gender, and Class Socialization

This section focuses on RQ1, highlighting how race, gender and class socialization inform the adoption of IM within the context of affluent white mothering and lays a foundation for understanding how affluent white mothers navigate integrating anti-racism into their maternal identity within the context of the current *good* mother paradigm. While collected interview data, as you will see in examples below, indicate that each of these concepts inform the adoption of IM within this sample, the interaction between an individual's focus on gender ideologies and their awareness of internalized white supremacy was most salient and continues to inform processes of focus in RQ2 and RQ3. Helping create a roadmap for the rest of the study, I focus on the interaction between focus on gender inequality and internalized white supremacy and white privilege in this section and share direct quotes that highlight the process in which these

themes connect. I also briefly discuss how affluence was experienced within this sample. An RQ1 Process Model is available in Appendix H.

Focus on Gender Ideologies

Foundational to maternal socialization is gender ideologies that place mothers at the center of family care-taking (Baber & Allen, 1992; Glenn, 1994; O'Reilly, 2008) and inform both the accusations of and fear of maternal blame (Reimer & Sahagian, 2015). This molding of the nurturer archetype begins in childhood, when society expects young girls to emulate mothering through play and self-sacrificing behaviors in the name of *being a good girl* (Chodorow, 1978; Rich, 1977). Dominant discourses that depict motherhood as natural for women, a patriarchal ideology of mothering, rejects mothers' identities and roles outside of mothering, leaving the role of mother as an alienated and private role (Glenn, 1994; Rich, 1977), representing views and values of the dominant group (Glenn, 1994), affluent white families (Hays, 1996; Collins, 1994; Dow, 2016; hooks, 2021; Lorde, 1984a). The comfort that comes from being part of the dominant group, the group who is trusted to make the rules that align with their resources, informs their awareness and perception of their privilege (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2016; hooks, 2021; Lorde, 1984a). Mothers, like my sample, who are socialized within liberal feminism are taught to perceive mothering as an oppressive role linked only to domesticity and sacrifice rather than a powerful social position (Collins, 1994). This narrative disregards their race privilege and with it the awareness of the power they have to make social change (Collins, 1994).

Participants (n = 18) in this study repeatedly named gender inequality and ideologies that inform their perception of their maternal identity, role in their families and how they are judged in society. Below are examples from Eliza, a business owner and mom of two cisgender girls under the age of 7 and Joan a social worker and mother of a cisgender 3 year-old girl.

The message we get is that mothering is like the sole purpose of being a woman. Like,

> I should be raising my kids and that should be my focus. Like you are a mom. You know your kids are home for only this many years, and that's your job. It's just like we are trained to do it. I also didn't really grow up in a household like that, like my dad was also feminist, and whatever but like, so where have I learned this from? You know, why is this just how it is? (Eliza)

> I think there's a lot in motherhood about gender roles and expectations, how like patriarchal systems have set up parameters that, like women, have to meet. It's not about telling the men what they have to do. It's telling the women what they have to do, and like the systems of power that have made that acceptable. Society puts this burden on women. If a child is failing at something, or you know, ends up um being, you know, in some sort of like criminalized activity or becomes incarcerated or not have a job, I feel like a lot of times people look at the mom, you know, like she was the only influence in the child's life. It doesn't come back to the dad the same way that it comes back to Mom. (Joan)

This focus on gender ideology and inequality informs how this sample of affluent white mothers perceive their presence in society as powerful agents of change (Collins, 1994, 2000; O'Reilly, 2006). The awareness of privilege and power becomes an integral part of how this sample of mothers felt empowered or restrained in their efforts to integrate anti-racism into their maternal identity. A quote from Holly demonstrates this tension:

> Moms are also women, for the most part women. And if you're spouting too much stuff off, then we're also not aligning ourselves to the feminine ideal, right?...And then I'm a lawyer on top of it. So I can't be a bitchy lawyer, female lawyer, because then someone might actually not listen to me, and I need an avenue for people to hear me if I want to be heard. I am spending most of my time saying, "My kid is this, and I'm woke as a mom," like people are gonna be like, "She's a whackado," you know. If I'm out and if I'm vocally speaking about that, then, like I'm obviously not spending my time on the things I'm supposed to be spending my time on and nurturing my kids. It's very hard to navigate all the day-to-day mental load of being a mom, and to also on top of it, think about the greater impact that my day-to-day decisions in front of my children are having on my kids. So the way I get through the day is to try to incorporate some small things into my daily practice and model kind communication to my children. (Holly)

Along with having an identity outside of mothering (i.e., professional identity), which becomes even more important to the process in RQ2 (see Appendix H), acknowledgement of white privilege and internalized white supremacy plays a primary role in the perception of power and the process of integrating anti-racism into one's maternal identity.

White Privilege and Internalized White Supremacy

The focus on gender ideologies and inequality foundational to the current social scripts of the *good* mother seemed to inform this sample's awareness of how class and race have also become internalized scripts that inform how they believe mothers do mothering well. Data within this study indicate that affluent white mothers have an internalized schema of white supremacy that becomes integrated into their maternal identity. While internalized white supremacy was not always shared as a conscious awareness, tenets of white supremacy, such as: (a) perfectionism; (b) right to comfort; and (c) bigger is better (Showing Up for Racial Justice, 1999) were present in how this sample of women talked about their role as mom. For instance, Jesse, a business owner and mother of two cisgender boys shared that she feels mothers get disproportionately judged regardless of their choices and that part of being a mother is having constant fear of messing it up.

Naming gender inequality as the foundation to the *good* mother role may indicate that this sample was unaware of their white privilege. However, this sample of affluent white mothers were mindful of their positionality as a white affluent woman. What is present in the data is a general focus on gender over race within the context of maternal socialization, but one did not completely cancel out the other. Sharon, Rachel and Jenna shared their experiences:

> Race and sexuality tend to be things that I'm trying to either do social justice around or work on in terms of my own inherent bias. I am a white cis woman who is heterosexual, and um has a lot of gay friends, and you know non-binary. I am working hard at not perpetuating the dominant paradigms that I've lived with for a very long time, and only in these last, maybe ten years or so, even less for race, honestly, I am realizing I, um have perpetuated them without realizing. (Sharon)

> You are perfectly respectful and emotionally connected with your kids and never yell at them, but at the same time they always listen the first time, because you're magic and you have to be like magic and perfect. You get them all the experience and the best dance team or gymnastics, or soccer, or whatever it is, you know. All of this is really tied up in in the white motherhood ideal of just being flawless all the time while making it look like all these things are effortlessly possible. (Rachel)

> Insofar as some of the really hard pieces of white supremacy for me to put back, like I can talk about like individual achievement and say, "Oh, I don't care if my kids have the highest test scores." But, like, I am going to be really good, right? I want to be good. It's really hard for me not to want to be doing it right, right? And so I struggle with that. Trying to be high achieving is in itself a white supremacist ideal and very hard for me to put down…my daughter is going to start kindergarten next year, and we are going to look at two schools. One is just the neighborhood school, and one is this, like local, fairly diverse school, but you know kind of tracked within a magnet program, right? And that's going to be hard. I mean, she may not test into it. She may not get in the lottery system. That will be a really hard test of my commitments to this, right? Because you don't want to make your kids suffer for your principles. So you have to work really hard to push against the what's best for my individual child, and try to realize that having every advantage is a single white supremacist definition of best, right? (Jenna)

Adding nuance to this interplay between gender and race, it becomes important to note that participants with children who identified as male (n = 5) were quick to point out the intersection of race and gender privilege present for their sons. The added responsibility of raising a young white male was intentionally considered among this sample and informed their maternal identity.

> I mean he's like the blue-eyed, blonde, fair-skinned kid. And, we're in like a super white, you know, part of the country. So, it's like you also obviously want to make sure with everything that's going on, that he is also aware of diversity, and that you know privileges that he, especially as a white male, will have, you know. And, the way the country currently is going, that he does not go down the wrong path, so to speak. (Melanie)

> I'm working to be anti-racist and own my inherent racism and that's a process that I'll be doing for the rest of my life, and that I don't want to pass that down, but also recognizing that my son is also going to have inherent racism because he is a white child, and that's just something to work with. I have a little white man. We want him to be kind, and we want him to understand his privilege and to not be one more stupid white guy. (Sharon)

> I have white boys, and that is not great in our society. That's the last thing that I think our world needs. I would also say that, especially now more than anything, more than any other time, we're really seeing a lot of really terrible people with really bad values…and I would hate to raise like horrible kids who have those values…so I feel like, especially now it's just really important to give my kids all of the tools. I mean, they have the privilege that they can learn those things in a safe way, right. Like they have that, and they need to know that they have that privilege, and they need to be advocates for other people and be good humans. (Jackie)

Along with recognizing her son's race and gender privilege, Sharon went on to discuss his class privilege and how she hopes he understands it.

> I'd like to see him having genuine friendships, genuine relationships from all walks of life, and I want him to also understand that he's living in a sweet little house, you know, with parents who already have a college fund, you know, all of this privilege that I want him to also understand, this is not the only way that people live. I want him to have a sense of poverty, and a social justice perspective. (Sharon)

As demonstrated by Sharon's focus on helping her son recognize the intersections of privilege (i.e., gender, race, class), this sample was aware of their class privilege. However, influences of affluent culture were of less focus than gender and race.

Affluent Culture

Despite the focus on affluent culture present in the study, participants rarely discussed their affluence. One possible reason is that the cutoff for affluence across the U.S. is a household income of $140,000 or above (Gilbert, 2003). This figure does not account for cost of living and is not representative of affluent life-styles across the U.S. (Pew Research Center, 2020). Only 1.1% of participants (n = 2) reported being born into affluence. In both cases, these mothers discussed what it means to be a good mother within affluent culture, focusing on the pressure to make sure their children go to top schools and have successful careers. Holly, an attorney and mother of 3 cisgender girls and Mandy, a tenured professor and mother to 2 cisgender boys shared their experience with and the expectations of their affluent families.

> For my mom and mother-in-law, their picture of what a good mom is, "Am I doing the same things they did?" My husband are both very, you know, pretty successful, so they must have done the right things, you know. And, so they did it right because we're okay. (Holly)

> I was in private school my whole life, right. That costs money, and then I went to a private university. That costs money. It's just that's who I ran with were upper-middle class white people my whole life. I seem to fall in with more prudent, more progressive

> groups now, but I still think, like everyone in that sort of where I came from is, "Oh, well, you do what's best for your kid and they just do without much acknowledgement that they have access to a lot more resources to do what's best for their kids. I have sort of devalued that a little bit, like I kind of, I want my kids to have a more diverse set of friends than I had growing up. (Mandy)

While this sample does represent the current definition of affluence within the U.S. (Gilbert, 2003), it does not represent a sample of individuals who were born into affluence or elite class. Instead, this sample represents white affluent mothers who succeeded in upward social mobility through their education and high-powered professions (i.e., attorneys; professors; authors). To do this, they had to challenge the gendered narrative stating that the *good* mother fully dedicates her life to her family and children (Baber & Allen, 1992; Coontz, 2016; Hays, 1996; O'Reilly, 2006, 2008). The presence of feminist thought, through the lens of these participants, is a central thread throughout this study.

The way in which liberal feminism both challenges this sample's ability to recognize how their white racial identity informs their process of integrating anti-racism into their maternal identity and how it acts as instrumental motivation to understanding systemic racism is foundational to answering the remaining two research questions.

Process Model 2: Challenging or Adopting IM

As identified in RQ1, focus on gender inequality and internalized white supremacy both inform the adoption of IM and how mothers in this sample perceived their social location and roles within larger social systems. In this section, I focus on findings that help family scientists better understand the process in which white affluent mothers challenge or adopt IM to integrate anti-racism into their maternal identity, as asked in RQ2. Focus on gender inequality and internalized white supremacy are foundational to this process. To quote both Kelly and Joanna, "this is the water we swim in." More specifically, findings show how perception of one's power and privilege and binary thinking about the public/private spheres

inform the process of challenging or adopting IM to integrate antiracism into this sample's existing maternal identity. Aligning with the RQ2 process map in Appendix H, this section focuses first on the public/private split, naming categories and subcategories in each sphere. I will then detail the tensions, nuance and fluidity present within this process. Major tensions are as follows: (1) salience of identity; (2) perception of social position and power; (3) focus on outcomes; (4) relationship with internalized white supremacy and will be used as headings to guide the second half of this section.

Public/Private Split

Mothering as a Private Role

The bottom portion of Process Model 2 (see Appendix H) reflects the trajectory of identity integration when mothers in this sample focus on their role as mother as one central only to their child's individual outcomes and wellbeing. This insular status, supported by a focus on gender inequalities, also relates to how these mothers perceive the power and privilege they hold as affluent white mothers. The sections below highlight categories and subcategories on this trajectory: (a) salience of maternal identity; (b) focus on gender oppression; (c) individual child-focused outcomes; and (d) embodying internalized white supremacy.

Salience of Maternal Identity (Gendered)

Feminist writing on motherhood critiques the dominant discourse suggesting that motherhood should be a woman's sole purpose and that mothering is the epitome of a feminine identity (O'Reilly, 2006, 2008). Data in this study supports the concern of feminist scholars who focus their work on motherhood through demonstrating how this limited narrative on what it means to be female informs one's sense of power when this one role dictates the purpose of their existence (Donath, 2017; Kerrick & Henry, 2017; O'Reilly, 2006). Several participants discussed how this pressure on being a fully dedicated mother begins as early as pregnancy and birth.

Jenna, Christine, Melanie, Holly, Eliza, Merrit and Melanie all shared the immense pressure they felt to be pregnant and give birth in ways that proved their status a *real* mom. More specifically, for these affluent white mothers, they experienced pressure from their medical support teams and peers to have unmedicated births and commit to long-term breastfeeding. Below, Melanie shares her experience at a baby-friendly hospital.

> There's a lot of like, evaluation going on in there, you know. It's like not birthing the right way, like you're not a woman if you had a c-section right. So, or you know, if you're not breastfeeding your kid, then you're not a real mother. It's just like putting women less than, even knowing that women in society are already placed at a lower level. Then, you want to place them even lower…when I had my son, I was totally, just, absolutely just the vessel for the baby…the lactation consultant at the hospital, I mean, they were like milking me like I was a cow. (Melanie)

Nearly the entire sample (n = 16) named the patriarchy as the beneficiary of these early motherhood scripts that suggest that mothering should be all-consuming. Christine, a professor and mother of three shared a story about the guilt she experienced when she decided to ween her third child at nine months. Even though her family, including herself and her infant, functioned better as a system after this choice, Christine shared that she continued to question her choice to stop breastfeeding and transgress the *good* mother ideal. Not only was she challenging the message that *breast is best*, she was also communicating that her career and her own sanity were equally important to her role as mother.

Legacy of Motherhood

While the above highlights the pressure mothers often feel to make motherhood and the nurturing of their individual child their primary focus, even during pregnancy and very early stages of motherhood, participants also shared how they experienced the emotional burden to fully dedicate themselves to motherhood throughout the lifespan.

Holly shared how she internalized the message that mothering a woman's legacy and should be essential to how one sees themselves in society. Within this same narrative, Merrit

expressed her fear of being judged for not spending enough time with her and children and how others might blame her children's outcomes on the fact that she had a career outside of mothering. For Lucy, this internalized narrative presented in how she thinks about her role as protector:

> I think one of my expectations is protection, and I didn't even know if that's a motherly thing, an adult child thing, but that that is something they will have with me. I will always protect them. (Lucy)

Kelly, a mom of three, shared her awareness of the pressures society puts on white middle-class mothers to make sure their children are involved in extra-curricular activities and how this one tenet of IM is a great patriarchal tool for keeping mothers focused on their own families, so they do not have the time or energy to focus on larger social issues. She goes on to talk about the jealousy she feels for people who do seem to have the time to dedicate to anti-racism.

> I feel jealous if they do, you know, like I guess, is what I'm thinking, and if they do, then I am like, "Wow, they must be juggling," and a small part of me wonders, "How are their kids, you know, like, did they have bandwidth in space for their kids?" (Kelly)

This quote clearly communicates assumptions generated when mothers spend time and energy outside of their role as mother, even from mothers, like Kelly, who can name how the expectation that mothering is all-consuming, specifically through scheduled activities, seems to be an intentional distraction created by those who dictate ideal mothering and works as a means to maintain the status quo.

Focus on Gender Inequality

Within this perception of mothering as a private role one performs for their family, there was also a focus on gender inequality and oppression. This aligns with the critique of the SNAF ideal (Smith, 1993) and the focus on gender inequality within the family system (Baber & Allen, 1992). Jackie, Jessica and Holly shared their experiences of managing emotional labor at home:

> Um, keeping women at home, you know that is control. That's power. Why is it that they're the ones like the women, are the ones that have to stay home with the sick kid? Like if I don't work, I don't get paid. My husband can take a paid sick day. I can't. I mean, I can, but then I have to cancel eight patients. (Jackie)

> I sacrifice my own time to let her do the things that she wants to do and figure out what activities make her happy. That's the big thing is time...because you're supposed to just give and give, give it all, right? Like that's what we grew up seeing. So you know that to me, that's kind of what I mean by sacrificing, and I guess you know, I think that a lot of things are getting a lot better in today's world in terms of equal partnership parenting, but it still definitely falls a lot on the mother's responsibility. (Jessica)

> Oh, I carry the mental load of the logistics, the medical appointments, you know the forms that need to be signed and getting their uniforms and outfits. Or, if they're outgrowing these shoes, knowing where everything is. That mental load is something I carry. If my husband says he has a meeting at 2:00, like it's my job then, to rearrange everybody's, all of their things in the schedule, like domino pieces in order to accommodate that, and people put that on me, knowing that I generally can handle all of that, and that's the expectation it's just I can handle it, right? (Holly)

The connection between focus on gender oppression and the salience of the maternal identity was bi-directional, creating one of many spaces in Process Model RQ2 (see Appendix H) where participants seem to ping pong back and forth within the private sphere. This same bi-directional relation is present between focus on gender oppression and individual child-focused outcomes.

Individual Child-Focused Outcomes

Individual child-focused outcomes encompass several subcategories that align with white supremacy and the *good* mother ideal: (a) right to comfort; (b) preserving child innocence; (c) maternal shame; and (d) maternal blame. The last two subcategories represent how these affluent white mothers felt when their maternal choices did not align with IM tenets. The overall concept of individual child-focused outcomes is concretely expressed in Jenna's concerns about her child's education.

> I don't know. I don't know what to do about it. It is a hugely important decision. Where did you send your kids to school? Everybody wants it to be nice, but nobody wants their kid to be the guinea pig. (Jenna)

Jenna's comment about someone's child being a guinea pig also aligns with the belief that [white] children have a right to comfort. It is useful to ask what one believes [white] children need not be exposed to in order to not be guinea pigs. Rachel answers this question.

> I think that's one of the number one ways that white people inaccurately discuss this is by talking about a good neighborhood versus a bad neighborhood, a good school versus a bad school, and acting out as if participating in it challenges their kids. And you know, because of the way that our system set up, yeah, the communities of color are more likely to be full of poverty and addiction. That's a symptom of the way the system has treated them, and the opportunity we've given them. It's not anything inherent in that neighborhood or in that racialized group. So I do think that it's something that so called good mothering perpetuates. (Rachel)

Right to Comfort

While Jenna and Rachel's comments deal with neighborhood and school choice, keeping white children in spaces that represent their social status and provide comfort, Kelly discusses her concerns about mitigating the flow of bad news to her children, representing the subcategory, right to comfort.

> How much is too much, you know, is a big question that I wrestle with. I think the pandemic, just upped their like not wanting to hear bad news. And so, yeah, I feel like this, uh flow valve of how much? And I know the pandemic has my priorities in that way, I guess. Well, my oldest has said over the last couple of years, he'll say, I don't want any bad news, and I guess I have a sense of like there is too much to the point where we feel powerless, and therefore get numb. And I don't want that, you know, and it's been an easy point to get to in the last few years. It's too big. It's too much, too fast, too hard. So yeah, my oldest has said he's showing signs to me that he does feel powerless about a few things, so I don't know that he can take more, too much more. So it's kind of like light touches not long lectures. But when they're interested and curious, you know that's different thing. (Kelly)

Kelly's experience of wanting to be intentional about withholding information that might feel emotionally uncomfortable for her children also aligns with the idea of preserving child innocence. Adding context to Kelly's experience, it is important to note that she has a background in psychotherapy and communicated that this is the lens through which she views parent-child interactions.

Preserving Child Innocence

The idea that a mother's role is to protect her child and provide comfort is not unique to Kelly or any of the mothers in this sample. Ruddick (1992) names preserving child innocence and providing comfort as integral responsibilities of mothers. Below, Sara shared her beliefs about what is and what is not her young children's role in society and how she protects them through intentional choice to not take them to protests.

> I mean, I guess you know our job is to protect our kids, and you know that's kind of, I also feel like it shouldn't be their job to have to fight for reproductive rights, so like I know people do bring little kids to protest, and I'm not judging them for that at all. But I also feel like that's maybe not something that's first and foremost on the mind of an eight-year-old…it shouldn't be their responsibility yet. (Sara)

Within this category of individual child-focused outcomes, participants also shared their experiences of maternal shame and judgement from others when they do not perform mothering according to the *good* mother script, which involves putting their child's needs first. As demonstrated in the Process Model for RQ2 (see Appendix H), the assumed obligation to put one's child's needs before all else informed this back and forth between moving toward anti-racism and the salience of the maternal identity, where one's sole purpose is caring for her individual child.

Maternal Shame

Rachel, a mother of two children and a university professor expressed frustration at the amount of pressure put on white mothers to perform mothering perfectly, stating, "there's shame if you do not follow suit." She also discussed the pressure she feels both from social media but also interactions with other moms. Holly, an attorney and mother of three adds to this by sharing her experience of feeling the competition to do mothering the right way:

> Mothering can be a very lonely experience, despite what you're told ahead of time, or despite what your expectation is in terms of the way mothers relate to each other, and it is like it's tough to be a mom…for the most part there is, I think, there is a lot of this

> underlying competition that is a result of how we're taught how to be moms…yeah, it doesn't necessarily serve us well since we're all coming into it without any idea what we're doing…and if you're looking for this, "how to do it," there must be a right way. (Holly)

Experiencing shame is an intrinsic process, based on how one sees themselves in comparison to the social norms of their particular group (Scheff, 1988). Both Rachel and Holly shared the shameful self-assessment they felt when they did not follow suit or believed they were unable to find the right way to perform mothering. Maternal blame, as expressed below by Mandy is a result of assuming or assigning fault (Reimer & Sahagian,2015). Within this study, fear of maternal blame, specifically for the outcomes of one's child(ren) informed how one moved through the process of adopting or challenging IM to incorporate anti-racism into their maternal identity.

Maternal Blame

Mandy, a tenured professor and mother of two boys expressed her experience of maternal blame, linking it to the length of time humans are responsible for their children.

> Like not all animals parent they're young into adulthood, but we do, like we are supposed to be the strongest influences and mentors for these, you know, small humans until they get to that age, so I mean yeah that maternal blame, yeah, but who else would we blame? Like is kind of our job, in terms of our kids…if I couldn't, you know, fix all of it, I would blame myself. (Mandy)

The final category present in the process of adopting IM to incorporate anti-racism into mothering is embodiment of *internalized white supremacy*. In this category, participants expressed their fears of getting anti-racism wrong, prompting them to focus back in on their *individual child's outcomes*. While there still is movement towards anti-racism on the pathway, the path is disrupted by the assumption that there is *one right way* to engage in anti-racism or that how one is engaging in anti-racism is not big enough. Within this category, participants also expressed their discomfort and fear of feeling vulnerable in the event they were caught doing anti-racism incorrectly. These internalized concepts of white supremacy acted as a barrier to fully accepting the ongoing process of being anti-racist.

Embodying Internalized White Supremacy

When asked why she thought more white mothers did not engage in anti-racism, Lucy shared her fear of naming something incorrectly. She also highlighted the importance of grace in this process, demonstrating the complexity of these pathways. No one participant was solely on one pathway or another at all times. The fluidity of these processes will be discussed further in RQ3 and the integrated Process Model.

> There's an element of fear that they will name it incorrectly, say, something incorrectly, say something offensive, without the intention of being offensive. I think that's one of the reasons [people do not speak up]. The other one is, um it just doesn't affect them. (Lucy)

Several subcategories of embodying *internalized white supremacy* that come directly from white supremacy tenets were also expressed as reasons participants believed they were ill-equipped to move toward incorporating anti-racism into their maternal identity. Below are examples from these data highlighting participants' perception of themselves as agents of anti-racist social change.

One Right Way

Merrit, a healthcare professional and mother of twins used an analogy from her career to express her fear of failure in the context of anti-racism. Kelly, a mother of three shared her desire to have a script to help her navigate how much and at what times to talk to her children about potentially traumatizing events.

> I work in pediatric health care and like it's [social justice] akin to when I talk to kids about like being obese and dietary choices like you can't tell an obese kid like I'm not gonna tell them, "Don't ever eat a cupcake." You know it's not realistic, and it's not attainable, and it's like, if you then you eat a cupcake at your birthday, and you feel like a failure. And I think a lot of that translates into social justice, and how we're perceived, and how what we do, if you don't do these things, these big things, you're failure at it. (Merrit)

> It feels unscripted. So I guess it's like, there's no norms for how do we do this. I am noticing how I feel like I would judge white mothers that never talk about it, and I

> think I would judge white mothers that push their kids into triggering environments or activist spaces constantly, because then you're out of touch with your kids, potentially. (Kelly)

Bigger is Better

All participants shared the worry that how they engaged in anti-racism since becoming mother was not big enough. Jessica shared that she always feels like she should be doing more. Joan added to this when she stated:

> It seems like doing something small isn't enough, like you should be able to be doing more, to help a movement or to help an issue or call. It can feel a little unwelcoming and a little like you can feel a little like an impostor. You know it is like, "Do I really deserve to be in the space? Do I really deserve to be like at this protest, like, am I doing enough other than just like performative things?" I think there's a big pressure to feel like if you're not doing enough, then you're just part of the problem. (Joan)

Right to Comfort

Along with feeling like they were not doing enough if they were not engaging in big, public gestures of anti-racism, participants also shared their discomfort when discussing race and racism. Below Jesse, mother of 2 shared worries about giving her children too much or the incorrect information. For Emily, her discomfort was focused more on worrying that she might upset someone or overstep her place.

> I think also as I'm thinking and speaking about it, I think um there is a fear of messing it up, right like as part of being a mother, we're afraid of messing it up in whatever way so like getting it wrong, right? Like not doing this right, either giving them too much information or the wrong information, or that, you know, like whatever. And then they're going to go out and repeat whatever we've told them, and then you know, um so I think there is pressure there too. (Jesse)

> It is just uncomfortable. I don't want to upset anyone. I don't know how to do it in a respectful way, or I mean, I do, I just, I'm afraid to like, I feel like it's not my place. But you know the whole emotional labor thing, no one owes me a way to tell my kids about it. (Emily)

It is important to note here that while fear of messing up was represented in the data, this does not indicate that there is no movement toward anti-racism within this private trajectory.

This private sphere simply shows the non-linear nature of this process. There is a back and forth, as denoted in the bi-directional arrows. When mothers were on this trajectory, they were still attempting steps toward integrating anti-racism, but their *internalized white supremacy* (i.e. one right way, bigger is better) and focus on gender oppression (i.e. feeling powerless to make change) informed how they moved forward and why they got pulled back.

The next section focuses on the trajectory within viewing mothering as a public role.

Mothering as a Public Role

This sample of mothers also navigated this process, at times, through a lens guided by their sense of mothering as a public role. This perception of mothering was informed by the salience of their professional identity and focus on their own white race identity development. Within their professional role, this sample was more likely to be exposed to or be in conversation about the importance of understanding their white privilege and their role in society. These experiences outside of mothering helped them develop of sense of themselves as powerful social agents of change, both inside and outside of the maternal role. When on this more public trajectory, this sample of affluent white mothers (n = 16) were more likely to consider their child's outcomes within a community-centered mindset and were more intentional about how their goals for their child(ren) directly and indirectly impacted equitable opportunities for all children.

As seen in Process Model 2 (see Appendix H), this focus on *community-centered outcomes* rather than *individual child-focused outcomes* informed the *integration of anti-racism identity* into mothering. More specifically, when the focus was on community, this sample of mothers was more likely to accept anti-racism as daily steps rather than a position one arrives and remains. This awareness of the importance of small, daily steps challenged internalized white supremacy tenets, which suggest there that bigger steps are better and there

is only one way to engage in anti-racism. The challenging of *internalized white supremacy* related to mothers engaging in intentional daily parent-child interactions with the goal of raising kind children who both understand their privilege and engage in allyship. For mothers who were raising white boys, a *fear of internalized white rage and entitlement* also informed these daily parent-child interactions and the socialization of anti-racism children.

Salience of Professional Identity

As seen in Process Model 2 (see Appendix H), the salience of professional identity was an initial step in this process. Below are examples of how Melanie, Sharon, Joanna and Merrit experienced their professional identity in relation to developing more awareness of themselves as social agents of change.

Melanie, a professor and single-mom of one, shared her desire to continue to nurture her professional identity and goals.

> So like the mother identity to me is like part of me. But it's not like something where I'm like, "Oh, this is like going to be like a huge or dominating part. It's basically like making sure that I always still have like the other parts. I have a strong motivation to like have like career aspirations. And so you know, like so it's like for me, it's like I also need to make sure that I'm meeting my needs when it comes to like my personal goals. (Melanie)

Salience of professional identity acted as a force that pushed these women to become more aware of themselves within the public sector and more specifically created space for them to explore their social position and race privilege. The workplace is a setting in which individuals navigate expectations set by human resources. Human resources provide professional guidelines and training for ethical behavior, including expectations for working with a diverse and inclusive workforce (Swartz, et al., 2019). Many of the participants (n = 14) shared stories about when they first became aware of systemic racism; each time it was related to their education of job training. Sharon, mother of one and university professor shared that the purpose she went into academia was for social justice. Joanna, a mother of two girls and

literary scholar discussed how she uses her career as a platform to discuss white racial identity.

> So I also teach college students…when we watch a film about immigrants, and they're talking about your cultural identity, I point out to my students that white is an identity, right like, you know, trying to make things visible in certain ways, and then trying to explain the structures that are racist right? (Joanna)

While many of the participants (n = 14) shared how their professions directly influenced their awareness of social justice issues, Merrit spoke more about how her career helped her find a like-minded community:

> I mean, like my friends and family are very different than like the people that I work with, Yeah, and very different in in a lot of ways, I mean in our demographics and our religion and our political beliefs in a lot of ways, and so I think it's very different between those two groups. (Merrit)

An important observation within the salience of professional identity is how this identity and social position became a prompt for these women to develop a sense of their racialized identity. This is important to note, because development of white identity, while tangential in previous literature on anti-racism in white families, was a missing link in the findings that focused on missteps rather than solutions (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018).

Focus on White Identity Development

White identity development (Helms, 1990, 2000) requires a sense of self and social awareness and plays an integral role in this process. This section hones in on specific concepts of white identity development adapted from Helm's white identity schemas (Helms, 1990, 2000), the fluidity of the process of white identity development and how this cyclical process informs how affluent white mothers adopt or challenge IM tenets to integrate anti-racism into their maternal identity.

Awareness of Racialized System

To understand oneself as a participant in systemic racism, one first needs to recognize the

racialized system in which they operate (Helms, 1990, 2000), in the case of this sample, IM. Holly shared that she believes IM serves white men and mitigates possibilities for creating a sense of solidarity with mothers of color. Joanna also named ways she sees IM serving to maintain systemic racism.

> I mean that narrative serves white people and capitalism. I think that it certainly serves white people and upper middle class white people in particular. Numbers of people I know who are socially liberal to outright progressive, but who, without question move their families out to the neighborhoods with the good schools as soon as their kids are school age is immense, right? And, so I don't think there's any question that that narrative serves sort of well-meaning white people in particular. (Joanna)

Along with engaging in IM, these participants are also part of the larger U.S. society, in which systemic racism is foundational to our history and continues to influence the day-to-day life of everyone within the system. Sara shares her awareness of one of the many impacts of systemic racism below as she highlights the risk of driving while Black and the life-or-death necessity Black parents have to discuss racism, compared to being a white woman and being pulled over by the police:

> I don't think Black families are talking to their kids about race and racism because it's fun, and you know they want to make sure their child is well rounded. They're doing it as a necessity, you know. So they're teaching their Black boys that, like society will view you as a threat. And all these things that it never would have occurred to me to tell a kid, because, as a white person growing up in white area with white children like a police officer pulls me over, and he's like, “I’m so sorry I had to pull you over.” (Sara)

Sara’s comment above also demonstrates her awareness of her white privilege, along with her privilege, in this context, of being both white and female presenting. DiAngelo (2021) and Bonilla-Silva (2017) both discuss the importance of not only being aware of a racialized system but also understanding one’s role in the maintenance of the system. The importance of understanding one’s role in the system is supported in these data, as this awareness informs how this sample perceived the value of community-focused outcomes.

Awareness of Race Privilege

Rachel, a humanities scholar and mother of 2 children expressed her awareness of the pressure white mothers put on themselves and the privilege she observes in these moments.

> We put these pressures on ourselves. And I've seen this happen in groups where, like you realize, this is not like you're having a really privileged moment here with this entire conversation about your expectations or this entire conversation about like, "Oh, should I send my child to the private school?" However, mother of color might, you know, have a situation where she's getting judged for something, and there's like real world circumstances. (Rachel)

Challenging Internalized Bias

As with most personal growth, self and social awareness, sometimes in the form of reflexivity played a role in the integration of anti-racism into maternal identity (Schlenker, 2012). More specifically, awareness that ideologies exist and are not truths, awareness of internalized bias and a willingness to be vulnerable were foundational to this process. Rachel shared her belief that white women are socialized to avoid any difficult topic or emotion and when faced with a perceived challenging decision or new awareness, they "freak out." She went on to say that she observes this when white women are forced to think about their role in systemic racism and want to fix the issue right away instead of realizing they are part of the problem. Merrit challenged the internalized bias of white women in the way she talked about what is *best* for her children.

> A lot of it is also just coming from, you know, a white woman standpoint. I mean there's so much about schools, um, and you know what the school is rated, and all these things. But all of that has a very, a biased undertone. I don't think that I fully, like recognized that, or knew that until I was well into adulthood. And so I think, you know when people say like, "Oh, I want to send my kids to a good school, and that's why I want to live in this area," now to me I hear, "You know, we're going to go to the school because it's all white, or you know, white and Asian." I mean, schools play a huge role, and that's a lot in like in social media groups and things like that I'm looking to send my kid to the best school. (Merrit)

An awareness of systemic racism, their own white privilege and the bias they have internalized from their own standpoint as white women informed a movement toward community focused outcomes rather than an insular focus on the comfort of their own children.

Community Focused Outcomes

When mothers in this sample demonstrated more awareness of their social location and race privilege, they tended to focus their mothering goals on community-focused outcomes. Within this study, this focus presented as viewing mothering as a role in which they felt responsible for creating equitable opportunities for all children instead is solely focusing on maintaining their social location and privilege through maternal choices that helped their own individual children get ahead. Merrit shared how community focused outcomes relate back to her professional identity and her awareness of her position in society.

> We all want to, as moms, not lose ourselves and lose our professions and our passions, and you know, showing our kids that we don't necessarily just work for money. I mean that's obviously an important part, but you know that we work for bettering society. (Merrit)

Creating Equitable Opportunities for All Children

Joanna added to this by sharing her thoughts on how anti-racism challenges white mothers to think more broadly about what is best for their individual child by remaining cognizant that their child is part of a larger community.

> I mean, I think it [anti-racism] certainly challenges the narrative of like, "I will protect my children from unhappiness or stress at all costs," right. Like, I think it also works with the narrative of wanting your children to be not assholes, right, to have a sense of collectivism and the way you know, we exist together in communities and in the world, right? So I think it does have to do with like that reframe of what's best for my child as not being about the individual, the achievement, you know the individual safety and comfort, but about what's best for your kid actually really is what's best for the community, because you exist in community. And if we're all just hoarding the best for ourselves, there's not enough best for everybody else right? Like, yeah, I think for me it really does come down to like redefining what's best for your kid and making that part

of an anti-racist project rather than an individualist project. (Joanna)

Participants in this study were aware of the focus on anti-racism, as stated in the consent form (see Appendix C). However, they did not have to identify as anti-racist to participate. Kendi (2019) stresses that anti-racism is not a static identity; rather it is something one chooses to be from "moment-to-moment," (p. 10).

Anti-Racism Identity Development

Findings in this study show that for this sample of affluent white mothers, going through stages of white identity development fostered their acceptance of anti-racism being a process rather than a static identity that is proven through single, public gestures.

Acceptance of Process

Below, Sharon talked about anti-racism being an ongoing process for her and her son.

> Working to be anti-racist and own my inherent racism and that's a process that I'll be doing for the rest of my life, and that I don't want to pass that down, but also recognizing that my son is also going to have inherent racism because he is a white child, and that's just something to work with. (Sharon)

As one continues to integrate anti-racism into their existing maternal identity, it remains important to be willing to challenge *internalized white supremacy*. This becomes possible as one develops their own white racial identity, as was demonstrated earlier in the Process Model for RQ2 (see Appendix H).

Challenging Internalized White Supremacy

Acceptance of process in anti-racism identity development supported participants to challenge *internalized white supremacy*. Joanna expressed her struggle with "putting back" the white supremacy tenet of *bigger is better*.

> Yeah, I mean, like well, insofar as some of the really hard pieces of white supremacy for me to put back, like I can talk about like individual achievement and blah with like, "Oh, I don't care if my kids have the highest test scores." But, like, "I am going to be really good, right? I want to be good." It's really hard for me not to want to be doing it right, right? And so I struggle with that that. But, trying to be high achieving is in itself a white supremacist goal and very hard for me to put down. So I think, yeah, I think more sort of discussion of openness and trying and failing, like the anti-racist text that I have found most helpful have really emphasized the ongoingness, right? (Joanna)

During member-checking, Jenna alluded to a similar struggle when asked what she believed is a barrier toward integrating anti-racism into mothering. She states, "Yeah, it's been like one of my primary manifestations of white fragility is a fear that I'm doing it wrong." This awareness of their own *internalized white supremacy* and their interest in naming and challenging it supported a willingness to be vulnerable and make mistakes along the way. It also freed them to accept that bigger is not always better and to instead make small intentional choices daily to support the development of anti-racism in their children.

Willingness to be Vulnerable

"For me it feels important to stay open to have conversations with people that you know care about you," Jessica. When participants challenged the idea that there is *one right way* to engage in anti-racism, they were more willing to be vulnerable and speak up, even if that put them at risk for making mistakes or feeling discomfort. Rachel shared her realization that not everyone is going to like her all the time and her responsibility for speaking up despite this.

> One thing that I feel like I've had to learn more about to be an anti-racist, that not everybody is gonna like you all the time and not everything you have to say will be liked. But, you do it, because they're true, because they're the right thing to say, and because you are in a position relative power in that situation, relative privilege in that situation, and it's just the right thing to do. So, I think questioning some of those aspects of white woman, and white motherhood is important. (Rachel)

Willingness to Make Mistakes

Perfectionism or believing there is *one right way* to engage in anti-racism was a barrier

for this sample to engage at all. However, when guided by an awareness of their white racial identity and privilege, this sample was more likely to risk making mistakes in their initial attempts at anti-racism, within their family. Prefaced with literature stating how and why white mothers have historically failed at following through with anti-racism, I asked participants what they felt would support white mothers who do want to integrate anti-racism into mothering. Below is Joanna's response:

> I don't think white women need more spaces to talk about how hard parenting is. I mean, I think in some ways what white women need is like to be told repeatedly to get over themselves. So, I guess maybe a space that emphasized that doing anything is better than doing nothing, right. Like, I think that space to have that baseline conversation of how colorblindness has failed, I think is actually a really important step, because I know a lot of people who think that colorblindness is still the way to go. I would say, like spaces where you can share strategies, potentially. But I'm worried that that would get competitive or, like judgy right? Like, unfortunately, it seems to be something of a recreational past time for, like mothers to shit on each other on the Internet because we're also afraid that we're doing it wrong, that telling somebody else they're doing it wrong seems to relieve that pressure somehow. (Joanna)

As with previous direct quotes, this quote does not fully embody the openness to make mistakes. Joanna mentions how a space to discuss efforts that do not work, one that is open to discuss failures is important. However, there is nuance in this quote, because the process of integration is fluid and complex. While she brings up possible ways white mothers could feel supported, she also argues a need for them to, "get over themselves," and the unfortunate presence of competition between white mothers.

Making Small Intentional Choices

The last subcategory for *challenging internalized white supremacy* is focusing on the daily interactions and small intentional steps mothers can take with their children. Below, Rachel, Lucy and Joanna shared the intentional choices they made to expose their children to racial diversity and talk about race and racism.

> So we try to get a lot of representatives in our house of different ethnicities, books about black history, different religions. You know, my kids read books about Hanukkah. They read books, because we do not live in a very diverse place, and I want them to be exposed to different cultures. That said, I also do try to make sure that my kids have lived experience with diversity. (Rachel)

> I incorporated some books, some children's books with individuals of color as main characters and things like that, and some of the challenges they faced. As we would read them, I would say, like, "How would that make feel? How do you think the characters feel?" We also talked about it as a family, you know, at the table. (Lucy)

> I mean right now a lot of it for us is reading books with protagonists who aren't white. Um, you know, who talk about being different and talk about racial difference. I've been trying to like use racial language, including like, when my kids hear me talking, I will describe a white person as white. You know that's something you don't do. I did not realize how often I did not specify a person's race if that race was white. Now I specify. (Joanna)

This sample of affluent white mothers approached socialization of anti-racism children by making intentional choices on a day-to-day basis to engage in and/or model anti-racism to their young children. It is important to note here that these foundational steps towards anti-racism are more aligned with racial/ethnic socialization (Hughes, et al., 2006). However, white identity development, according to Helms (1990, 2000) is imperative to developing an anti-racism worldview. With the recent focus on book bans in the U.S. (Harris & Alter, 2023), it is also important to note that this sample of affluent white mothers communicated their reliance on books to teach their children about race and racism.

Socialization of Anti-Racism Children

When influenced by one's focus on white identity development and IM, this sample of affluent white mothers (n = 15) were more likely to discuss measures they are currently taking to raise children who are aware of their white privilege and systemic racism. More specifically, this sample named the following goals for childhood outcomes: (1) raising kind children; (2) raising children aware of privilege; (3) raising kids who engage in allyship; and (4) fear of internalized white rage and entitlement.

Raising Kind Children

When asked about their goals for mothering, Mandy and Rachel focused on anti-racism socialization with their children, with a concentration on raising kind children who are aware of their privilege and engage in allyship.

> I do not drill my kids about politeness, but it's an awareness thing where if you're asking for something, don't just demand it, assuming other people owe you. Right, like, like hey your mom and dad are going to help you out like if you say, please, this is to acknowledge that you're asking someone to do something for you and say thank you. You're appreciating that somebody did something for you. It's absolutely fine asking for something and to get it, but just show some acknowledgement that the world didn't owe it to you. This feels especially important, because I am raising white boys. (Mandy)

In the above statement, Mandy also illuded to wanting her children to be aware of their privilege by not assuming they are owed anything simply by existing in white, male bodies. As participants acknowledged their own white privilege, they were more likely to name raising children aware of privilege and raising kids who engage in allyship as maternal goals. Rachel and Mandy shared their goals below:

Raising Children Aware of Privilege

> I want my kids to, you know, have a more informed way of how systems work, like higher level understanding on the way that we move through the world, as opposed to an understanding of like it's just them as like an individualistic, like very American, like oh, well, I do what I want and it doesn't affect anyone. (Rachel)

Raising Kids Who Engage in Allyship

> If another kid's getting bullied and my kid stood up and did something about…like if some Black kids are getting questioned by the police or like another kid of color was being questioned by an authority figure or any kid in a school or were being bullied, if my kid stood up and did something…like watching out for underdog and just watching out for people who are unfairly being targeted and using his own white privilege to do something about it, I would be so proud. (Mandy)

Fear of Internalized White Rage and Entitlement

Along with naming goals to raise children who are kind, aware of their privilege and engage in allyship, several of the informants (n = 7) shared their concern about their white children

developing entitlement or white rage. These same participants also discussed white rage and police brutality as a perceived challenge to engaging in public protests. Below Eliza added her concerns about white rage and entitlement and Sharon shared her concerns about white rage:

> We live in very wealthy neighborhood, you know and school district. And so, like, you know, trying to like I said in the beginning of this, like showing, teaching my children that there is more outside of this world than just this bubble that you happen to live in right now, you know. But you know so like, so parenting and raising the next generation to not be assholes. (Eliza)

> Sharon: I'm not engaging in ways that I feel drawn to because of safety. I have a little boy at home who I have a responsibility to, and I know what it's like to grow up without a mother. And so that is in the back of my mind. When I think about going to a march, a rally, you know, and thinking about how you go to events now, public events, and there's usually garbage trucks full of sand to keep people from, you know, driving through them. Having been in higher ed and thinking about shootings and all of this, and the white violence out there. It's terrifying.

Major Tensions

To conclude this section, I focus on major tensions present within Process Model 2 (see Appendix H): (1) identity salience; (2) perception of social position and power; (3) focus on outcomes; and (4) relationship with internalized white supremacy.

Identity Salience

Foundational to Process Model 2 (see Appendix H) is the salience of identity. Data from this sample of affluent white mothers demonstrates that the salience of maternal identity (gendered identity), white identity (racialized identity) and professional identity influences the process of anti-racism identity integration into one's maternal identity. The theoretical assumption that identity salience is context dependent and not static (Stryker, 1964, 1980) was supported in this study, adding nuance and complexity to the process of identity integration. However, there were clear indicators of patterns of integration in these data based on the overall salience of maternal identity for participants who did not have an accompanying professional identity outside of their mothering role. For instance, when

maternal identity was most salient, adopting social scripts within the good mother paradigm (IM) took precedence and were in tension with their anti-racism ideology. In instances when mothering came first, participants' anti-racism ideology remained an ideology and not a realized practice. This is not to say that their interest in transformative social change was not present for these women. The interest remained, but the pressure to adopt tenets of IM informed to what level they were willing to or felt able to engage.

Salience of identity, within this model, influenced perceptions of social position and the power they hold to create social change. This was true for all participants who were employed full-time (n = 13).

Perception of Social Position and Power

Participants' sense of power and ability to make change within a racialized system was informed by how they perceived their social position as a white mother. Maternal identity is complex and weaves together threads of privileged and oppressed social status (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2011, 2016, 2019). White mothers experience both gender oppression and race privilege that co-exist in their day-to-day life, adding complexity to how they experience themselves and their social location (Allen & Henderson, 2022b). Within this sample of affluent white, highly educated mothers, focus on gender oppression seemed to negatively influence their sense of power and perceived ability to make change. In the sample below, we see how this focus on the maternal role within the insular family system influences Jessica's perception of her ability to make change and the amount of focus she feels she can give [outside of her role as mom]. Kelly shared that while she did not agree with the pressures of IM, specifically the "harried pace" of it, she still felt powerless to change it.

> It's the perfectionist in me, maybe like the wanting everyone to get along and be happy. It's like I have to teach her everything so that she can help make the world better, you know. I'm just one person. We're just one family. And so I think that's kind of where

> I'm trying to figure out where to draw that line without it being our entire focus. (Jessica)

> I don't like the harried pace and disagree with it [IM] but feel a little powerless to change it. (Kelly)

Focus on Outcomes

The tensions present in this category relate to the perception of a binary split between public and private life foundational to the SNAF ideal (Smith, 1993) and the individualist ideology of white families (Collins, 1994; hooks, 2021). Within this paradigm, participants reported feeling tension between focusing on their individual child or the larger community. This tension was most clearly communicated in conversations about school and neighborhood choice.

Relationship with Internalized White Supremacy

Internalized white supremacy was foundational to this entire model (i.e., one right way, bigger is better, right to comfort). But, how one related to their own internalized white supremacy became important to the trajectory of their path. Embodying internalized white supremacy became a barrier to thinking one was capable of doing anti-racism [the right way], increasing the likelihood that they would regress back into a focus on individual-child outcomes and a gender oppression within the salient identity as a mother.

The tensions experienced within one's relationship to internalized white supremacy and focus on outcomes continue to relate to how this sample perceives barriers and motivators to integrating anti-racism within the current IM paradigm.

Process Model 3: Perceived Barriers and Motivators

The purpose of the section is to explain the Process Model for RQ3 (see Appendix H) and the central role of IM as it relates to perceived barriers and motivators. The following headings align with salient categories in this model: (a) intensive mothering; (b) perceived

barriers; and (c) perceived motivators.

As stated in RQ3, IM is central to this Process Model (see Appendix H), explaining how this sample of affluent white mothers perceived barriers and motivators toward integrating anti-racism into their existing maternal identity within the context of the *good* mother ideal. Previous literature on IM focuses on the negative aspects of IM, more specifically, maternal mental health and child outcomes (Green, 2015; Ishizuka, 2019; McGregor, 2022). While IM tenets were named as perceived barriers towards the integration of anti-racism (i.e., limited time), IM also acted as a motivator, specifically the tenets: (a) feeling fully responsible for child outcomes/wellbeing; and (b) child-led. The role IM played in this Process Model is informed by how individuals perceived their anti-racism identity as it relates to their awareness of their white race and their *internalized white supremacy*.

Intensive Mothering

"The perfectionism of white mothering keeps us striving to keep buying products to keep us, um busy, to keep us very busy and not thinking about the bullshit of the world," Rachel.

Rachel responded with the above answer when I asked her who she things IM serves. Her answer demonstrates how sense of time, specifically the perception of time needed to do mothering as prescribed, limits the energy one can focus on community needs. According to Rachel, this is well thought out by those in power, when she later adds, "it serves the isms."

Limited Time

One of the main tenets of IM that continued to surface in the data was the concept of time, more specifically feeling like there was not enough time to do everything well. When asked why she thought more white mothers are not engaging in anti-racism, Kelly shared the following insight about how the busyness of IM starts to feel easier than having hard

conversations:

> Well, my first thought was I should be doing it more! For instance, my youngest wanted to do a food drive for People of Color in 2020, and it was from the mind of a six-year-old like the how and the why. But I tried to give her, I tried to help her brainstorm about how that could actually work and spend time with her on that so that it was feasible, which is hard. It does feel like a competition of resources. It's so automatic to think about what my nucleus needs in the evenings and weekends. I think that's a big psychological question that we're all trying to figure out. Yeah, it's just the default mode is my kids needs focusing on shuttling to shit, and because I've got to grow these kids into successful humans. So it's almost like, it just feels like anti-racism happens on the margins and in conversations, as we're going, because what's the alternative? Bring all that energy to them and push them into a space that is stressful and difficult for me to enter. Yeah, it's um scary and triggering and upsetting. You know, to know how our criminal justice system is so messed up, and the needs of anti-Asian hate, like these are traumatizing realities that I don't know how to titrate experience for my child. But, I do know how to keep running really busily from thing to thing. (Kelly)

Holly, an attorney and mother of three children under the age of 6 adds to this idea of time and energy being a perceived barrier:

> I think that mom are so busy and often very tired and drained, either because we think we are, or because we actually are, that we, our internal dialogue, is going at a million miles an hour, and we think we need to do eight thousand different things that are on all of our to-do lists. We are just trying to get through the day and go through the motions. (Holly)

Feeling Fully Responsible for Child Outcomes

Along with believing that the majority of their time should be focused on mothering, this sample of mothers also felt that their child's outcomes and wellbeing were mainly their responsibility. Mandy shared her fear of being blamed for not being, "aware enough" and not giving, "effective guidance," if her children succumb to outside influences. She also shared the stress she feels about being viewed as her children's most prominent influence. Below, Jesse and Rachel shared their versions of the controlling narrative of the *good* white mother, supporting Mandy's experience of feeling like she should be able to project her child(ren) no matter what is happening around them:

> I mean it's the entire maternal image, right as us being protectors, and being, you know, um shielding them and you know we kept them safe in our wombs. Whenever you see, like sort of like, like if I think of an image of a mother, it's like a woman with her arms like wrapped around her children, right. (Jesse)

> You have to do the best thing for your kid. I think this is one of those, like middle-class white pressure things. But like, I can understand why if you feel like you have options, and your kid is just struggling, to not take that option feels like you're a common asshole. (Rachel)

While the above quotes represent *individual child-focused outcomes*, this pressure of being responsible for their child's outcomes, when informed by awareness of white privilege, also influenced how this sample of mothers perceived their role in socializing their children to be kind, aware of their privilege, and engage in allyship. Joanna had this to say:

> I want to raise kids who see themselves as part of something bigger in the world, you know, who may or may not be highly achieving like, let's be honest as an academic, I would probably struggle if my girls turn out not to be particularly academically inclined, but I want them to see that as not like good or bad, or better than someone else. But I want them to see themselves as like part of a world that needs to work together and to see themselves, as I mean eventually right, like you, don't do this with four-year-olds in a very complex way, but you know, as people who have a lot of privilege, and who have something of a responsibility to use that privilege to work together with other people in the world…I think that really like understanding themselves as part of communities and communities of activism and justice and practice is really important to me. (Joanna)

Mothers with white sons also expressed feeling like raising a white male added to their sense of responsibility for the child's outcomes. Sharon explained:

> For a long time, I was convinced that I was having a girl. And then one day I thought, I just felt my belly, and I went" No, this is a boy," and it was, and I thought, "Crap, my responsibility has just shifted." (Sharon)

As previously mentioned, this added sense of responsibility presented as fear around raising children who felt entitled or who would later embody a sense of white rage and act out in ways that do not symbolize the mother's progressive leanings.

Child-Led

A foundational tenet of IM is that mothering is child-led (Hays, 1996), meaning that

the child's needs should come first and that each child should be respected as a unique individual. Below, Lucy shared how she uses her child's interest as a guide from which to make family decisions:

> I always try to make decisions for the best of the family, the best of our family, and that kind of guides me. Um, sometimes it's saying, I can't play around, knowing that I need the rest." Yeah, great. I try to make things special for my kids. I try and find interest in the things that my kids find interesting. (Lucy)

However, mothers in this study also engaged in this impression of mothering as child-led by being intentional about how to talk to their children about race and racism in a way that was age-appropriate, supporting genuine learning rather than performative acts of anti-racism. Nearly every participant with children between the ages of 3 and 7 years discussed the importance of being mindful what a child can understand and being guided by the interpersonal interactions they had with their children while engaged in these conversations. While often critiqued as being overly protective of the assumed innocence of [white] children (Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015), the importance of interpersonal awareness and readiness to learn is supported in literature dedicated to how children learn about race (Rhodes & Baron, 2019).

Now that I have described the central presence of IM within Process Model 3 (see Appendix H), I will discuss how this sample of affluent white mothers perceived barriers and motivators of integrating anti-racism into IM.

This study demonstrates the fluidity and complexity of integrating anti-racism into an existing maternal identity that aligns with IM. Specifically, Process Model RQ3 (see Appendix H) shows how this sample of affluent white mothers perceived barriers and motivators towards integrating anti-racism as an oscillating process informed by the relationship one has with their own white race identity and internalized white supremacy. Data from this study suggests that the relationship one has with their own white race impacts their perceived anti-

racism identity, indicating that this identity is not static but context dependent. How one engages their anti-racism identity then informs the central categories of this Process Model: (a) individual child-focused outcomes; (b) intensive mothering; (c) critiquing performative allyship; and (d) socialization of anti-racism children. These central categories then affect to what extent a person is interested in having a community with which to learn.

The following section is organized based on categories that align with perceived barriers: (a) internalized white supremacy; (b) perceived anti-racism identity; and (c) individual child-focused outcomes.

Perceived Barriers

The process grounded in perceived barriers is demarcated with bi-directional blue lines (see Appendix H). This pathway begins within *internalized white supremacy* informing how one views and experiences their anti-racism identity. Within this pathway, IM is viewed as a barrier and the focus remains on *individual child-focused outcomes* within the private family system.

Internalized White Supremacy

Internalized white supremacy presents as the individual being guided by white supremacy tenets rooted in individualist ideologies such as: (a) one right way; (b) bigger is better; and (c) right to comfort. The following section highlights how these tenets were embodied by participants as they discussed perceived barriers toward integrating anti-racism into their existing maternal identity.

One Right Way

When guided by *internalized white supremacy*, it was more likely that participants (n = 12) expressed a fear of messing up or saying something wrong or offensive. Melanie shared her experience of worrying that there's a right way to engage in conversations about race and racism:

> It's a very sensitive topic, and it's, I think, especially in the U.S., it's become very difficult, because it's just you just don't know, especially as a white person, like almost like how you're supposed to talk about this. And so like, what is the right, like what is appropriate? Because in some ways like, how do you know? Because it's like judgment coming from all sides with it. Like, there's like there are the white saviors that will, you know, judge you if you're not doing it right. Then there's going to be, and then it's obviously the ones that are judging you for even breaching this subject at all, because they don't think it's a problem. Yeah, that's an entire issue by itself. And then there's obviously then, people in of the other races that don't think that you're doing it right. Either you are using the wrong term, then that varies also by the community that you talk to, you know. (Melanie)

Bigger is Better

When asked how she currently engages in anti-racism with her daughter, Joan answered with the following statement, demonstrating her belief that is not doing enough:

> It's kind of hard to know what to do with a child, you know, especially like a young child. I think it's just hard to know what to do, because even I'm very interested in social justice, and I mean what I do right now with my daughter, I feel like is not anything huge or big. And, because the issues are big, and I think the issues are big and the problems are big, and the consequences of those problems are life altering for some people, it seems like doing something small isn't enough like you should be able to be doing more to help a movement. (Joan)

Right to Comfort

Resistance to discomfort is not simply about the child. When asked why she thought more white mothers did not engage in anti-racism, Merrit shared her experience of it being uncomfortable and her desire to preserve her children's innocence.

> It's uncomfortable and it's especially for white or white presenting kids who don't experience it all the time and aren't living in, you know. I mean, they're living in a society that that benefits them, so they don't feel the effects of it. You know you it's almost like you don't want to take the innocence of your children. They don't want to introduce concepts that that are scary. (Merrit)

In the above scenario, she is speculating why other moms do not engage, but as she continues to talk, Merrit also opens up about her own concerns before ending with a more generalized statement about other parents.

> Yeah, it's just, it's hard. I mean, it's hard to know what to say or how to say it, and

> what their development is. And again, I mean when they're not experiencing it every day, people are kind of, why talk about it now? (Merrit)

During a conversation about neighborhood and school choice, Jenna expressed her concern about her son's school having resources. In previous interactions during the interview, Jenna, like many mothers demonstrated an understanding of how systemic racism affects school resources and ratings, but for her this awareness of systemic racism and her own implicit bias made less of an impact on her decision than did her focus on her son's comfort and lived experience.

> I think I'm probably perhaps a little more aware of how implicit bias guides my decisions…I tried to sort of like take affirmative action, like in my own head, like I'm going to do this or is it against my instinct to me do this right? Um! And I think that I have heard other mothers talking about it more of like a fear like of um like for safety, and I don't have that same fear, because my clients that I sit in private jail cells, locked in rooms with, are the people that they're afraid of right, and I'm not afraid. So, I think for me, it would be about resources, wanting to make sure the school has resources and my kid is challenged. (Jenna)

Perceived Anti-Racism Identity

When informed by *internalized white supremacy*, the foundation of one's perceived anti-racism identity aligned with limiting beliefs of their ability to engage in anti-racism the *correct* way, feelings that how they did present as anti-racist was not enough. This sense of not being *good* enough at anti-racism effected this group of mothers focused on *individual child-focused outcomes* (n = 17).

Individual Child-Focused Outcomes

Similar to its role in RQ2, *individual child-focused outcomes* played a central role in keeping this sample of mothers attentive to their private role as Mom. Indicated by the bi-directional arrows in Process Model 3 (see Appendix H), being consumed by one's responsibility to preserve their own child's innocence and guarantee their comfort challenged progress outside of an expression of IM influenced by *internalized white supremacy*. Below are examples

demonstrating how this sample of affluent white mothers assumed responsibility to make certain their individual child's comfort and perceived innocence were maintained.

Right to Comfort

Several informants focused on school choice, specifically the importance of having ample resources from which to support their children's interests and academic abilities. Joanna, whose older daughter will be attending kindergarten in the fall, shared her concerns about school choice:

> I mean, that takes active effort and energy every day not to be like. "Well, this is the good school, with the good resources and lots of ipads and enough teachers, and like the stable after care program. That's where my kids are going right?" It's hard to just say no to that…can I put back a sense of protecting her like, can I put that one back? That's harder, right? Yeah, that like, "I would do anything for my kids," well, what does that mean, right? (Joanna)

Preserving Child Innocence

Mothers in this sample were more likely to share concerns about protecting and preserving the perceived innocence of their children as it related to public protests and current media news regarding police brutality. When asked about attending protests, Sara described her concern about her son's *sensitive soul*, specifically around language:

> The language and the signs honestly tends to be pretty salty, and my son, who is a huge Hamilton fan and was reading it, and he got to a point where it said *fuck*, and he was like, and he brought the book to me, and he was like, "There's that words in there." I was like, "Well, yeah, that's true." Then he's like, "I don't want to read this anymore and he shut it and put it on the shelf. So, like they're pretty sensitive little souls. (Sara)

Maternal Shame

Maternal shame, although not a direct expression of *individual child-focused goals* was discussed within context of IM, more specifically the feeling that one is not a good enough mom. In turn, this belief that one is not good enough related to a concentrated focus on meeting individual child needs. Below, Holly described the first time she felt maternal shame:

> I have some trauma surrounding my 1st, when she was a baby, because she had colic or something. And I remember going to a mothering circle, and she, of course, like she seemed calm, she was sleeping when we got there, and everybody was like, "Oh, how are you doing as a new mom? You're doing great. Look at her! She's sleeping." Like as if sleep, I guess sleeping's the goal. But then she started crying, and I was thinking, going in like, "If she starts to cry around a bunch of moms, they will get it." But, I got so many it looks. I remember crying on the way home because I was like, "I don't know what I'm doing. I'm all alone in this circle of moms." (Holly)

Maternal Blame

Similar to maternal shame, maternal blame was mentioned during conversations about motherhood goals. While maternal shame is something mothers expressed feeling when they believed they were not doing mothering *good* enough or not meeting social expectations, maternal blame was discussed as a fear of future failure and judgement. Below Jesse shared her beliefs that this sense of judgement is even present in her liberal feminist circles:

> I mean, I think, even in the very sort of liberal feminist circles and the family in which I was raised, you know it's still um I think a lot of like the parenting and household running, you know, sort of being like the house manager, um is predominantly on the mother. In my experience, I do know a few exceptions to that, but for the most part I find the mother still does a lot of the coordinating and, um, that sort of thing, whether it's, you know, finding, you know, finding the pediatrician, or you know, making appointments, or you know um all that sort of stuff. I think mothering still falls pretty firmly in terms, to the mother in terms of responsibility for the family as a whole. I mean, I do think mothers are held to, you know, a certain sort of standard or expectation, you know and I do I think mothers get disproportionately judged regardless of their choices. (Jesse)

Perceived Motivators

While internalized white supremacy-directed trajectories related to *perceived barriers*, *white identity development* was fundamental to how this sample experiences their anti-racism identity and *perceived motivators* towards identity integration. Within this pathway, IM serves as motivation for *socialization of anti-racism children*. This pathway also supports the *critique of performative allyship* and an interest in working with others toward anti-racism.

This section is organized by salient categories found in Process Model RQ3 (see Appendix H): (1) focus on white identity development; (2) critique of performative allyship; (3) socialization of anti-racism children; and (4) community to share mental load. ***Focus on White Identity Development***

Developing an *understanding of a racialized system* and the *awareness of their own white privilege* within the system informed this sample's sense of power to create positive transformative change. Eliza shared a story about becoming aware of her responsibility to speak up, demonstrating a budding awareness of the racism present in her field, her interest in challenging the racialized bias about the strength of Black mothers and their inability to feel pain and her understanding of her white privilege.

> There was a woman where I live, who was a birth doula trainer for decades. So I trusted this woman to be an expert. In a training she said that Black women tend to tear less; their skin is thicker and they tear less frequently. So, I took that information and put it in my back pocket, and then I started to learn more. And I'm like, "This is inherently false!" This trainer and I are Facebook friends, and she shared something that said, "white lives matter." I am not a confrontational person; I don't want to get into it, especially on social media, but I can't not say something just because I'm afraid. Like that's crap; that's bullshit! My friends and colleagues of color shouldn't have to engage in the emotional labor to call out this long time expert in our field. I needed to do that. (Eliza)

Critique of Performative Allyship

When guided by *white identity development*, this sample was more likely to *critique performative allyship*. A focus on *white identity development* also related to this sample of affluent white mothers (n = 14) appreciation for the daily steps toward anti-racism and recognize that being anti-racist is a process. As stated by Holly, "Are you actually giving of yourself and willing to give up your privilege for this goal of social justice or is it just for posting something on social media?"

Rachel shared her thoughts about the validation seeking she observes in performative allyship and Sara shared her critique about using young children as props.

> If you are white, or whatever you know, like not from an underrepresented background, straight Christian, etc., like, I think you should be quiet in your advocacy. I don't think people need to know you were the reason that something happened. You just have to do it. I think that's where you get into this kind of like "woker than thou" place, where people do this like performative thing. If you're doing a performative work thing, you are seeking external validation about what type of person you are, who you are, you know, validation to um base your identity and self-worth on other people noticing how pretty you are doing something. (Rachel)

> Some people bring them [to protests], because honestly, they need a childcare like they don't have someone to leave their kid with, so that they can go to the march without them. Some bring them a little bit as a prop, you know, so that the kid's holding a sign, and that really makes a statement that you've got a little kid, you know, with a sign about things. Yeah, I don't know how much it's doing for the kid themselves. (Sara)

Appreciation for Daily Steps

When participants assumed that bigger displays of anti-racism, through public events, such as protests were a better way to engage in anti-racism, it became harder for them to acknowledge the importance of daily steps towards socializing anti-racism children. These daily steps are especially important in early childhood development, as will be discussed in Chapter Six. However, when participants were able to see their position as mother through the lens of their *white identity development* and *awareness of themselves in a racialized system*, they were more likely to acknowledge the value in these daily parent-child interactions. Emily shared how she takes daily steps through their homeschool curriculum.

> So, we home school, and we try to incorporate this kind of thing into our curriculum a little bit, too. And, I have a white son. Like the curriculum we were using, I think, for second grade, skimmed over slavery, fearing it was too upsetting for second graders. And I was like, "No, we're not." The curriculum just said that they were not treated nicely. And, I was like, "That's a major understatement!" So, we went over what happened during slavery, and my son cried. And, I'm like, "that's going to happen, because it's sad." But, I want him to understand it is a big deal and that we have to make sure it doesn't happen again and use our privilege to help it not happen again. (Emily)

Acknowledging Zone of Proximal Development

Child-led is often assumed to mean that the child's needs always come first, and within the context of IM, that is how it is defined (Hays, 1996). However, child-led curriculum can also mean that the adult is observant of the child and their readiness to learn and understand a new concept (Vygotsky, 1978). This differs from preserving child innocence, in that the adult is not withholding information with the intention to maintain their comfort but is actively and intentionally engaging with the child in a way that they can learn. Christine shared an example of this when she discusses slavery with her 6-year-old.

> She has a lot of questions about like, okay, like, "When Abraham Lincoln ended slavery, did everyone just start being nice to each other?" And like, no, you know, they're still not; it's still a problem, you know, and those are hard conversations. It's hard to, you know, put that into words, you know, and then it's kind of tried to explain them like, and you know sometimes you know I told her, you know, myself included, "You know people have, you know, subconscious bias that you might not even know about, you know, and you know I try not to, but it's possible that you know I'll be, you know, interviewing two people for a job, and without consciously making a choice think the white person is better, because that was sort of ingrained in me. I have to, you know, I make sure to question myself." (Christine)

Socialization of Anti-Racism Children

Engaging in the process of *white identity development* through which one perceives their *anti-racism identity* and *challenges performative allyship* affects how they integrate IM into socializing their children about race and racism. Participants (n = 17) shared their maternal goals as they relate to anti-racism. They include: (a) raising kind children; (2) raising children aware of privilege; and (3) raising kids who engage in allyship. In addition to these goals, participants who strongly identified as anti-racist, were concerned about white male rage and entitlement (n = 5).

Raising Kind Children

Christine, a professor and mother of three shared that her goal as a mother is to raise

children who treat everybody with respect. While treating someone with respect is not a direct action of anti-racism, it is a developmentally appropriate step towards anti-racism (Rhodes & Baron, 2019).

> I want them to, you know treat everybody with respect and understand, you know, differences, how people are different from them for various reasons. And, two, you know, be okay with that and accept that and just treat everyone really nicely. (Christine)

Raising Children Aware of Privilege

When asked to reflect on her goals as a mother, Sharon stated, "I feel like we have responsibility to raise him well and to understand his privilege." Jackie added to this by sharing how she wants her kids to recognize their privilege and is mindful to create a safe space to discuss anti-racism.

> I would say that that is probably the most important stuff that we're really working on is how to talk about anti-racism, how to create that safe space in a way that is more inclusive, and recognizing our privilege and recognizing disparities, and how we come across to others. (Jackie)

Raising Kids Who Engage in Allyship

Engaging in allyship is a key concept of anti-racism parenting (Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015) and a goal that this sample shared when guided by their own awareness of their white identity and their role in maintaining a racialized system. When asked to describe her mothering goals, Mandy shared the following:

> One of my goals is to have my kids grow up being aware of other people and be aware of the world around them…for me and my parenting I'm mostly concerned with making sure my kids understand that there's systemic inequality and recognizing if they see it happen in their life around them. I would feel like I failed if they join in with the bullying. I want them to recognize a system and understand that it's unequal and not just use their privilege for their own gain. But be aware that it's a privilege that they did nothing to earn, and you know, use it accordingly. (Mandy)

Fear of Internalized White Rage and Entitlement

As mentioned above, several of the mothers with white sons (n = 5) shared their

concerns about raising, “one more stupid white guy” (Sharon). Mandy added that she worries about her son falling in with a group of white kids with differing political views that her own, which are anti-racist.

> I’m concerned about social situations that are set up where people could get hurt. Right, I am concerned about, because I think he's just, he's very emotionally aware and like wants to be liked. I am concerned with him falling in with a bunch of like white kids who don't have the same political and social beliefs, I do. (Mandy)

Community to Share Mental Load

Intensive mothering assumes that mothering [done well] is time-consuming (Hays, 1996). Mothers in this study recognized and shared concerns they had about having time to, “do it all,” (Holly and Kelly). However, when this sample of mothers questioned the ideology that anti-racism had to be grand gestures of public allyship, they were more likely to be open to accepting help and guidance on how to integrate anti-racism into their daily interactions with their children. Holly also shared her belief in mothers’ ability to, “solve the world’s problems,” when they work together. Rachel and Christine added to this sentiment:

> Well, I mean, I know I've felt supported by having safe places where I can talk about and sort it out, and I don't feel like I am taking up space and where I feel like people are going to give me the benefit of the doubt that, like I’m not an asshole. I'm genuinely trying to understand, and I’m trying to expand my world view.
> Um, and it occurs to me that there's people who don't have that at all. There is no environment where they don't, you know, feel like they have to be defensive, where they don't get it parroted back to them, right? Yeah, I think spaces where other people are also trying is helpful. (Rachel)

> I mean one thing that does help me is to have like-minded friends. We have this long-running group text that we text and challenging things come up a lot. And I do find that really helpful. I guess talking about it is primarily what I find helpful, hearing that other people are doing the same thing or getting ideas for how to answer a question. No one needs another parenting book, but I do just need some real-life examples or support, or like help when you're like, “Yeah, I really like, my kid asked me this question, and I just totally botched the answer, like I was not, it was not a good moment. (Christine)

In summary, one's relationship, at any given time, with their own white identity related to how they perceived tenets of IM (i.e., all-consuming, feeling fully responsible for child well-being/outcomes, child-led) as barriers or catalysts towards integrating anti-racism into their maternal identity. Similar to Process Model 2 (see Appendix H), the process of how this sample of affluent white mothers perceived barriers/motivators for integrating anti-racism into their existing maternal identity is fluid and context dependent. The findings of this study do not indicate that some participants integrated anti-racism more readily than others. Rather, they suggest that the decisions to integrate anti-racism into one's maternal identity happen moment-to-moment and are informed by the cyclical nature of *white identity development* (Helms, 1990, 2020).

The next section details the final Integrated Theoretical Process Model (see Figure 1) of identity integration. This model is the product of constant comparison and the examination of how RQ1 – 3 are in communication with each other. Process meetings with my advisor also served as points of investigator triangulation that resulted in both the collapsing of codes and additional clarification of the overall process revealed by these data.

Integrated Theoretical Process Model

The integration and final iteration of the overall process is the result of examining each research question, constant comparison of data, consultation with my chair and committee members and a critical look at how the original three research questions were in conversation with each other. This analytic process, including revisiting and collapsing categories and subcategories aligns with constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). This section is split into three major parts: (1) the role of the mother; (2) intervention points and integration; and (3) anti-racism mothering. To avoid repetition and increase the flow of discussion, I will explain how Process Model 1 – 3 are integrated into this final theoretical model rather than

using direct quotes for subcategories already explored in previous models.

As previously indicated in RQ1 – 3 (see Appendix H), internalized white supremacy and liberal feminism are integral to this final Integrated Theoretical Process Model (see Figure 1) as they inform how this sample of affluent white mothers perceive their role of mother as one dedicated to the privatized life of their families or within the larger community.

The Role of the Mother

Mothering as a Private Role

The idea that mothering is an isolated role, meant to serve one's individual family aligns with middle-class white values (Hays, 1996; Collins, 1994; Dow, 2011). We see this insular focus in the Integrated Theoretical Model (see Figure 1), when the process of identity integration is affected most directly by the salience of the maternal identity, a gendered identity. These data show that when maternal identity is most salient, meaning more so than one's white racial identity, so is a focus on gender inequality and oppression. This is demonstrated by Sharon's response to the question, "Who does IM serve?"

> Oh, man, patriarchy; it serves the patriarchy. I mean, if we are always doubting ourselves and leaning into the doubts, you know, what are we going to turn to? We're going to turn to the ideology out there steeped in patriarchy. If we don't have a support system with similar ideals, we go to what we've seen as a norm, even if that norm wasn't, healthy and enormously steeped in patriarchy and neoliberalism and consumerism…That's my belief. It is serving the old way, trying to maintain the status quo. (Sharon)

Within the bottom portion of the Integrated Theoretical Model (see Figure 1), salience of maternal identity, including a focus on the legacy of motherhood and gender inequality inform and are influenced by individual child-focused outcomes, as indicated with the bi-directional blue arrow. This same relationship between salience of maternal identity and individual child-focused outcomes is present in Process Model 2. However, through the

process of constant comparison (Charmaz, 2014), focus on gender oppression was collapsed into salience of maternal identity.

Individual Child-Focused Outcomes

Salience of maternal identity and its accompanying *focus on gender inequality* supports the pathway toward *individual child-focused outcomes*. This bi-directional line (see Figure 1) signifies how this attention to a privatized role slows movement towards an integration of anti-racism and maternal identity. The dashed line between individual child-focused outcomes and the first invention point, desire for community of like-minded mothers, indicates that not all is lost when there is more focus on the private over the public sphere. However, the belief that a mother's job is to support their child's right to comfort and preserve their innocence takes precedence when compared to community-focused outcomes.

Individual child-focused outcomes is an integral category in Process Models 2 and 3 (see Appendix H). In Process Model 2, *individual child-focused outcomes* informs and is affected by both the *salience of maternal identity*, including *focus on gender oppression*, and *embodiment of internalized white supremacy* and is positioned within the private trajectory. In Process Model 3, *individual child-focused outcomes* are again related to *internalized white supremacy* and informs the expression of IM and the trajectory towards anti-racism mothering. In this final Integrated Theoretical Model (see Figure 1), *individual child-focused outcomes*, including the subcategories: (a) right to comfort, (b) preserving child innocence; (c) maternal shame; and (d) maternal blame is once again within the private trajectory towards anti-racism mothering. Indicated by the dashed blue line toward the first intervention point, desire for community of like-minded mothers, a focus on individual child outcomes does not imply that there is no movement towards anti-racism mothering on this trajectory. What this does communicate is that the pathway is interrupted by a continued focus on the

insular family rather than on the community.

Mothering as a Public Role

Findings of this study suggest that awareness of and dedication to one's white identity development supports attention *towards community-focused outcomes* and an understanding of mothering as a public role. Rachel communicates an awareness of how the maintenance of the IM paradigm supports the, "isms," not her individual husband. This is a very different perspective than Sharon, who named the patriarchy as the beneficiary of IM, communicating a focus on gender inequality.

> It serves to keep us buying products, to keep us um busy, to keep us very busy and not thinking about the bullshit of the world. I mean, it serves the isms. Like, I would say it doesn't serve any particular person, because it's not like, I mean my husband, it doesn't serve him. It's certainly not serving him to have me stressing out about dumb shit. (Rachel)

Focus on White Identity Development

Similar to its role in Process Models 2 and 3 (see Appendix H), focus on *white identity development* relates to *community-focused outcomes* and includes having *awareness of systemic racism*, *awareness of one's own white race privilege* and *challenging internalized bias*.

Awareness of Racialized System

When asked to share her thoughts about school and neighborhood choice, Joanna named these choices as racist but also commented that no-one wants to admit that, "under resourced," really means, Black.

> I mean, on a quite subliminal level, it's racism. It's the view that well, and of course nobody wants to admit that the reason these schools are under resourced is that they are in Black communities, right? Like nobody actually comes out, and is like, "Oh, I can't believe you're gonna send your kids to the Black school," right? Like they don't. (Joanna)

Awareness of White Privilege

Joan's *white identity development* and *awareness of her own white privilege* started in graduate school and is representative of the lived experience of several participants (n = 4). She explained how exposure to diversity prompted her to acknowledge her privilege.

> As white women, we are largely able to exist, oblivious to issues of race, if we so choose. There is a privilege in being able to sort of like check out of all of that. Like I exerted that privilege on a daily basis, I would say, probably from the time I was a child until I was in college, really in graduate school. I would say I didn't really start to recognize and acknowledge my privilege until I was in graduate school, until I was like faced with reading and understanding, and, like, almost like rigorous intellectual dialogue with my peers, who had a different lived experience that forced me out of a comfort zone that I had grown up in. I learned because I was exposed. I think of people from my hometown probably never really sat down and had those conversations with somebody. So it's like really easy just to like, exist in the comfortable blanket of your privilege and not have to challenge that. (Joan)

Challenging Internalized Bias

Affluent white mothers within this sample challenged internalized bias several ways. Two of the most salient ways were challenging the perception that IM represents *best* maternal practices and racism is the problem of lesser whites. Below, Sharon and Joanna reflected on these biases:

> I've been astounded by how much class and privilege and money impacts my parenting and my ability to sit and even think about how we handle situations. I had no concept how class and privilege influence parenting and the ability to consider how that informs a more collaborative democratic relationship with a child. (Sharon)

> Raising socially minded kids, like equity minded kids is a big part of challenging systemic racism. Because I think that we all have these myths that racism is just going to die out when the old people die. It's not. I teach college kids. I see white male college students. It's not going to die out by itself. (Joanna)

Intervention Points and Integration

As previously stated, both a focus on the privatized role of mothering and an awareness of the public role informs the pathway toward identity integration. However, when focus on *white identity development* forefronts the pathway, there is a more direct line towards integration and *anti-racism mothering*. What is important to note is that both pathways lead to the two *intervention points*

identified in this study: (1) desire for community of like-minded mothers; and (2) perceived motivators/barriers

Desire for Community

This sample of white affluent mothers bravely shared both their perceived successes and shortcoming as they navigated integrating anti-racism into their existing maternal identity. Guided by feminist theory and feminist methodologies, remaining open to application of these findings remained a guidepost for analysis. A concept that continued to surface was this particular sample's desire to learn and willingness to admit that they still had a lot to learn (n = 18). Within this focus, they shared ideas about what might be helpful for themselves and other white mothers who are interested and dedicated to integrating anti- racism into their mothering and recognized this as a process that they will need to continue to traverse, both individually and with their children.

Perceived Motivators

Gaining a better understanding of how this sample of affluent white mothers perceived barriers and motivators toward identity integration also created an opportunity for intervention. What became clear in this study is that IM can be perceived as both a barrier and a catalyst for change, depending on one's relationship with their own white racial identity. The central categories in Process Model 3 (see Appendix H), grounded in IM, offers
insight into where interventions can occur. For instance, critiquing performative allyship and accepting identity integration as a process supported this sample's interest in engaging in daily dialogue with their children about race and racism and prompted them to think more intentionally about how they socialize their children towards anti-racism.

Anti-Racism Mothering

As stated above, engaging in daily interpersonal interactions with their children about race and racism and accepting anti-racism as a process was how this sample of affluent white

mothers integrated anti-racism into their existing maternal identity. Below are examples of how Christine, Jesse, Jenna and Mandy engaged in anti-racism mothering by focusing on the following anti-racism parenting tenets: (1) understanding white privilege and white supremacy; (2) challenging colorblind racism; and (3) countering internalized white supremacy.

Christine shared her understanding of the importance of engaging in conversations about race and racism, even if these conversations start on a small scale:

> I mean, I guess honestly, this is something that I could do that I'm probably not great at is just even on a smaller scale bring things up more sort of casually. Maybe don't start with something like super deep, but just bring up stuff. And even if you don't have a long conversation the first time it arises, you know you've sort of opened the door to a bigger conversation. I guess I would just say start talking about it, which is a lot easier said than done. I don't do it very well yet.
> (Christine)

Understanding White Privilege and White Supremacy

Jesse, whose older son is neurodivergent, explained how she introduces discussions about white privilege.

> We have a lot of conversations. We read a lot of books. Last year I home schooled the kids, and our curriculum was very social justice oriented. Learning the history is super important, to be able to understand our own white privilege and what that looks like. I have a lot of awareness about how my older neurodiverse son, if he did have, you know, dark skin color, he would have been on a very different path based on his behavior in school. (Jesse)

Challenging Colorblind Racism

When asked to elaborate on how she engages in anti-racism, Jenna shared the following story:

> When you think about like, “Why is this happening,” right? We took people, we don't give them money, we don't give them resources. We stick them all together, and we take away the dads, we then curse them for drugs, and um, and then what? What do you think is going to happen, right? It is so blatant that white [her city] separated itself from Black [her city] over years. So like when mass transit started, they were like the mass transit authority didn't want to have two separate cars like a white line and a black line, so they just said, all right, white line goes to one side of town Black line goes to

> the other side of the town and Blacks couldn't ride the white line unless you were working for a white family that lived on that white line. Another example that was just really prominent was like in the 1930s to 1950s, when redlining was really like starting and getting entrenched, was that the like realtors would pay like a Black couple to like walk down the street of a white neighborhood, to either scare the white families that were living there already, that Blacks are moving in right? It's like, "Who does this?" But it happened. It happens, and we don't think about it, but my son needs to know. (Jenna)

Countering Internalized White Supremacy

Mandy was unapologetic about her goal to counter her sons' white entitlement throughout her interview. She shared this experience of her husband trying to counter her agenda, but she sticks to her conviction.

> They need to be aware of our white privilege and all that kind of stuff. Sometimes my husband challenges me when he thinks I am forcing this too much, but our son is a small white man and sometimes he just needs to knock it off. (Mandy)

Important to note here is how this sample defined anti-racism. While they did include discussions about the following anti-racism parenting tenets: (1) understanding white privilege and white supremacy; (2) challenging colorblind racism; (3) countering internalized white supremacy; (4) being an ally; (5) being accountable to individuals and families of color; and (6) engaging in activism, (Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015) the majority of their attention was spent engaging in racial/ethnic socialization (Hughes, et al., 2006) with their white children. More specifically, they engaged in white identity development by helping their children recognize their own race within a racialized system. Equally important to recognize here is that white identity development is foundational to the process of developing an anti-racism worldview (Helms, 1990, 2000), but had been left out of previous literature on anti-racism parenting within white families (Aanerud, 2007; Allen, 2017; Comeau, 2007; Depouw & Matias, 2016; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018).

Conclusion

The purpose of this of this interventionist study was to better understand the inner dialogue of mothers as they navigate incorporating anti-racism into their maternal identity within the context of their maternal socialization in the current paradigm of the *good mother* ideal. By examining each research question, both in isolation and in communication with each other, this study was able to identify (1) the presence and expression of internalized white supremacy throughout the process of identity integration; (2) major tensions in the identity integration process; (3) two points of intervention discovered in these; and (4) this sample of affluent white mothers' desire for assistance to authentically engage in anti-racism mothering.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

The present study adds nuance and complexity to how white mothers engage in anti-racism by answering the following research questions:

1. How might, if at all, race, gender, and class socialization inform affluent white mothers' adoption of IM?
2. What is the process of affluent white mothers challenging or adopting IM to incorporate anti-racism into their maternal identity and mothering practices?
3. What are the perceived barriers or motivators, if any, to affluent white mothers' integration of anti-racism within the current IM paradigm?

The purpose of this chapter is multifold: (1) name the presence and expression of internalized white supremacy and explore major tensions in the identity integration process; (2) explain two points of intervention discovered in these data; (3) and highlight implications for scholarship and praxis focused on anti-racism mothering in early childhood. Discussion of how current findings are in communication with previous literature and theoretical frameworks are weaved throughout this chapter.

Contributions

While previous literature on anti-racism within white families named missteps and unrealized intentions of white parents who reported interest in incorporating an anti-racism worldview and practices into their parenting, they did not explore how the combination of social scripts and internal processes (i.e., identity integration) might inform why these white parents failed to follow-through (Aanerud, 2007; Allen, 2017; Comeau, 2007; Depouw & Matias, 2016; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2017; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). The purpose of this study was to better understand the inner dialogue of white affluent mothers as they navigate incorporating anti-racism into their maternal

identity within the context of IM. By examining the process of integrating an anti-racism identity into an existing maternal identity within the context of IM, this study was able to name two points of intervention.

Research grounded in feminist theory and epistemology is driven by praxis and requires purposeful reflection on the part of the researcher and a tailored approach to analysis that honors the lived experience of participants (Allen & Henderson, 2022b). Feminist methodologies also do not shy away from the reality that the researcher is a subjective presence in the analytic process (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1983), but instead requires the researcher to be reflexive and aware of the implicit biases they carry with them throughout the research process. Acknowledging my own internalized white supremacy, my proclivity for impression management of being seen as racially woke and my ever-present inner-dialogue around how to hold space for the complexity of these data pushed me to think more critically about the nuanced process of identity integration. Feminist methodologies, similar to constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014; Daly, 2007), focus on building knowledge from the ground up, rather than going into a research project with preconceived notions about what one hopes to find in the data (Allen & Henderson, 2022b; Tannoch-Bland, 1997).

Guided by feminist onto-epistemologies and methodology, data analysis and audit reviews revealed: (1) the omnipresence of internalized white supremacy and salient tensions present during integration of anti-racism into an existing maternal identity within the current IM paradigm; and (2) opportunities for intervention.

Omnipresence of Internalized White Supremacy

Previous literature on anti-racism practices within white families focused on the mismatch between white parents' declaration of an anti-racism worldview and their propensity to keep their children in elite white spaces (i.e., upper-middle class white neighborhoods and highly rated private

schools), however discussion around the presence and expression of internalized white supremacy affecting these decisions was scant. When white supremacy was mentioned in these studies, it was mentioned as an aside with little detail paid to how the tenets of white supremacy were being expressed (Aanerud, 2007; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Roda & Wells, 2015).

This study reveals how internalized white supremacy tenets, specifically: (a) bigger is better; (b) perfectionism; (c) either/or thinking; and (d) right to comfort are expressed through IM and present when contemplating how to incorporate anti-racism into one's maternal identity. For example, all participants (n = 18) expressed fears about getting both mothering and anti-racism wrong. More specifically, when concerning anti-racism, all 18 participants shared their concern that how they were incorporating anti-racism was not enough and that at times it felt uncomfortable to talk to their young children about race and racism. Foundational to the white supremacy tenets listed above is individualism and a winner-take-all worldview that prompts feelings of competition and supports a scarcity mindset, where individuals and families believe they must be the best to win the prize (Beeman, 2022; Either/or & the binary, n.d.). Within the context of this study, mothers discussed a desire to excel at both white mothering and anti-racism, navigating tensions present in identity salience (i.e., maternal, professional, racial) and focused outcomes (i.e., community, individual).

Additional findings of previous literature examining how white families engage in anti-racism are that white parents believe they have the responsibility to preserve childhood innocence and assume their children do not recognize race or are too young to understand racism (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). While mothers in this study did not communicate that they believed their children did not recognize race and racism, preservation of child innocence was still discussed as a concern. Adding to these findings in previous literature, this study reveals that it is through the lens of internalized

white supremacy (see Appendix H, RQ2) that this sample of mothers were more likely to focus on their individual child's right to comfort and assumed innocence.

This focus on individual child outcomes along with salience of identity as it relates to sense of social location and power were identified as salient tensions in this study.

Major Tensions

Mothers' focus on individual child outcomes along with salience of identity as it relates to sense of social location and power were identified as salient tensions in this study.

Identity Salience as it Relates to Perceived Privilege and Power

The goal of RQ1 was to better understand how gender, race and class socialization inform the adoption of IM within the context of affluent white mothering. More specifically, this study examined the process of maternal socialization and identity development, both of which are life-long processes and context dependent (Glenn, 1994; O'Reilly, 2008).

Findings within the first research question revealed the omnipresence of internalized white supremacy and the subsequent lack of awareness of how it influenced the adoption and implementation of IM. Participants' focus on gender ideology and sexism became a foundational thread throughout the identity integration process and influenced how this sample experienced their sense of power in a racialized and patriarchal system. This finding aligns with Black feminist thought, which names ways this laser focus on gender oppression within liberal feminism, shades the awareness of race privilege afforded to white women (Collins, 2000; Combahee River Collective, 1977; hooks, 2015). By focusing on this singular pillar of oppression, white women have historically downplayed their power and with that, their responsibility in the maintenance of systemic racism (Collins, 1994; Kendi, 2019; Lorde, 1984b; O'Reilly, 2006). This finding also supports the work of Patricia Hill Collins (1994, 2000) on motherwork and community othermothers, in which she names mothering as a powerful, political position from which to make

social change. In her writings, Collins (1994, 2000) critiqued white liberal feminism for perceiving and labeling motherhood as an isolated, oppressed position in which women lack power. She and fellow Black feminists, bell hooks (2015, 2021) and Audre Lorde (1984a, 1984b) argued that this perception stems from white mothers' participation in systems of privilege that reward them for not acknowledging race and class pillars of privilege as being relevant to their sense of oppression.

This sense of *powerlessness-empowerment* is informed by the mothers' salience of identity (i.e., maternal identity versus white identity). This binary concept also informed how this sample of affluent white mothers adopted or challenged IM as they incorporated anti-racism into their existing maternal identity, as seen in the process model for RQ 2 (see Appendix H). Once again, this finding aligns with Black feminist thought on mothering (Collins, 1994, 2000; hooks, 2015, 2021). Adding to the argument that there is no universal experience of mothering, scholars such as Dawn Dow (2011, 2016, 2019) and Patricia Hill Collins (1994) discuss the importance of understanding how maternal expectations and pressures are affected by race. Dow's (2011, 2016, 2019) work on middle-class Black mothering directly critiques Annette Lareau's (2012) work on *concerted cultivation*, which suggests that class trumps race in relation to parenting goals. In her essays on motherwork and community othermothers, Collins (1994, 2000, 2010) challenged white feminists' views on motherhood as an oppressed identity stifled by the assumed separation between the private and public spheres foundational to the understanding of mothering through the white lens.

Private/Public Split

Findings in the study highlight how this focus on a perceived private/public split in liberal feminism and white mothering (Friedan, 1963; O'Reilly, 2006) informs how this sample of affluent white mothers perceives their role in society, specifically their attention to community verses individual child-focused outcomes within the context of the IM paradigm. IM heavily relies on the

ideal that *good* [white] mothering is a private role and asserts that mothers should: (a) dedicate their lives to caring for their children; (b) provide consistent care as their child's primary attachment figure; (c) spend an immense amount of time and energy caring for their children; and (d) give children special treatment because of their individual and unique value. Within this paradigm, mothers are taught that *good* mothering must be: (a) child-centered; (b) expert-guided; (c) emotionally absorbing; (d) labor intensive; and (e) financially expensive (Hays; 1996; Henderson, et al., 2016; Green, 2015; Ishizuka, 2019).

Hays (1996) names the cultural contradiction of IM by focusing on this perceived private/public split, where women are assumed their role in the private sphere and men there's in the public sphere, maintaining male dominance. Liberal feminism is heavily critiqued for viewing power and privilege within the binary of masculine and feminine identities and ignoring other pillars of privilege, such as race and class (Collins, 2000; Combahee River Collective, 1977; Crenshaw, 1989; Few-Demo, 2014; Lorde, 1984a). Findings in this study support this critique in that when participants focused solely on their perception of their social location as a woman and mother as an oppressed identity, their trajectory towards identity integration was influenced by their sense of powerlessness within a patriarchal system. Within this felt sense of powerlessness, these women continued to question their ability to make change. They also were more likely to view transformative change through internalized white supremacy, reporting limiting beliefs about their ability to know enough without *following a script* or engage in anti-racism the *right way*.

This finding can potentially prompt family scientists to critically think about how the socialization of mothers through a lens that assigns motherhood as an insular and private role and one that is perceived to impede their development as an agent of social change, not only upholds patriarchal values that align with the SNAF ideal (Smith, 1993) and IM (Hays, 1996) but also supports white supremacy. Many participants (n = 10) named these exact systems when asked who

the socialization of mothers within the IM paradigm serves: (1) the patriarchy; (2) capitalism; and (3) white supremacy. Socializing mothers to view their maternal role as a private one also communicates that their sole focus should be on their individual child's outcomes (Hays, 1996). This is unique to white mothering, as noted by Patricia Hill Collins' (1994, 2000) work in motherwork and community othermothers and Dawn Dow's (2016, 2019) work on middle-class Black mothering. Mothers in this sample, who had a salient identity outside of mothering (n = 17) (i.e. professional identity, white racial identity) were more likely to acknowledge their privilege and discuss their role of mother as one of social change. Important to not here is that this sample's white race privilege troubled their trajectory toward integrating anti-racism into their existing maternal identity but did not prevent them from engaging in some forms of anti-racism parenting. Insular and private engagement of anti-racism did not threaten their white privilege, and in most cases was celebrated within their peer group of fellow affluent white mothers.

Privilege and power are key concepts of feminist theories (Allen & Henderson, 2022; Few-Demo & Allen, 2020; Lorde, 1984a; hooks, 2015). And, while privilege is not a direct concept of symbolic interactionism, those in privileged social positions, who hold power, manage the development of ideologies and social messaging that informs how one sees and judges their performance against these social norms (Allen & Henderson, 2022a; Glenn, 1994; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993; Rothman, 1994).

Identity Salience in Symbolic Interactionism

There is a hierarchy to identity (Stryker, 1980), meaning that one's collective identity is organized by priority and within context (Allen & Henderson, 2022). The way in which people place value and subsequently prioritize their identities is influenced by societal ideologies (Stryker, 1964). Literature on IM (Green, 2015; Hays, 1996; Henderson, et al., 2016; Ishizuka, 2019) and feminist thought on mothering (Glenn, 1994; O'Reilly, 2006) highlight the sacredness of the

maternal identity within the dominant discourse on mothering and critique the idea that the sole purpose of a woman's existence is mothering (Baber & Allen, 1992; Hays, 1996; Levine, 2006; O'Reilly, 2006). However, as was shown in these data, the message that mothering is a woman's central purpose and legacy inundates the narrative surrounding the *good* mother ideal that all mothers, despite reporting "not buying into it," feel the pressure in which to conform and embody (Green, 2015; Henderson, et al., 2016).

Salience of identity was the forefront for both Process Model 2 (see Appendix H) and the final integrated theoretical model (see Figure 1). In both models, the salience of maternal identity directly informed child-focused outcomes within an inferred private, familiar role.

Focus on individual-child outcomes or community-focused outcomes was another point of tension in this study. When this sample of affluent white mothers communicated feeling pressure (i.e., maternal shame, maternal blame) to conform to the *good* mother ideal, within the current IM paradigm, they were more likely to continue their focus on their individual child's comfort and perceived innocence.

Community or Individual Child-Focused Outcomes

The tension present between community or individual child-focused outcomes was present in Process Models 2 and 3 (see Appendix H) and the final integrated theoretical model (see Figure 1). Attention to individual child-focused outcomes supports previous literature examining how white families incorporate anti-racism into parenting. Guided by attention to individual child-focused outcomes, participants (n = 4) named: (a) preserving child innocence; (b) belief that children do not recognized race; and (c) belief that children are too young to understand racism. This finding aligns with perceived barriers to anti-racism named in previous literature on anti-racism in white families (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). This study highlights this private/public tension; thus,

encourages family scientists to consider how the socialization of the *good* white mother, with its focus on the individual family, informs how white mothers conceptualize and engage in anti-racism.

Engaging symbolic interactionism (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993), specifically the concept of the *looking-glass self,* can help explain how one's self-concept, in relation to their *generalized other*, in the case of this study, other affluent white mothers might affect how this sample of mothers moved along the trajectory towards identity integration. Symbolic interactionism attends to the social aspect of identity development (Cooley, 1902; Cook & Douglas, 1998; Wallace & Tice, 2012) and posits that one's developing self-concept is a process grounded in imagining how one is perceived by their social group (Allen & Henderson, 2022). Within the integrated theoretical model (see Figure 1) and Process Model RQ2 (see Appendix H), the bi-directional lines between salience of identity and community or individual-child focused outcomes can be explained by the process one engages in as they develop self-concept. As stated in the idea of the *looking-glass self*, one becomes reflective of how they believed they were viewed by their social group as they conceive of choices and behaviors they might engage in during future interactions. This process is continuous, as one evaluates themselves against the expectations of the *generalized other. Salience of identity* also comes into play here for this sample, as one considers how the *generalized other* views them when they choose to attend to an identity less valued within their peer group.

In Process Model RQ3 (see Appendix H), individual child-focused outcomes are foundational to the central categories: (1) intensive mothering; (2) socialization of anti-racism children; and (3) critique of performative allyship and is informed by one's perceived anti-racism identity through their relationship with their own racialized white identity. When individual child-focused outcomes are viewed through one's awareness of their own white racialized identity and the privilege and power that comes with it, individual child-focused outcomes act as motivation for

integrating anti-racism into IM. More specifically, mothers in the sample named the following individual child-focused outcomes as mothering goals: (a) raising kind children; (b) raising children aware of privilege; (c) raising kids who engage in allyship; and (d) fear of internalized white rage and entitlement. The motivation to raise children aware of their privilege is one of the points of intervention named in this study.

Intervention Points

Participants shared their concern about not knowing enough or not doing anti-racism correctly. While the perception and focus on *one right way* to engage can be identified as internalized white supremacy (and was within this study), stopping at naming this imperfection does not align with feminist methodology or praxis (Allen & Henderson, 2022b). Participants also named that they felt motivated to raise kind children. On the surface this reflects the pursuit of optimal child outcomes. However, within this study, participants reported their goal of raising kind children within their focus on community outcomes. Both of these goals (i.e., desire to learn and raising kind children) can be viewed as opportunities for intervention. Choosing to focus on mistakes or call out missteps, without the reflection required in feminist methodology (Allen, 2000; Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1983) is a symptom of my own internalized white supremacy and parallel belief that there is one right way to engage in anti-racism or socialize anti-racism children.

It would have been easy to write another study on the failed attempts of white mothers engaging in anti-racism. Literature already exists that demonstrates how white families, despite good intent, cite excuses for not engaging in anti-racism practices (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015). BLM signs in yards to not directly inform transformative change (Hesford, 2021), and white parents are too often unable to see how their internalized white supremacy influences their worldview and understanding of what it means to be a *nice white* parent (Snyder, 2021). The purpose of this study was to better

understand how the socialization of mothers within a racialized system informs the integration of anti-racism within the IM ideal. Resulting process models support Kendi's (2019) argument that individual finger-pointing is not supportive in transformative change. Rather, we need to understand how larger systems affect racism and anti-racism. Within the context of this study, the system is the institution of white mothering grounded in tenets of IM.

Findings from this study highlight how IM informs the integration of anti-racism into mothering and demonstrates how the message that mothering should be all-consuming and most salient in a mother's life relates both to how this sample of white mothers view themselves as agents of change and their attention to community or individual child-focused outcomes. However, contradictory to IM literature that aims to point out negative impacts of IM (Green, 2015; Henderson, et al., 2016; Ishizuka, 2019), this study found that some of the tenets of IM acted as motivation toward the integration of anti-racism (i.e., optimal child outcomes, child-led).

When thinking about what motivates or detracts a white mother from integrating anti-racism into their existing maternal identity, it helps to consider how their perception of themselves informs their process. Symbolic interactionism assumes that individuals make decisions based on previous interpersonal interactions that are interpreted through one's own belief system about how they are viewed by others (Allen & Henderson, 2022). When we consider what this sample of mothers identified as motivation and barriers towards identity integration, it behooves us to think about how their self-concept, in relation to the *generalized other* they identify as most significant influences these perceptions. Considering how our society has historically viewed the sacredness of motherhood and the value placed on the individual family (O'Reilly, 2006; Coontz, 2016), adds insight into how this sample of affluent white mothers integrated anti-racism through the lens of IM, rather than completely transgressing this current paradigm of the *good* white mother. Instead, they found a way to integrate anti-racism through an identity that has already been validated by

their peer group.

This section focuses on these tenets of IM as perceived motivators and desire for community as possible points of intervention.

Perceived Motivators

The purpose of RQ3 was to better understand the perceived barriers and motivators of white affluent mothers who have an interest in integrating anti-racism into their existing maternal identity. These data demonstrated that this sample of affluent white mothers were motivated toward optimal childhood outcomes that align with anti-racism: (a) raising children who are aware of the white race privilege; and (b) raising children who engage in allyship.

Focus on Child Outcomes

As several participants (n = 6) mentioned during member-checking, their attention to their own child's outcomes and how their anti-racism focus would impact their child was a foundational concern. This finding aligns with ideologies present within IM (Hays, 1996), concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2012) and maternal thinking (Ruddick, 1995) asserting that mothering should be an all-consuming role, benefiting the child. Within concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2012), a focus on child outcomes is foundational to maternal choice and maternal thinking (Ruddick, 1995) assumes that the mother's role is to train one's child toward their own moral values and principles. In the case of this study, as communicated by participants (n = 18), these values and principles include anti-racism.

Concentration on child outcomes was viewed as a barrier in previous literature on anti-racism within white families, as these studies mainly focused on colorblind racism, preservation of child innocence and neighborhood and school choice (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen- O'Neel, et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2019; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). However, by focusing on the process of identity integration within the contexts of anti-racism and

IM, this study was able to name ways in which focus on child outcomes can act as motivation for white mothers who have communicated an interest in anti-racism. It is important to note here that focus on child outcomes played the role of both motivator and perceived barrier in this study as seen in process models for RQ2 and RQ3 and the final integrated theoretical model (see Appendix H). The key difference was whether these outcomes were community-focused or individually family-focused, informed by both the salience of identity and one's relationship with internalized white supremacy. This finding also supports child development literature on social cognition and learning that states repetition through daily experience supports an understanding of race and racism more than a one-off social event (i.e., public protest) (Mandalaywala, et al., 2019; Rhodes & Baron, 2019).

Human development is context dependent and involves nuance (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Aligning with feminist ontology and epistemology, this project did not have a goal of finding a linear process in which all white mothers navigate. There is a messiness to human development that feminist theory embraces (Allen, 2000, 2022). Within this framework, this study is not trying to claim that endorsing IM tenets negatively informed the integration of anti-racism. While many of the tenets did (i.e. all-consuming, labor intensive), the tenet of child-led interactions seems to support a mother's awareness of when her child is ready to learn and able to grasp the concept of race and racism. This understanding of zone of proximal learning (Vygotsky, 1978) is different than assuming children are colorblind or cannot understand the concept of racism. Instead, zone of proximal learning is an awareness of when a child is ripe for learning (Vygotsky, 1978). Eight mothers in this study demonstrated an understanding of their child's development and ability to grasp concepts of race and racism, and they were less reliant on the popular myth that talking about race disrupts child innocence or creates shame.

Within the trajectory rooted in awareness of one's white race privilege and community focused-outcomes, desire for community become another potential point of intervention.

Desire for Community

All but one participant (Sara) communicated an interest in having support from like-minded moms. This interest in community was affected by attention to community-focused outcomes and critique of performative allyship. Participants who named their desire for community were also willing to admit that they still have a lot to learn and welcome advice from others. When asked to elaborate on what kind of support they would find most helpful, all 17 reported a desire for having a space that welcomed questions and where others were willing to sit with mistakes and guide each other, rather than simply waiting to call each other out. In short, they wished for engagement in conversations that supported and inspired them to keep going, rather than competitive and performative environments that support service-level activism and virtue signaling.

Implications

To critically examine a phenomenon does little good when scholars only focus on criticism or fail to acknowledge their own *oppressor within* (Lorde, 1984b) and our capacity as researcher to act in ways that oppress (hooks, 1999). When scholars stop at placing blame, we fail to engage in praxis and active social change, major tenets of feminist theories (Allen & Henderson, 2022). However, studies examining how white families navigate and fail at RES and anti-racism have focused only on pointing out the hypocrisy that is already clear to see (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015).

The purpose of this section is to prompt scholars and clinicians to think about the importance of creating interventions that align with lived experience and support ongoing social change.

Anti-Racism in Practice

It is important to note here that identity salience is informed by social values (Stryker, 1964) and that critically examining the system that reinforces these norms and values is the purpose of this study. What we know from Kendi's (2019) work in anti-racism is that long-term transformative change fails to occur when we only hold individuals or specific groups accountable for systemic issues. Systemic racism is not an individualized issue; nor can it be solved by pointing blame (Bonilla-Silva, 2018; Kendi, 2019). Jenna, a mother of two young girls and a university professor summed this up by stating that this is the water we all swim in. To say we do not take in some of the water is unrealistic. This is true for researchers and the researched alike (Allen & Henderson, 2022b).

Previous literature offered an academic understanding of how white families miss the mark with RES and anti-racism (Aanerud, 2007; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Engaging methodology grounded in feminist onto-epistemologies provided a foundation from which to examine underlying systems that contribute to maternal socialization within white affluent culture while remaining open to the messiness and nuance present in lived experience (Haraway, 1988; Jaggar, 2008) Analyzing data while remaining critically conscious of my power as the researcher and my preconceived notions, rooted in my own internalization of white supremacy (i.e. one right way, bigger is better, linear thinking) of this phenomena supported the process of finding opportunities for intervention and praxis rather than simply calling out how white mothers fall short of fully integrating anti-racism into their maternal identity (Allen & Henderson, 2022b; Harding, 1983; Leavy & Harris, 2019). This is not to say that accountability was withheld, but having an understanding of the root of these previously named shortcomings and the larger social systems and positions of power that are maintained through controlling the *good* mother narrative and maternal socialization supported this study's focus on praxis.

Acknowledging the process of integration of anti-racism into maternal identity rather than assuming anti-racism as an identity in which someone arrives at (Kendi, 2019) also supported a focus on praxis and intervention. Kendi (2019) stressed the moment-to-moment reflexive consciousness necessary to anti-racism, stating that at each moment, one chooses, whether consciously or not, to engage in racism or anti-racism. These data align with Kendi's statement as it becomes clear that this sample is, while imperfect in their execution, acknowledging that the daily decisions that they make reflect to what extent they are engaging in anti-racism. Their willingness to be vulnerable, rather than assume their arrival at an anti-racism identity and name performative allyship and virtue signaling seemed to prompt them to consider how their daily interactions with their children, over a one-and-done public gesture of anti-racism, is how they help their children develop an anti-racism worldview. In this way, these white women can become agents of change as they engage mothering as a powerful, political position in which to support lasting transformative change (Collins, 1994).

Feminism as a Barrier or Gateway?

This study highlights the complexities and nuances of maternal identity development, demonstrating that identity is not a linear process where someone arrives at an endpoint and development commences. The weaving of gendered and racialized ideologies were present throughout this sample's experience of navigating the integration of anti-racism into their maternal identity. While a focus on gender oppression served, at times, as a barrier for this sample to fully see the presence of white supremacy tenets in their own maternal socialization and within the script of IM, feminist thinking did seem to act as a gateway to being more socially aware and community focused.

Early feminist thought, while heavily and rightfully critiqued (Collins, 2000; hooks, 2015) seemed to offer these white mothers a sense of themselves within a larger system. Their ability to

challenge the status quo of the Standard North American Family (SNAF) (Smith, 1993) and the narrative that the sole purpose of a woman is motherhood, by focusing on their own professional identity, their education and politics (Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1986; O'Reilly, 2006; Risman, 2018; Rothman, 1994) informed their awareness of systemic racism and their role in the maintenance of racial inequity. Within this sample, liberal feminism, with its erroneous assumption of universal feminine experience (Collins, 2000; Combahee River Collective, 1977; Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 2015) continues to serve as a foundational step towards awareness of an unjust system. Finding and critiquing flaws in any foundational theory is part of our work as scholars and is necessary. However, it would be remiss to assume that now antiquated theories lacked value in their time or had no positive role in the overall movement within social justice or feminist scholarship (Allen, 2016).

Thinking Beyond Performative Allyship

Recognizing and critiquing performative allyship (Hesford, 2021) and virtue signaling (Brown, et al., 2022), influenced by an awareness of white race and ability to challenge white supremacy tenets, bigger is better and one right way supported this sample's awareness of how they can integrate anti-racism into their maternal identity and daily practices with their children. Having a child-led focus has previously been critiqued in anti-racism literature, because child-led was narrowly defined to mean not talking to children about race until children brought the topic to the table (Aanerud, 2007; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018). While this is one way that white parents have previously fallen short with their execution of anti-racism and RES within white families (Aanerud, 2007; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018), the majority of this sample (n = 14) described child-led interactions in ways that aligned with how children learn about race and racism, which is frequent exposure of concepts and real-life engagement with a diverse group of friends (Mandalaywala, et al., 2020;

Rhodes & Baron, 2019).

Findings in this study demonstrated that participants were socialized to believe that some ways of engaging in anti-racism were better to others. It is noteworthy that fourteen mothers felt guilty that they did not attend big protests but instead engaged in smaller daily interventions. Based on early childhood scholarship (Lei & Rhodes, 2021; Mandalaywala, et al., 2020; Rhodes & Baron, 2019; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011) focused on understanding race, it becomes clear that in fact, big gestures are not always the best choice for socialization of anti- racism in children. The ideas that *bigger is better* of there is *one right way* are both internalized white supremacy tenets (Beeman, 2022; *Either/or & the binary*, n.d.) that negatively informed the way this sample saw how their daily intentional choices had the potential to be impactful in raising anti-racist children.

Future Directions

Prominent contributions from this study honed in on the omnipresence of internalized white supremacy and salient tensions present during integration of anti-racism into an existing maternal identity within the current IM paradigm and opportunities for intervention. Future research is needed to better understand how motivation towards anti-racism within the context of affluent white mothering can be supported and/or sustained through gaining more clarity on how these named tensions influence one's trajectory toward identity integration. For example, it would behoove family scientists to examine how white mothers are socialized to think about the role of motherhood as a privatized, individualistic focus. While this study suggests that individualistic focus is grounded in internalized white supremacy and IM tenets, as previously named in Black feminist thought about white motherhood (Collins, 1994; Dow, 2011, 2016), it could prove helpful to understand how white mothers experience this drive towards perfectionism and what prompts them to challenge or comply to this *good* mother narrative.

Within this present study, white mothers challenged this social narrative of the *good* mother

in their professional roles. Participants shared how their lived experiences within the context of their professional identity offered a deeper understanding and appreciation of their social location as white women and the privilege and responsibility that comes with it. Future studies examining the influence of anti-racism training within the workplace on white mother's engagement in anti-racism within their families could support policy change.

Lastly, this study demonstrated how this group of affluent white mothers are incorporating racial and ethnic socialization of their white children in their day-to-day mothering choices. While racial and ethnic socialization (RES, Hughes, et al., 2014) differs from anti-racism, Helms (1990, 2020) names white identity development as foundational to living an anti-racism lifestyle. This sample of white mothers also communicated their interest in making sure they are engaging in RES in ways in which their young children can genuinely learn and integrate into their lives. Future studies examining how mothers engage in daily conversations through naturalistic observation or prompted conversations within a lab setting could support the development of educational materials that support deepening conversations about race and racism within white families. This might become especially important as schools across the U.S. are banning books and history lessons that discuss race (Harris & Alter, 2023), making it more likely that parents will carry the responsibility of teaching their children about racism and white privilege.

Post-Research Reflexivity

As a white feminist, they were also barriers for me that I needed to critically reflect upon as I read and analyzed data. Repeatedly coming back to the questions about how my own internalized white supremacy and white fragility were guiding my process was imperative, not only the trustworthiness of the study but also in remaining open to creating space for praxis. Not unlike my participants, I had fears about getting this project correct, as if there was one right way to engage in scholarship about mothering and anti-racism. Intellectually I knew that I was not fully in charge of

where this project would go, and I invited the unknown. I proudly jumped feet first into a feminist project, knowing that I wanted to talk about nuance and complicate an issue that exists within a swirl of judgement and assumption. However, the desire to please and the impossible goal of perfectionism lingered in the background of my process. I cannot deny the presence of gender and race ideologies that I have also internalized in my 44 years that have informed the way in which I thought about anti-racism within the context of white affluent mothering and maternal socialization and the pressure I put on myself to make sure I did everything I could to not invite conflict into my life. As a few participants shared, as a white mother, I have been socialized to be nice, not stir the pot, pretend everything is effortless and for goodness sake, make sure I am perceived well when doing it all.

My own white fragility was present the first few days of recruitment when I was questioned about my sample. I was warned that my topic of study was controversial, but I went in with the false sense of protection that comes from being a white female with blonde hair and blue eyes. I am used to receiving approval, and reprimand it is extremely uncomfortable. In this moment, I felt extreme anxiety. However, my history of panic attacks were not the only variable informing my response.

My identity as a nice, white woman and my *good* intentions were being questioned, and I was uncomfortable and scared. This desire to keep myself and others comfortable while also pleasing my mentors, reflecting on my power as the researcher and my responsibility to my informants, and writing a rigorous, trustworthy paper continued to swirl around me throughout the process of data collection and analysis.

To help bracket this experience, I sought guidance from my committee members and mentors who both created space for me to process my reactions to the data and helped me find ways to keep the study's purpose grounded in the literature on IM and anti-racism. My background in

child development prompted me to seek specific guidance from the cognitive development expert on my committee who helped me connect findings to current literature on social cognition focused on understanding race and racism in early childhood. These intellectual exchanges supported my approach to engage in reflexivity about the analytical process and to reflect on how I was engaging feminist research methods.

Limitations

A goal of this study was to examine how the intersection of race, gender and class socialization related to how this sample of white mothers adopted IM. The inclusion criteria and definition of affluence aligned with annual household incomes that define middle and upper-middle class status in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2020; Gilbert, 2003; Thomas & Hickey, 2002). However, these quantified reports lacked consideration for lived experience in different regions of the country, number of people in household, and debt-to income ratio (Pew Research Center, 2020). For instance, an annual household income of $140K for a family of three in Southwest Virginia is ranked as upper-middle class. These same figures in New York City or San Francisco places this family in middle-class status. With this narrowly definition of affluence, the data collected does not represent affluent white mothers who experienced the generational wealth that is typical of affluent status in the United States (Gilbert, 2003). The social location of this sample also limits our understanding of how affluent culture informs this sample's adoption of IM and how this might affect the integration of anti-racism. However, current mothering literature names the invasiveness of IM within all classes of mothering, even though the tenets of IM align best with affluent status (Green, 2015; Ishizuka, 2019).

Another limitation to this study was the lack of variation in education level and employment status. With 83.3% (n = 15) of participants holding a master's degree or higher and 94.4% (n = 17) reporting full-time or self-employment, this study is restricted to understanding the lived

experience and perceptions of highly educated, professional, affluent white mothers. This limitation is specifically important, because professional identity played a key role in the integration of anti-racism into the participant's maternal identity, within this sample.

Conclusion

Grounded in feminist methodology, this study provides two windows of opportunity to facilitate the integration of anti-racism into affluent white mothers' existing maternal identity within the current IM paradigm. By remaining critically conscious of my own internalized white supremacy, specifically either/or thinking and one right way prompted me to stay open to meeting this sample where they are in the process of integration. Along with being guided by feminist methodology and focus on praxis (Allen, 2022), Kendi's (2019) work in anti- racism and Helm's (1990, 2020) work in white identity development influenced my focus on process rather than ideal outcomes. Kendi (2019) reminds us that anti-racism is not a position in which one arrives and forever stays. It is a life-long process of moment-to-moment decisions, based on critical and compassionate self and social awareness. Helm's (1990, 2020) similarly stresses that white identity development is a cyclical process in which individuals move in and out of stages/schemas of understanding and integrating their white identity.

Opportunities for identity integration aligned with the desire these mothers have to be professionally informed and strive for optimal child outcomes, both tenets of IM (Hays, 1996), demonstrating that anti-racism and IM are not always in tension. This finding also challenges the binary thinking that is often present in the dominant discourse surrounding the private/public split in white mothering (Collins, 1994; hooks, 2015; O'Reilly, 2008).

Remaining open to process and challenging binary thinking grounded in white supremacy (White Supremacy Culture, 2022) and challenged in Black feminist thought (Collins, 2000), this study provides opportunities for future research focused on intervention development and

assessment aimed to increase the presence of RES and anti-racism within white families.

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Tables

Table 1: Participant Demographics

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Name	Participant Age	Child(ren)'s Age in Years	Level of Education	Employment Status	Self-Identified Political Leaning	Self-Identified Comfort Level Discussing Social Justice
Mandy	35-45	6 & 10	Ph.D.	Full-time	Liberal	somewhat
Lucy	46-55	10	M.S.	Full-time	Liberal	very
Sara	35-45	8 & 9	B.S	unemployed	Liberal/progressive	very
Eliza	26-34	7 & 5	B.S.	Self-employed	Liberal/progressive	somewhat
Merrit	35-45	9 & 9	M.S.	Full-time	Liberal	somewhat
Jenna	35-45	5	J.D.	Full-time	Progressive	very
Kelly	35-45	9	M.S.	Full-time	Liberal	very
Jessica	35-45	4 & 8	Ph.D.	Full-time	Liberal	very
Jackie	35-45	5, 5, & 3	M.S.	Self-employed	Liberal	somewhat
Rachel	35-45	4 & 6	Ph.D.	Full-time	Liberal	very
Joan	35-45	3	M.S.	Full-time	Progressive	very
Sharon	35-45	3	Ph.D.	Full-time	Liberal/progressive	very
Holly	35-45	6, 3, & 0	J.D.	Full-time	Liberal/progressive/left of center/moderate	very
Melanie	35-45	3	Ph.D.	Full-time	Liberal	very
Christine	35-45	6, 4, & 0	Ph.D.	Full-time	Liberal	very
Emily	26-34	9 & 4	Associate's	Self-employed	Liberal	very
Jesse	35-45	5 & 9	MFA	other	Liberal	very
Joanna	35-45	4 & 2	Ph.D.	Full-time	Progressive	somewhat

Table 2: Representative Quotes by Most Salient Categories and Subcategories

Table 2

Representative Quotes by Most Salient Categories and Subcategories

RQ1: Race, Gender and Class Socialization	
Gender Ideologies	There's a lot of like evaluation going on in there, you know. It's like not birthing the right way, like you're not a woman if you had a c-section right. So, or you know, if you're not breastfeeding your kid, then you're not a real mother. It's just like putting women less than, even knowing that women in society are already placed at a lower level. Then, you want to place them even lower…when I had my son, I was totally, just, absolutely just the vessel for the baby…the lactation consultant at the hospital, I mean, they were like milking me like I was a cow. (Melanie)
Internalized white Supremacy	I think I'm probably perhaps a little more aware of how implicit bias guides my decisions…I tried to sort of like take affirmative action, like in my own head, like I'm going to do this or is it against my instinct to me do this right? Um! And I think that I have heard other mothers talking about it more of like a fear like of um like for safety, and I don't have that same fear, because my clients that I sit in private jail cells, locked in rooms with, are the people that they're afraid of right, and I'm not afraid. So, I think for me, it would be about resources, wanting to make sure the school has resources and my kid is challenged. (Jenna)
RQ2: Process of Challenging or Adopting IM	
Salience of Professional Identity	Yeah, I would say I, I didn't really start to recognize and acknowledge my privilege until I was in graduate school, until I was like faced with reading and understanding, and, like, almost like rigorous intellectual dialogue with my peers, who had a different lived experience that forced me out of a comfort zone that I had grown up in. You know my like peers of color, who had that lived experience of like racial marginalization taught me something big in graduate school, and it's not their responsibility to teach me, I just happened to be in a class with them where we

	were talking, and I learned because I was exposed. And if I think of people from my hometown, where they've probably never been exposed; they see it on the news as this like thing happening somewhere else, but they probably never really sat down and had those conversations with somebody, so it's like really easy just to like, exist in the comfortable blanket of your privilege, and not have to challenge that, you know, just to like right here in my likeness, and you know, carry on with my day. (Joan)
Focus on white Identity Development	As a white person, it's important to listen to, like listen to what, you know, people of color are saying and don't expect them to do the emotional labor for you when you have a question. You know they don't owe you that. Don't ask this thing; look it up yourself, because there are resources if you look hard enough. (Emily)
Community Focused Outcomes	I want to raise kids who see themselves as part of something bigger in the world, you know, who may or may not be highly achieving like, let's be honest as an academic, I would probably struggle if my girls turn out not to be particularly academically inclined, but I want them to see that as not like good or bad, or better than someone else. But I want them to see themselves as like part of a world that needs to work together and to see themselves, as I mean eventually right, like you, don't do this with four-year-olds in a very complex way, but you know, as people who have a lot of privilege, and who have something of a responsibility to use that privilege to work together with other people in the world…I think that really like understanding themselves as part of communities and communities of activism and justice and practice is really important to me. (Joanna)
Anti-Racism Identity Acceptance of Process	Working to be anti-racist and own my inherent racism and that's a process that I'll be doing for the rest of my life, and that I don't want to pass that down, but also recognizing that my son is also going to have inherent racism because he is a white child, and that's just something to work with. (Sharon)
Challenging Internalized white Supremacy	One thing that I feel like I've had to learn more about to be an anti-racist, that not everybody is gonna like you all the time and not everything you have to say will be liked. But, you do it, because they're true, because they're the right thing to say, and because you are in a position relative power in that situation, relative privilege in that situation, and it's just the right thing to

	do. So, I think questioning some of those aspects of white woman, and white motherhood is important. (Rachel)
Socialization of Anti-racism Children	She has a lot of questions about like, okay, like, "When Abraham Lincoln ended slavery, did everyone just start being nice to each other?" And like, no, you know, they're still not; it's still a problem, you know, and those are hard conversations. It's hard to, you know, put that into words, you know, and then it's kind of tried to explain them like, and you know sometimes you know I told her, you know, myself included, "You know people have, you know, subconscious bias that you might not even know about, you know, and you know I try not to, but it's possible that you know I'll be, you know, interviewing two people for a job, and without consciously making a choice think the white person is better, because that was sort of ingrained in me. I have to, you know, I make sure to question myself." (Christine)
Anti-Racism mothering	I am trying to kind help my kids see the world through other lenses and paradigms than the one that's just automatically opened and easy for them. It's almost like it just feels like anti-racism happens on the margins and in conversations, as we're going. (Kelly)
Salience of Maternal (gendered) Identity	I'm fearful that if I take a path less traveled, if I'm trying to chart my own course as a mom, yeah, this is, we're all I mean, the fallacy is that there is a course, right? Um that if I go, you know, haywire off the path that I'm not a good mom. And being mom, your world becomes very small when you're just taking care of this little baby, and you really can't do anything else, and social justice is about, "How do we talk about the world, and how do we fit into it?" But, like you can't get to that point till this tiny baby becomes, you know, a functional human, right? And we're so fearful that something's going to go wrong on this end, it's going to disqualify us basically as a human, because then we're a bad Mom, if something does happen. (Holly)
Focus on Gender Oppression	Um keeping women at home, you know that is control. That's power. That's like unequal pay. You know it's still women…if you're hiring a female versus a male who is of reproductive age, you are obviously going to lose a woman for at least a period of time, just because she's the one that carries a baby in a traditional pregnancy, right? I understand that's a short-term concern. But why is it that they're the ones like the the women, are the ones

	that have to stay home with the sick kid? Like if I don't work, I don't get paid. My husband can take a paid sick day. I can't. I mean, I can, but then I have to cancel eight patients. (Jackie)
Individual Child Focus	Oh, I want what's best for my child, right like it is really, really, really hard to put that one back. I worry about that, and like I know that what I want is for what's best for my child, not to just be about my child, right? Like I want that community focused idea, but like it is hard to put that back. That will be a really hard test of my commitment to this, right? Because you don't want to make your kids suffer for your principles. So you have to work really hard to push against the, "what's best for my individual child," and try to realize that having every advantage is a single white supremacist definition of best, right? But, can you sacrifice your child's education, right? (Joanna)
Internalized white Supremacy	Yeah, but it's been like one of my primary manifestations of white fragility is a fear that I'm doing it wrong. So, like, I'm worried that I'm doing it wrong. And I'm really like, I have read the research, right. I have seen the data suggesting that you need to name race. You need to identify it. Color blindness does not work, but I am really scared that if I do it wrong, I will create racial resentment, right where, like black kids can have things I can't have, and like trying to spread the needle between doing that, and then somehow creating a white Savior narrative for her like this, this language of like helpers. (Joanna)
RQ3: Perceived Barriers and Motivator	
Focus on white Identity Development	I don't think Black families are talking to their kids about race and racism because it's fun, and you know they want to make sure their child is well rounded. They're doing it as a necessity, you know. So they're teaching their Black boys that, like society will view you as a threat. And so, you know, if a cop comes up to you guys in the playground, you need to be deferential, and you need to do these things so you won't get shot, you know. Black teenagers who are learning to drive need to learn that *driving while Black* is a crime, and you may get pulled over for literally nothing, and you make sure you are quite respectful of that officer, and don't give them any excuse to yank you out of the car. And all these things that it never would have occurred to me to tell a kid, because, as a white person growing up in white area with white children like a

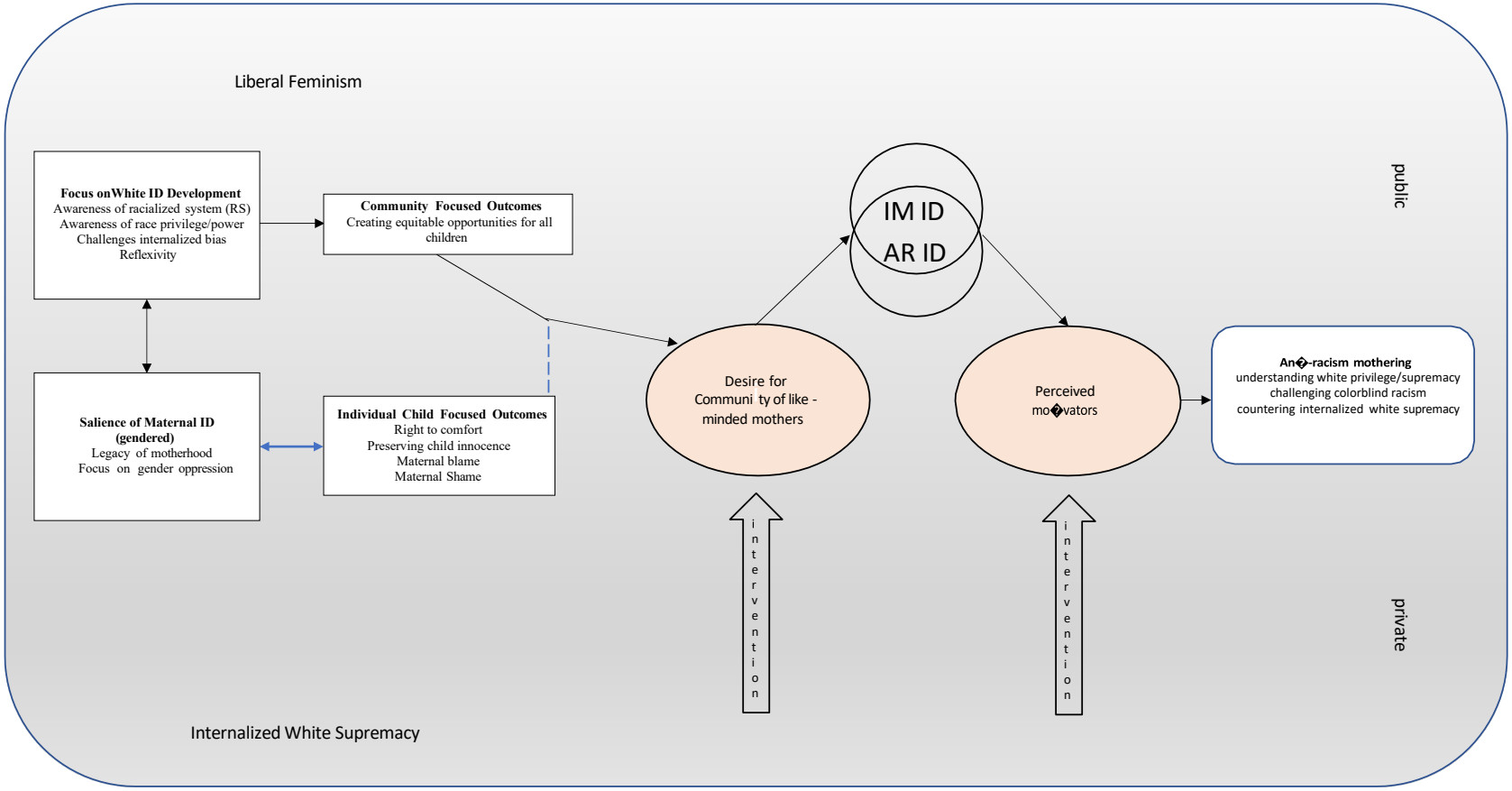
	police officer pulls me over, and he's like, “I’m so sorry I had to pull you over.” Like a police officer being disrespectful to me is inconceivable. You know, just absolutely inconceivable. They're always deferential to me as a white woman, and so I don't have that forced like, “I have to teach my kids these things, because it's dangerous for them.” (Sara)
Critique of Performative Allyship	…white people wearing BLM T-shirts or putting signs in their yards, but then, you know, complaining about people rioting um or like, you know, being allies for as long as it's not uncomfortable to them. Right, like not going out of their comfort zone, or having the right views, but never, never even coming to an occasion where you would have to put them into practice. Right, I think, like performative allyship, avoids discomfort and I think being genuinely anti-racist, and I mean that as a genuine effort at being anti-racist, not being truly perfectly anti-racist, because there's no such thing, really means having to sit with discomfort, and having to like actively seek out discomfort. (Joan)
Socialization of Anti-Racism Child	I grew up in is very diverse neighborhood, and I think that was like the underlying and first big parenting decision about how I wanted my kids to see the world, and who I wanted them to be surrounded by, because I mean you can't fight for what you don't know. I don't want to raise them to be white kids that just drive through downtown and see Black people, and you know, say, “Oh, this is, you know this is why we need equality,” like I want it to be part of their life. For me that's definitely the foundation of incorporating social justice into um into my parenting. I definitely, you know, have read books and had conversations with them, and talk to them about a lot of things. But I think that's probably the main foundation is just who we surround ourselves with. It's also just always a conversation in our house. I don't know that, like we do anything specific necessarily. Um, we don't shy away from the conversation. We do like, we talk about race. (Merrit)
Intensive Mothering	You have to do the best thing for your kid. I think this is one of those, like middle-class white pressure things. Though now that I am in really big challenge, like really, you know, just I won't even get into it. But like knowing, I just now, I can understand why if you feel like you have options, and your kid is just struggling, to not take that option feels like you're a common asshole. (Rachel)
Community to Share	

Mental Load	Well, I mean, I know I've felt supported by having safe places where I can talk about and sort it out, and I don't feel like I am taking up space and where I feel like people are going to give me the benefit of the doubt that, like I'm not an asshole. I'm not a bad person. I'm genuinely trying to understand, and I'm trying to expand my world view. Um, and it occurs to me that there's people who don't have that at all. There is no environment where they don't, you know, feel like they have to be defensive, where they don't get it parroted back to them, right? Yeah, I think spaces where other people are also trying is helpful. (Rachel)
Anti-Racism Mothering	We knew we wanted our son to stay in the community school that our other two went to because of the exposure and the interaction, and in and you know, just being around people from other places and cultures, and all these wonderful elements that come to the table. (Lucy)
Internalized white Supremacy	Trying to engage in social justice, I think it can give you a little bit of imposter syndrome sometimes. It just makes you feel like you're never doing enough. You're never going to be enough, and you're never going to show to these people that you're doing enough, working hard enough. (Merrit)
Individual Child Focus	I don't know. I don't know what to do about it. It is a hugely important decision. Where did you send your kids to school? Everybody wants it to be nice, but nobody wants their kid to be the guinea pig. (Jenna)
Integrated Theoretical Model	
Desire to Learn Willingness to Accept Help	We need spaces where a mom can say, "I'm going to let you take this one, because I don't know what to say." Providing you know those kind of like spaces where moms could reach out to you, and like just saying like, "Hey? I'm here. You are allowed [to make mistakes], you know, and I'm a safe space if you want to talk or have questions." (Jessica)
Integrated Anti-Racism	

And IM Identity	I do see mothering as a vehicle of social justice. I guess, you know, like in terms of making sure that the next generation and our kids are educated and know about the inequalities in our society because you can't know how to fix them, or that they even need fixing, if you don't know about that in the first place… It is helpful to remember that none of this is like a single conversation, that it's all an ongoing conversations. (Jesse)
Perceived Motivators/ Barriers	One of my goals is to have my kids grow up being aware of other people and be aware of the world around them…for me and my parenting I'm mostly concerned with making sure my kids understand that there's systemic inequality and recognizing if they see it happen in their life around them. My hero moment would be if one of my kids stood up to a bully. I would feel like I failed if they join in with the bullying. I want them to recognize a system and understand that it's unequal and not just use their privilege for their own gain. But be aware that it's a privilege that they did nothing to earn, and you know, use it accordingly. (Mandy) When you take my socialization as a white woman to be a fixer and marry it to this paradigm that's so new to many of us, it creates this space for guilt that we often have, anyway, as white moms. And then you add a sprinkle of like, I'm picturing like a soup, a sprinkle of, you know, the potential to be cancelled or shamed publicly for misstepping when the concepts and vocabulary are ever changing, it is scary. (Kelly)
Anti-Racism Mothering	We try to incorporate it to the extent possible. Obviously, in the last couple of years we've had a lot of reason [to talk about racism]. It's been very top of mind to talk about these things and discuss, to think about how we can, meaningfully, without being fake about it or without, you know, adding diversity for just the sake of it. More just make sure these things are just happening on a day to day basis, to talk about how other people might think about things, and that people are coming at things from different perspectives. We all don't have one way of thinking about things. (Holly)

Figures

Figure 1: Integrated Theoretical Model



Appendix A: IRB

INSTRUCTIONS:

- *Use this "TEMPLATE PROTOCOL (HRP-503)" to prepare a study protocol outlining your research plan.*
- *Depending on the nature of your study, some major sections might not be applicable to your research. If so, simply mark as "N/A." For example, a simple survey might have many sections with "N/A." For subsections (e.g., 1.x or 8.x) you can mark as "N/A"if you are certain that the subsection is not applicable.*
- *Once the IRB/HRPP approves your submission, your latest approved version of the protocol will be stored in the IRB Protocol Management online system.*
- *If your research plan changes and you need to modify the protocol, please submit an amendment to Protocol Management with the requested modifications. Download your current protocol from Protocol Management and indicate the changes/revisions using the track changes feature in order to make review of the modifications easier to follow. If you are unable to use track changes, please create a new paragraph wherever you need to make a change, and indicate "Amendment: Date" before making a change to any section. Protocol management will store the older versions of your protocol if the IRB or HRPP staff need to compare them during the review.*

PROTOCOL TITLE:

Include the full protocol title.

Maternal Socialization and Anti-Racism Mothering: A Grounded Theory

PROTOCOL NUMBER:

Include the number assigned in Protocol Management (verify this has been added before submitting protocol to HRPP).

22-572

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:

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FUNDING:

Sponsor(s): N/A
Funded already or in the proposal phase?: Click here to provide a response.
Is Virginia Tech the primary awardee or the coordinating center of this grant or contract? If not, list the primary institution: Click here to provide a response.

VERSION NUMBER/DATE:

Include the version number and date of this protocol. Versions should start at 1.0.

1.0 6/21/22

REVISION HISTORY:

Use this table to keep track of changes. Add more rows as needed.

Revision #	Version Date	Brief Summary of Changes (i.e., the different sections)	Consent Change?

1.0 Study Summary

Study Title	Maternal Socialization and Anti-Racism Mothering: A Grounded Theory
Study Design	Research Design: Fifteen to thirty affluent, cisgender, white mothers of children between 2-10 years of age will be recruited through social media forums that focus on mothering. Potential participants will complete an online survey via Question Pro, lasting approximately 10 minutes, that includes questionnaires about family demographics, level of interest in engaging in conversations about social justice, and intensive parenting attitudes, as measured by the Intensive Parenting Attitudes Questionnaire (IPAQ). Eligible participants will complete a 60-90 minute Zoom interview focusing on maternal socialization within affluent, white culture and how these mothers navigate incorporating anti-racism behaviors into their mothering practices. Lastly, participants will complete one open-ended question, taking approximately 5 minutes, via Question Pro after their individual interview is complete. Statistical/Analytic Plan: This study will use constructivist grounded theory to analyze the interview and open-ended survey questions.
Primary Objective	The purpose of this study is to explore the process of maternal socialization within white, affluent culture and how, if at all, this socialization informs how white affluent mothers incorporate anti-racism into their mothering practices.
Secondary Objective(s)	A secondary focus of this study is to explore, from the participants' perspectives, what support white affluent mothers need to engage more in anti-racism within the context of mothering.
Study Population	Affluent, cisgender, white mothers of children ages 2-10 who live in the United States
Sample Size	We expect 15-30 participants to be enrolled, which is consistent with guidelines for best practices in constructivist grounded theory research.
Research Intervention(s)/ Investigational Agent(s)	Participants will complete an eligibility, online demographic survey, including a question gauging their interest in social justice work, and the Intensive Parenting Attitude Questionnaire (IPAQ) via Question Pro. Eligible participants will then complete a 60-90 minute individual (Zoom) interview and one open-ended, online survey question via Question Pro that will take approximately 5 minutes to complete.

Study Duration for Individual Participants	Eligibility surveys: 10 minutes Individual (Zoom) interviews: 60-90 minutes One open-ended survey question: 5 minutes Follow-up meeting for member-checking: 20 minutes
Acronyms and Definitions	

2.0 Objectives

2.1 Describe the purpose, specific aims, or objectives of this study:

The purpose of this study is to explore the process of maternal socialization within white affluent culture and how, if at all, this informs how white affluent mothers incorporate anti-racism into their maternal practices. Maternal socialization and the incorporation of anti-racism within the context of maternal identity will be studied through the lens of feminism and symbolic interactionism, focusing on: (a) maternal ideologies within affluent white culture (b) the symbolic meaning of the "good mother" and how it shapes maternal identity (c) the possible integration or conflict between the "good mother" ideal and anti-racism within the context of mothering in white affluent culture.

The following research questions will guide this study:

1. How might, if at all, race, gender, and class socialization inform affluent white mothers' adoption of intensive mothering?

2. How do affluent white mothers challenge or adopt the dominant discourse of intensive mothering, if at all, to incorporate anti-racism behaviors into their maternal identity and mothering practices?

3. What are the perceived barriers, if any, to affluent white mothers' integration of anti-racism practices within the current intensive motherhood paradigm?

2.2 State the hypotheses to be tested:

N/A: Constructivist Grounded Theory Design

3.0 Background

3.1 Summarize the relevant prior research on this topic and gaps in current knowledge within the field of study:

Empirical literature on anti-racism parenting (ARP) highlights the following perceived barriers white parents cite for not practicing ARP: (a) lack of white racial identity; (b) colorblind racism; (c) desire to protect and preserve childhood innocence; (d) illusion of "good" whites versus "bad" whites; (e) attachment to white privilege; (f) belief that

their children do not recognize race; and (g) belief that their children are too young to understand complex issues like racism (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015; Vittrup, 2016; Zucker & Patterson, 2018).

Intensive mothering (IM) as defined by Sharon Hays (1996): (a) demands that women dedicate their lives to caring for their children; (b) insists that children require consistent care and nurturing from one primary attachment figure; (c) states that the mother is best suited as the primary attachment figure; (d) requires mothers to spend an immense amount of time and energy caring for their children; and (e) believes children should be given special treatment because of their individual and unique value. For a mother to perform IM perfectly and be awarded the title of the good mother, she needs to adhere to the following tenants: (a) child-centered; (b) expert-guided; (c) emotionally absorbing; (d) labor intensive; and (e) financially expensive (Hays, 1996; Henderson, et al., 2016; Green, 2015; Ishizuka, 2019). IM continues to be the gold standard of mothering within the culture of affluence (Green, 2015; Ishizuka, 2019).

While previous literature on ARP offers social scientists some understanding of white parents' perceived barriers to engaging in ARP, it fails to consider how maternal socialization and the "good mother" ideal, as defined by the tenets of IM (McGregor, 2022), inform, if at all, how mothers think about incorporating anti-racism into mothering.

3.2 Describe any relevant preliminary data:

N/A

3.3 Based on the existing literature, provide the scientific or scholarly rationale for and significance of your research and how will it add to existing knowledge:

Empirical literature on anti-racism parenting suggests that white parents, who self-identify as progressive, do have an interest in engaging in discourses about race and racism with their children (Aanerud, 2007; Abaied & Perry, 2021; Allen, 2017. However, even with these intentions, they fall short of integrating anti-racism behaviors and practices into their parenting. One reason for this misstep is that they lack awareness of how their position of privilege influences their perceived choices (Aanerud, 2007; Gillen-O'Neel, et al., 2021; Hagerman, 2014, 2018; Matlock & DiAngelo, 2015). Feminist frameworks help explain how proximity to privilege and the fear of losing this status and the benefits that accompany it, both for themselves and their children, informs these choices (hooks, 2015b).

This current study aims to explore the complexity of the intersections of privilege and oppression found in the social location of being affluent, white, and female. Empirical literature on intensive mothering demonstrates how the controlling image of the good mother informs how women feel they need to do mothering

(e.g. child-focused, financially expensive, emotionally intense) and the shame they feel when they perceive they have failed to live up to this idealized image (Green, 2015; Hays, 1996; Ishizuka, 2019; Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). Gleaning and understanding of how this pressure to perform mothering informs how mothers integrate anti-racism practices into their childrearing has the potential to challenge the dominant discourse of mothering, helpling family scholars better understand how the controlling image of the good mother is not only oppressive to women but works to keep other marginalized groups in their place.

4.0 Study Endpoints

*4.1 Describe the primary and secondary **study** endpoints. See links below for discussion of study endpoints and how they may differ from study objectives. These are most common in clinical trials but are sometimes applicable to other types of biomedical research, as well as social, behavioral, or educational research. See link below for a discussion.*

https://docs.google.com/document/d/1Wocz7K7a0hCQJPPO_khh5l1SQQjhGDDGHzcOPRHR5Tw/edit?usp=sharing

N/A

*4.2 Describe any primary or secondary **safety** endpoints. These should be included for all studies that are greater than minimal risk. (Minimal risk: The probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research that are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.)*:

N/A

5.0 Study Design and Statistical Analysis Plan

5.1 Describe the basic study design/approach (e.g., qualitative study using five focus groups of first year students to describe assimilation into the university community; randomized controlled trial of a behavioral change intervention to increase dietary intake of whole grains; pre- post-test evaluation of new pedagogical techniques to improve adult literacy):

Potential participants will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire that includes questions about interests in social justice and the IPAQ to gauge their eligibility for participation. Inclusion criteria include: (1) identify as cisgender female and white;

(2) have white child(ren) between the ages of 2-10 years of age; (3) endorse interest in raising children who are aware of inclusion and social justice issues; (4) have an annual household income at or above $140K; and (5) endorse intensive parenting attitudes, as measured by the IPAQ. Participants will be notified about their eligibility for participation within 24 hours and invited to discuss any questions or concerns they have about their eligibility status and/or participation in the study.

This is a constructivist grounded theory study using individual Zoom interviews and one open-ended survey question asked and answered via Question Pro to explore the process of maternal socialization within white, affluent culture and the integration of anti-racism behaviors within this same context. The Zoom interview will last approximately 60-90 minutes to complete, and open-ended survey question via Question Pro will take approximately 5 minutes to complete. Fifteen to thirty white, affluent, cisgender mothers of children 2-10 years of age will be recruited through social media forums that focus on mothering.

Constant comparison of data from individual interviews and open-ended survey questions will lay the foundation for analysis. Analysis will be completed in stages, starting with initial coding of interview transcripts and open-ended survey questions. Memo writing will be used during initial coding and throughout analysis. Focused coding will be used after themes begin to emerge from initial coding. At this point, participants will be invited to engage in member-checking. After taking this time to re-engage with participants and hearing their thoughts about the data, the process of analysis will be completed using theoretical coding, engaging in theoretical sampling when necessary.

5.2 Describe corresponding data analysis plan/approach (e.g., content analysis of focus group transcripts; descriptive analysis followed by linear regression modeling; nonparametric analysis of pre- and post-test measures):

This study will use constructivist grounded theory methods to analyze the interview transcripts and open-ended survey questions.

6.0 Setting

6.1 Describe the sites or locations where your research team will conduct the research. Consider each of the items listed below:

- *Identify where your research team will identify and recruit potential subjects.*
- *Identify where the team will perform the research procedures.*
- *Describe the composition and involvement of any community advisory board(s).*
- *For research conducted in other locations, describe:*
    - *Site-specific regulations or customs affecting the research at those locations.*

- *Local scientific and ethical review structure at those locations. Examples include work in other cultures or ethnic groups (within or outside of the U.S.) and work with churches. The HRPP will provide additional guidance for international research.*

Eligibility surveys will be completed at the participant's convenience on their personal computer. Participants will be able to pause the survey and return to it. Participants will also be given information about how to clear their browsing history.

Individual interviews will be conducted via Zoom in the investigator's and participant's person computers.

One open-ended survey question will be completed at the participant's convenience on their personal computer.

7.0 Study Intervention(s)/Investigational Agent(s)

7.1 Describe the study interventions (including behavioral interventions) and/or investigational agents (e.g., drugs or devices) to be used in this study. Consider each of the items listed below:

- *Drug/Device Handling: If the research involves drugs or devices, describe your plans to store, handle, and administer the drugs or devices so that they will be used only on subjects, and only by authorized investigators.*
- *Describe whether any of the following will be used: microwaves, X-rays, DEXA scans, general anesthesia, or sedation*
- *If control of the drugs or devices used in this protocol will be accomplished by following an established, approved organizational SOP (e.g., Research Pharmacy SOP for the Control of Investigational Drugs, etc.), please reference the SOP in this section.*

N/A

7.2 List the name of all drugs (including any vitamins, supplements, herbs, or nicotine) to be used in the study. Indicate whether they have FDA approval, and list any limitations for their use:

N/A

7.3 List all devices, how they will be used, their purpose in the study, and if they will be used in a manner consistent with their approved uses. If they will be used in ways that are not yet FDA approved, indicate whether they need an IDE or a determination that they are exempt from the IDE Determination. If a determination of significant risk or non-significant risk is needed for any of the devices, include the researcher's recommendation for each of those devices:

N/A

7.4 If the drug is investigational (has an IND) or the device has an IDE or a claim of abbreviated IDE (non-significant risk device), include the following information:

- *Identify the holder of the IND/IDE/abbreviated IDE.*
- *Explain procedures followed to comply with sponsor requirements for FDA regulated research for the following:*

	Applicable to:		
FDA Regulation	***IND Studies***	***IDE studies***	***Abbreviated IDE studies***
21 CFR 11	***X***	***X***	
21 CFR 54	***X***	***X***	
21 CFR 210	***X***		
21 CFR 211	***X***		
21 CFR 312	***X***		
21 CFR 812		***X***	***X***
21 CFR 820		***X***	

N/A

8.0 Procedures Involved

8.1 Describe and explain the study design:

Fifteen to thirty affluent, white, cisgender mothers of children 2-10 years of age will be recruited through social media mothering forums to participate in one 60-90 minute online interview and answer one open-ended survey question via Question Pro that will take approximately 5 minutes to complete, exploring maternal socialization within the context of white, affluent culture and the process of integrating anti-racism behaviors within mothering, in the same context.

Online interviews will be scheduled to align with what is most convenient for the participants and will be confidential. Participants can complete the one open-

ended online survey question at their convenience, within 2 weeks of the individual Zoom interview.

8.2 Provide a description of:

- *All research procedures being performed*
- *If the study has more than one procedure, session, and/or subject population, describe each procedure, session, and/or study population separately. For complex studies, you are encouraged to include a figure or chart.*

This study will begin when affluent, white, cisgender mothers of children between 2-10 years of age consent to participate. The approved consent form will be uploaded at the beginning of the Question Pro eligibility online survey for potential participants to review and sign. The consent process will occur online. After reading the consent form, mothers can decide whether they want to participate in this research. If they agree to participate, they can click a consent button presented immediately below the consent form, acknowledging that they are 18 years of age or older, have read this consent form, and agree to take part in the study. Alternative is to not take part in the research. If they disagree to participate in the study, they can click a decline button, which will be presented immediately below the consent form. Participation is completely voluntary, and subjects can choose not to or agree to participate and later change their mind.

Upon consenting to take part in this study, participants will be asked to complete one individual Zoom interview, lasting approximately 60-90 minutes and answer one open-ended online survey question via Question Pro about their interview experience

Participation in this research will last until participants have completed the one 20 minute Zoom meeting for member-checking during data analysis, approximately 3 weeks after their initial individual Zoom interview is completed. As with the entire process, participation in member-checking is voluntary and participants are free to withdraw from the study at any time.

To show understanding and gratitude for the time it takes participants to complete the online eligibility surveys, potential participants will be given a $5 Amazon gift card for completing these surveys. Participants who engage in individual interviews and complete the one open-ended only survey question will be given an additional $20 Amazon gift card.

All of participants' responses will be kept strictly confidential. All materials will be stored on a password-protected computer in a locked office and will be accessible only to the PIs and appropriately trained research personnel. All materials (e.g., survey results, interview transcripts, and open-ended survey answers) will be marked with a participant code (ID) and all identifiable information will be removed from the data. Consent forms will be securely stored separately from the research data. Data will be identifiable only

with a given ID number. If direct quotes from participants are used in manuscripts resulting from this study, pseudonyms, chosen by participants during their individual interviews, will be used. In publications resulting from this study, only group characteristics will be published, and individuals will not be identifiable.

8.3 Describe:

- *Procedures or safeguards intended to reduce the probability and magnitude of risks. (For example: Reducing the risk of injury in a virtual reality study either by having the subjects sit during the study or by providing an obstacle-free space for walking.)*
- *Be sure to describe all drugs and devices used in the research, when they will be administered or used, and their purpose.*
- *Methods used to collect data about subjects. Please upload all data collection forms to Protocol Management. Some common examples are:*
  - *Screening questionnaires*
  - *Survey(s), including online surveys*
  - *Demographic questionnaire(s)*
  - *Interview guide(s), e.g., questions or pool of questions for semi-structured interviews*
  - *Focus group guide(s)*
  - *Other documents used to collect data*

There are minimal risks associated with this study beyond those associated with everyday life. Possible risk for participants would be boredom, discomfort in conversations about social justice, or lack of desire to participate. We will reduce this risk by allowing participants to withdraw at any time and incorporating check-in points during individual Zoom interviews.

Potential risks include:
• Risk of Breach of Confidentiality: The only people with access to identifying information will be the interviewer and the co-investigator. The protection of participant information will be taken seriously during all phases of the study and after the study. Confidential study information is not discussed outside of the research settings.
• Risk of Disclosure of Personal Information: Personal identifying information is not required in this study, but such information may be shared during the course of the study. If any identifying information is provided throughout the study, the researchers will ensure privacy and confidentiality by removing any identifying information from collected data.

No drugs and devices will be used in the research.

Eligibility surveys include a demographic questionnaire and the IPAQ. Both or uploaded in their entirety to Protocol Management. Eligible participants will be asked to complete

a 60-90 minute individual Zoom interview and one open-ended survey question via Question Pro. The tentative interview protocol, including the open-ended survey question are uploaded in their entirety to Protocol Management.

8.4 What data will you collect during the study and how you will obtain them? Please include descriptions of electronic data collection, database matching, and app-based data collection:

Eligibility surveys, including a demographic questionnaire, a question gauging comfort to discuss social justice issues, and the IPAQ will be obtained through Question Pro.

Individual interviews, exploring maternal socialization within affluent, white culture and the incorporation of anti-racism within mothering in the same context will be conducted and transcribed via Zoom. Zoom interviews will be deleted immediately after transcription are completed and securely stored with ID numbers.

One open-ended survey question, exploring participant's experience of the interview, will be available for participants to complete through Question Pro, after they complete the individual Zoom interview.

8.5 Who will transcribe or code audio and/or video recordings?:

This study is a dissertation, and all transcription and coding will be completed by the doctoral candidate, Candy Beers with the guidance of her dissertation advisor, April L. Few-Demo, Ph.D.

8.6 Include a description of any deception to be used in the study. Include justification for the use of deception (why the deception is necessary), describe the debriefing process, and describe how the study meets <u>all</u> the following criteria for alteration of consent (deception is considered an alteration of informed consent):

- *The research involves no more than minimal risk to the subjects*
- *The alteration will not adversely affect the rights and welfare of the subjects*
- *The research could not practicably be carried out without the alteration/deception*
- *(Optional but encouraged in most cases) Subjects will be provided with additional pertinent information after participation (i.e., debriefing for studies involving deception)*

N/A

8.7 If the study involves long-term follow-up (once all research related procedures are complete), describe what data will be collected during the follow up period and when it will occur:

N/A

9.0 Data and Specimen Long Term Storage and Use

9.1 If you will store data or specimens for future use, describe where you will store the data or specimens, how long they will be stored, and how and by whom the data or specimens will be accessed:

N/A

9.2 For specimens, list the data to be stored or associated with each specimen:

N/A

9.3 Describe the procedures to release data or specimens outside of the research team, including the process to request a release, approvals required for release, who can obtain data or specimens, and what data will be provided with specimens:

N/A

9.4 Describe the identifiers to be included with stored data or specimens, as well as any key or code that could be used to make them identifiable. Describe where the code will be stored, who will have access to it, and when it will be destroyed:

N/A

9.5 Please select the identifiers you will obtain (whether directly from participants or from another source), including but not limited to:

☐	*Name*

☐	*Geographical subdivisions smaller than a state, including street address, city, county, precinct, zip code, and equivalent geocodes (note, the initial three digits of a zip code are not considered identifiable)*
☐	*Elements of dates (except year) for dates directly related to an individual, including birth date, admission date, discharge date, date of death, and single year of age over 89 and all elements of dates (including year) indicative of such age (note, such ages and elements may be aggregated into a single category of age 90+)*
☐	*Phone numbers*
☐	*Fax numbers*
☒	*Electronic mail addresses (e-mail)*
☐	*Social Security numbers*
☐	*Medical record numbers*
☐	*Health plan beneficiary numbers*
☐	*Account numbers*
☐	*Certificate/license numbers*
☐	*Vehicle identifiers and serial numbers, including license plate numbers*
☐	*Device identifiers and serial numbers*
☐	*Web Universal Resource Locators (URLs)*
☐	*Internet protocol (IP) address numbers*
☐	*Biometric identifiers, including finger and voice prints (audio recording)*
☐	*Full face photographic images and any comparable images (including video recording)*
☐	*Student record number or identification number*
☐	*User name for online or computer accounts*
☐	*Any other unique identifying number, characteristic, or code (note this does not mean the unique code assigned by the investigator to code the data)***:** Click here to explain.

10.0 Sharing of Results with Subjects

10.1 Describe whether you will share results (study results or individual subject results, such as results of investigational diagnostic tests, genetic tests, or incidental findings) with subjects or others (e.g., the subject's primary care physician). If so, describe how you will share the results and include this information as part of the consent document. Upload materials you will use to explain the results to subjects:

In publications resulting from this study, only group characteristics will be published, and individual participants will not be identifiable. Individual participants will have an opportunity to engage in member-checking of their own individual interview and open-ended survey question data but will not have access to other participant data.

11.0 Study Timelines

11.1 Describe:

- *The duration of an individual subject's participation in the study (for example, 1 hour, 2-4 weeks, 3-5 years).*
- *The amount of time expected to enroll all study subjects (weeks, months, years, etc.)*
- *The amount of time expected for the investigators to complete this study including primary data analyses.*

Eligible participants will be asked to complete a 60-90 minute individual Zoom interview and one open-ended survey question via Question Pro that will take approximately 5 minutes to complete, at the participant's convenience but within 2 weeks of the individual interview. Participants will be contacted 2 weeks after their initial interview to be invited to engage in member-checking of their individual data. If the participant agrees to participate in member-checking, they will be asked to complete a 20-30 minute Zoom meeting with the researcher. Member-checking will be the final step of participation for study participants.

Completion of the study is expected to take 9 months, with data collection lasting 6 months.

12.0 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

12.1 Describe how you will screen individuals for eligibility. When will screening occur and what procedures will you use? Upload any screening scripts or surveys to Protocol Management:

There are several eligibility requirements that potential participants need to meet: (1) identify as white and cisgender female; (2) mother at least one child between 2-10 years of age; (3) endorse intensive parenting, as measured by the Intensive Parenting Attitudes Questionnaire (IPAQ); (4) have an annual household income of above $140,000; (5) have an interest in discussing social justice work within the context of mothering. Participants will be asked to complete an online demographic questionnaire, including questions about their interest and comfort discussing social justice work within the context of mothering, and the IPAQ via Question Pro. Eligibility screening is expected to take approximately 10 minutes. All potential participants will be contacted via email to discuss their eligibility and any questions they have concerning their eligibility and/or participation in the study.

A copy of the online eligibility survey is uploaded in its entirety as a supplementary material to Protocol Management.

12.2 Describe the eligibility criteria that define who will be included and who will be excluded from enrollment for each procedure of your study. Include any geographic criteria (e.g., Virginia Tech undergraduate students, a national sample of adults with engineering degrees, minors aged 8-12 in the New River Valley, university faculty in Virginia and Paris, France):

There will be one level of screening. All potential participants will be asked to complete an online demographics questionnaire that includes questions about their interest in engaging in social justice work within the context of mothering. Within this same Question Pro survey, participants will also be asked to complete the IPAQ to measure their endorsement of intensive parenting attitudes. There are several eligibility requirements that potential participants need to meet: (1) identify as white and cisgender female; (2) mother at least one child between 2-10 years of age; (3) endorse intensive parenting, as measured by the Intensive Parenting Attitudes Questionnaire (IPAQ); (4) have an annual household income of above $140,000; (5) have an interest in discussing social justice work within the context of mothering.

12.3 Indicate specifically whether you will include or exclude each of the following special populations: (You may not include members of these populations as subjects in your research unless you indicate them in the description of your subject population.)

- *Minors, as defined by state law where the study is performed (infants, children, teenagers)*
- *Pregnant women (can be included in minimal risk studies by mentioning in section 13.1)*
- *Prisoners (including all incarcerated individuals)*
- *Adults not capable to consent on their own behalf*

The proposed online study will not include minors, prisoners, nor adults who are not capable to consent on their own behalf. As this is an online study involving no more than minimal risk, we are not excluding pregnant women.

13.0 Vulnerable Populations

13.1 If the research involves individuals who are vulnerable to coercion or undue influence, please describe additional safeguards you will include to protect their rights and welfare. Consider the applicable items listed below:

- *If the research involves Virginia Tech students, indicate whether these are students of any of the investigators. If so, describe whether the activities will take place during class time as part of the curriculum and the steps you will take to reduce the possibility that students feel obliged to participate in order to improve their course grade. The HRPP can provide further*

guidance as needed. Describe whether you will request access to student records (e.g., SAT, GPA, GRE scores).

- *If the research involves employees of Virginia Tech or the research sponsor, describe steps you will take to ensure that the employees are freely participating and describe how their data will be protected from inspection by their supervisors.*
- *If the research involves Virginia Tech NCAA athletes, you must obtain approval from the athletic department.*
- *For research involving Montgomery County Public Schools, you must obtain county approval (after obtaining contingent Virginia Tech approval). Other locales have different requirements; please check on these and describe here. Approval is typically granted by the superintendent, principal, and classroom teacher (in that order). Approval by an individual teacher is insufficient. School approval, in the form of a letter or a memorandum should be uploaded as a supporting document.*
- *If the research involves pregnant women, review "CHECKLIST: Pregnant Women (HRP-412)" to ensure that you have provided sufficient information in this protocol.*
- *If the research involves prisoners, review "CHECKLIST: Prisoners (HRP-415)" to ensure that you have provided sufficient information in this protocol.*
- *If the research involves persons who have not attained the legal age for consent to treatments or procedures involved in the research (minors), review the "CHECKLIST: Minors (HRP-416)" to ensure that you have provided sufficient information in this protocol.*
- *If the research involves cognitively impaired adults, review "CHECKLIST: Cognitively Impaired Adults (HRP-417)" to ensure that you have provided sufficient information in this protocol.*

As this is an online study with minimal risks, pregnant women who also have a child between the age of 2 and 10 years of age will not be excluded from participation. Virginia Tech students, employees, or athletes may take part in the study. However, the participant recruitment will be conducted via social media forums directed towards mothers outside of Blacksburg, VA. Also, the investigators will not be serving as IORs for the 2022/2023 AY.

14.0 Number of Subjects

14.1 Indicate the total number of subjects to be enrolled and how this number was determined (e.g., sample size calculation [show], number of available subjects in a finite pool, number of tests funding award would allow):

15-20

14.2 If this is a multi-site study, indicate the number of subjects to be enrolled at this site and the total to be enrolled from all sites:

N/A

14.3 If applicable, indicate the number of potential subjects you expect to screen for enrollment, and the number of subjects you will need to complete the research procedures:

30; 15-30

14.4 If the study has more than one procedure, indicate the total number of subjects to undergo each procedure separately:

N/A

15.0 Recruitment Methods

15.1 Describe when, where, and how you will recruit potential subjects:

Potential participants will be recruited via flyers on national social media forums focusing on mothering.

15.2 Describe the source of subjects (for example, clinic patients with specific conditions, students in the library, community members at a gathering, or members of a local gym):

White, affluent, cisgender mothers at least one child between 2-10 years of age will be recruited to participate in this study.

15.3 Describe the methods that you will use to identify potential subjects:

Potential participants will email the investigator, as indicated on the recruitment flyer. The investigator will then give potential participants access to the Question Pro eligibility questionnaire that includes agreement to participate, demographic questionnaire, questions gauging interests and comfort in discussing social justice, and the IPAQ. Potential participants will be notified of their eligibility via email.

15.4 Describe materials that you will be use to recruit subjects. Attach copies of these documents with this protocol in Protocol Management and be sure to include the IRB protocol number on each document.

- *For flyers, attach the final copy of printed flyers.*
- *For Virginia Tech News, Facebook postings and ads, newspaper ads, websites, MTurk/SONA/online survey systems, etc., attach the final wording and graphics to be used.*
- *For email recruitments, please include the subject line.*
- *For advertisements meant for audio broadcast, please submit the wording of the advertisement prior to taping (to avoid having to re-record with approved language) and submit the final recorded version for IRB review before use.*
- *Describe any compensation to subjects. Separate compensation into appropriate categories, such as: reimbursement for expenses, time and effort, and additional incentives for study participation. For each category, specify the amount (including any pro-rated amount), schedule, and method of payment.*

The recruitment flyer is uploaded in Protocol Management.

Potential participants who complete the Question Pro eligibility survey will be gifted a $5 Amazon gift card. Participants who go on to complete the individual Zoom interview and one open-ended survey question via Question Pro will be gifted an additional $20 Amazon gift card.

16.0 Withdrawal of Subjects

16.1 Describe circumstances under which you anticipate subjects could be withdrawn from the research without their consent:

Participants are free to withdraw from the study at anytime.

16.2 If applicable, describe any procedures for orderly termination (e.g., discontinuation of a study drug or debriefing after a behavioral intervention):

N/A

16.3 Describe procedures that you will follow when subjects withdraw from the research, including partial withdrawal from procedures with continued data collection (e.g., participant declines to continue with regular blood draws, but continues with periodic behavioral questionnaires):

N/A

17.0 Risks to Subjects

17.1 List the reasonably foreseeable risks, discomforts, hazards, or inconveniences to the subjects related the subjects' participation in the research. Include for the IRB's consideration a description of the probability, magnitude, duration, and reversibility of the risks. Consider physical, psychological, social, legal, privacy, and economic risks. Do not indicate "No risk" or "N/A." Instead, for studies with very low risk (e.g., anonymous online questionnaire on a mundane topic) indicate "The investigators are not aware of any risks from participation in this study." or "No more than risks than are found in everyday life." The example consent form presents a tabular method for risk information, which you can also use here. Common risk types include:

- *Physical (e.g., potential for pain, discomfort, infection)*
- *Psychological (e.g., potential for stress, discomfort, and/or embarrassment)*
- *Social (e.g., potential for discrimination or stigmatization and disruption of personal and family relationships)*
- *Legal (e.g., potential for disclosure of illegal activity, negligence)*
- *Privacy (e.g., potential for personal information being accessed, used, or disclosed without the subjects' knowledge or consent, breach of confidentiality/security)*
- *Economic (e.g., potential for individuals to lose access to economic services, employment, insurability)*

There are minimal risks associated with this study beyond those associated with everyday life. Possible risks for participants would be boredom, discomfort engaging in conversation about social justice, lack of desire to participate, and potential loss of confidentiality. The sensitive nature of interview questions may result in psychological discomfort. If confidential information is revealed, there may be consequences for privacy, stress, or embarrassment.We will reduce these risks by: offering participants to choose a pseudonym at the beginning of the interview, allowing participants to withdraw at any time, and offer breaks during the individual interview session as needed.

17.2 Indicate the measures you will use to minimize risks and monitor subjects for safety. (e.g., asking a subject at regular intervals to rate how they are feeling from 1 to 10, or to slowly crouch in order to check their balance.)

Included in the tentative interview protocol, uploaded in its entirety to Protocol Management, are check-in points with the participants about how they are feeling and if they have any questions.

17.3 If applicable, indicate which procedures might have risks to the subjects that are currently unforeseeable. This will be rare, and usually applicable when testing a new drug or device or a new use of an existing drug or device:

N/A

17.4 If applicable, indicate which procedures might have risks to an embryo or fetus should the subject be or become pregnant:

N/A

17.5 If applicable, describe risks to others who are not subjects (e.g., collection of sensitive health data that might affect sexual partners if disclosed, mandatory reporting of abuse, DNA testing that might affect family members or relationships):

N/A

18.0 Potential Benefits to Subjects

18.1 Describe the potential benefits that individual subjects might experience from participating in the research. Include the probability, magnitude, and duration of the potential benefits, as this will be useful to the IRB's risk:benefit analysis. Do not include benefits to society or others. Do not list monetary or non-monetary compensation for participation, as this is not a benefit These should be included in section 2 or 3 of this document:

N/A

18.2 If applicable, specify that there are no anticipated direct benefits for participants:

There are no known direct benefits to participants for participating in this study.

19.0 Data Management and Confidentiality

19.1 Describe procedures that you will use for quality control to ensure validity of collected data:

This constructivist grounded theory study will use an audit trail and member-checking with participants to ensure validity of collected data.

19.2 Describe any existing data or biospecimens you will obtain as part of this study. Include:

- *Variables or samples to be obtained*
- *Source of the data or specimens*
- *Your authorization to access or receive the data or biospecimens*
- *Whether the data or biospecimens are publicly available*
- *Whether the data or specimens you receive will contain identifiers*

N/A

19.3 Describe the steps that you will take to handle and secure study data during data collection, storage, use, and transmission. Include information about training of study staff, authorization of access, password protection, encryption, physical controls, certificates of confidentiality, separation of identifiers and data, etc.:

Eligibility surveys will be completed through Question Pro and securely stored, with access available only to the principal investigator and co-investigator.

Participants will be asked to choose a pseudonym during their individual Zoom interviews. Zoom interviews will be transcribed using the participant's chosen pseudonym. After transcription is completed, audio recordings of Zoom interviews will be destroyed. Transcripts will be securely stored, with access available only to the principal investigator and co-investigator.

19.4 For multi-site studies, describe how data or specimens will be handled and secured for each site (e.g., central or disseminated data storage, data coordinating center):

N/A

19.5 Describe the plan for data disposition following the conclusion of the study (e.g., long term maintenance of data, data destruction methods).

- *What information will be included in the long term storage of data or specimens?*
- *How long will the data or specimens be stored?*
- *Where and how data or specimens will be stored?*
- *Who will have access to the data or specimens during long term storage?*
- *Who is responsible for receipt or transmission of the data or specimens?*

- *How will data or specimens be shared or transported?*
- *When and how will personal identifiers be destroyed?*

All materials (e.g. interview transcripts; open-ended survey questions) will be labeled with the participant's chosen pseudonym and participant ID number. All identifiable information will be removed from the data.

All materials will be stored on a password-protected computer in a locked office and will be accessible only to the investigator. The de-identifiable data will be destroyed when no longer needed for publication purposes.

Identifiers will be kept as part of a separate ID number sheet. This electronic sheet will be kept on a password protected secure computer separate from the stored data and will be destroyed at the end of data analysis.

20.0 Provisions to Protect the Privacy Interests of Subjects

20.1 Describe the steps that you will take to protect subjects' privacy interests. "Privacy interest" refers to a person's desire to place limits on with whom they interact or to whom they provide personal information (e.g., collecting the minimal amount of private information required to complete the study, protecting the data once it is obtained):

Participants will be asked to choose a pseudonym during individual Zoom interviews. These pseudonyms will be used throughout data collection, data storage, and publication. Audio recordings of Zoom interviews will be destroyed at the completion of transcribing the data.

20.2 Describe steps that you will take to make subjects feel at ease with the research situation in terms of the questions being asked and the procedures being performed. "At ease" does not refer to physical discomfort, but the sense of intrusiveness a subject might experience in response to questions, examinations, and procedures (e.g., use of a same gender investigator to place sensors on the torso, a private changing area if clothing must be changed, sensitivity when discussing pregnancy testing with subjects, making it clear on surveys that participants can discontinue at any time, not asking questions about private or sensitive issues unless necessary for the research):

Embedded in the tentative interview protocol are check-point conversations meant to allow space and time for participants to share any concerns about data collection. Participants are free to choose not to answer specific interview questions and their participation remains voluntary throughout the study. Participants are invited throughout the interview to ask the investigator questions.

20.3 Describe how you plan to access existing sources of information about the subjects (e.g., medical records, grades) and how you will protect participant privacy through the data security plan:

N/A

20.4 Describe any required reporting that might occur as a result of your research questions, study populations, and data collection methods. Examples for Virginia and Virginia Tech include:

- ***Any*** *suspicions (e.g., circumstantial, disclosed) of child abuse (physical, emotional, sexual) and neglect*
- *Sexual discrimination and/or sexual violence that involves a student*
- *Disclosure or signs of intention to harm oneself (i.e., suicidal ideation and/or plan)*
- *Disclosure or signs of desire to harm others (i.e., homicidal ideation and/or plan)*
- *Suspected abuse, neglect or exploitation of vulnerable adults (e.g., individuals with a disability, elderly persons)*

Due to the structure of virtual interviews, it is possible that the investigator will witness or overhear abuse of a child or adult. In this case, the investigator will make participants aware that they are a mandated reporter.

21.0 Provisions to Monitor the Data to Ensure the Safety of Subjects

Safety monitoring is required when research involves greater than minimal risk and is sometimes appropriate for other studies.

21.1 Describe:

- *The plan to periodically evaluate the data collected regarding both harms and benefits to determine whether subjects remain safe (e.g., periodic reporting to the IRB, establishing a data monitoring committee, reporting data monitoring committee findings to the IRB and the sponsor).*
- *What data you will review, including safety data, unexpected events, and data that show the ability to produce the intended results.*
- *How the safety information will be collected (e.g., with case report forms, at study visits, by telephone calls with subjects).*
- *The frequency of data collection, including when safety data collection starts.*
- *Who will review the safety data and with what frequency.*
- *The statistical tests for analyzing the safety data to determine whether harm is occurring.*

- *Any conditions that will trigger an immediate suspension of the research (e.g., a serious adverse event).*

Potential participants will be notified of their eligibility within 24 hours of their completion of the demographic survey and IPAQ. Participants will have an opportunity to ask questions about their eligibility and participation in the study. Individual Zoom interview times will be scheduled within 48 hours of the completion of demographic survey and IPAQ and take place within 1 week. Participants will then have 2 weeks to submit their follow-up survey question via Question Pro. Lastly, participants will be invited to participate in member-checking within 2-3 weeks of their individual Zoom interview. Member-checking meetings will be conducted via Zoom and last approximately 20 minutes.

22.0 Compensation for Research Related Injury

22.1 If the research involves more than minimal risk to subjects, describe the available compensation in the event of research-related injury, if any:

N/A

22.2 Provide a copy of contract language, if any, relevant to compensation for research-related injury. At Virginia Tech, this is most common for sponsored research:

N/A

23.0 Economic Burden to Subjects

23.1 Describe any costs that subjects might be responsible for because of participation in the research, including any uncompensated costs for items such as transportation, missed work, and childcare:

Online eligibility surveys can be completed at the convenience of the participant. Individual (Zoom) interviews will be scheduled to meet the needs of the participants. One open-ended survey question can be completed at the convenience of the participant. Participants will need access to a personal computer.

24.0 Consent Process

24.1 Indicate the process by which you will obtain consent for study participation. Please upload all consent, parental permission, and assent forms, documents, and scripts referenced in this section to Protocol Management.

Describe the following:

- *Where the consent process will take place (e.g., clinic waiting area, classroom, online)*
- *The time interval between sharing the consent information with the prospective subject and obtaining consent. For lab, interview, and focus group studies, the Virginia Tech IRB prefers that subjects have at least 24 hours to review the consent form and study information before the appointment where consent will be obtained. For simple online survey studies, you can typically present the consent information immediately before subjects begin participation.*
- *If applicable, processes to ensure ongoing consent or assent (e.g., for multiple sessions; for research in which a minor will turn 18 during the study; for longitudinal research with minors who will later be asked to provide or affirm their assent).*
- *Please review "SOP: Informed Consent Process for Research (HRP-090)" for recommended procedure. Describe your process, being sure to include:*
    - *The name and role of all study personnel who will be trained and certified by the PI to conduct the consent process*
    - *The time that will be devoted to the consent discussion*
    - *Steps that you will take to minimize the possibility of coercion or undue influence*
    - *Steps that you will take to gauge or ensure the subjects' understanding*

Potential participants will be emailed access to the Question Pro eligibility questionnaires (demographic survey and IPAQ). The consent form will appear at the beginning of the Question Pro survey for participants to review and approve.

Once the investigator receives the electronically signed consent form and completed eligibility surveys, they will email potential participants within 24 hours to notify them of their eligibility status. The investigator will email eligible participants within 48 hours to schedule the individual Zoom interview. At the beginning of the interview, the investigator will briefly review the consent form with the participant, ask if there are any questions before they begin, and remind the participant that they are free to ask questions or withdraw at any time during the study.

Non-English Speaking Subjects

- *Indicate what language(s) other than English are understood by prospective subjects or representatives.*
- *If non-English speakers will be recruited, describe the process you will use to ensure that the oral and/or written consent information provided will be in a language that they understand.*
- *If you translate consent forms and study materials, please provide a certified translation of the form as well as the certification document.*

- *Indicate the spoken language that study personnel obtaining consent will use. Describe how you will assess fluency of personnel obtaining consent to ensure that the translation is accurate.*

N/A

Waiver or Alteration of Consent Process (consent will not be obtained, required information will not be disclosed, or the research involves deception)

- *Review the "CHECKLIST: Waiver or Alteration of Consent Process (HRP-410)" to ensure you have provided sufficient information for the IRB to make these determinations (i.e., that it meets the criteria for a waiver or alteration of the consent process).*

N/A

Subjects who are not yet adults (minors: infants, children, teenagers)

- *Describe the criteria that you will use to determine legal age for consent to treatments or procedures involved in the research under the applicable law of the jurisdiction in which the research will be conducted (e.g., in Virginia, individuals under the age of 18 years).*
  - *For research conducted in Virginia, review "SOP: Legally Authorized Representatives, Minors, and Guardians (HRP-013)" to determine which individuals in the state meet the definition of "minor."*
  - *For research conducted outside of the state, please describe the legal requirements for the definition of "minor."*
- *Describe the process for obtaining parental permission.*
  - *Permission from one parent is acceptable for studies that involve no greater than minimal risk OR involve greater than minimal risk but present the prospect of direct benefit to the minor subject.*
  - *Permission from both parents is required in all other cases (unless one parent is deceased, unknown, incompetent, or not reasonably available, or when only one parent has legal responsibility for the care and custody of the minor).*
- *Describe whether you will obtain permission from individuals other than parents or Legally Authorized Representatives, and if so, who will be allowed to provide permission. Describe the process you will use to determine these individuals' authority to consent to the minor's general medical care.*
- *Indicate whether you will obtain assent from all, some, or none of the minors. If you will obtain assent from some minors, indicate which minors will be required to assent. Consider chronological age and intellectual capacity when determining who will be required to provide assent (e.g.,*

infants are unable to assent. However, teenagers are likely able to read and sign an assent form).

- *When assent of minors is obtained, describe whether and how you will document it. Will minors sign an assent form or give verbal assent?*
- *Attach parental permission and minor assent forms or scripts in Protocol Management.*

N/A

Adults Unable to Consent

- *Describe the process you will use to determine whether an individual adult is capable of consent.*
- *List the individuals from whom you will obtain permission in order of priority (e.g., durable power of attorney for health care, court appointed guardian for health care decisions, spouse, and non-minor child).*
  - *For research conducted in the Virginia, review "SOP: Legally Authorized Representatives, Minors, and Guardians (HRP-013)" to determine which individuals in the state meet the definition of "legally authorized representative."*
  - *For research conducted outside of Virginia, please describe the legal requirements for obtaining permission from a legally authorized representative in the state where the research will occur.*
- *Describe the process for assent of the subjects.*
  - *Indicate whether you will require assent from all, some, or none of the subjects. If some, indicate which subjects will be required to assent and which will not.*
  - *If you will not obtain assent from some or all subjects, please provide justification for not obtaining assent.*
  - *Describe whether and how you will document assent.*

N/A

25.0 Process to Document Consent in Writing

25.1 Consult "SOP: Written Documentation of Consent (HRP-091)" for recommended procedures, and describe whether and how consent of the subject will be documented in writing:

This is a one-time online study that has no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects. The study will begin when white, affluent, cisgender mothers of children between 2-10 years of age consent to participate. The consent form will appear at the start of the Question Pro eligibility surveys. Potential participants will be able

to read through the consent form and consent to participate by checking, "I consent to participating in this study that has been previously described. Specifically, I consent to taking the eligibility and demographic survey, being interviewed by the primary investigator, and completing a follow-up survey question related to the experience being studied."

The investigator will review the consent form at the beginning of the individual Zoom interviews, allowing time for participants to ask questions about consent and their participation in the study.

25.2 If the research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects and involves no procedures for which written documentation of consent is normally required outside of the research context, you can request that the IRB waive the requirement to obtain written documentation of consent (e.g., consent to participate is indicated by pressing a button for an online questionnaire – after the consent information is presented and before the questionnaire begins):

N/A

25.3 If you will document consent in writing, attach a consent document with places for signatures. If you will obtain consent, but not document consent in writing, please attach the consent script or text. Review "CHECKLIST: Waiver of Written Documentation of Consent (HRP-411)" to ensure that you have provided sufficient information. You should use "TEMPLATE CONSENT DOCUMENT (HRP-502)"to create the consent document or script:

The final version of the consent form is uploaded.

26.0 Resources Available

26.1 Describe the resources available to conduct the research. For example, as appropriate:

- *Describe the PI's availability to supervise the research.*
- *Justify the feasibility of recruiting the required number of suitable subjects within the agreed recruitment period. For example, how many potential subjects do you have access to? What percentage of those potential subjects do you need to recruit?*
- *Describe the time that you will devote to conducting and completing the research.*
- *Describe your facilities.*
- *Describe the availability of medical or psychological resources that subjects might need as a result of an anticipated or unanticipated consequence of participation in the research.*

- *Describe your process to ensure that all persons assisting with the research are adequately informed about the protocol, the research procedures, and their duties and functions (e.g., training plans, detailed study notebooks).*

April L. Few-Demo, Ph.D.,PI and chair of the dissertation committee for which this study will be used, will be the auditor for transcription, data collection and analysis procedures. She will be accessible to answer any emerging research-related questions. She will be available through the duration of this study.

Through posting flyers on numerous social media forums focused on mothering, the investigators expect to collect data from 15-30 participants, all of whom will be recruited specifically for this study. Recruitment may take up to 3 months. If saturation of data is not achieved, additional participants will be sought (Charmaz, 2014).

The expected completion of this study is March 2023, allowing approximately 9 months for data collection and analysis.

The entirety of this study will happen online. Data from Question Pro eligibility questionnaires will be securely stored, separately from individual Zoom interview transcriptions and follow-up survey data, and only accessible to the principal investigator and co-investigator. Audio recordings of individual Zoom interviews will be destroyed directly after transcription of data, within 1 week of each individual interview. Transcripts and data from the Question Pro follow-up survey will be securely stored and only accessible to the principal investigator and co-investigator. No identifiable information will be linked to the transcripts or Question Pro follow-up data. Participant chosen pseudonyms will be used for data storage, analysis, and any publications stemming from this study.

Only the doctoral candidate, her dissertation chair, and her 3 Virginia Tech committee members will have access to the study materials. The doctoral candidate will be completing all individual Zoom interviews, transcription of the data, and analysis of the data, with the guidance of her dissertation advisor, April L. Few-Demo, Ph.D.

27.0 Multi-Site Research

Contact the HRPP for multi-site research (involving multiple institutions) and the details required for this section will be provided. Otherwise, indicate N/A.

N/A

Division of Scholarly Integrity and Research Compliance
Institutional Review Board
North End Center, Suite 4120 (MC 0497)
300 Turner Street NW
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061
540/231-3732
irb@vt.edu
http://www.research.vt.edu/sirc/hrpp

MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 29, 2022

TO: April L Few-Demo, Candy Lynn Beers

FROM: Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (FWA00000572)

PROTOCOL TITLE: Maternal Socialization and Anti-Racism Mothering: A Grounded Theory

IRB NUMBER: **22-572**

Effective July 29, 2022, the Virginia Tech Human Research Protection Program (HRPP) determined that this protocol meets the criteria for exemption from IRB review under 45 CFR 46.104(d) category (ies) 2(ii).

Ongoing IRB review and approval by this organization is not required. This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these activities impact the exempt determination, please submit an amendment to the HRPP for a determination.

This exempt determination does not apply to any collaborating institution(s). The Virginia Tech HRPP and IRB cannot provide an exemption that overrides the jurisdiction of a local IRB or other institutional mechanism for determining exemptions.

All investigators (listed above) are required to comply with the researcher requirements outlined at:

https://secure.research.vt.edu/external/irb/responsibilities.htm

(Please review responsibilities before beginning your research.)

PROTOCOL INFORMATION:

Determined As:	**Exempt, under 45 CFR 46.104(d) category(ies) 2(ii)**
Protocol Determination Date:	**July 29, 2022**

ASSOCIATED FUNDING:

The table on the following page indicates whether grant proposals are related to this protocol, and which of the listed proposals, if any, have been compared to this protocol, if required.

Appendix B: Recruitment Flyer

Are you a mother of child(ren) in PreK or Elementary School?

If so, researchers at Virginia Tech invite you to share your thoughts about mothering expectations and how you navigate the many roles you play as a mother, including how you teach your children about inclusion, race, and social justice.

You are eligible to participate if:

- You are a white mother raising white child(ren) between the ages of 2 and 10 years old.
- You identify as a cisgender female.
- You have an interest in raising children who are aware of inclusion and social justice issues.
- Your annual household income is above $140K.

Participants are invited to:

- Participate in a 60-90 minute virtual interview.
- Complete one written post-interview question.
- Share follow-up thoughts with researchers.

Compensation for participation includes a $5 Amazon gift card for completing an eligibility survey and a $20 Amazon gift card for completing all participation requirements listed above.

If you are interested in participating or have questions, please contact Candy Beers at candylb@vt.edu. **Your participation is confidential.**

Virginia Tech IRB#

6/20/2022 1

Contact Information

First Name

Last Name

Email Address

Title of research study: Maternal Socialization and Anti-Racism Mothering: A Grounded Theory

Principal Investigator: April L. Few-Demo, Ph.D.; alfew@vt.edu; 540-231-4794
Other study contact(s): Candy Beers; candylb@vt.edu; 804-836-2802

Key Information: The following is a short summary of this study to help you decide whether or not to be a part of this study. More detailed information is listed later on in this form. The purpose of this study is to better understand how mothers think about mothering expectations and the many roles they take on, including how they talk to their children about inclusion and social justice. Detailed Information: The following is more detailed information about this study in addition to the information listed above.

Who can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to the research team at alfew@vt.edu or candylb@vt.edu

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (IRB). You may communicate with them at 540-231-3732 or irb@vt.edu if:
You have questions about your rights as a research subject
Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team
You cannot reach the research team
You want to talk to someone besides the research team to provide feedback about this research

How many people will be studied?
We plan to include about 15-30 people in this research study.

What happens if I say yes, I want to be in this research?
You will be invited to participate in a 60-90 minute individual Zoom interview with the researcher to discuss your thoughts about maternal expectations and the many roles you play, including how you talk to your children about inclusion and social justice. At the beginning of the interview, you will be invited to create a pseudonym that will be used throughout data analysis and manuscript writing to keep your identity and the information you share confidential.
After the individual Zoom interview, you will be sent one open-ended survey question to complete at your convenience but within 2 weeks of your interview.
The researcher will contact you 2-3 weeks after your individual Zoom interview to discuss your interview and confirm that your interview data clearly reflects your thoughts.
Individual Zoom interviews, the open-ended survey question, and the one follow-up meeting to discuss your data will be conducted virtually and at your convenience, with your total time commitment being approximately 2 hours, over the course of 3 weeks.

What happens if I say yes, but I change my mind later?
You can leave the research at any time, for any reason, and it will not be held against you.

If you decide to leave the research, contact the investigator and let them know the following:
That you want to withdraw, so the investigator does not continue to contact you.
If you are still willing to have your data collected thus far be used in data analysis.
If you have any questions about your decision to withdraw from the study.

If the investigator does not hear from you, it will be assumed that your data can still be used.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me? (Detailed Risks)
There are no physical risks associated with participating in this study.
Psychological risks include discomfort discussing sensitive topics, such as inclusion and social justice work within the context of mothering.
While we will never use your legal name in publications and will delete all audio recordings of data after transcription, confidentiality cannot be fully guaranteed. The following are steps we take to mitigate the risk: (1) all data will be stored and secured in a locked space and require a password to access; (2) your pseudonym and NOT your real name will be used in relation to your data for both storage and publication purposes.

What happens to the information collected for the research?
We will make every effort to limit the use and disclosure of your personal information, including research study and medical records, only to people who have a need to review this information. We cannot promise complete confidentiality. Organizations that may inspect and copy your information include the IRB, Human Research Protection Program, and other authorized representatives of Virginia Tech. If identifiers are removed from your private information or samples that are collected during this research, that information or those samples could be used for future research studies or distributed to another investigator for future research studies without your additional informed consent.

The results of this research study may be presented in summary form at conferences, in presentations, academic papers, and as part of a thesis/dissertation but will never use your legal name.

What else do I need to know?
If you agree to take part in this research study, we will reimburse you $25. You will also receive a $5 Amazon gift card for completing eligibility surveys and an additional $20 Amazon gift card for completing both the individual Zoom interview and one open-ended survey question.

Thank you for your initial interest in this study.

- ◯ Yes, I consent to participating in this study that has been previously described. Specifically, I consent to taking the eligibility and demographic survey, being interviewed by the primary investigator, and completing a follow-up survey question related to the experience being studied.
- ◯ No, I do not consent to participating in this study.

Please provide your email address.

What is your age?

- 18-25 years
- 26-34 years
- 35-45 years
- 46-55 years
- 55+ years

I identify my race as:

- Asian, non-Hispanic descent
- white, non-Hispanic descent
- Black, non-Hispanic descent
- Hispanic descent
- multi-racial
- not listed

If your child(ren)'s race is different from yours, how do they identify?

- My child(ren) and I share the same race.
- Asian, non-Hispanic descent
- white, non-Hispanic descent

- ◯ Black, non-Hispanic descent
- ◯ Hispanic descent
- ◯ multi-racial
- ◯ not listed
- ◯ Option 8

I identify my ethnicity as:

- ◯ Asian or Asian American
- ◯ European and European American
- ◯ African or African American
- ◯ Latina/o/x or Hispanic
- ◯ Native American/Alaska Native
- ◯ Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- ◯ Multi-ethnic
- ◯ not listed

If your child(ren)'s ethnicity is different from yours, how do they identify?

- ◯ My child(ren) and I share the same ethnicity.
- ◯ Asian or Asian American
- ◯ European or European American
- ◯ African or African American
- ◯ Latina/o/x or Hispanic

- ◯ Native American /Alaska Native
- ◯ Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- ◯ multi-ethnic
- ◯ not listed

I identify my sexuality as (check all that apply):

- ◯ heterosexual
- ◯ asexual
- ◯ bisexual
- ◯ fluid
- ◯ pansexual
- ◯ queer
- ◯ questioning
- ◯ lesbian
- ◯ additional category/identity not listed

I identify my gender as:

- ◯ cisgender female
- ◯ transgender female
- ◯ gender non-conforming
- ◯ not listed

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- ◯ some high school
- ◯ high school graduate
- ◯ some college
- ◯ associate's degree
- ◯ bachelor's degree
- ◯ master's degree
- ◯ doctoral degree

What is your total annual household income?

- ◯ $0-$29,999
- ◯ $30,000-$69,999
- ◯ $70,000-$99,999
- ◯ $100,000-$139,999
- ◯ $140,000 or higher

What are the ages of your child(ren)?

- ☐ 0-36 months
- ☐ 3-5 years
- ☐ 6-10 years
- ☐ 11-15 years

How long have you lived in the United States?

- ◯ I moved to the U.S. when I was a young adult.
- ◯ I moved to the U.S. when I was an adolescent.
- ◯ I moved to the U.S. when I was in elementary school.

- ◯ I moved to the U.S. before elementary school.
- ◯ I moved a lot, including back and forth from the U.S.
- ◯ I have always lived in the U.S.

What best describes your employment status?

- ◯ full-time
- ◯ part-time
- ◯ self-employed
- ◯ unemployed
- ◯ retired
- ◯ other

How would you describe your political leaning? Please choose all that apply.

- ☐ liberal
- ☐ progressive
- ☐ left of center
- ☐ moderate

What is your comfort level in talking about social justice (i.e. sexism, racism, classism, etc.)?

- ◯ very comfortable
- ◯ somewhat comfortable
- ◯ neutral
- ◯ somewhat uncomfortable
- ◯ very uncomfortable

Men are unable to care for children unless they are given specific instructions about what to do.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Men do not naturally know what to do with children.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Women are not necessarily better parents than men.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Men do not recognize that raising children is difficult and requires skills and training.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Ultimately, it is the mother who is responsible for how her child turns out.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Being a parent brings a person the greatest joy they can possibly experience.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree

- ◯ strongly agree

Parenting is not the most rewarding thing a person can do.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Holding their baby should provide a person with the deepest level of satisfaction.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

A parent should feel complete when they look in the eyes of their infant.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree

- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Finding the best educational opportunities for children is important as early as preschool.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

It is important for children to be involved in classes, lessons and activities that engage and stimulate them.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Parents should begin providing intellectual stimulation for their children prenatally, such as reading to them or playing classical music.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree

- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

It is important to interact regularly with children on their level (e g, getting down on the floor and playing with them.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Child rearing is the most demanding job in the world.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Mothers never get a mental break from their children, even when they are physically apart.

- ◯ strongly disagree

- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Parenting is exhausting.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

It is harder to be a good mother than to be a corporate executive.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Being a parent means never having time for oneself.

- strongly disagree
- somewhat disagree
- disagree
- somewhat agree
- agree
- strongly agree

To be an effective mother, a woman must possess wide ranging skills.

- strongly disagree
- somewhat disagree
- disagree
- somewhat agree
- agree
- strongly agree

Children's needs should come before their parents.

- strongly disagree
- somewhat disagree
- disagree
- somewhat agree
- agree
- strongly agree

Children should be the center of attention.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

The child's schedule should take priority over the needs of the parents.

- ◯ strongly disagree
- ◯ somewhat disagree
- ◯ disagree
- ◯ somewhat agree
- ◯ agree
- ◯ strongly agree

Appendix D: Question Pro Demographics/Descriptive Statistics

Q1		
What is your age?		
18-25 years	0	0.00%
26-34 years	2	11.11%
35-45 years	15	83.33%
46-55 years	1	5.56%
55+ years	0	0.00%
Total	18	
Mean	2.94	
Standard Dev.	0.42	
Variance	0.17	
Q2		
I identify my race as:		
Asian, non-Hispanic descent	0	0.00%
white, non-Hispanic descent	18	100.00%
Black, non-Hispanic descent	0	0.00%
Hispanic descent	0	0.00%
multi-racial	0	0.00%
not listed	0	0.00%
Total	18	
Mean	2.00	
Standard Dev.	0.00	
Variance	0.00	
Q3		
If your child(ren)'s race is different from yours, how do they identify?		
My child(ren) and I share the same race.	16	94.12%
Asian, non-Hispanic descent	0	0.00%
white, non-Hispanic descent	0	0.00%
Black, non-Hispanic descent	0	0.00%
Hispanic descent	0	0.00%
multi-racial	0	0.00%
not listed	1	5.88%
Option 8	0	0.00%
Total	17	
Mean	1.35	
Standard Dev.	1.46	
Variance	2.12	
Q4		
I identify my ethnicity as:		
Asian or Asian American	0	0.00%

European and European American	16	88.89%
African or African American	0	0.00%
Latina/o/x or Hispanic	0	0.00%
Native American/Alaska Native	0	0.00%
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0	0.00%
Multi-ethnic	0	0.00%
not listed	2	11.11%
Total	18	
Mean	2.67	
Standard Dev.	1.94	
Variance	3.76	
Q5		
If your child(ren)'s ethnicity is different from yours, how do they identify?		
My child(ren) and I share the same ethnicity.	16	94.12%
Asian or Asian American	0	0.00%
European or European American	0	0.00%
African or African American	0	0.00%
Latina/o/x or Hispanic	0	0.00%
Native American /Alaska Native	0	0.00%
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0	0.00%
multi-ethnic	0	0.00%
not listed	1	5.88%
Total	17	
Mean	1.47	
Standard Dev.	1.94	
Variance	3.76	
Q6		
I identify my sexuality as (check all that apply):		
heterosexual	18	100.00%
asexual	0	0.00%
bisexual	0	0.00%
fluid	0	0.00%
pansexual	0	0.00%
queer	0	0.00%
questioning	0	0.00%
lesbian	0	0.00%
additional category/identity not listed	0	0.00%
Total	18	
Mean	1.00	
Standard Dev.	0.00	
Variance	0.00	

Q7		
I identify my gender as:		
cisgender female	18	100.00%
transgender female	0	0.00%
gender non-conforming	0	0.00%
not listed	0	0.00%
Total	18	
Mean	1.00	
Standard Dev.	0.00	
Variance	0.00	
Q8		
What is the highest level of education you have completed?		
some high school	0	0.00%
high school graduate	0	0.00%
some college	0	0.00%
associate's degree	1	5.56%
bachelor's degree	2	11.11%
master's degree	6	33.33%
doctoral degree	9	50.00%
Total	18	
Mean	6.28	
Standard Dev.	0.89	
Variance	0.80	
Q9		
What is your total annual household income?		
$0-$29,999	0	0.00%
$30,000-$69,999	0	0.00%
$70,000-$99,999	0	0.00%
$100,000-$139,999	0	0.00%
$140,000 or higher	18	100.00%
Total	18	
Mean	5.00	
Standard Dev.	0.00	
Variance	0.00	
Q10		
What are the ages of your child(ren)?		
0-36 months	6	21.43%
3-5 years	10	35.71%
6-10 years	10	35.71%
11-15 years	1	3.57%
16-18 years	1	3.57%
Total	28	

Mean	2.32	
Standard Dev.	0.98	
Variance	0.97	
Q11		
How long have you lived in the United States?		
I moved to the U.S. when I was a young adult.	1	5.56%
I moved to the U.S. when I was an adolescent.	0	0.00%
I moved to the U.S. when I was in elementary school.	0	0.00%
I moved to the U.S. before elementary school.	0	0.00%
I moved a lot, including back and forth from the U.S.	0	0.00%
I have always lived in the U.S.	17	94.44%
Total	18	
Mean	5.72	
Standard Dev.	1.18	
Variance	1.39	
Q12		
What best describes your employment status?		
full-time	13	72.22%
part-time	0	0.00%
self-employed	3	16.67%
unemployed	1	5.56%
retired	0	0.00%
other	1	5.56%
Total	18	
Mean	1.78	
Standard Dev.	1.44	
Variance	2.07	
Q13		
How would you describe your political leaning? Please choose all that apply.		
liberal	15	62.50%
progressive	7	29.17%
left of center	1	4.17%
moderate	1	4.17%
right of center	0	0.00%
libertarian	0	0.00%
conservative	0	0.00%

alt-right	0	0.00%
independent	0	0.00%
apolitical or not political	0	0.00%
other or not listed	0	0.00%
Total	24	
Mean	1.50	
Standard Dev.	0.78	
Variance	0.61	
Q14		
What is your comfort level in talking about social justice (i.e. sexism, racism, classism, etc.)?		
very comfortable	13	72.22%
somewhat comfortable	5	27.78%
neutral	0	0.00%
somewhat uncomfortable	0	0.00%
very uncomfortable	0	0.00%
Total	18	
Mean	1.28	
Standard Dev.	0.46	
Variance	0.21	

Appendix E: Individual Interview Protocol

Tentative Interview Protocol

First, I want to thank you for agreeing to meet with me today and share your experience and knowledge. The purpose of this interview is to allow space for you to share what it feels like to mother in the 21st century, how and by whom you feel you have been socialized to mother, and what informs your maternal identity and practices, specifically in our current political environment. As mothers, I feel like we are always trying our best to provide what we feel is right for our children, and we are also faced with some really challenging decisions. I'm really interested in hearing and understanding the inner-dialogue of mothers who are wanting to engage in anti-racism practices while navigating the societal beliefs of what it means to be a good mom. Our conversation will be recorded today, so I can go back and listen to help me better understand your experience. Just a reminder that all information shared is confidential. Do you have any questions? Okay, let's get started.

Socialization Questions

Rapport: Remind me how old your children are. Is there anything about your children that you feel is important for me to know or anything you want to share? I have a 3rd grader myself. (some informal conversation about our kids)

Q1. What are your biggest goals as a mother? As a mom, I understand how big this question is, so please take your time. I put it first, because it feels foundational to understanding how mothers feel about their role as Mom.

Prompts: (a) Where do you think these goals stem from? (b) How does your circle of mom friends share these same goals? (c) Why do you think this is?

Q2. Mothering is practiced differently all over the work, even throughout the U.S. What are some mothering expectations present in your social circle? Well, first, how would you describe your social circle?

Prompts: (a) How would you and your peers decide is someone is a good mom? (b) Where or from whom did you learn what it means to be a good mom? (c) Why do you think mothering ideals have been shaped this way? (d) Who do these mothering expectations serve? (e) Can you share a story where these expectations were really clear or felt extra important? (f) How are these expectations communicated to you? (g) Based on these social expectations, what do you believe you are supposed to do to provide for and nurture your child? (h) How do you accomplish this? (i) How would your circle of mom friends know that you have succeeded or failed at meeting these mothering expectations?

Q3. When you perform your mothering duties, what is your biggest fear? This does not have to an event or conversation that realistically happened.

Prompt: (a) If your peers were to judge your mothering ability, what is the worst thing they could say? (b) Why is this the worst thing they could say? (c) What about the best thing they could say? (d) Why would this compliment feel so good?

Incorporating Anti-Racism and Perceived Barriers

Thank you for sharing your experience about what it means to be a good mom. I am also curious to learn more about how you think mothers can incorporate social justice-oriented practices into their mothering. Is there anything else you want to add to the previous questions before we move forward with our interview? Also, I want to acknowledge that talking about social justice and anti-racism can feel intimidating, and at times it feels like there is a competition about who is the most woke or PC. I assure you that this is not the purpose of this study and that I am currently navigating my own inner-dialogue about some of the same questions I am about to ask you. It is a unique process for each mother, and your experience is valid. So, no judgement from me!

Q4. How would you define social justice?

Prompts: (a) What does social justice work look like?

Q5. How do you think mothers can incorporate inclusion and social justice-oriented work into their parenting?

Prompts: (a) How do mothers accomplish this? (b) I would love to hear your thoughts about this example: A friend of my cousin has enough money to send her kids to a highly-ranked private school but is choosing to send her two daughters to the public school for which she is zoned. The school is ranked a 4/10, but she said she wants her children to be in a more diverse setting. What are your initial thoughts about her choice? How do you think your social circle would feel about this choice? How does it align or not with how you and your friends describe a good mom? (c) Why do you think this is? (d)Why do you think more mothers do not incorporate social justice practices into their mothering?

Q6. What about racial consciousness, such as anti-racism (i.e. understanding white privilege, challenging colorblind racism, being an ally, engaging in activism)? How do you think mothers incorporate anti-racism into mothering?

Prompts: (a) What is an example of anti-racism? What makes this anti-racist? That's a great example! I want to share another one with you too. A mother I know where I used to live filled her son's library with books about people of color. She also took him to BLM protests and explained to him why she believes it is important to be an ally. What are your thoughts about this? (b) How would this mother be viewed by your social circle? (c) Why do you think this is? (d) How would you say this mother is or is not being a good mom? (e) Why do you think more mothers do not engage in anti-racism practices in their mothering?

Q7. We have talked a lot about what it means to be a good mother and social expectations within your peer group. How do anti-racism practices within mothering align with or go against what it means to be a good mom?

Prompt: (a) Tell me a story about how mothering expectations show up when you are thinking about how you want to raise your children and what values you want them to have, specifically when it comes to teaching your children about race.

I greatly appreciate your honesty and willingness to answer the above questions. We just have a few more questions to go. Is there anything you want to add before we move on? Great! These last two questions focus on helping researchers understand how we can better support white

mothers who want to engage in social justice work but aren't sure who to turn to for help and validation.

Q8. Research shows that white mothers struggle with talking to their children about race and racism. Why do you think this is?

Prompts: (a) How do you navigate teaching your children about their own race? (b) If you could have more information to support you, how would you want to receive that information and support?

Q9. When you incorporate anti-racism (i.e. understanding white privilege, challenging colorblind racism, being an ally, engaging in activism) into raising your children, how might you do it?

Prompt: (a) How does it feel to take these steps? (b) What type of support do you think mothers want/need as they try to integrate anti-racism into mothering? (c) How do you think mothers could support each other?

Thank you again for participating. I greatly appreciate the time and energy you put into the conversation today. Before we end, I wanted to remind you of our next steps. Please take the time to complete the exit interview. I am sending you the link now. The exit interview is for you to share any lingering thoughts, questions, or concerns you have about our conversation. I will also be checking in with you within 2-3 weeks, so that you have an opportunity to review notes I have made about our conversation. Do you have any questions before we end?

Exit Interview Journaling Prompts

Q10. What are your lingering thoughts about our conversation?

Prompts: (a) How do you feel about our conversation today? (b) If we had more time, what other questions do you think would have been important to as

Appendix F: Question Map

How might, if at all, race, gender, and class socialization inform affluent white mothers' adoption of intensive mothering?	**Q1.** What are your biggest goals as a mother? Prompts: (a) Where do you think these goals stem from? (b) How does your circle of mom friends share these same goals? (c) Why do you think this is? **Q2.** Mothering is practiced differently all over the work, even throughout the U.S. What are some mothering expectations present in your social circle? Well, first, how would you describe your social circle? Prompts: (a) How would you and your peers decide is someone is a good mom? (b) Where or from whom did you learn what it means to be a good mom? (c) Why do you think mothering ideals have been shaped this way? (d) Who do these mothering expectations serve? (e) Can you share a story where these expectations were really clear or felt extra important? (f) How are these expectations communicated to you? (g) Based on these social expectations, what do you believe you are supposed to do to provide for and nurture your child? (h) How do you accomplish this? (i) How would your circle of mom friends know that you have succeeded or failed at meeting these mothering expectations? **Q3.** When you perform your mothering duties, what is your biggest fear? Prompt: (a) If your peers were to judge your mothering ability, what is the worst thing they could say? (b) Why is this the worst thing they could say? (c) What about the best thing they could say? (d) Why would this compliment feel so good?
How do affluent white mothers challenge or adopt the dominant discourse of intensive mothering, if at all, to incorporate anti-racism behaviors into their maternal identity and mothering practices?	**Q5.** How do you think mothers can incorporate inclusion and social justice-oriented work into their parenting? Prompts: (a) How do mothers accomplish this? (b) I would love to hear your thoughts about this example: A friend of my cousin has enough money to send her kids to a highly-ranked private school but is choosing to send her two daughters to the public school for which she is zoned. The school is ranked a 4/10, but she said she wants her children to be in a more diverse setting. What are your initial thoughts about her choice? How do you think your social circle would feel about this choice? How does it align or not with how you and your friends describe a good mom? (c) Why do you think this is? (d)Why do you think more mothers do not incorporate social justice practices into their mothering? **Q6.** What about racial consciousness, such as anti-racism (i.e. understanding white privilege, challenging colorblind racism, being an ally, engaging in activism)? How do you think mothers incorporate anti-racism into mothering?

	Prompts: (a) What is an example of anti-racism? What makes this anti-racist? That's a great example! I want to share another one with you too. A mother I know where I used to live filled her son's library with books about people of color. She also took him to BLM protests and explained to him why she believes it is important to be an ally. What are your thoughts about this? (b) How would this mother be viewed by your social circle? (c) Why do you think this is? (d) How would you say this mother is or is not being a good mom? (e) Why do you think more mothers do not engage in anti-racism practices in their mothering? **Q7.** We have talked a lot about what it means to be a good mother and social expectations within your peer group. How do anti-racism practices within mothering align with or go against what it means to be a good mom? Prompt: (a) Tell me a story about how mothering expectations show up when you are thinking about how you want to raise your children and what values you want them to have, specifically when it comes to teaching your children about race.
What are the perceived barriers, if any, to affluent white mothers' integration of anti-racism practices within the current intensive motherhood paradigm?	**Q8.** Research shows that white mothers struggle with talking to their children about race and racism. Why do you think this is? Prompts: (a) How do you navigate teaching your children about their own race? **Q9.** When you incorporate anti-racism (i.e. understanding white privilege, challenging colorblind racism, being an ally, engaging in activism) into raising your children, how might you do it? Prompt: (a) How does it feel to take these steps? (b) What type of support do you think mothers want/need as they try to integrate anti-racism into mothering? (c) How do you think mothers could support each other?
Rapport Building	**Q4.** How would you define inclusion and social justice? Prompts: (a) What does inclusion and social justice work look like?
Building Social Praxis	**Q 9**
Gathering participant ideas about direction of project	**Q10.** What are your lingering thoughts about our conversation? Prompts: (a) How do you feel about our conversation today? (b) If we had more time, what other questions do you think would have been important to ask?

Appendix G: Member Checking Email and Protocol

Member Checking Email:

Dear Participant's Name,

I hope this email finds you well. I am writing to schedule our member checking meeting. I am providing more details below. Please let me know a few days and times that work best for your schedule to meet via Zoom for 15-20 minutes. I know this is a busy time of year for many folks, so please feel free to add days/times you are available in the new year.

Member checking is often used in qualitative research methods to bring information back to participants to confirm or modify. Aligned with social constructivist and feminist foundations of knowledge creation, member checking allows for a partially collaborative form of knowledge production and communication, honoring the participant's expertise in their own life experiences.

Please feel free to reach out to me if you have questions about the process of member-checking.

I look forward to hearing your thoughts about how this study is shaping up.

Sincerely,
Candy

Member Checking Protocol

Hi, Participant Name. Thank you so much for taking the time to talk with me. As I said in the email, this is a time for you to share your thoughts on how the study is shaping us thus far. Just as during our interview, I invite you to share your authentic responses. This meeting will last about 15-20 minutes and will not be recorded. Do you have any questions?

To get started, I want to share with you some of the major themes that have been surfacing in the data and invite you to respond. Please let me know if these themes align with your experience or if you have any questions or information to add. After we discuss major themes, I would like to ask one or two clarifying questions to help with gaps still existing in the data.

Themes:
These data suggest that a professional identity informs one's awareness of their race identity. Does this resonate with your experience?

Another theme that is surfacing is a connection between an ideal way to engage in anti-racism and the reality of the day-to-day application. What are your thoughts about this?

Lastly, a desire to learn from others was often voiced. How do you think white mothers can best learn from others?

Questions:
Many participants communicated a fear about messing anti-racism up. From where do you think this fear originates?

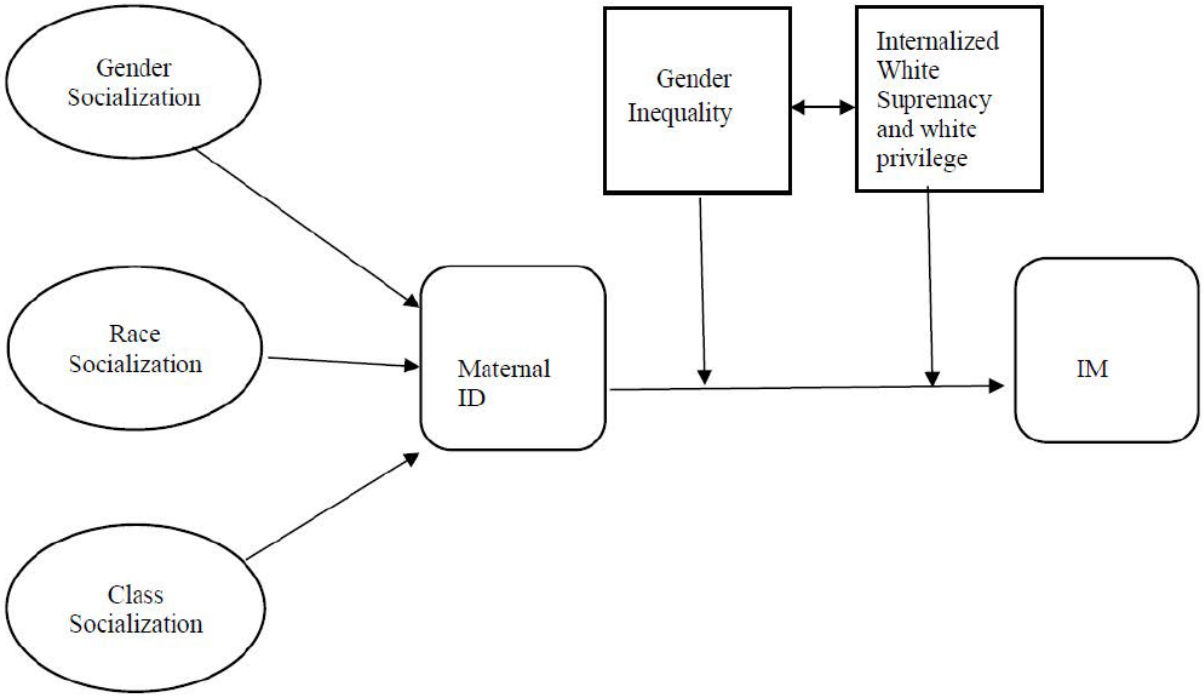
What do you feel is the strongest barrier/motivator for anti-racism mothering in white families? Please explain.

Thank you again for taking the time to share your experience and thoughts. I will be sending out an email near the end of April, updating everyone on the status of the study. At that point, please let me know if you want to learn more about the results. I'm also happy to answer any questions that might come up for you before then.

Appendix H: Diagram Iterations

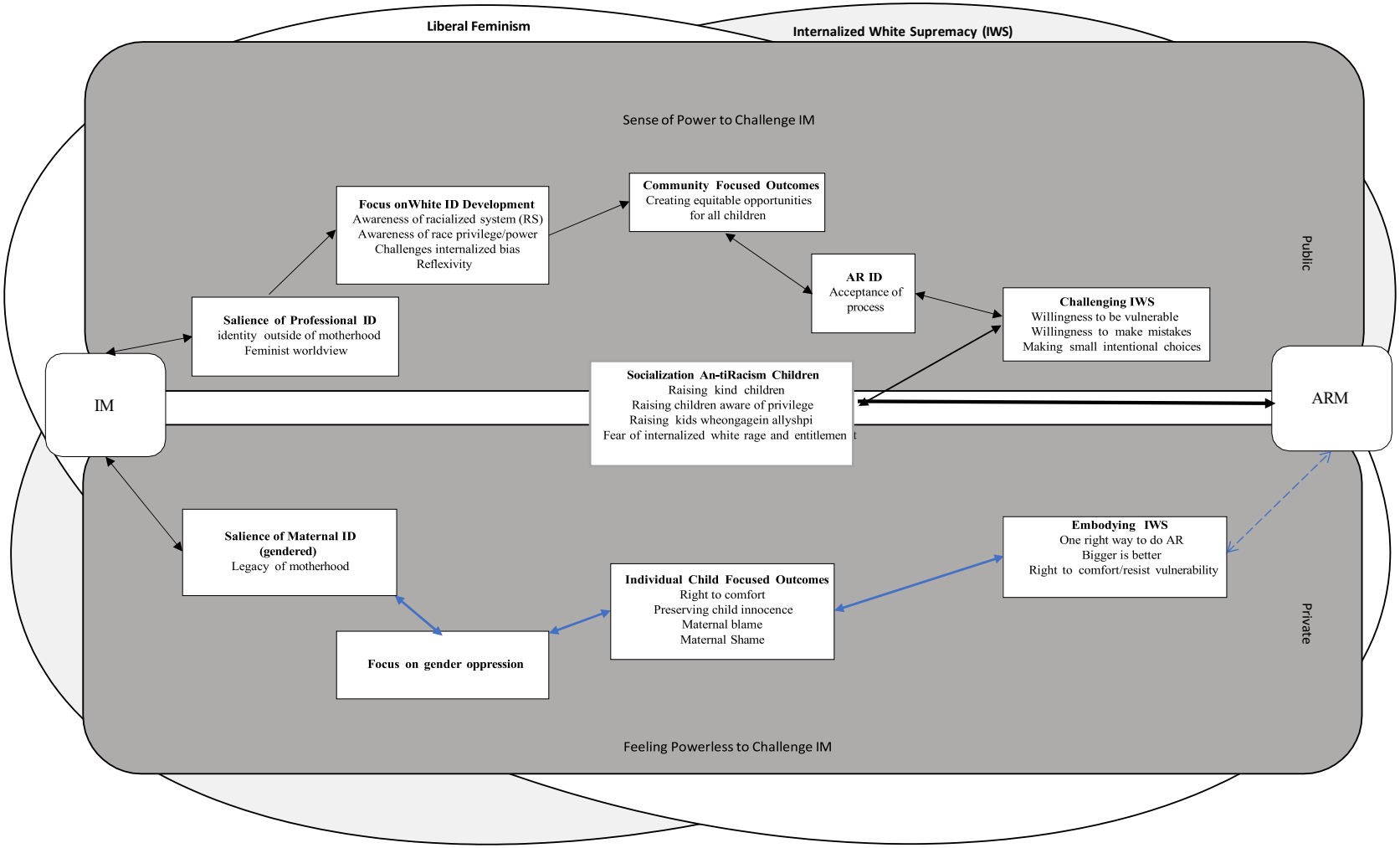
RQ1: Process Model 1

How might, if at all, race, gender, and class socialization inform affluent white mother's adoption of IM?



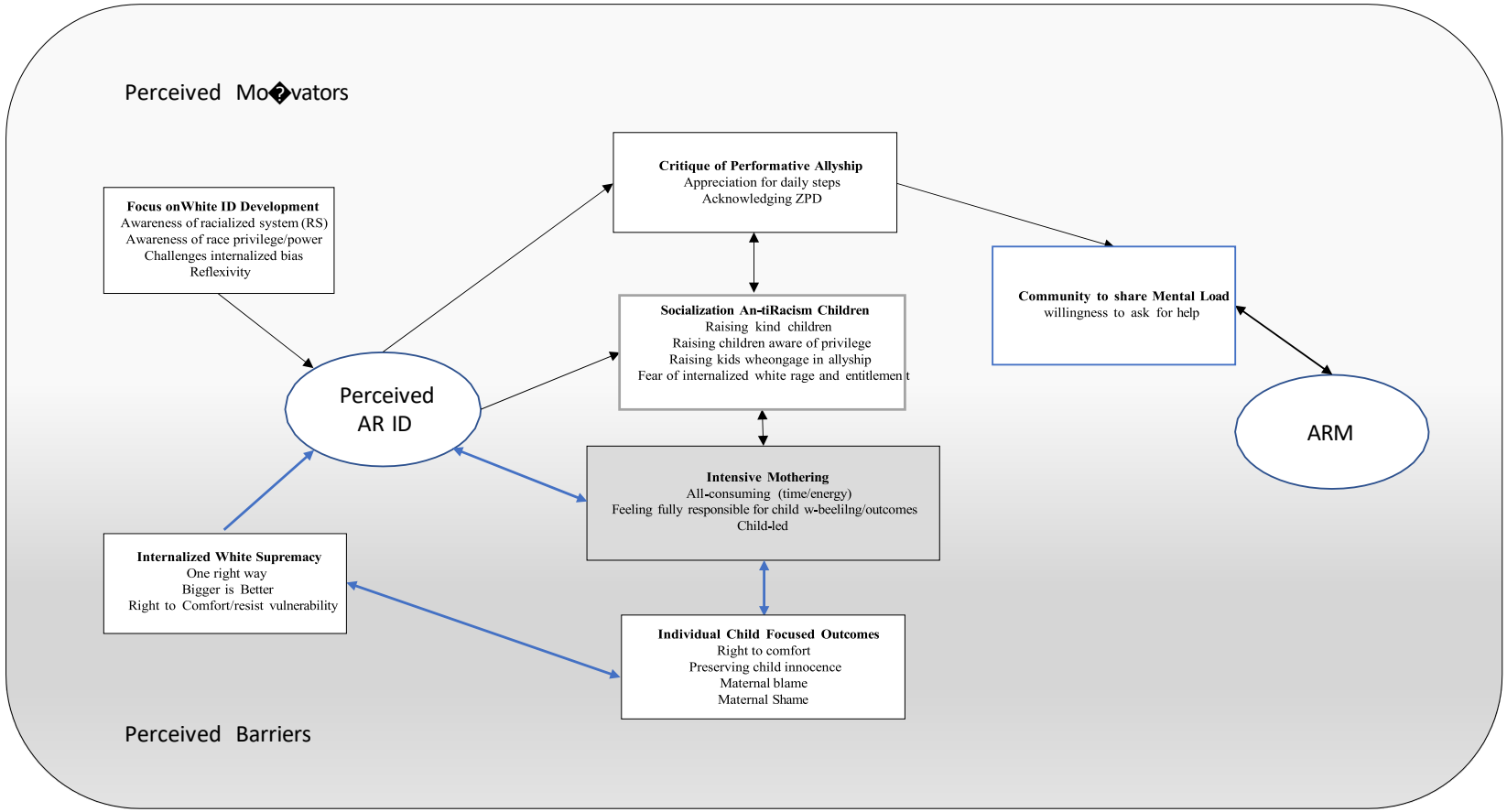
RQ2: Process Model 2

What is the process of affluent white mothers challenging or adopting IM to incorporate anti-racism behaviors into their maternal identity and mothering practices?

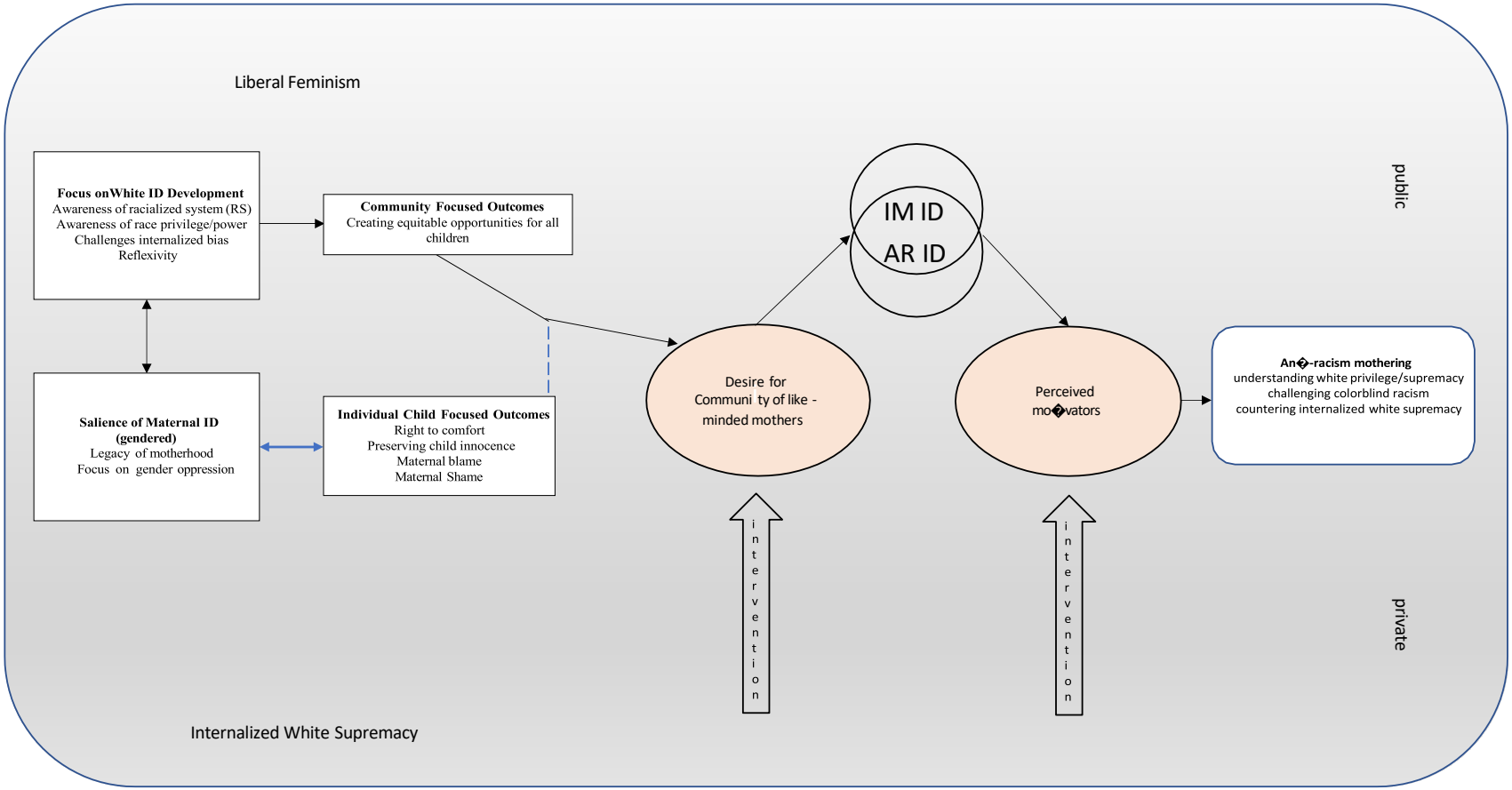


RQ3: Process Model 3

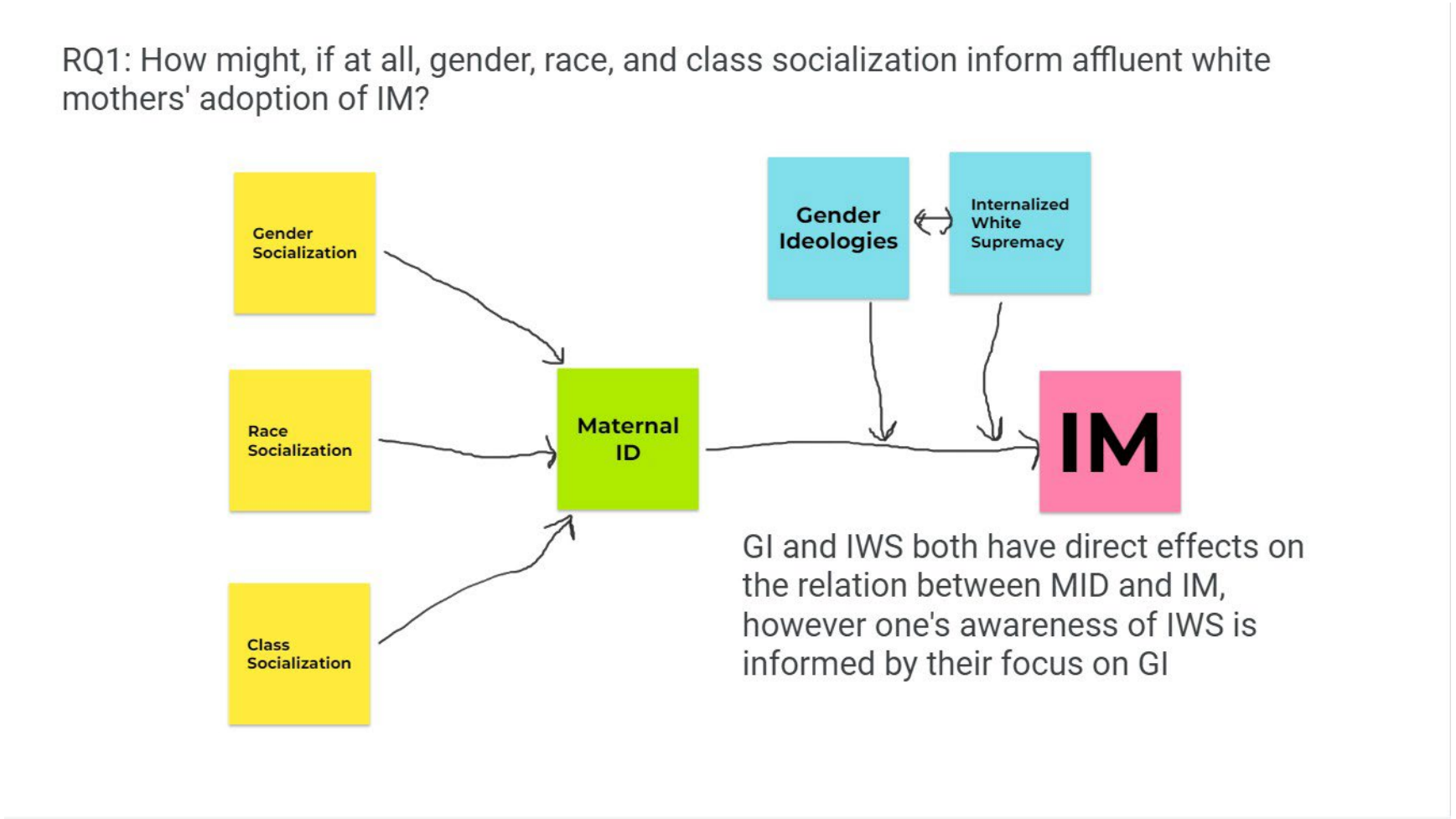
What are the perceived barriers or motivators, if any, to affluent white mothers' integration of anti-racism practices within the current IM paradigm?

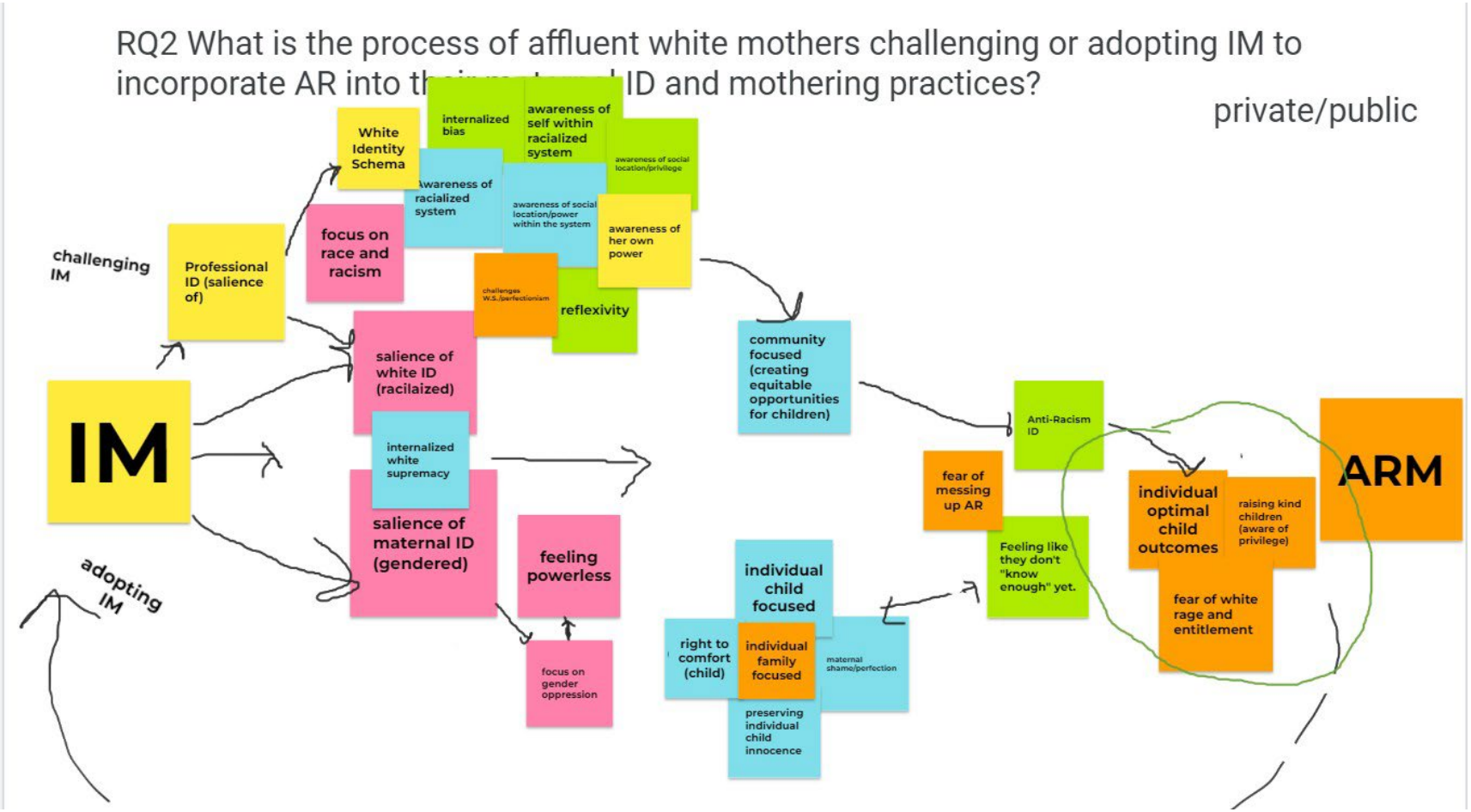


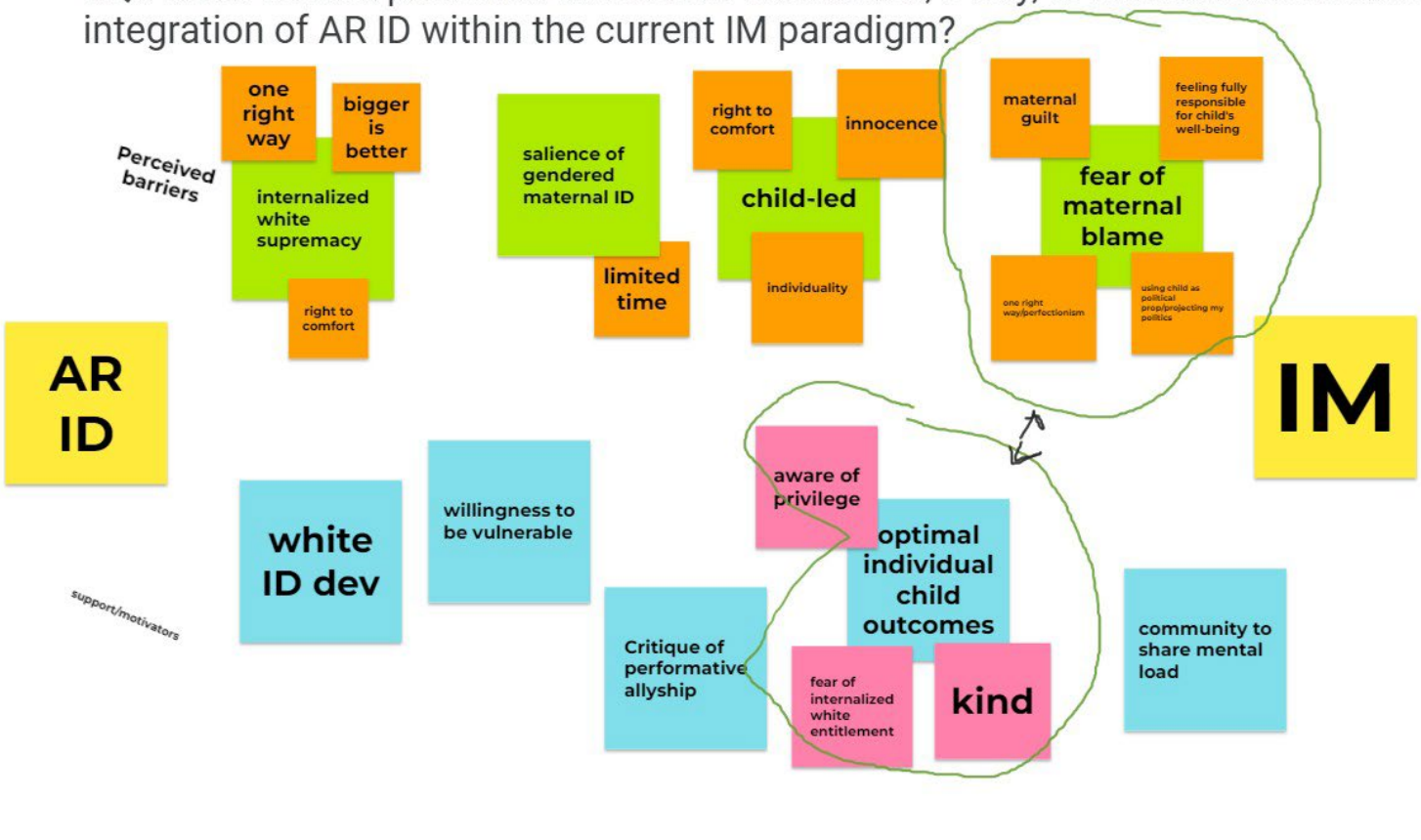
Process Model of Identity Integration

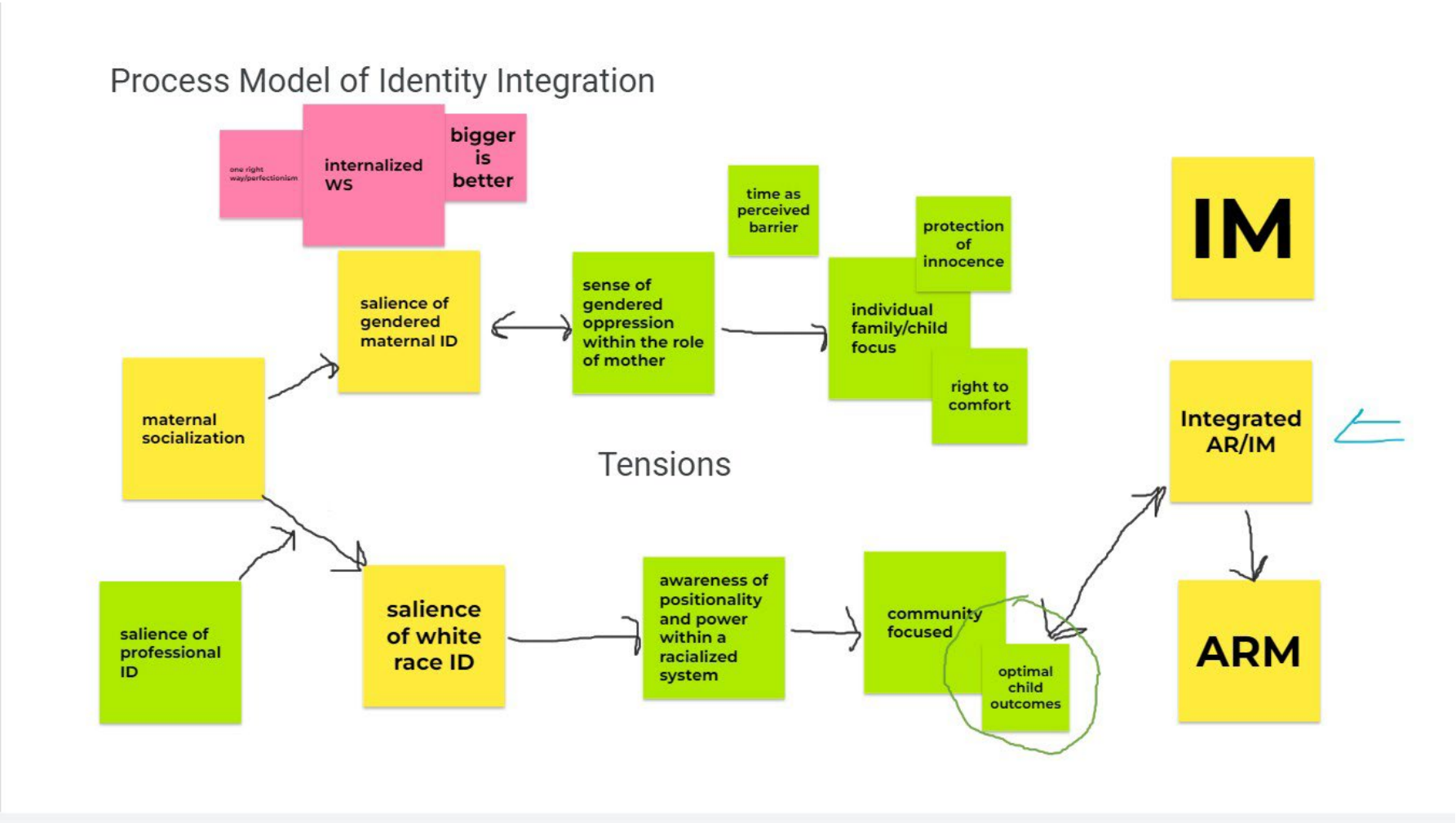


Appendix I: Collaborating Jamboard Sessions




RQ2 What is the process of affluent white mothers challenging or adopting IM to incorporate AR into th ID and mothering practices?
private/public
challenging IM
adopting IM
IM
Professional ID (salience of)
White Identity Schema
focus on race and racism
internalized bias
awareness of racialized system
awareness of self within racialized system
awareness of social location/privilege
awareness of social location/power within the system
awareness of her own power
challenges W.S./perfectionism
reflexivity
salience of white ID (racilaized)
internalized white supremacy
salience of maternal ID (gendered)
feeling powerless
focus on gender oppression
community focused (creating equitable opportunities for children)
Anti-Racism ID
fear of messing up AR
Feeling like they don't "know enough" yet.
individual child focused
right to comfort (child)
individual family focused
maternal shame/perfection
preserving individual child innocence
individual optimal child outcomes
raising kind children (aware of privilege)
fear of white rage and entitlement
ARM


RQ3 What are the percieved barriers or motivators, if any, to white affluent mothers' integration of AR ID within the current IM paradigm?
Perceived barriers
one right way
bigger is better
internalized white supremacy
right to comfort
salience of gendered maternal ID
limited time
right to comfort
innocence
child-led
individuality
maternal guilt
feeling fully responsible for child's well-being
fear of maternal blame
one right way/perfectionism
using child as political prop/projecting my politics
AR ID
IM
white ID dev
willingness to be vulnerable
aware of privilege
optimal individual child outcomes
Critique of performative allyship
fear of internalized white entitlement
kind
community to share mental load
support/motivators


Process Model of Identity Integration
one right way/perfectionism
internalized WS
bigger is better
salience of gendered maternal ID
sense of gendered oppression within the role of mother
time as perceived barrier
protection of innocence
individual family/child focus
right to comfort
IM
maternal socialization
Tensions
Integrated AR/IM
salience of professional ID
salience of white race ID
awareness of positionality and power within a racialized system
community focused
optimal child outcomes
ARM

Final Process Model