Cultural socialization in transracial, transnational adoptive families: A seven-year follow-up

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Dedication

To my parents.

And to Matt, for making this possible.

Abstract

Cultural socialization, or education regarding ethnicity and race, was examined in transracial, transnational adoptive families. This longitudinal, multi-informant study represented a seven-year follow-up with adopted Korean American adolescents (ages 13-20) and their adoptive parents (N = 116). The study examined changes in parental cultural socialization over time, the longitudinal relationship of parental cultural socialization on peer cultural socialization, and the independent and collective relationships of parental and peer cultural socialization practices on adolescent ethnic identity and discrimination. Parents reported Time 1 and Time 2 parental cultural socialization; adoptees reported Time 2 parental cultural socialization, Time 2 peer cultural socialization, Time 2 ethnic identity, and Time 2 discrimination. Cultural socialization was examined via ethnic and racial socialization. Results indicated parent-reports of parental ethnic socialization decreased and racial socialization increased between childhood and adolescence. Parents also reported higher levels of parental ethnic and racial socialization than did adolescents at Time 2. Contrary to hypothesis, parental ethnic socialization in childhood was negatively associated with adolescent ethnic identity, but parental ethnic socialization in adolescence was positively associated with adolescent ethnic identity. With regards to discrimination, parental ethnic socialization in childhood and adolescence were both positively associated with perceived discrimination. Last, peer racial socialization in adolescence mediated the association between parental racial socialization in childhood and ethnic identity, as well as the association between parental racial socialization and perceived discrimination. The study highlights the racial and ethnic experiences of

transracial, transnational adopted individuals, and illustrates the importance of longitudinal and multi-informant methodology.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Cultural socialization, or education regarding ethnicity and race, begins early in childhood and continues throughout the lifespan (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Hughes et al., 2006). During adolescence and young adulthood, these socialization practices and messages contribute to ethnic identity development and prepare ethnic/racial minority youth for prejudice and discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006; Phinney, 1991, 1992). Cultural socialization is often viewed as a parent-driven process but, consistent with the broader socialization literature (Harris, 1995), recent research suggests it becomes more peer-driven during adolescence (Hu, Kim, Lee & Lee, 2012). However, research on cultural socialization efforts by parents *and* peers is limited. For international adoptive families, the cultural socialization process is even more complicated due to the transracial, transnational nature of most of these relationships (Lee, 2003; Massati, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004). This present study examines cultural socialization experiences in transracial, transnational adoptive (TTA) families. Specifically, the study examines changes in parental cultural socialization practices over time, the longitudinal relationship of parental cultural socialization on peer cultural socialization, and the independent and collective relationships of parental and peer cultural socialization practices on ethnic identity commitment and perceived discrimination.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Transracial, Transnational Adoption (TTA)

International adoption has grown dramatically with a worldwide estimate of 970,000 children adopted internationally from 1948-2010 (Selman, 2012). Within international adoption, 84% were transracial adoptions, and over 20% of these internationally adopted children were from South Korea (Selman, 2012). In the United States, over 125,000 South Korean children have been adopted by Americans, who are predominantly White (Raleigh, 2013).

Research has followed the development of adopted children, including children adopted transnationally. Meta analytic studies have found that adopted children score higher on IQ tests and have better school performance compared to peers in institutionalized care (van IJzendoorn, Juffer, & Poelhuis, 2005). When compared to non-adopted peers, adopted children did not differ in IQ, but their school performance and language abilities lagged behind, and a higher proportion of adopted children developed learning challenges (van IJzendoorn et al., 2005). Meta analytic studies have shown that transnationally adopted adolescents exhibit more externalizing behavior problems than non-adopted adolescents (Bimmel et al., 2003). Additionally, one study found that transnationally adopted adoptees were well-adjusted but had a higher probability of being referred to mental health services when compared to non-adopted children (Juffer & van IJzendoorn, 2005).

Children who were adopted transnationally and are of difference race/ethnicity from their parents experience another layer of complexity. Among transracially, transnationally adopted (TTA) youth, research on outcomes appears to be mixed. Meta

analytic studies have found no differences in self-esteem between TTA youth and non-adopted comparisons (Juffer & van IJzendoorn, 2007). However, in a large epidemiological study using data from the Swedish national registry, TTA adolescents and young adults had increased risk of suicide attempts, suicides, psychiatric admissions, and substance use related issues compared to their non-adopted counterparts, but had similar rates of maladjustment problems as Asian and Latin American immigrants in Sweden (von Borczyskowski, Hjern, Lindblad, & Vinnerljung, 2006; Hjern, Lindblad & Vinnerljung, 2002). The researchers concluded that challenges around prejudice and discrimination most likely explain the comparable levels of adjustment difficulties of TTA individuals (Hjern et al., 2002).

The racial and ethnic experiences of TTA youth are not as well understood (Lee, 2003). Transracial and transnational adoption exposes parents and adopted children to distinctive familial challenges that differ from the developmental tasks of non-adoptive, same-race/intraracial family life (Brodzinsky, 1987; Samuels, 2009). According to the "transracial adoption paradox" (Lee, 2003), TTA children are often treated as members of the majority cultures by family members (and sometimes themselves) but are treated as racial/ethnic minorities in society. This conflicting set of experiences can result in TTA individuals who demonstrate discomfort with their appearances and shy away from sharing these challenges with their White adoptive parents (Feigelman, 2000). TTA children may also experience racial teasing or discrimination, both from others outside their racial/ethnic group and from those who share their racial/ethnic background (Meier, 1999; Lee, 2003). These discriminatory experiences are associated with greater behavioral problems and psychological distress (Cederblad, Höök, Irhammar, & Mercke,

1999). Negotiation and resolution of these TTA-related developmental tasks are especially important in developing a stable and positive self-identity (Brodzinsky, 1987; Kirk, 1964). Learning about and making meaning out of one's ethnic and racial identity, as well as experiencing discrimination, is a dynamic process – hereafter referred to as cultural socialization – that involves parents, adolescents, and peers.

TTA parents may conceptualize cultural socialization differently from TTA youth and vary in their willingness to engage in cultural socialization practices (Barn, 2013; Lee, Grotevant, et al., 2006; Rojewski, 2005; Scroggs & Haeitfield, 2011). For instance, data collected from the adolescent sample in 2007[1] indicated that TTA parents and adolescents often have different perceptions of cultural socialization, with parents reporting more parental cultural socialization practices compared to adolescents (Hu, Anderson, & Lee, in press). Previous research has found that parents emphasize episodic, explicit forms of socialization, whereas adolescents seek same-race friendships and more everyday conversations about race and ethnicity (Kim, Reichwald, & Lee, 2012; Song & Lee, 2009). TTA parents also engaged in varying levels of cultural socialization with their children (Hu et al., in press; Rojewski, 2005; Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001). Moreover, Korean adoptees have indicated that adoptive parents at times are not successful in helping TTA individuals understand racial politics and dynamics in the United States (McGinnis et al., 2009). For example, a qualitative study found that Korean adult adoptees avoided discussing racially-charged experiences with their White adoptive

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[1] The KAD dataset includes TTA children between the ages of 7 and 20. The current study examined children who were between the ages of 7-12 in 2007. Other studies have examined adolescents between the ages of 13-20 in 2007 (Hu et al., in press; Hu et al., 2012; Lee et al., 2015). Note that these studies used data from the same dataset, but different age cohorts.

parents due to either parent unresponsiveness or self-protection (Docan-Morgan, 2010). The complexity of their racial/ethnic experiences, coupled with the potentially differing views on cultural socialization, precipitate the need to include both parent and TTA adolescent perspectives in research.

Cultural Socialization

Cultural socialization broadly refers to the process by which parents and others teach children to live as members of specific ethnic and racial groups and is construed as a multidimensional construct consisting of ethnic socialization and racial socialization (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; Marshall, 1995; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Although the terms *racial socialization* and *ethnic socialization* are sometimes used interchangeably to refer to the transmission from adults to children of information regarding race and ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2006), most researchers view these two constructs as separate and distinct (Rivas-Drake, 2011; Banerjee, Harrell, Johnson, 2011). Ethnic socialization refers to the process of learning the values, knowledge, beliefs, and pride about one's ethnic heritage through activities, materials, customs, and practices (Hughes et al., 2006). Racial socialization refers to the process of preparing for bias, by which children become more aware and prepared to face racism and discrimination in society through discussions, learning, and exposure to racial diversity (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Racial socialization also includes promotion of mistrust, which refers to the practices that teach children "the need for wariness and distrust in interracial interactions" (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 757; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Research on racial socialization has been primarily focused on ethnic and racial minorities.

Corresponding with the distinction between ethnic and racial socialization, the purpose of cultural socialization is two-fold (Harrison et al., 1990). First, by learning about the histories and customs of their ethnic and racial cultures (i.e., ethnic socialization), youth of color begin to understand their racial and ethnic heritages and experiences and develop their ethnic identities (Hughes et al., 2006; Johnson et al., 2007). Second, as youth of color learn about racial and ethnic discrimination through discussion and experiences (i.e., racial socialization), they are more prepared to identify discrimination and prejudice in order to navigate an increasingly diverse society (Hughes et al., 2006). These developmental tasks are accomplished through observation and interaction with their parents, family, and peers in childhood and adolescence.

Although most attention is placed on the role of parents in cultural socialization, peers serve as important socialization agents (Syed, 2012; Hu et al., 2012). A major function of peers in adolescence is to support the individuation process from parents and the adolescents' identity development; this is one reason for the increasing relevance of belonging to a peer group and being accepted by peers (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). A host of psychological variables are associated with peer relationships – positive peer relationships are associated with increased self-esteem (Buhrmester & Yin, 1997; Cauce, 1986; Coates, 1985; Keefe & Berndt, 1996), while negative peer relationships are associated with depressive symptoms (La Greca, & Harrison, 2005) and psychosocial disturbance (Berndt & Savin-Williams, 1993; Desjardins & Leadbeater, 2011; Licitra-Klecker & Waas, 1993; Vaughan, Foshee, & Ennett, 2010). Adolescents who express greater satisfaction with their peers reported feeling better about themselves (Schwarz et al., 2012), whereas alienation from peers was associated with lower life satisfaction

(Nickerson & Nagle, 2004). The overall pattern of findings suggests that peers significantly contribute to adolescents' development. Nevertheless, limited research has examined the role of peers in cultural socialization. In a pilot study on adopted Korean American adolescents, cultural socialization with peers, compared to cultural socialization with parents, was uniquely associated with ethnic identity development and discrimination (Hu et al., 2012).

Channeling Hypothesis

The channeling hypothesis (Himmelfrab, 1979) captures the dynamic process between parent and peer cultural socialization in development. Channeling has been primarily studied with religious socialization. Specifically, parents shape their children's religious environment by "channeling" or placing them into religious communities and activities (Himmelfrab, 1979). Doing so allows children to socialize with their religious peers and mentors and in time develop their religious identity. Once children enter adolescence and expand their social network outside the home, these rooted socialization agents continue to indirectly shape their religious identity (Cornwall, 1989; Park & Ecklund, 2007; Seol, 2010). For example, Cornwall (1989) found that Mormon parents' church attendance and home religious observation channeled their children into peer networks that reinforce the religious values. Peers, in turn, directly affected the adolescents' subsequent adult religious behavior patterns. Among Asian American college students, Park and Ecklund (2007) found that parents provided their children with means to receive religious training, which in turn shaped their socialization environment. Seol and Lee (2010) found that Korean American adolescents' religious identity fully mediated the relationship between parental religious socialization and social competence,

and partially mediated the relationship between peer religious socialization and social competence. Channeling captures the transactional nature among parents, children, and peers, as well as the longitudinal influence of parent's socialization efforts on youth's future socialization patterns and outcomes.

The channeling hypothesis has been studied outside of religious socialization research as well. For example, a longitudinal study following several hundred African American families found that parents who were authoritative were able to deter adolescents' affiliation with deviant peers and involvement in delinquent behavior (Laird, Criss, Pettit, Dodge, & Bates, 2008). Another longitudinal study revealed that parental monitoring was found to have reduced the selection of delinquent peers for youths three years later (Tilton-Weaver et al., 2013). In the same study, when parents expressed high levels of disapproval of delinquent peers, it reduced the rates of adolescents engaging in delinquency. These empirical studies provide further evidence of parents' roles in shaping adolescent's peer group and later behavioral outcomes.

Channeling offers a helpful framework in understanding and examining the cultural socialization process during adolescence. Parents may indirectly promote adolescents' peer cultural socialization practices by engaging them in ethnically diverse environments, such as enrolling them in an ethnically diverse school (e.g., Feigelman & Silverman, 1984) or modeling behavior that promotes racially and ethnically similar peer friendships. In doing so, children are likely to experience peer cultural socialization.

Ethnic Socialization

Ethnic socialization refers to practices that educate children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history, promote cultural customs and traditions, and promote

children's cultural, racial, and ethnic pride (Hughes, Bachman, & Fuligni, 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). Examples of ethnic socialization include talking about important historical or cultural figures, exposing children to culturally relevant literature and music, celebrating cultural holidays, encouraging ethnically similar friendships, and sending children to attend language schools (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes, Bachman, & Fuligni, 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Thornton et al., 1990; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Research also suggests that both parents and peers are primary ethnic socialization agents (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004; Hughes & Chen, 1999).

Parental ethnic socialization is related with developmental outcomes, including adolescents' self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Fatimilehin, 1999), academic adjustment, and behavioral outcomes (Marshall, 1995; Bowman & Howard, 1985). For Asian American adolescents, ethnic socialization is indirectly related to social competence through ethnic identity (Tran & Lee, 2010). Furthermore, for ethnic and racial minority youth, both maternal and paternal ethnic socialization practices are predictive of better grades among adolescents (Brown, Linver, Evans, & DeGennaro, 2009). Ethnic socialization messages pertinent to self worth and cultural pride are also associated with greater academic curiosity and persistence in the classroom (Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006). Additionally, ethnic socialization is associated with fewer negative psychological outcomes (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Cameron, & Davis, 2002), anger management (Stevenson, 1997), and fighting frequency (Stevenson, 1997) for youth of color. Taken together, research suggests parental ethnic socialization has a positive relationship on

ethnic and racial minority youth's psychological, academic, cognitive, and social outcomes.

For TTA individuals, recent research suggests that ethnic socialization differs from general parenting (Anderson, Lee, Rueter, & Kim, 2015; Hu et al., in press). In a study that examined delinquent behaviors in TTA Korean American adolescents, adolescents whose families disagreed on racial and ethnic differences (i.e., adoptees reported racial and ethnic difference but parents did not) have 2.1 times the mean level of delinquency compared to adolescents with families who agreed on the differences, after accounting for general parent-adolescent conflict (Anderson et al., 2015). From a separate study examining cultural socialization in TTA families, after accounting for parent's involvement and conflict with their adopted adolescent, ethnic socialization was related to adolescent's ethnic identity development (Hu et al., in press). Thus, ethnic socialization can be considered as a separate and distinct process that is above and beyond general parenting and parent-child relationships.

Ethnic socialization also is not likely to remain static over time. How parents ethnically socialize a child during early childhood likely differs from how parents ethnically socialize their child during middle childhood and adolescence. Yet there are no known published studies examining changes in ethnic socialization over time. This question is particularly relevant as children enter adolescence and become more aware of and make meaning out of their own and others' ethnic and racial identities (Ruble et al., 2004; Brown, Alabi, Huynh, & Masten, 2011). In a cross-sectional study of children 4-14 years old, Hughes and Chen (1997) found a modest correlation ($r = .16$) between child age and ethnic socialization. A few studies have gathered longitudinal data on ethnic

socialization but do not report on these possible changes in socialization (e.g., Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012).

Peer Ethnic Socialization. Ethnic socialization among peers is more likely to occur within intraracial relationships and with peers who share similar levels of ethnic identity (Schwarz et al., 2011). This occurs due to the fact that peers are likely to develop friendships with individuals of similar ethnic backgrounds (Smith & Tomlinson, 1989). Ethnic and racial minority adolescents also report having predominantly intraracial/intraethnic friends, despite stating that they highly value interracial and interethnic relationships (Way & Chen, 2000). Internet interactions similarly reveal that over half of social network interactions are intraethnic/intraracial (e.g., Mazur & Richards, 2011). These intraracial/intraethnic friendships, in turn, likely guide the way in which ethnic minority adolescents experience and engage in ethnic socialization. For example, Latin American, Asian, and White adolescents' increase in intraracial friendships was associated with increases in ethnic identity exploration and commitment (Kiang, Witkow, Baldelomar, & Fuligni, 2010). In a study with college-aged friends, "ethnic identity homophily" was related to individuals' tendency to engage in conversations with their friends about ethnicity-related issues (Syed & Juan, 2012). Thus, it may be that talking with intraracial friends about ethnicity-related issues helps to clarify and stimulate thinking regarding ethnic identity. Moreover, talking about ethnicity-related issues with intraethnic friends may keep that identity active in one's mind.

Two studies have examined the preferred agents of peer ethnic socialization (Syed, 2012; Hu et al., 2012). Syed asked college students to recount a memory about a

time in which they told an ethnically-related story to others. It was found that older students preferred peers as their audience while younger students more often told their memories to parents. Further, participants mostly told their parents stories regarding ethnic socialization, whereas they were more likely to share racial socialization experiences with their peers. In TTA families, parents were the most frequent ethnic socialization agents for transracially adopted adolescents, but conversations with peers regarding ethnicity had a greater association with adoptee's ethnic identity development (Hu et al., 2012). These two studies show that peers are a crucial aspect of ethnic socialization, and peers may serve different roles depending on the age of the target individual. This is particularly relevant since cultural socialization during adolescence has been found to be related to positive ethnic identity development among TTA individuals (Song & Lee, 2009).

Racial Socialization

Racial socialization refers to messages and strategies used by parents of color to teach their children about ethnic and racial minority culture, prepare them for potential experiences with racism and prejudice, and promote healthy mistrust of others (Stevenson, 1995). Similar to ethnic socialization, parental racial socialization is considered a critical component of child rearing (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Majority of research on racial socialization has been conducted with families of color. Although parents are less likely to engage in racial socialization compared to ethnic socialization (Hughes, 2003), a review of the quantitative and qualitative studies on racial socialization reveal that ethnic minority families often engage in this practice (Parham & Williams, 1993; Quintana & Vera, 1999; Urciuoli, 1996). Moreover, as

adolescents gain the cognitive abilities to process information they receive regarding prejudice and discrimination, parents may be less likely to engage in ethnic socialization and more likely to engage in racial socialization practices to better attend to adolescents' needs (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Indeed, parents of older children have been found to report racial socialization practices at greater rates than those of parents of younger children (Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; Johnston et al., 2007). While most racial socialization research are with ethnic minority families where parents and children are of the same race, there are some studies that have examined this construct with transnational adoptive families. In a cross-sectional study with transnational adoptees, parents were more likely to engage in racial socialization with older children (ages 11-13, 86%) than younger children (ages 5-6, 56%). However, there are no known published studies examining longitudinal changes in racial socialization over time.

Racial socialization is linked to several positive psychological outcomes. Research indicates that racial socialization protects youth of color against discrimination (e.g., Hill, 1998; Miller, 1999; Fischer & Shaw, 1999), fosters feelings of closeness of same-race peers (Demo & Hughes, 1990), develops greater factual knowledge (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Caughy et al., 2002), promotes higher self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002), and nurtures more positive academic beliefs(Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003). For African American adolescents, parental racial socialization practices attenuated the effect of teacher discrimination on grade point average (Wang & Huguley, 2012). Additionally, for African American adolescents who experience frequent racial discrimination, high levels of racial socialization was associated with lower level of distress compared to adolescents who received lower levels of racial socialization

(Neblett et al., 2008). This same pattern has also been replicated in transracial adoptive families. In transracial adoptive parent-child dyads, parental racial socialization moderated the relationship between experiences of discrimination and perceived stressfulness of discrimination (Leslie, Smith, Hrapczynski, & Riley, 2013). For adolescents who experienced high levels of discrimination, parental racial socialization buffered the perceived stressfulness of discrimination.

However, racial socialization is also associated with negative psychological outcomes (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009; Tran & Lee, 2010). Racial socialization has been found to be associated with negative academic outcomes, and these relationships were fully mediated by ethnic affirmation and self-esteem (Hughes et al., 2009). Specifically for Asian American adolescents, racial socialization was associated with lower perceived social competence (Tran & Lee, 2010). It is likely that racial socialization helps ethnic minority youth hone greater consciousness and more accurate perceptions of discrimination, which in turn leads to negative outcomes. For example, in a study with Latino American adolescents, "being conscious about potential racist threats" was related to greater mental distress, possibly due to an increased awareness of one's difference from majority society (Chavez & French, 2007, p.1993). Adolescents who expected discrimination also reported higher depressive symptoms, lower self-esteem, and greater conflicts with parents than those who did not have such expectations (Rumbaut, 1994). A possible explanation is that racial socialization, combined with adolescents' beliefs about one's ethnicity group status, synergistically shapes ethnic minority youth's perception of discrimination, which then influences

mental health. The difference in patterns of finding suggests that racial socialization can be complex and precarious.

Peer Racial Socialization. There has been no direct empirical study on peer racial socialization, or any studies on peer racial socialization among transracial, transnational adoptees. One way to better understand peer racial socialization is by examining peer racial/ethnic discrimination. During early adolescence, children experience racial/ethnic discrimination through interactions with peers and adults outside the family (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Spears-Brown & Bigler, 2005; Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000). Research suggests that children gain knowledge about racial stereotypes by age 4 (e.g., Aboud, 1988) and understand the implications of racial stereotypes starting age 6 (McKown & Weinstein, 2003; Bigler, Averhart, & Liben, 2003). For example, Bigler and colleagues (2003) demonstrated that African American elementary school aged children rate novel occupations performed by African Americans as lower status than identical jobs performed by Whites. Furthermore, manifestation of these prejudiced beliefs begins at a young age – racial/ethnic minority youth report experiencing racial discrimination as early as in junior high (Rosenberg, 1979). Racial/ethnic discrimination forms a significant component of ethnic minority adolescents' daily experiences (Fisher et al., 2000; Szalacha et al., 2003; Way & Chen, 2000), and exists in both interracial and intraracial contexts (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Peer racial/ethnic discrimination includes teasing, hitting, harassment, and biased treatment based on group membership (Spears Brown & Bigler, 2005; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Verkuyten & Steenhuis, 2005; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). For example, 84% of East Asian and 73% of South Asian youth report being called racially

derogatory names by peers (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000). Taken together, research suggests that learning about the meaning and implications of prejudice and racism from peers, or peer racial socialization, is experienced through peer racial/ethnic discrimination.

Research has found peer racial/ethnic discrimination is associated with lower psychological and social well-being (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). However, the relationship between peer racial/ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity is mixed. Studies have demonstrated that the deleterious effect of discrimination may be buffered by ethnic identity (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008) or lead to development of ethnic identity exploration (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Pahl & Way, 2006). For example, Pahl and Way (2006) found in their longitudinal study of urban adolescents that an increase in reported levels of peer discrimination over a 4-year period significantly predicted an increase in ethnic identity exploration. On the other hand, studies have found that ethnically/racially-based rejection and harassment from peers to be associated with negative ethnic identity beliefs (e.g., Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Romero & Roberts, 2003; Wong et al., 2003).

In short, the racial socialization that occurs among peers through the process of peer racial/ethnic discrimination informs adolescents about the meaning and status of their ethnic membership and is associated with ethnic identity development. However, there is a dearth of research that examines peer racial socialization among TTA individuals. For TTA adolescents, peer racial socialization may be especially important given their membership in both the majority and minority cultures.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity refers to the degree to which an individual identifies as being a member of an ethnic group, and is a crucial aspect in the development of self-concept and psychological functioning for ethnic minorities (Phinney, 1990; Rumbaut, 1994). Ethnic identity is theorized as a dynamic product that is achieved through various social contexts (Caltabiano, 1984; Hogg, Abrams, & Patel, 1987; Syed & Azmitia, 2009). Meta-analyses demonstrate that positive ethnic identity is associated with higher self-esteem and lower depressive symptoms among ethnic minority individuals (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smith & Silva, 2011). Ethnic identity development gains more prominence as youth gain the cognitive abilities to process the information they receive regarding prejudice and discrimination (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). As individuals become more aware of their status as an ethnic minority and become more independent in the decision-making process, the process of exploring and internalizing their ethnic identity becomes a more prominent developmental task.

When discussing the process of ethnic identity development, a distinction should be made between exploration and commitment because they follow distinctive developmental courses (Pahl & Way, 2005) and are related to different psychological outcomes (Lee & Yoo, 2004). Ethnic identity commitment can be understood through two separate concepts – affirmation and resolution (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004). Schwartz and colleagues (2014) stated, "affirmation refers to feelings of solidarity with and positive affect toward a social group…. Resolution refers to a sense of commitment to a specific view of one's ethnicity – such that the person is comfortable with the subjective significance of her or his ethnic group" (p. 60-61). Thus,

it is possible that an individual can hold positive feelings about one's ethnic group without being committed to one's ethnic identity, and vice versa. For the purpose of this study, ethnic identity commitment was measured by assessing both affirmation and resolution.

Broadly, ethnic identity is strongly associated with parental ethnic socialization (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). The relationship between ethnic socialization and ethnic identity has been demonstrated among African American (Branch & Newcombe, 1986), Latino American (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004), and Asian American youth (Tran & Lee, 2010). Parents play an important role in children's ethnic identity development, particularly for families of color (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Phinney, 1990; Rumbaut, 1994). Similar findings have also been established with TTA individuals and families. In a study with White parents and adopted Korean American children, when adoptive parents were actively involved in Korean culture and had a relationship with their children that included open communication, children reported higher ethnic identities (Huh & Reid, 2000). Studies have also shown that parental ethnic socialization is associated with more positive attitudes and more ethnic-oriented behaviors by their children (e.g., Lee & Quintana, 2005), which in turn is associated with higher self-esteem in adoptees (Mohanty, 2012; Mohanty, Keokse, & Sales, 2007). For TTA individuals, higher ethnic identity is associated with better psychological adjustment (Cederblad et al., 1999; Feigelman & Silverman, 1983), and TTA adolescents' strength of ethnic identity has been found to mediate the relationship between parental ethnic socialization and psychological well-being (Basow et al., 2008; Yoon, 2001).

Much research has focused on the relationship of racial socialization to African American youths' ethnic identity, and the literature largely confirms that racial socialization is positively associated with ethnic identity development (e.g., DeBerry, Scarr, & Weinberg, 1996; Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Johnson, 2001, Bennett, 2006). Other studies have demonstrated the association between racial socialization and ethnic identity among other ethnic minority youth (Quintana & Vera, 1999; Pahl & Way, 2006; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009). For instance, a longitudinal study of urban adolescents showed that increased peer racial socialization over a 4-year period significantly predicted an increase in ethnic identity exploration (Pahl & Way, 2006). Mexican American children whose parents discussed discrimination with them demonstrated greater knowledge about Mexican Americans and, in turn, greater understanding of prejudice (Quintana & Vera, 1999). Taken together, these findings illustrate the multidimensional nature of ethnic identity. Racial socialization, which entails discussions about discrimination, may be associated with racial and ethnic minority youth's perceptions of other's views of their group, as well as their own feelings and beliefs of their group (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009), which in turn guides their overall ethnic identity development.

Discrimination

Racial and ethnic discrimination is defined as unfair treatment based on racial and ethnic differences (e.g., Gee, Ryan, Laflamme, & Holt, 2006). The influence of discrimination is especially salient during adolescence, as discrimination is related to both internalizing and externalizing outcomes (Coll et al., 1996). The finding is also evident among TTA individuals (Lee, 2003). In an epidemiological study using data from

the Swedish national registry, TTA adolescents were found to be two to three times more likely to have serious psychiatric and social maladjustment problems compared to their non-adopted siblings and the general population, but had similar rates of maladjustment problems as Asian and Latin American immigrants in Sweden (Hjern et al., 2002). The study concluded that challenges around racial prejudice and discrimination most likely explain the comparable levels of adjustment difficulties of adoptees and immigrants. In a separate study, discrimination was found to be associated with greater behavioral problems and psychological distress in a sample of ethnically diverse adopted adolescents in Sweden (Cederblad et al., 1999). Lee (2010) similarly found evidence to support that adoptive parents' perceptions of discrimination uniquely accounted for variance in internalizing and externalizing problems, above and beyond preadoption adversity, for U.S. children and adolescents adopted internationally from Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. Current research suggests that discrimination plays an important role in TTA adolescent's development; however, there is limited research that directly examines the association of parental and peer cultural socialization on discrimination for TTA individuals.

For ethnic minority youth, there is some evidence to suggest ethnic socialization protects against discrimination through its influences on self-esteem and ethnic identity (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Spencer, 1983). The relationship between ethnic socialization and discrimination remains to be examined empirically for TTA individuals.

Limitations of Current Research

The research on cultural socialization and transracial, transnational adoption provides some understanding into the process that TTA youth experience as they make meaning out of their racial/ethnic identity and discrimination. However, some limitations to the extant research exist. First, no studies have examined the association between parental and peer cultural socialization during adolescence. Although socialization becomes more peer-driven during adolescence (Harris, 1995), most studies on cultural socialization still heavily examine parental cultural socialization, draw from parent reports, or use the single-informant methodology. Thus, the dynamic relationships among parent, children, and peers are not captured. Further, single informant studies do not account for the discrepancy of perceptions on parental cultural socialization, which we know exist (Hu et al., in press; Kim et al., 2012).

Second, current cultural socialization literature consists of mostly cross-sectional studies. As a result, changes in cultural socialization, particularly during childhood to adolescence, have not been explored. Not only does important identity exploration and growth occur during this aforementioned developmental period , the documented nonlinear associations between racial socialization and psychological adjustment outcomes also call for a longitudinal study examining the associations of parental cultural socialization with peer cultural socialization, ethnic identity, and discrimination.

Importantly, the racial and ethnic experiences of TTA youth are not well understood (Lee, 2003). For these youth, the cultural socialization process can be complicated due to the transracial, transnational nature of their family and peer relationships. Furthermore, there are limited studies on TTA individuals and families

overall. Most research on TTA youth focuses on their overall post-adoption adjustment (Juffer & van IJzendoorn, 2007; von Borczyskowski et al., 2006; Hjern et al., 2002), but these studies largely overlook the possible role of cultural socialization and its correlates (i.e., ethnic identity and perceived discrimination) in psychological development and adjustment. By teasing out the cultural socialization process among TTA individuals, we add to the extant literature on cultural socialization, adoption, ethnic identity, and discrimination.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH STUDY

Study Purpose and Hypotheses

The present study sought to address the limitations in current research by incorporating parent reports of parental cultural socialization, adolescent report of parental and peer cultural socialization, and adolescent report of ethnic identity and discrimination. The longitudinal nature of the study allowed an examination of the potential long-term associations of parental cultural socialization with ethnic identity and discrimination in transracial, transnational adoptive families. The present study aimed to address the following hypotheses:

H1. Parental ethnic socialization would decrease from 2007, when adopted children were between the ages of 7-12 (Time 1; T1) to 2014, when adopted children were between the ages of 13-20 (Time 2; T2), and racial socialization would increase from T1 to T2.

H2. Parents would report higher levels of ethnic and racial socialization than adolescents in T2.

Hypotheses 3 to 9 are presented below in a sample hypothesized path model (Figure1) as well as in text. The model examined a serial mediation effect using PROCESS (Hayes, 2013), which included both direct and indirect paths.

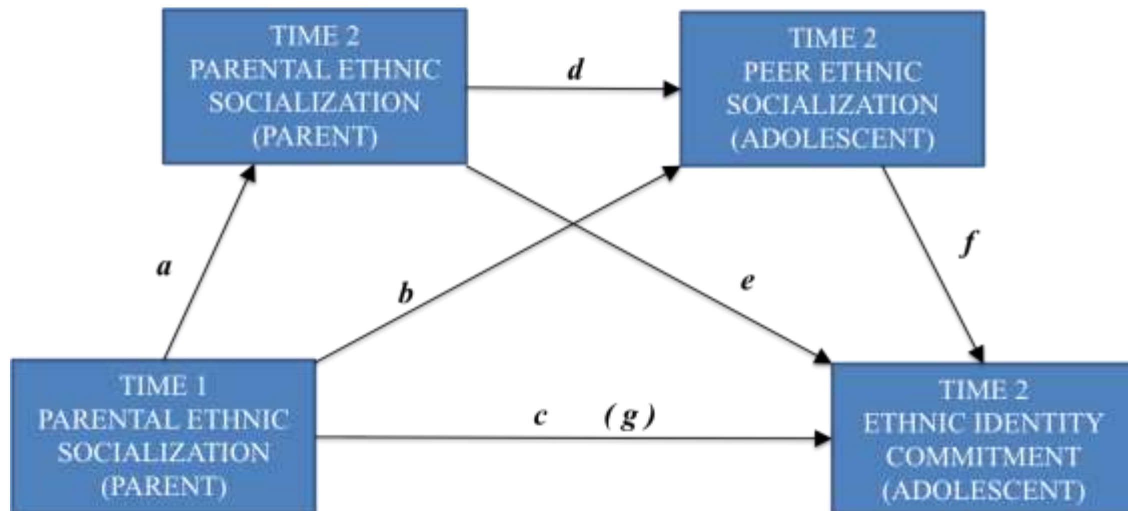

Figure 1. Mediation model for the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment, with T2 parental and peer ethnic socialization as mediators.

H3. T1 parental cultural socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 parental cultural socialization (path a).

H3a. T1 parental ethnic socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 parental ethnic socialization.

H3b. T1 parental racial socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 parental racial socialization.

H4. T1 parental cultural socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 peer cultural socialization (path b).

H4a. T1 parental ethnic socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 peer ethnic socialization.

H4b. T1 parental racial socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 peer racial socialization

H5. T1 parental cultural socialization would significantly relate with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment and discrimination (path c).

H5a. T1 parental ethnic socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment.

H5b. T1 parental ethnic socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent discrimination.

H5c. T1 parental racial socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment.

H5d. T1 parental racial socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent discrimination.

H6. T2 parental cultural socialization would significantly relate with T2 peer cultural socialization (path d).

H6a. T2 parental ethnic socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 peer ethnic socialization.

H6b. T2 parental racial socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 peer racial socialization.

H7. T2 parental cultural socialization would significantly relate with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment and discrimination (path e).

H7a. T2 parental ethnic socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment.

H7b. T2 parental ethnic socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent discrimination.

H7c. T2 parental racial socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment.

H7d. T2 parental racial socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent discrimination.

H8. T2 peer cultural socialization would significantly relate with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment or discrimination (path f).

H8a. T2 peer ethnic socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment.

H8b. T2 peer ethnic socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent discrimination.

H8c. T2 peer racial socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment.

H8d. T2 peer racial socialization would positively and significantly relate with T2 adolescent discrimination.

H9. Using the serial mediation model, T2 peer cultural socialization would mediate the relationship between T1 parental cultural socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment or discrimination, through T2 parental cultural socialization (path g).

H9a. T2 peer ethnic socialization would mediate the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment.

H9b. T2 peer ethnic socialization would mediate the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent discrimination.

H9c. T2 peer racial socialization would mediate the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment

H9d. T2 peer racial socialization would mediate the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent discrimination.

Method

Participants

The sample included adopted Korean American adolescents between the ages of 13-20 years old and one of their adoptive parents. The study followed up with families who participated in the Korean Adoption Survey (KAD) Project in 2007 during which the target adopted child was between the ages of 7-12. The Korean American adoptees and families were recruited in 2007 from a registry of international, transracial adoptees whose families reside mainly in Minnesota.

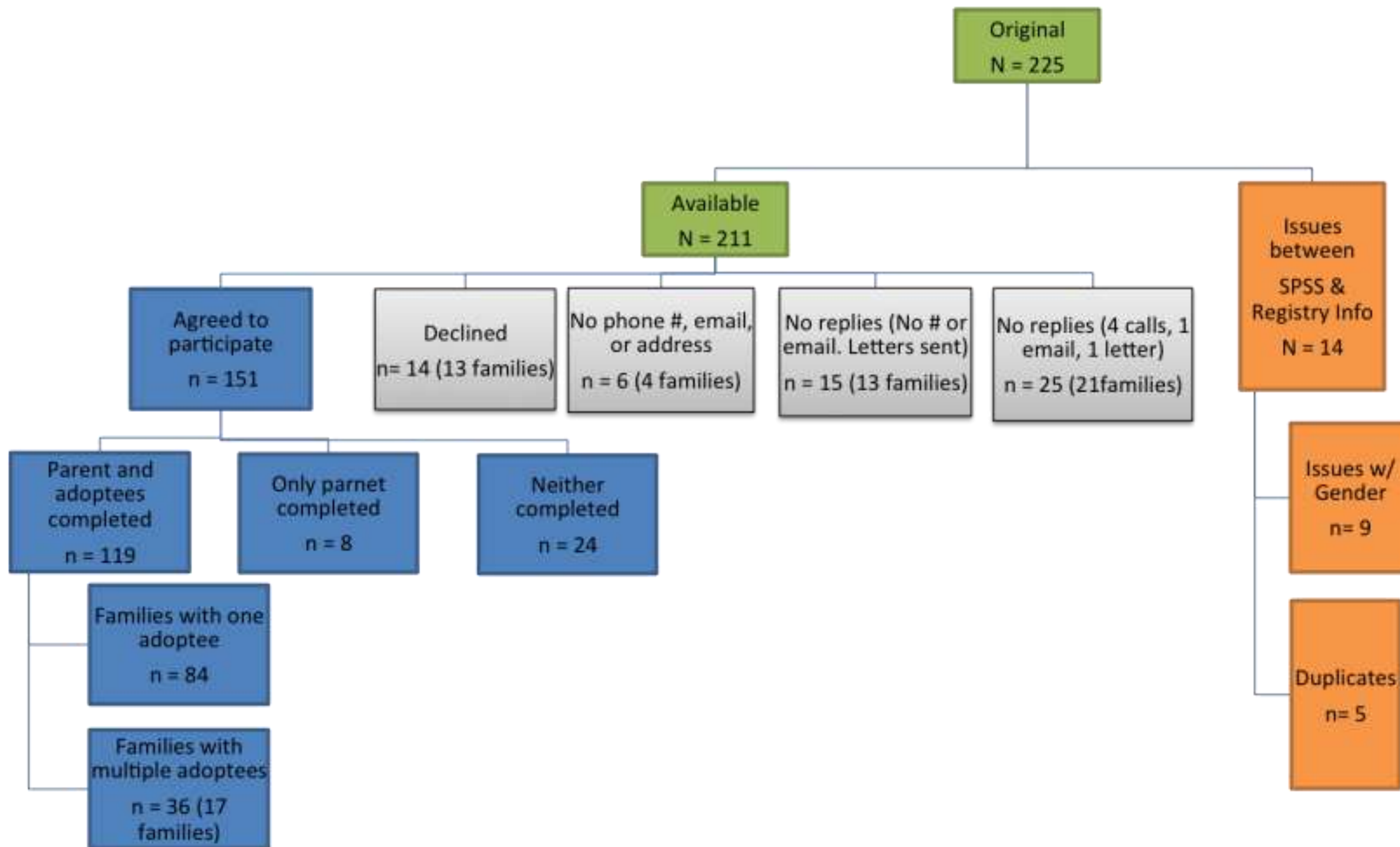

Figure 2. Diagram of Recruitment Process

In 2007 (T1), a total of 593 families (with some families having more than one child) expressed interest in participating in the study. A survey was completed for each adopted child by one parent who self-identified as the primary caretaker, making a total of 578 returned parent surveys for a return rate of 74% (Lee, Lee, Hu, & Kim, 2015). Out of 578 surveys, parents completed 225 parent versions of the surveys for adopted children who were between the ages of 7 and 12. Children between the ages of 7 and 12 did not participate in T1 data collection due to age (age 13 was the cutoff). Out of 225 surveys, 14 were excluded due to discrepancies in reported gender or being duplicates. In 2014 (T2), a total of 211 adopted adolescents' parents were contacted, and 151 parent-adolescent dyads agreed to participate in the study. Of the 60 parent-child dyads who were excluded, six had outdated contact information, and 40 did not respond to repeated outreach. Out of the 151 dyads, 119 dyads of parent and adoptee surveys were completed, making a return rate of 79% (53% of the original sample). Figure 2 provides detailed information about the recruitment process. After data cleaning, three dyads were excluded from further analysis due to discrepancies of parent gender from T1 and T2 datasets; thus, 116 dyads were included in final analysis.

Of the 116 adopted Korean American adolescents included in the final sample, 56 adolescents (48.3 %) identified as women, 58 adolescents (50.0%) identified as men, and one adolescent (0.9 %) did not disclose gender. The mean age of the sample was 16.33 years (*SD* = 1.71). The mean age at adoption was 7.86 months (*SD* = 5.17), with 105 adolescents (90.5%) adopted before 12-months-old.

Of the 116 adoptive parents included in the final sample, 107 parents (92.2 %) identified as women, seven parents (6.0%) identified as men, and two parents did not

disclose gender (1.7%). The mean age of the parent was 53.41 years (*SD* = 4.37). One hundred and fourteen parents (98.3%) identified as White, two parents (1.7%) identified as Asian American, and two parents (1.7%) identified as Latino American[2]. Ninety-five parents (81.9 %) reported having obtained a Bachelor's or higher degree, and 21 parents (18.1 %) reported having a high school, some college, Associate degree, some college but no degree, or high school degree/GED. Of the 114 parents who reported yearly household income, 57 parents (50.5 %) reported an income of $126,000 or more, and 56 parents (49.5 %) in income of $125,000 or less.

One hundred and thirteen parents (97.4 %) reported having a spouse and three parents (2.6 %) reported not having a spouse in T2. Among those with a spouse, 103 parents (88.8 %) reported that their spouse was a man, and ten parents (8.6 %) reported their spouse as a woman. The mean age of the spouse was 54.23 years (*SD* = 4.32). One hundred and eight parents (93.1 %) identified as their spouse as White and three parents (2.6 %) identified their spouse as Asian American. Of the 103 parents who reported their spouse's education level, 85 parents (75.2 %) reported their spouse as having obtained a Bachelor's or higher degree, and 28 parents (24.8 %) reported their spouse having a high school, some college, Associate degree, some college but no degree, or high school degree/GED.

Comparing samples. In comparing the 116 parents who completed both T1 and T2 data collections (respondent) with the 109 T1 only (non-respondent) parents, the two groups significantly differed in ethnic socialization at T1. Specifically, respondent

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[2] Mediation analyses for families with primary parent identified as White (*N*=114) and both parents identified as White (*N*=106) were conducted in PROCESS (Hayes, 2013). Results did not differ from samples which included Asian American parents. Path diagrams for the two samples are presented in Appendices K and L, respectively.

parents demonstrated significantly higher mean scores relative to the non-respondent parents on ethnic socialization, t (223) = 5.12, p = .025, η^2 = .02 (Respondent parents: M = 2.85, SD = .67, n = 112; non-respondent parents: M = 2.63, SD = 0.74, n = 112).

There were no significant difference on parental racial socialization, t (222) = .865, p = .353 or parents' reported discrimination of the child, t (219) = 2.007, p = .158. There were no significant differences on parent's age, gender, ethnicity, parent's education level, or income.

Procedure

Updated contact information of the adoptive families was retrieved from the International Adoption Project (IAP) registry. Adoptive parents who consented to participate in the KAD project in 2007 were contacted via email, letters, or phone to see if they would be interested in participating in this longitudinal study (Appendices A and B). After the target parent provided consent, they were asked to provide assent for their children who were under the age of 18. All participants provided electronic consent and assent prior to study participation. Parents and their adolescents completed parent- and adolescent-versions of the survey. Each parent who completed the survey received an Amazon gift card of $10.00 and each adolescent received an Amazon gift card of $20.00 due to the longer length of the adoptee survey. The survey included measures on demographic, parental ethnic and racial socialization, peer ethnic and racial socialization, ethnic identity, and discrimination.

Measures

The study included a variety of measures from both T1 and T2. Refer to Table 1 for a checklist of measures used in data analyses.

Table 1

Checklist of Completed Measures

	Parent	*Adolescent*
T1 Parental Ethnic Socialization	X	
T1 Parental Racial Socialization	X	
T2 Parental Ethnic Socialization	X	X
T2 Parental Racial Socialization	X	X
T2 Peer Ethnic Socialization		X
T2 Peer Racial Socialization		X
T2 Ethnic Identity Commitment		X
T2 Discrimination		X

Demographic Variables. Parent and adolescent each completed a demographic questionnaire at T2 to obtain biographical data (Appendix C).

Parental Ethnic Socialization. Parental ethnic socialization was assessed using the ethnic socialization subscale from the Racial Socialization measure (Johnston et al., 2007, adapted from Hughes & Chen, 1997). Parents completed this measure in T1 and both parents and adolescents completed parent version of this measure in T2 (Appendices D and E). Each item was modified to reflect the ethnic socialization experiences relevant to Korean adoptive homes and the T2 survey was modified to reflect the ethnic socialization experiences relevant for adolescents. The ethnic socialization subscale includes eight items rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*Never)* to 4 (*Very Often).* The ethnic socialization subscale pertains to the extrinsic ways in which parents teach adopted adolescents about Korean culture and history; sample items include "I have talked to my child about important Korean people or historical events." Two items (items 8 & 9) were dropped from analyses due to poor loading in T1 analyses.

Johnston and colleagues (2007) demonstrated good internal consistency of parental ethnic socialization subscale, with Cronbach's alphas ranging from α = .81 - .82

for adopted Chinese and Korean American children between the ages of 4 to 20. In the current sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$ for T1 parents, $\alpha = .85$ for T2 parents, and $\alpha = .85$ for T2 adolescents.

Peer Ethnic Socialization. Peer ethnic socialization was assessed using the adapted version of the Racial Socialization measure (Johnston et al., 2007). Only adolescents completed this measure in T2. The measure was adapted to reflect ethnic socialization experiences related to peer interactions (Appendix F). For example, the parental ethnic socialization item "My parents have talked to me about important Korean people or historical events" was modified into "I have talked to friends about important Korean people or historical events." Same as the parental ethnic socialization measure, all eight items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*Never)* to 4 (*Very Often).* Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$ for T2 adolescents.

Parental Racial Socialization. Parental racial socialization was assessed using the racial socialization subscale from the Racial Socialization measure (Johnston et al., 2007). Parents completed this measure in T1 and both parents and adolescents completed parent version of this measure in T2. Each item was modified to reflect racial socialization experiences relevant to Korean adoptive homes and the T2 survey was modified to reflect the racial socialization experiences relevant for adolescents (Appendices D and E). The racial socialization subscale includes six items rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*Never)* to 4 (*Very Often).* Two items (items 12 & 15) were dropped from analyses due to either poor loading or poor reliability in T1 analyses. The subscale pertains to the extrinsic ways in which parents teach adopted adolescents about

prejudice and discrimination; sample items include "I have explained to my child something on TV that showed discrimination against Asians."

Johnston and colleagues (2007) demonstrated good internal consistency of parental racial socialization subscale, with Cronbach's alphas ranging from $\alpha = .80 - .82$ for adopted Chinese and Korean American children between the ages of 4 to 20. In the current sample, Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$ for T1 parents, $\alpha = .84$ for T2 parents, and $\alpha = .88$ for T2 adolescents.

Peer Racial Socialization. Peer racial socialization was assessed using the adapted version of the Racial Socialization measure (Johnston et al., 2007). Only adolescents completed this measure in T2. The measure was adapted to reflect the racial socialization experiences related to peer interactions (Appendix F). For example, the parental racial socialization item "I have explained to my child something on TV that showed discrimination against Asians" was modified into "Tell us how frequently you talked about something on TV that showed discrimination against Asians with your close friends over the past year." Same as the parental ethnic socialization measure, all six items were rated on a 5-point rating ranging from 0 (*Never)* to 4 (*Very Often).* Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$ for T2 adolescents.

Ethnic Identity Commitment. Ethnic identity commitment was measured by the Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Only adolescents completed this measure in T2. The EIS is a 17-item self-report measure that is comprised of three subscales: exploration, affirmation, and resolution (Appendix G). Items are measured with a 4-point scale that ranges from 1 (*Does not describe me at all*) to 4 (*Describes me very well*). The affirmation subscale includes six items which center on the degree to

which adolescents feel positively about their ethnic identity membership.[3] The resolution subscale includes four items that ask about the degree of clarity and meaningfulness of their ethnicity. The exploration subscale includes seven items that focus on the way in which adolescents have explored their ethnic identity through participation in activities (e.g., reading books, attending activities). The distinct subscales allow researchers to examine the associations between each aspect of ethnic identity separately. Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2004) demonstrated that the three subscales obtained strong reliability coefficients, demonstrating good internal consistency. Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$ (affirmation), $\alpha = .89$ (resolution), and $\alpha = .90$ (exploration) for T2 adolescents.

Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2004) indicated that ethnic identity commitment be measured by the affirmation and resolution subscales. The two subscales were aggregated into a 10-item subscale to capture ethnic identity commitment. Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$ (commitment) for T2 adolescents.

Discrimination. Discrimination was measured by the Perceived Discrimination Scale (PDS; Lee, et al., 2015). The 11-item measure was developed on the basis of a review of literature on the forms of discrimination that are commonly experienced by transracially, transnationally adopted Korean Americans. Moreover, the scale items were reviewed and modified by four adopted Korean American scholars and activists to ensure relevance to the adoptee community. These items examined general perceptions of denigration due to racial/ ethnic differences. Sample items include, "I have overheard

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[3] All six of the affirmation subscale items were originally negatively worded; thus, two out of the six items were changed from negatively worded to positively worded (R. Lee, personal communication, June 27, 2014, July 7, 2014). The two changed items are #1 "My feelings about my ethnicity are mostly positive" and #7 "I feel positively about my ethnicity."

people make rude or insensitive ethnic and racial comments about minorities" (Appendix H). A 9-item version of the same scale, without two adoption-related items, demonstrated good internal consistency with Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$ for adopted Korean American adolescents (ages 13-18); these adolescents participated in the T1 of the larger KAD study (Lee et al., 2015). Only adolescents completed this measure in T2. Adolescents indicated the frequency at which each event occurred in their lifetime on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*often*). Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$ for T2 adolescents.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Data were checked for errors and random response patterns in SPSS. Histograms, q-q plots, and scatterplots were used to assess whether variables were distributed as expected; data indicated normal distributions for all study variables. Collinearity and missing data analyses are presented in Appendix I. Sixteen parent-adolescent dyads from the 116 sample were siblings. Thus, mixed linear models were conducted to account for potential family effect. Intraclass Correlation Coefficients for all four models are also presented in Appendix I. Table 2 presents a summary of means and standard deviations of all study variables.

Table 2

Summary of Means, Standard Deviations of T1 and T2 Variables

	N	*M*	*SD*
T1 Parental Ethnic Socialization (Parent)	115	2.87	.69
T1 Parental Racial Socialization (Parent)	114	2.05	.67
T2 Parental Ethnic Socialization (Parent)	113	2.61	.73
T2 Parental Racial Socialization (Parent)	113	2.67	.71
T2 Parental Ethnic Socialization (Adolescent)	112	2.15	.77
T2 Parental Racial Socialization (Adolescent)	109	1.98	.79
T2 Peer Ethnic Socialization (Adolescent)	114	1.75	.70
T2 Peer Racial Socialization (Adolescent)	109	1.84	.69
T2 Ethnic Identity Commitment (Adolescent)	109	3.39	.51
T2 Discrimination (Adolescent)	114	1.92	.58

Pearson correlations for T1 and T2 measures are presented in Table 3. T1 parental ethnic socialization was significantly correlated to all study variables except T2 ethnic identity commitment ($r = .04$, *ns*), T2 age ($r = .10$, *ns*), and T2 gender ($r = .12$, *ns*). T1 parental racial socialization was significantly correlated to all study variables except Time 2 ethnic identity commitment ($r = .01$, *ns*) and T2 gender ($r = .10$, *ns*). T1 parental ethnic socialization was significantly correlated with T2 parent report of ethnic socialization ($r = .65$, $p < .01$) and T2 adolescent report of parental ethnic socialization ($r = .40$, $p < .01$). T1 parental racial socialization was significantly correlated with T2 parent report of racial socialization ($r = .59$, $p < .01$) and T2 adolescent report of parental racial socialization ($r = .35$, $p < .01$). Adolescent age was significantly correlated with T1 parent report of parental racial socialization ($r = .39$, $p < .01$).

Among T2 variables, adolescent report of parental ethnic socialization was significantly correlated with parent report of ethnic socialization ($r = .36$, $p < .01$) and racial socialization ($r = .25$, $p < .05$). Adolescent report of parental racial socialization was significantly correlated with parent report of racial socialization ($r = .24$, $p < .01$),

but not significantly correlated with parent report of ethnic socialization. Peer ethnic socialization was significantly correlated with adolescent report of parental ethnic socialization ($r = .67$, $p < .01$) and adolescent report of parental racial socialization ($r = .45$, $p < .01$). Peer racial socialization was significantly correlated with adolescent report of parental ethnic socialization ($r = .46$, $p < .01$) and adolescent report of parental racial socialization ($r = .56$, $p < .01$). Adolescent age was significantly correlated with adolescent report of parental racial socialization ($r = .25$, $p < .05$). Adolescent gender was not correlated with any T2 variables. Ethnic identity commitment was not significantly correlated with discrimination. Adolescent age and gender at T2 were not significantly correlated with ethnic identity commitment or discrimination.

Analytic Plan

The mediation models were tested using PROCESS (Hayes, 2013). One hypothesized model and hypothesized paths are presented in Figure 1. All other hypothesized models and hypothesized paths are presented in Appendix J.

Table 3

Zero-Order Correlations for T1 and T2 Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. T1 Par ES (P)	1											
2. T1 Par RS (P)	.57**	1										
3. T2 Par ES (P)	.65**	.33**	1									
4. T2 Par RS (P)	.48**	.59**	.62**	1								
5. T2 Par ES (A)	.40**	.23*	.36**	.25**	1							
6. T2 Par RS (A)	.29**	.35**	.14	.24**	.59**	1						
7. T2 Peer ES (A)	.27**	.22*	.27**	.12	.67**	.45**	1					
8. T2 Peer RS (A)	.23*	.29**	.13	.11	.46**	.56**	.60**	1				
9. T2 EIS-C (A)	.04	.01	.21*	.04	.26**	.14	.37**	.26**	1			
10. T2 PDS (A)	.22*	.32**	.08	.14	.04	.21*	.13	.35**	-.03	1		
11. T2 Age (A)	.10	.39**	.01	.21	.14	.25*	.22	.13	.11	.08	1	
12. T2 Gender (A)	.12	.10	.19	.15	.06	-.24	.03	-.11	.11	-.01	-.02	1

Notes. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$. ES = ethnic socialization, RS = racial socialization, EIS-C = ethnic identity – commitment, PDS = discrimination, (P) = reported by parents, (A) = reported by adolescents. T2 age and T2 gender: $N = 66$; all other variables: $N = 116$.

Hypotheses

Change over time. Hypothesis 1 suggested that parental ethnic socialization would decrease from T1 to T2, and racial socialization would increase from T1 to T2. Paired sample t-tests results are presented in Table 4. There were significant changes in parental ethnic socialization and racial socialization from T1 to T2. As hypothesized, parents reported significantly lower levels of ethnic socialization and higher levels of racial socialization in T2 compared to T1. Effect sizes for significant pairwise comparisons ranged from medium to large.

Dyad T2 differences. Hypothesis 2 suggested that parents would report higher levels of ethnic and social socialization than adolescents in T2. Paired sample t-test results are presented in Table 4. There were significant differences between parent and adolescent reports on T2 parental ethnic socialization and T2 parental racial socialization. As hypothesized, parents reported significantly higher levels of ethnic and racial socialization than adolescents in T2. Effect sizes for significant pairwise comparisons ranged from medium to large.

Table 4

Paired-Sample T-test for T1 and T2 Variables ($N = 116$)

				Paired Differences and Correlations				
		Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*r*	*t*	*d*
Pair 1	T1 Par ES (P)	2.87	.69	.26	.60	.65*	4.66*	.43
	T2 Par ES (P)	2.61	.73					
Pair 2	T1 Par RS (P)	2.04	.67	-.62	.63	.59*	-10.64*	.99
	T2 Par RS (P)	2.67	.71					
Pair 3	T2 Par ES (P)	2.61	.73	.46	.84	.36*	5.89*	.55
	T2 Par ES (A)	2.15	.76					
Pair 4	T2 Par RS (P)	2.67	.71	.69	.87	.34*	8.60*	.80
	T2 Par RS (A)	1.97	.79					

Notes. * $p < .001$

Ethnic socialization on ethnic identity commitment. Results for hypotheses 3a to 9a are presented in Figure 3. T1 parental ethnic socialization was positively and significantly related with T2 parental ethnic socialization (R^2 = .42; F[1, 114] = 81.22, p < .001) and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment (R^2 = .18; F[3, 112] = 8.06, p < .001). T1 parental ethnic socialization was not significantly related with T2 peer ethnic socialization although it was significantly correlated was T2 peer ethnic socialization. T2 parental ethnic socialization was positively and significantly related with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment (R^2 = .18; F[3, 112] = 8.06, p < .001), but not T2 peer ethnic socialization. T2 peer ethnic socialization was positively and significantly related with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment (R^2 = .42; F[1, 114] = 81.22, p < .01). In the same model, T1 parental ethnic socialization revealed a significant negative direct effect on T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment (t = -1.97, p = .0511, CI [-3250, .0008]). It should be noted that the correlation between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity was nearly zero (r = .04, *ns*); thus, negative direct effect is possible. Bias-corrected bootstrap confidence intervals for the indirect effects based on 10,000 bootstrap samples all included zero. Thus, T2 peer ethnic socialization was not a mediator between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment.

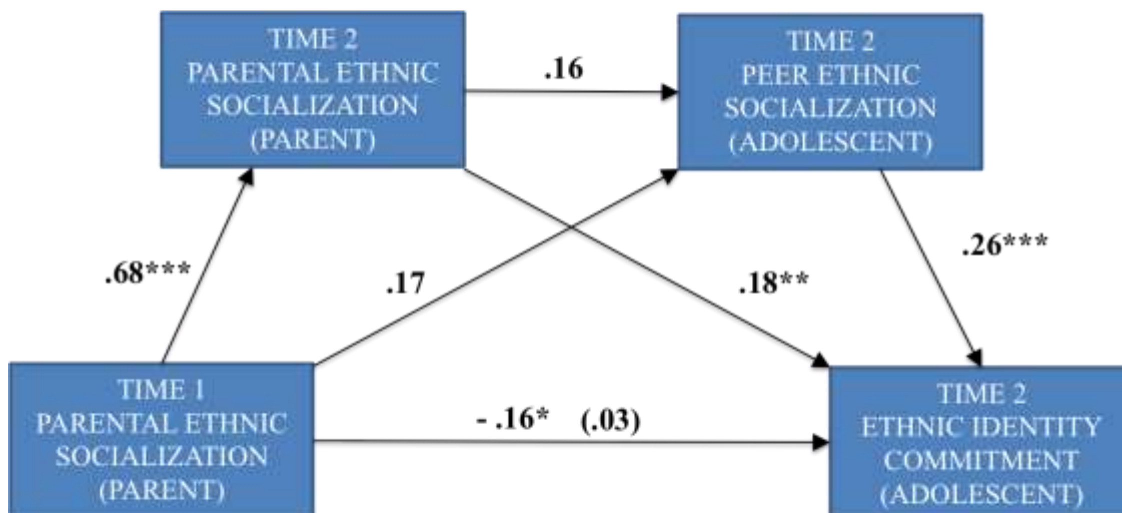

Figure 3. *Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment. The total effect - the unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment, controlling for T2 parental and peer ethnic socialization, is in parentheses. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.*

Ethnic socialization on discrimination. Results for hypotheses 5b, 6a, and 7b to 9b are presented in Figure 4. T1 parental ethnic socialization was positively and significantly related with T2 parental ethnic socialization (R^2 = .42; F[1, 114] = 81.22, p < .01) and T2 adolescent discrimination (R^2 = .25; F[3, 112] = 2.49, p < .06), but not T2 peer ethnic socialization. T2 parental ethnic socialization was not significantly related with T2 peer ethnic socialization or T2 adolescent discrimination although these relationships were statistically significant at the bivariate level. T2 peer ethnic socialization was not significantly related with T2 adolescent discrimination. Bias-corrected bootstrap confidence intervals for the indirect effects all included zero. Thus, T2 peer ethnic socialization was not a mediator between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent discrimination.

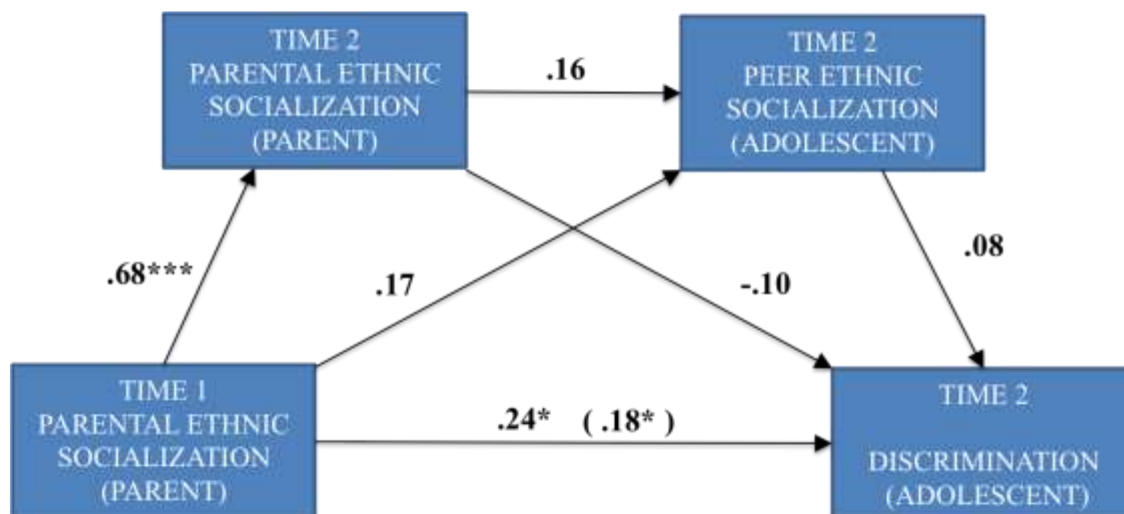

Figure 4. *Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent discrimination. The total effect - the unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent discrimination, controlling for T2 parental and peer ethnic socialization, is in parentheses. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.*

Racial socialization on ethnic identity commitment. Results for hypotheses 3b, 4b, 5c, 6b, 7c to 9c are presented in Figure 5. T1 parental racial socialization was positively and significantly related with T2 parental racial socialization (R^2 = .35; F[1, 114] = 60.97, $p < .001$) and T2 peer racial socialization (R^2 = .09; F[2, 113] = 5.31, $p < .01$), but not T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment. T2 parental ethnic socialization was not significantly related with T2 peer racial socialization or T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment. T2 peer ethnic socialization was positively and significantly related with T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment (R^2 = .07; F[3, 112] = 3.02, $p < .03$). A bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect of T1 parental racial socialization on T2 adolescent ethnic identity through T2 peer racial socialization was above zero (CI [.0183, .1580]), meaning that T2 peer racial socialization mediated the

effect of parental racial socialization on adolescent's ethnic identity commitment seven years later. Hayes (2009) states that it is possible to have a significant indirect effect without significant direct effect between *X* and *Y* variables. The positive coefficient indicates that more racial socialization leads to higher ethnic identity commitment. It should be noted that serial mediation did not occur as T2 parental racial socialization was not associated with T2 peer racial socialization.

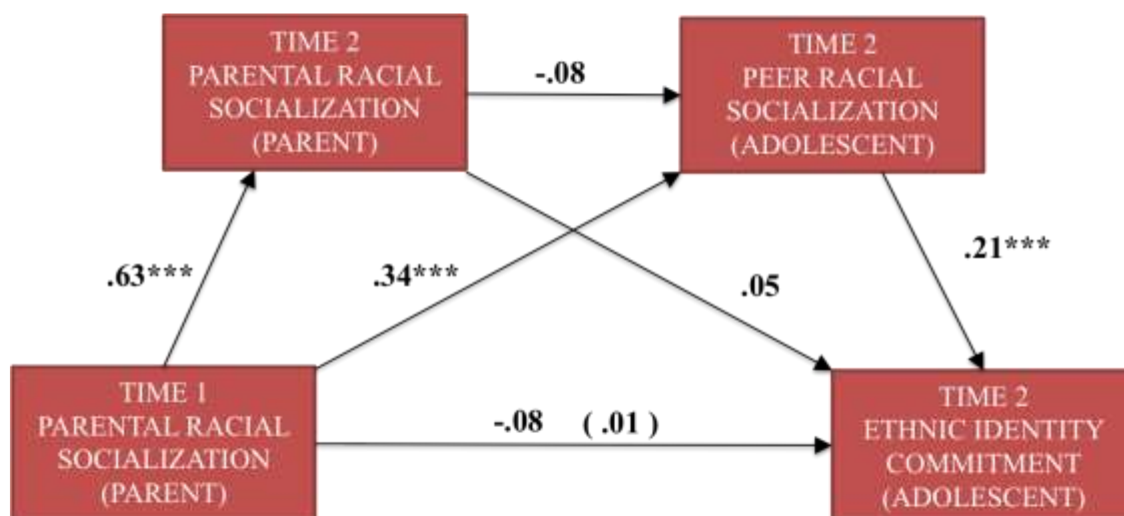

*Figure 5. Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment. The total effect - the unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment, controlling for T2 parental and peer racial socialization, is in parentheses. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.*

Racial socialization on discrimination. Results for hypotheses 5d, 6b, and 7d to 9d are presented in Figure 6. T1 parental racial socialization was positively and significantly related with T2 parental racial socialization (R^2 = .35; F[1, 114] = 60.97, p < .001), T2 peer racial socialization (R^2 = .09; F[2, 113] = 5.31, p < .01), and T2 adolescent discrimination (R^2 = .18; F[3, 113] = 8.01, p < .001). T2 parental ethnic socialization was

not significantly related with T2 peer racial socialization or T2 adolescent discrimination. T2 peer ethnic socialization was positively and significantly related with T2 adolescent discrimination ($R^2 = .18$; $F[3, 113] = 8.01$, $p < .001$). A bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval for the indirect effect of T1 parental racial socialization on T2 adolescent discrimination through T2 peer racial socialization was above zero (CI [.0255, .1687]), meaning that T2 peer racial socialization mediated the effect of parental racial socialization on adolescent's discrimination seven years later. The positive coefficient suggests that more racial socialization led to a more awareness of discrimination. It should be noted that serial mediation did not occur as T2 parental racial socialization was not associated with T2 peer racial socialization.

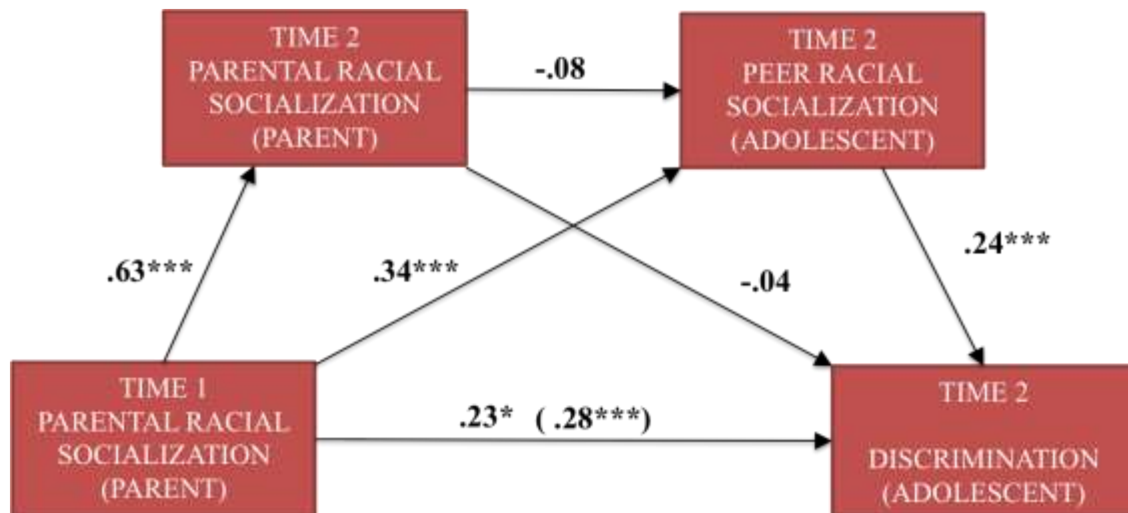

Figure 6. *Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent discrimination. The total effect - the unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent discrimination, controlling for T2 parental and peer racial socialization, is in parentheses. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.*

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

The current study expands research on cultural socialization, transracial, transnational adoption, ethnic identity, and discrimination by conducting a seven-year follow-up of cultural socialization practices in TTA families. In particular, the study examined changes in parental cultural socialization over time, the longitudinal relationship of parental cultural socialization on peer cultural socialization, and the independent and collective relationships of parental and peer ethnic socialization practices on ethnic identity commitment and discrimination. Below, a few unique findings are discussed in detail.

First, the study examined whether parental cultural socialization would change over time. Over the seven-year period, parental ethnic socialization decreased and racial socialization increased. These findings are consistent with extent cross-sectional research of cultural socialization in that parents are likely to engage in less ethnic socialization and more racial socialization as their children age (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997; Lee et al., 2006). Given that children are aware of racial/ethnic differences starting at an age of 4 (Aboud, 1988) and racial stereotypes beginning age 6 (McKown & Weinstein, 2003; Bigler, Averhart, & Liben, 2003), the study findings suggest that initiating conversations regarding prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination, may occur earlier than currently practiced.

Second, the study examined whether TTA parents and adolescents agreed on the level of parental cultural socialization. Parents reported higher levels of parental ethnic and racial socialization than did adolescents in the second data collection period. This

discrepancy in parent and adolescent report is consistent with research on discrepancies in ratings of parent-child relationships (Hu et al., in press; McElhaney et al, 2008; Stuart & Jose, 2012). Specifically, past transracial adoption research similarly has found that mothers report engaging in more cultural socialization efforts than adolescent's report of their mothers (Kim et al., 2012). This finding highlights the importance of employing multi-informant method in adoptive family research. Additionally, it demonstrates the complexity of cultural socialization in TTA families (McGinnis et al., 2009; Docan-Morgan, 2010). One possible way to resolve the discrepancy is for parents to actively and directly address racial/ethnic experiences of TTA individuals when possible. For example, parents may want to confirm that their perceptions of racial and ethnic socialization correspond with the perceptions of their adolescent children.

One distinctive aspect of the study is that it is one of the longest longitudinal follow-up studies on TTA families. To this end, the stability of parental cultural socialization, as well as the relationship of parental cultural socialization (in childhood) on peer cultural socialization (in adolescence) were examined. Not surprisingly, parental ethnic socialization was positively and significantly associated with parental ethnic socialization seven years later. Similarly, parental racial socialization was positively and significantly associated with parental racial socialization over time. In other words, parental cultural socialization in childhood remained stable over a seven-year period, with no distinctive patterns between parental ethnic and racial socialization. It should be noted that no other research has examined the longitudinal aspect of cultural socialization, either with TTA or non-TTA families.

Nevertheless, the difference between ethnic and racial socialization becomes salient when we examined both the long-term and concurrent associations of parental and peer cultural socialization. Interestingly, parental racial socialization in childhood was significantly associated with peer racial socialization seven years later, but parental racial socialization in adolescence was not significantly associated with peer racial socialization. In contrast, parental ethnic socialization, in childhood and in adolescence, was not associated with peer ethnic socialization in the mediation model, but was significantly correlated with peer ethnic socialization. Given that no other research has examined the relationship between parental and peer cultural socialization, these results offer a new perspective to the current cultural socialization literature. Taken together, it is possible that racial socialization becomes more relevant than ethnic socialization during adolescence, thus parents' racial socialization messages may become more meaningful over time.

Another unique contribution is that the study examined whether parental cultural socialization would be related with adolescents' ethnic identity commitment. Unexpectedly, parental ethnic socialization in childhood was negatively and significantly associated with ethnic identity commitment seven years later. Given that parental ethnic socialization in childhood was correlated with ethnic identity commitment at nearly zero; it is possible that a significant association can occur in the mediation model. Despite possible statistical effect, it is still worthwhile to interpret the results. This finding indicated that parent's effort in educating TTA child's ethnic culture led to a decrease in positive feelings and commitment in one's ethnic identity in adolescence. In contrast,

parental ethnic socialization in adolescence is positively and significantly related to adolescent ethnic identity commitment. Two interpretations may explain this paradoxical finding - it may be that parents who make an explicit and consistent effort to teach about ethnic culture in childhood inadvertently make the child feel less positive and committed in one's ethnic background since ethnicity may be confounded with difference from others (e.g., being the only adopted child in the family). However, as parental ethnic socialization decreases in adolescence, the dosage of ethnic socialization becomes more helpful in building ethnic identity commitment. Parental racial socialization, in childhood and adolescence, was not related with adolescent ethnic identity commitment. This is inconsistent with current literature (e.g., Quintana & Vera, 1999); however, it could be that ethnic identity commitment is one dimension of ethnic identity that is not associated with racial socialization.

The study also examined whether parental cultural socialization would be related with adolescent perceived discrimination. Parental ethnic socialization in childhood was associated with adolescents' increased awareness of discrimination seven years later, but current parental ethnic socialization is not related with adolescent discrimination. It is possible that, combined with parent's education on one's culture, TTA children become aware of the difference from major society, which in turn facilitates their consciousness of the potential unfair treatment during adolescence. Furthermore, although current parental racial socialization is not related with adolescent discrimination, parental racial socialization in childhood was positively and significantly related to adolescent

discrimination, which is consistent with current racial socialization literature (Chavez & French, 2007; Fischer & Shaw, 1999).

A major contribution of the study is the incorporation of adolescents' report of peer cultural socialization. Specifically, the study examined whether peers mediated the association between parent cultural socialization and adolescent ethnic identity commitment and discrimination. Both peer ethnic and racial socialization were positively and significantly related with ethnic identity commitment. These findings add to the limited peer cultural socialization literature by demonstrating the importance of peers on ethnic identity development – whether it involves sharing or educating others about one's ethnic culture, noting the presence of prejudice and racism, or discussing race-related events in the media. With regards to discrimination, peer racial socialization was positively and significantly associated with adolescent discrimination, but peer ethnic socialization was not associated with adolescent discrimination. This is consistent with extant literature in that racial socialization has a more pronounced and established relationship with discrimination (e.g., Neblett et al., 2008; Fisher & Shaw, 1999) compared to ethnic socialization. Future studies should examine the content and context in which these cultural- and racial-specific conversations and activities occur. It would also be important to examine the effect of diversity, or lack thereof, within the peer group, given that many TTA individuals reside in ethnically homogenous neighborhoods.

Drawing from the channeling hypothesis, we examined for a serial mediation effect. Specifically, we tested whether peer cultural socialization, through T2 parental cultural socialization, would mediate the relationship between T1 parental cultural

socialization and adolescent ethnic identity commitment. The mediation model indicated that parental racial socialization in childhood was independently associated with more peer racial socialization in adolescence, which in turn was associated with greater ethnic identity commitment; however, the findings did not demonstrate a clear serial mediation model. Further, there was no mediation or serial mediation effect found for ethnic socialization. Although these results do not directly support the channeling hypothesis, it does illustrate the importance of parental racial socialization, particularly in childhood. Through parents' proactive discussions and activities regarding prejudice and discrimination, TTA individuals develop skills in addressing in these topics with their peers during adolescence, or are better equipped to identify peers who share their ethnic background and beliefs. These peer socialization interactions then further promote one's commitment to ethnic heritage.

Last, the study also examined the potential mediation of peer cultural socialization on the association between parental cultural socialization in childhood and adolescent discrimination. No mediation was found for ethnic socialization. Parental racial socialization in childhood was associated with higher peer racial socialization in adolescence, which in turn was associated with increased adolescents' awareness of discrimination; however, serial mediation did not occur. Although this does not directly support the channeling hypothesis, the findings are consistent with current research (e.g., Rivas-Drake, 2011), which shows that racial socialization leads to an increased perceived discrimination; the study is unique in identifying that peers is the mechanism through which it occurs. This finding, combined with the mediation finding discussed earlier,

further elucidates the distinct pathways through which racial socialization impact ethnic identity and discrimination.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the study offers several interesting contributions, the findings must be considered alongside limitations. First, a number of sample issues are apparent. Given the complexity of analyses, a larger sample size to increase power would strengthen the study. Additionally, while adopted Korean American adolescents are the most populous group of international adoptees in the United States (Selman, 2012), this study only included adolescents adopted from South Korea during infancy. Thus, the findings may not be generalizable to internationally adopted children from other countries, as resources to aid in cultural socialization vary greatly for other groups (Vonk, Lee, & Crolley-Simic, 2010). Related to this issue, cohort effects may influence the findings as all of the adolescents in this study were adopted from South Korea around the same time with comparable history and pre-adoption experiences (Lee, 2003). Further, this group of families was part of a larger international research group in Minnesota. It is possible that these families are particularly interested in research and may have different perceptions of cultural socialization compared to other transracial, transnational adoptive families. Thus, present study findings may not be generalizable to adoptive families that do not share these characteristics.

Second, more research is needed to refine measurements of cultural socialization, ethnic identity, and discrimination, to account for demographic variations among ethnic minority populations. Transracial, transnational adopted youth's paradoxical experience

of being both a member of the dominant White majority and a racial/ethnic minority may complicate the process of cultural socialization, ethnic identity development, and discrimination. For example, transracial, transnational adopted adolescents' cultural socialization experiences consist of less culturally-embedded experiences, but are confounded by experiences of difference or otherness (e.g., attending culture camp in the summer), and may be conflated with the stigma of adoption (Lee, 2010). Additionally, the racial socialization measure used in the study may be better at capturing when adolescent notice racial/ethnic bias, but not preparing for bias. The subscales for ethnic identity commitment also demonstrated a high average, indicating possible ceiling effect. Since two of the negatively worded affirmation items were changed to positively-worded items, future studies may want to consider establishing validity of the affirmation subscales.

Further, future research should consider incorporating other adoption-related variables, such as adoptive identity, family engagement, birth family thoughts, and genetic testing, in research with TTA families.

Another methodological limitation is length between T1 and T2 data collection. In understanding the associations between cultural socialization on ethnic identity and discrimination, it would have been important to capture one additional time point to account for any potential changes in associations. Future studies should consider incorporating multiple data collection periods for longitudinal studies on cultural socialization in TTA families.

Conclusion

The study extends our current knowledge regarding the ways in which cultural socialization contribute to ethnic identity and discrimination among TTA adolescents. Specifically, peer racial socialization in adolescence mediates the association between parental racial socialization in childhood and ethnic identity commitment, as well as the association between parental racial socialization and discrimination. The study demonstrates that racial and ethnic experiences of TTA individuals should not be overlooked, and illustrates the importance of longitudinal and multi-informant methodology.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Email and Letter Recruitment

Greetings from the Korean Adoption Project!

In March 2007, we invited your family to participate in a survey study on the Development and Well-Being of Korean Adoptees, conducted by Dr. Richard Lee in the Department of Psychology at the University of Minnesota. Seven years later, we would like to follow up with you and see how you are doing!

This project is one of the largest ever undertaken on Korean adoptees and their families in the United States. The survey will provide us with an opportunity to learn more about the life experiences of Korean adoptees and their families, especially what it means to raise a Korean child and to grow up as a Korean adoptee. We hope your family will take a moment of your time to help us with this study.

Like the first survey, we are interested in having both a parent and eligible child participate in the survey. If you as a parent want to participate, simply complete this survey for each child adopted from Korea who is between **13-20 year old as of January 1st, 2014**. If you are filling out this survey for more than one child, start with the oldest eligible child and continue to the youngest eligible child. The instructions to complete the survey are provided below.

If your child is between 13-20 years old and interested in participating, please have him or her complete the survey using the instructions provided below. You also can forward this email to your child if it is more convenient.

To compensate you for your time and effort, parents and adolescents who complete the surveys will receive a $10 and $20 Amazon gift card respectively. Participants also will receive study updates and a final report of the study's findings. Participation in the study is voluntary and you may decline to participate at any time. You may skip any questions on the survey you do not wish to answer.

Thank you. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at koradopt@umn.edu, richlee@umn.edu, (612) 625-6357.

To complete the survey online, please follow these instructions:

<u>PARENT SURVEYS</u>

1. Go to https://XXXXX
2. Enter your Family ID # XXX
3. Enter your unique password
4. Follow the instructions

<u>ADOLESCENT SURVEYS</u>

1. Go to https://XXXXXX
2. Enter your Family ID # XXX
3. Enter your unique password
4. Follow the instructions

APPENDIX B
Phone Recruitment Script

Hello, my name is RESEARCH ASSISTANT NAME and I am calling from the Department of Psychology at the University of Minnesota, may I please speak with Mr. or Mrs. LAST NAME?

Hello M(r/s/rs). LAST NAME, is this a good time? This will only take a few minutes.

- *[If not a good time, ask* "When would be a good time for me to call back?" *and update recruitment log]*

We are calling you because your family participated in a 2007 study called "International Adoption Project on the Development and Well-Being of Korean Adoptees." We are conducting a follow-up online survey which takes about 10-20 minutes and includes a payment of $10-20. Is this something you and your child would be interested in participating?

- *[If yes, proceed to next paragraph]*
- *[If no, thank you for their time – see following paragraph]*
  - I understand. Thank you for your time! If you change your mind, please email us at KORADOPT@umn.edu.

Great! "Would you like to have some more information about the study?" /"Would you like to have more details about the study?/"Would you like to know more about the study?"

- *[If yes, proceed to next paragraph]*
- *[If no, verify their email address – jump to "Okay, I need to verify your email."]*

This study is interested in the development and well-being of Korean adoptees and their families. The study is the first of its kind and will provide adoptees, adoptive parents, scholars, adoption agencies, and parents considering adoption with information about international adoption. Participation in the study is voluntary and you may decline to participate at any time. You may skip any questions on the survey you do not wish to answer. We hope that you consider participating!

Do you have any questions?

- *[If yes, address issues of confidentiality, summary of results available upon request, etc. if queried and refer to invitation and consent letters]*
- *[If no, proceed to next paragraph]*

Great! Now, I need to verify your email. What is your email address?

APPENDIX B (continued)

- [*Update Recruitment log with their email]*

Thank you. Now, I would like to verify the name of your child. We obtained this information from the 2007 survey. Is your son/daughter, *[FIRST NAME OF THE ADOPTEE]*, currently *[AGE]* years old?

- [*Wait for parent to confirm the name and age of the adoptee]*
- [*If correct]*
    - Wonderful! You will be answering questions on the survey just for [FIRST NAME OF ADOPTEE.]
- *[If incorrect]*
    - Thank you. This information is different from what we have on file. Is your child between the ages of 13-20 years old?
    - [*Update the recruitment log if information is incorrect. Be sure to have the correct FIRST NAME and AGE of the adoptee documented. If the parent has multiple adopted children who fall in this age range, say the following….]*
    - I want to make sure that I have the correct information before going forward. Do you mind speaking with my supervisor over the phone later this week?
    - [*If yes]*
        - Thank you. My supervisor, Alison, will call you in the next few days. Thank you for your patience during this time.
        - [*email Alison the name and PFamilyID of the parent and she will call them back.]*

Do you have any other questions that I might be able to answer?

- *[If yes, address issues of confidentiality, summary of results available upon request, etc. if queried and refer to invitation and consent letters]*

Thank you for your time. You will receive an email with links and instructions to the survey from us in the <u>first week of March</u>. In the mean time, if you have any other questions, please email us at KORADOPT@UMN.EDU.

Voicemail Script

Hello, Mr/Mrs. XXX, we are calling from the University of Minnesota to see if you are interested in participating in an online survey. This is a follow-up to the " International Adoption Project" which you and your family participated in 2007. Participants who complete the survey will receive up to a $20 gift card. If you are interested in participating, please email us at KORADOPT@UMN.EDU. Thank you!

APPENDIX C

Demographic Questionnaire (Parent)

In talking with adoptive families, we have discovered that we know a lot about the lives of adopted children, but much less about the lives of adoptive parents. So, we would like you to take a moment to describe yourself to us.

1. What is your gender? Man/Woman/Transgender

2. What is your age?

3. What is your race? *Select all that apply.*
   - Asian / Asian American
   - Black / African American
   - Latino / Hispanic
   - Native American
   - White / Caucasian
   - Other: __________________

4. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   - Less than high school degree
   - High school degree or GED
   - Some college but no degree
   - Associate degree (or other 2-year degree)
   - Bachelor's degree (AB, BA, BS)
   - Master's degree (MA, MS, MEng, Med, MSW, MBA)
   - Professional school and/or doctoral degree (PhD, MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD, Minister)

5. Do you have a spouse or partner? Yes/No

6. What is your partner's gender? Man/Woman/Transgender

7. What is your partner's age?

8. What is your partner's race? *Select all that apply.*
   - Asian / Asian American
   - Black / African American
   - Latino / Hispanic
   - Native American
   - White / Caucasian
   - Other: __________________

APPENDIX C (continued)

9. What is the highest level of education completed by your spouse/partner?
    - Less than high school degree
    - High school degree or GED
    - Some college but no degree
    - Associate degree (or other 2-year degree)
    - Bachelor's degree (AB, BA, BS)
    - Master's degree (MA, MS, MEng, Med, MSW, MBA)
    - Professional school and/or doctoral degree (PhD, MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD, Minister)

10. What was your total household income last year before taxes?
    - Less than $25,000
    - $25,000-$50,000
    - $51,000-$75,000
    - $76,000-$100,000
    - $101,000-$125,000
    - $126,000-$150,000
    - $151,000-$175,000
    - $176,000-$200,000
    - $201,000 or more

Demographic Questionnaire (Adolescent)

1. Were you adopted from South Korea? Yes/No

2. How old are you?

3. What is your gender? Man/Woman/Transgender

4. What is your relationship status?
    - Single
    - Dating
    - Other: __________

5. When is your birthday?

6. Where are you currently living?

7. How old were you at the time of adoption? Please round to the nearest MONTH.

APPENDIX D

Parental Ethnic[4] and Racial Socialization Subscales (Parent)

Please indicate if you have engaged in each of the following activities OVER THE PAST YEAR:

Never = 0   Rarely = 1   Sometimes = 2   Often = 3   Very Often = 4

1. **I have talked to my child about important Korean people or historical events**
2. **I have celebrated Korean holidays with my child**
3. I have talked to my child about how others may try to limit him/her because of race/ethnicity
4. I have explained to my child something on TV that showed discrimination against Asians
5. **I have encouraged my child to play with other children who are Korean or Asian American**
6. I have talked to my child about expectations others might have of his/her abilities because he/she is Korean/Asian
7. I have talked to my child about discrimination against people of a racial/ethnic group other than Koreans (e.g., Chinese, African Americans, Hispanics)
8. I have done or said things to show my child that all people are equal regardless of race/ethnicity[5]
9. I have talked to my child about important people or events in the history of other racial/ethnic groups, besides Koreans (e.g., African Americans, Hispanics)
10. **I have told my child that being Korean is an important part of him/herself**
11. I have talked to someone else about discrimination when my child could hear me
12. I have told my child that he/she must be better in order to get the same rewards given to others because of his/her race
13. **I have encouraged my child to read books about Koreans and Asians in general**
14. **I have encouraged my child to read books about other racial/ethnic groups**
15. I have talked to my child about unfair treatment that occurs due to race
16. I have talked to my child about racial stereotypes, prejudice, and/or discrimination against Koreans and Asians in general
17. **I have encouraged my child to learn and speak Korean words**
18. **I have talked to my child about dating Korean or Asian people**

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[4] Ethnic socialization subscale (8) in bold.
[5] Item 8, 9, 12, 15 were dropped from T1 due to poor loading or double loading in factor analysis

APPENDIX E

Parental Ethnic[6] and Racial Socialization Subscales (Adolescent)

Please tell us how frequently your parents (one or both) have done or said the following things to you OVER THE PAST YEAR:

Never = 0 Rarely = 1 Sometimes = 2 Often = 3 Very Often = 4

1. **Talked to you about important Korean people or historical events**
2. **Celebrated Korean holidays with you**
3. Talked to you about how others may try to limit you because of race/ethnicity
4. Explained to you something on TV that showed discrimination against Asians
5. **Encouraged you to socialize with other adolescents who are Korean or Asian American**
6. Talked to you about discrimination against people of a racial/ethnic group other than Koreans (e.g., Chinese, African Americans, Hispanics)
7. Done or said things to show to you that all people are equal regardless of race/ethnicity
8. Talked to you about important people or events in the history of other racial/ethnic groups, besides Koreans (e.g., African Americans, Hispanics)[7]
9. Talked to you about expectations others might have of your abilities because you are Korean/Asian
10. **Told you that being Korean is an important part of who you are**
11. Talked to someone else about discrimination when you could hear them
12. Told you that you must be better in order to get the same rewards given to others because of your race
13. **Encouraged you to read books about Koreans and Asians in general**
14. **Encouraged you to read books about other racial/ethnic groups**
15. Talked to you about unfair treatment that occurs due to race
16. Talked to you about racial stereotypes, prejudice, and/or discrimination against Koreans and Asians in general
17. **Encouraged you to learn and speak Korean words**
18. **Talked to you about dating Korean or Asian people**

---

[6] Ethnic socialization subscale items (8) in bold.
[7] Item 8, 9, 12, 15 were dropped from T1 due to poor loading or double loading in factor analysis

APPENDIX F

Peer Ethnic[8] and Racial Socialization Subscales (Adolescent)

Please tell us how frequently you have done or said the following things with/to your close friends OVER THE PAST YEAR:

Never = 0 Rarely = 1 Sometimes = 2 Often = 3 Very Often = 4

1. **Talked about important Korean people or historical events**
2. **Celebrated Korean holidays**
3. Talked about how others may try to limit you because of race/ethnicity
4. Talked about something on TV that showed discrimination against Asians
5. **Socialized with other adolescents who are Korean or Asian American**
6. Talked about expectations others might have of your abilities because you are Korean/Asian
7. Talked about discrimination against people of a racial/ethnic group other than Koreans (e.g., Chinese, African Americans, Hispanics)
8. Talked about all people are equal regardless of race/ethnicity[9]
9. Talked about important people or events in the history of other racial/ethnic groups, besides Koreans (e.g., African Americans, Hispanics)
10. **Talked about how being Korean is an important part of who you are**
11. Talked about discrimination with friends
12. Talked about needing to be better in order to get the same rewards given to others because of your race/ethnicity
13. **Read books about Koreans and Asians in general**
14. **Read books about other racial/ethnic groups**
15. Talked about unfair treatment that occurs due to race
16. Talked about racial stereotypes, prejudice, and/or discrimination against Koreans and Asians in general
17. **Learned and spoken Korean words**
18. **Talked about dating Korean or Asian people**

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[8]Ethnic socialization subscale items (8) in bold.
[9] Items 8, 9, 12, 15 were dropped from T2 to match items generated in T2

APPENDIX G
Ethnic Identity Scale[10]

(EIS; Umana-Taylor, Yazedijian, & Bamaca-Gomez, 2004)

Please read each statement carefully and check how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

Does not describe me at all = 0	Describes me a little = 1	Describes me well = 2	Describes me very well = 4

1. **My feelings about being Korean are mostly positive**
2. I have not participated in any activities that would teach me about being Korean
3. I am clear about what being Korean means to me
4. I have experienced things that reflect my Korean heritage, such as eating food, listening to music, and watching movies
5. I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my Korean heritage
6. I have read books/magazines/newspapers or other materials that have taught me about my Korean heritage
7. **I feel positively about being Korean**
8. I have participated in activities that have exposed me to my Korean heritage
9. **I wish I were not Korean**
10. **I am not happy with being Korean**
11. I have learned about my Korean heritage by doing things such as reading (books, magazines, newspapers), searching the internet, or keeping up with current events
12. I understand how I feel about being Korean
13. **If I could choose, I would prefer to not be Korean**
14. I know what my Korean heritage means to me
15. I have participated in activities that have taught me about my Korean heritage
16. **I dislike being Korean**
17. I have a clear sense of what being Korean means to me

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[10] Affirmation subscale items (6) in bold. Resolution subscale items (4) underlined. Exploration subscale items (7) in regular font. Commitment subscale (10) comprised of affirmation and resolution items.

APPENDIX H
Perceived Discrimination Scale

How frequently have any of the following events happened to you?

Never = 0 Rarely = 1 Sometimes = 2 Often = 3 Very Often = 4

1. I have overheard people make rude or insensitive ethnic and racial comments about minorities
2. People have made rude or insensitive comments about Koreans or Asians
3. I have been teased or made fun of because of my ethnicity/race
4. I have been treated unfairly by teachers because of my ethnicity/race
5. I have been rejected or excluded by others because of my ethnicity/race
6. People have looked down on me or treated me unfairly because of my ethnicity/race
7. I have been expected to know certain things or act a certain way because I am Korean or Asian (such as speak Korean language, know martial arts)
8. I have been made to feel different or that I don't belong because of my ethnicity/race
9. I have been expected to have certain abilities, skills, or talents because I am Korean or Asian (such as play music, be good at math and science)
10. I have been made to feel different or that I don't belong by Korean Americans who are not adopted (e.g., immigrants, U.S.-born)
11. People have looked down on me or treated me unfairly because I am adopted

APPENDIX I

Collinearity, Missing Data, and Family Effect Analyses

Collinearity. In order to assess the validity of indirect effect, multicollinearity among independent variables was tested because high multicollinearity among independent variables undermines the significant indirect effect. Variance Inflated Factor (VIF) higher than 10 or tolerance lower than .01 would be problematic which indicated the predictors are identical (Cohen et al., 2003, p.422-424). To detect multicollinearity, three sets of regression models were tested for ethnic identity and perceived discrimination (i.e., ethnic socialization, racial socialization). T1 parental ethnic socialization or racial socialization was entered at Step 1. T2 parent and adolescent reports of parental ethnic socialization or racial socialization was entered at Step 2. T2 peer ethnic socialization or racial socialization was entered at Step 3. Multicollinearity statistics are presented in Table 1. Although the study variables did not reach multicollinearity threshold, eigenvalues for peer ethnic and racial socialization ranged between .020 to .023. Taken together with the significant correlations between peer ethnic socialization and adolescent report of parental ethnic socialization ($r = .67$, $p < .01$) and the significant correlations between peer racial socialization and adolescent report of parental racial socialization ($r = .59$, $p < .01$), it was determined that T2 adolescents of parental ethnic and racial socialization would not be included in further analyses (R. Lee, M. Syed, P., Frazier, personal communication, March 11, 2015).

APPENDIX I (continued)

Table 1
Summary of Collinearity Diagnostics for T1 and T2 Predictors

	EIS-Commitment			Perceived Discrimination		
	Eigenvalue	Tolerance	VIF	Eigenvalue	Tolerance	VIF
T1 Par ES (P)	.118	.607	1.648	.112	.552	1.812
T2 Par ES (P)	.033	.634	1.578	.040	.577	1.732
T2 Par ES (A)	.032	.451	2.217	.036	.506	1.976
T2 Peer ES (A)	.021	.476	2.103	.020	.552	1.811
T1 Par RS (P)	.118	.605	1.652	.114	.606	1.651
T2 Par RS (P)	.054	.648	1.542	.055	.643	1.554
T2 Par RS (A)	.050	.641	1.561	.048	.639	1.562
T2 Peer RS (A)	.024	.655	1.526	.023	.662	1.510

Missing Data. Little's (1988) MCAR test showed that the pattern of missing values did not depend on the data values (p = 1.00). Missing data (with a cutoff of no more than 10% missing) was then imputed on standardized scales through the expectation-maximization (EM) algorithm. EM is an iterative maximum-likelihood procedure in which a function for the expectation of the log-likelihood is evaluated using expectation and maximization steps. Imputation of missing items did not exceed 5% of the cases.

Family Effect. Sixteen parent-adolescent dyads from the 116 sample were siblings. Mixed linear models were conducted to account for potential family effect. Intraclass Correlation Coefficients (ICC) for all six models were calculated; the residual variance is higher than the family random effects for all models.

APPENDIX I (continued)

Specifically, ICCs for T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment indicated the following: ethnic socialization, (ω^2 = .08, *ns*) and racial socialization (ω^2 = .00, *significance level not calculated*). ICCs for T2 adolescent perceived discrimination indicated the following: ethnic socialization, (ω^2 = .58, *ns*) and racial socialization (ω^2 = .41, *ns*). Additionally, results from linear mixed models did not differ from multiple regression models. Results indicated that significance level for all variables did not differ from multiple regression models. The lack of family effect is likely due to the low number of clustered data (16 adolescents).

APPENDIX J
Hypothesized Models

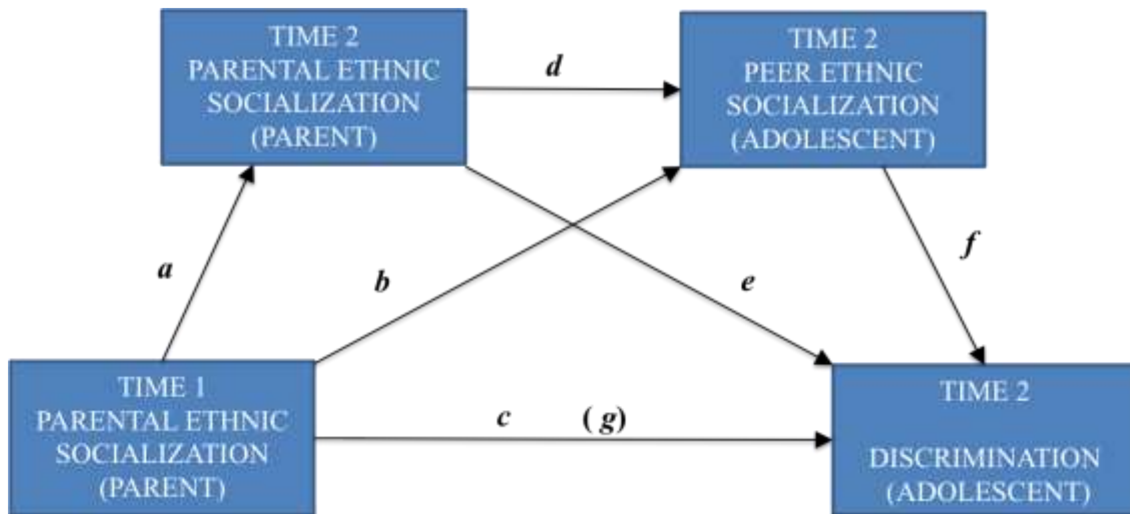

Figure 1. Mediation model for the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination, with T2 parental and peer ethnic socialization as mediators.

APPENDIX J (continued)

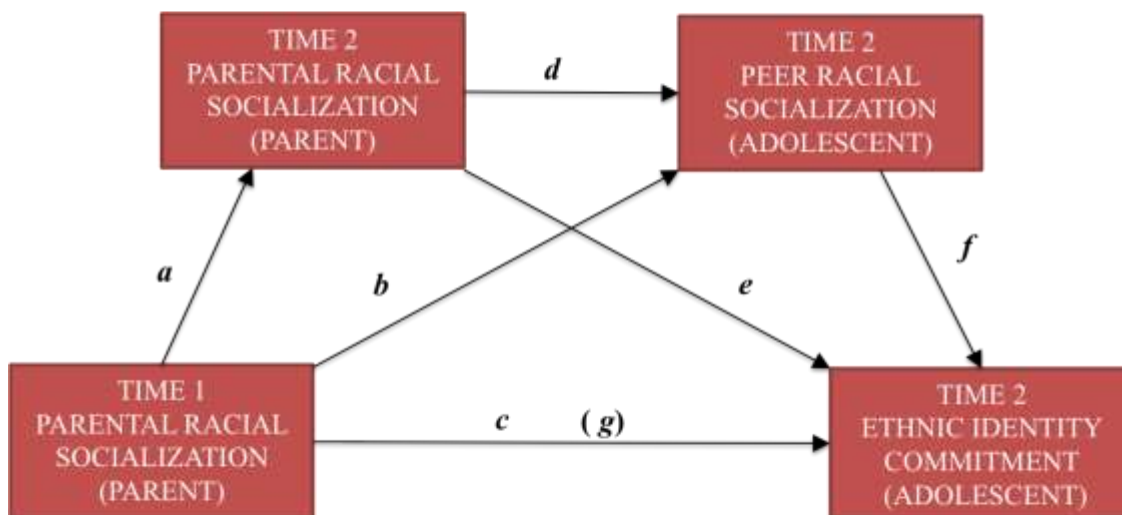

Figure 2. *Mediation model for the relationship between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment, with T2 parental and peer racial socialization as mediators.*

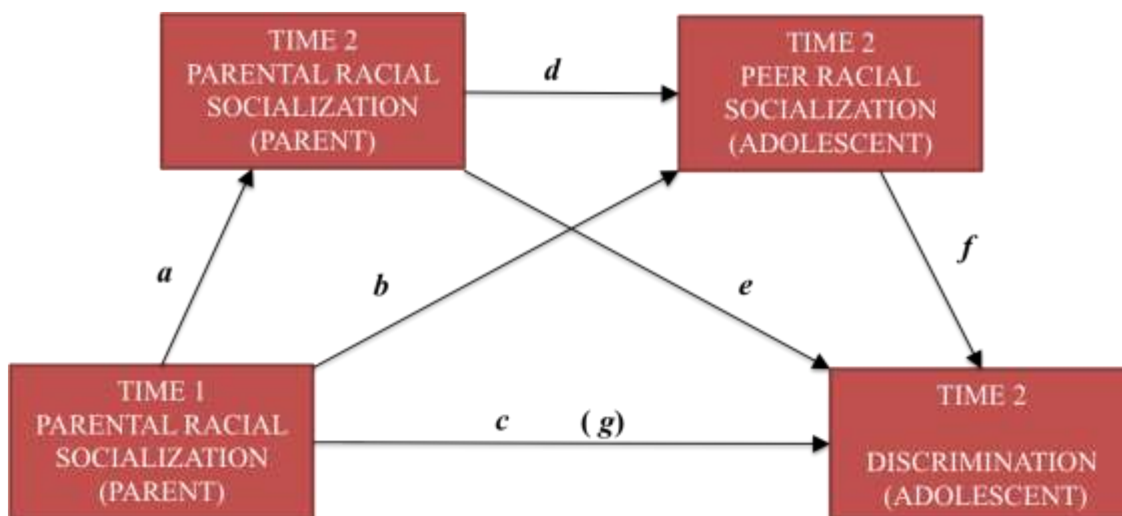

Figure 3. *Mediation model for the relationship between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination, with T2 parental and peer racial socialization as mediators.*

APPENDIX K

Path diagrams for families with primary parent identified as White (*N* = 114)

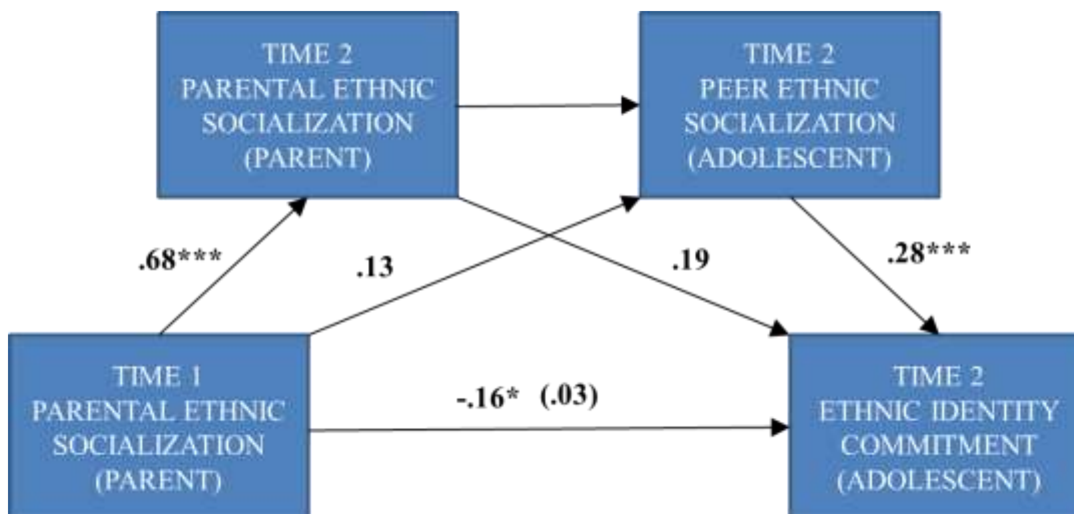

Figure 1. Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment. The unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment, controlling for T2 parental and peer ethnic socialization, is in parentheses. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

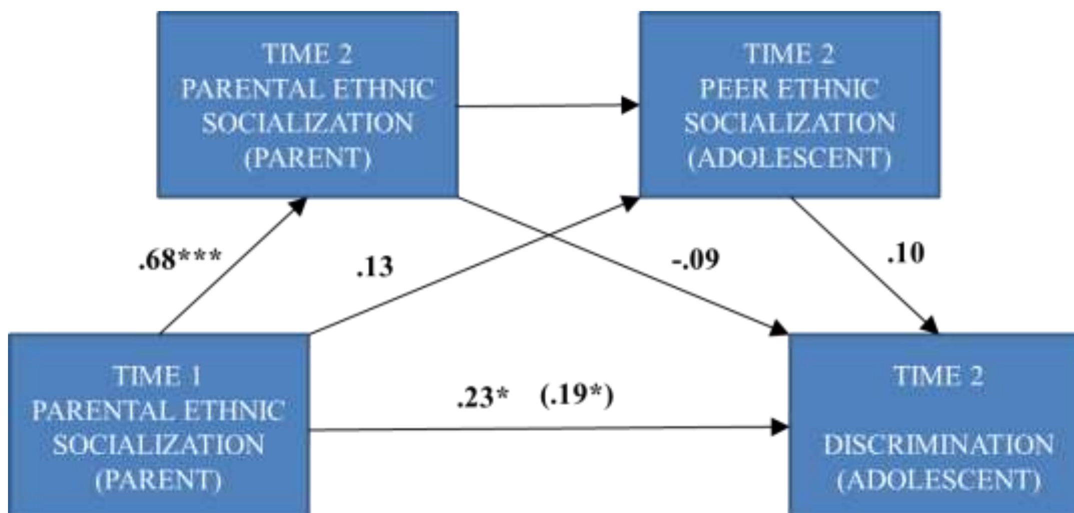

Figure 2. Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination. The unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination, controlling for T2 parental and peer ethnic socialization, is in parentheses. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

APPENDIX K (continued)

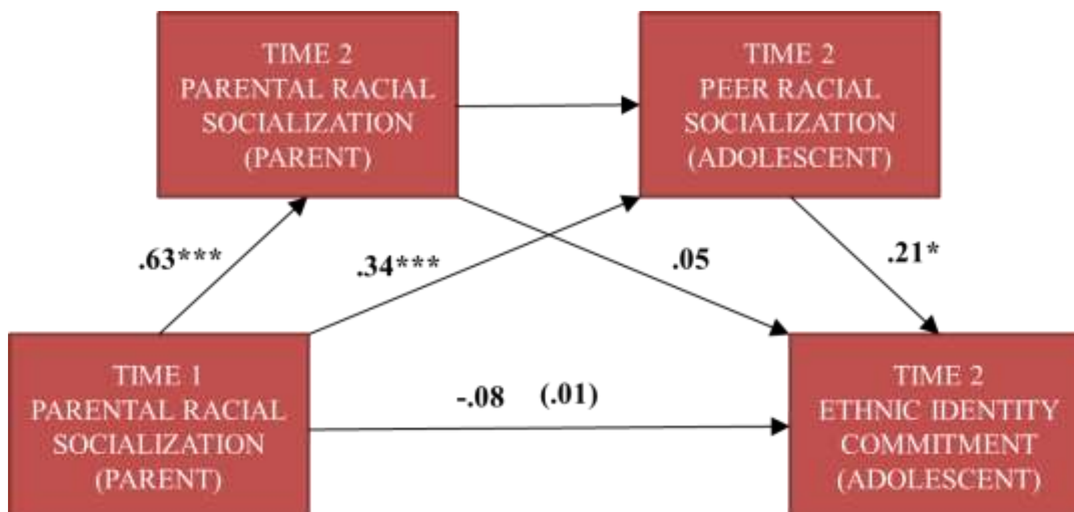

Figure 3. Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment. The unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment, controlling for T2 parental and peer racial socialization, is in parentheses. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

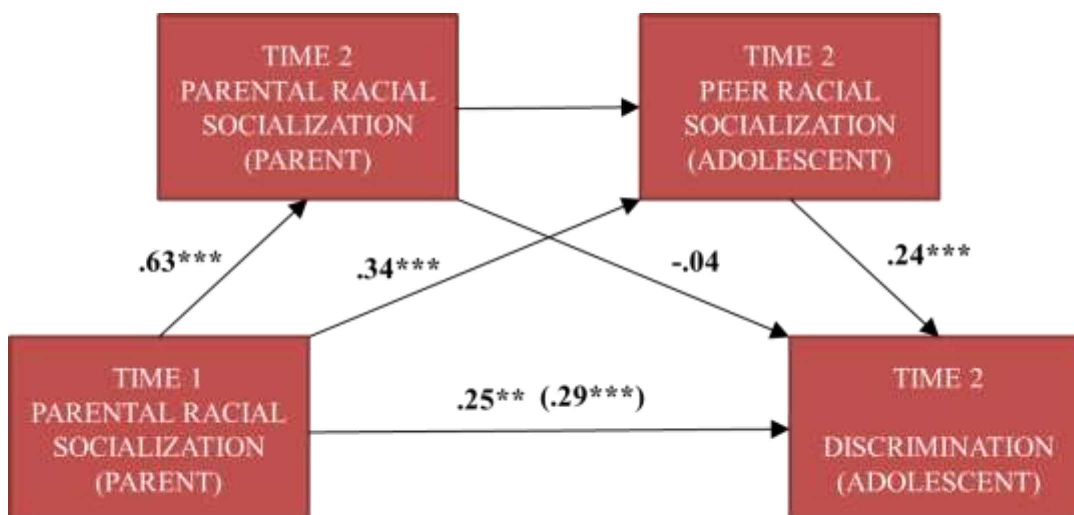

Figure 4. Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination. The unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination, controlling for T2 parental and peer racial socialization, is in parentheses. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

APPENDIX L

Path diagrams for families with both parents identified as White (*N* = 106)

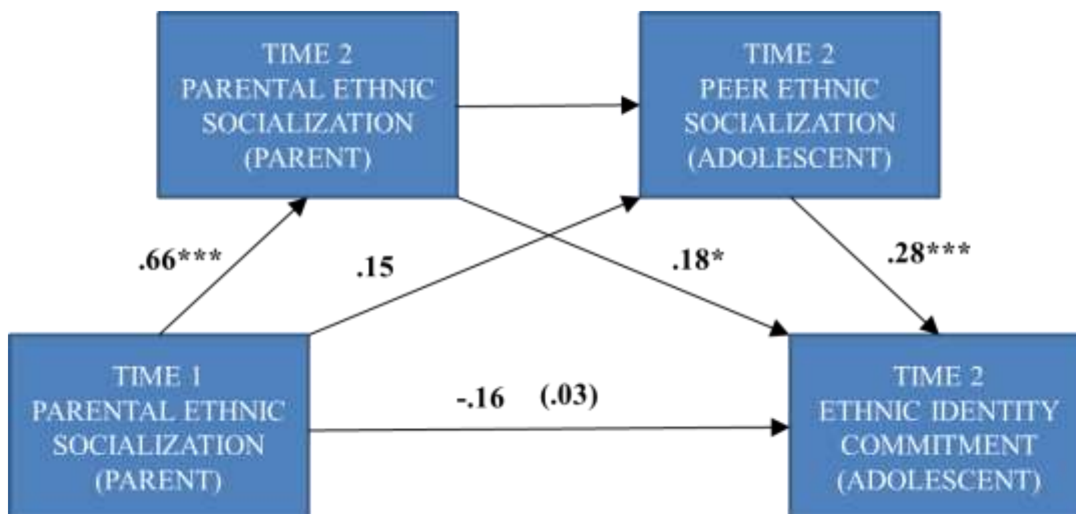

Figure 1. Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment. The unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment, controlling for T2 parental and peer ethnic socialization, is in parentheses. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

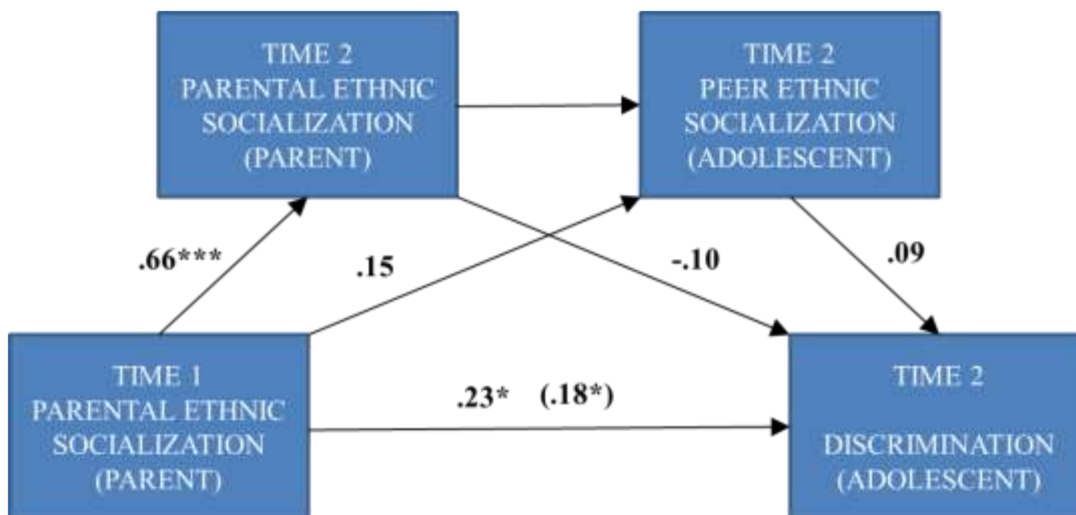

Figure 2. Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination. The unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental ethnic socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination, controlling for T2 parental and peer ethnic socialization, is in parentheses. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

APPENDIX L (continued)

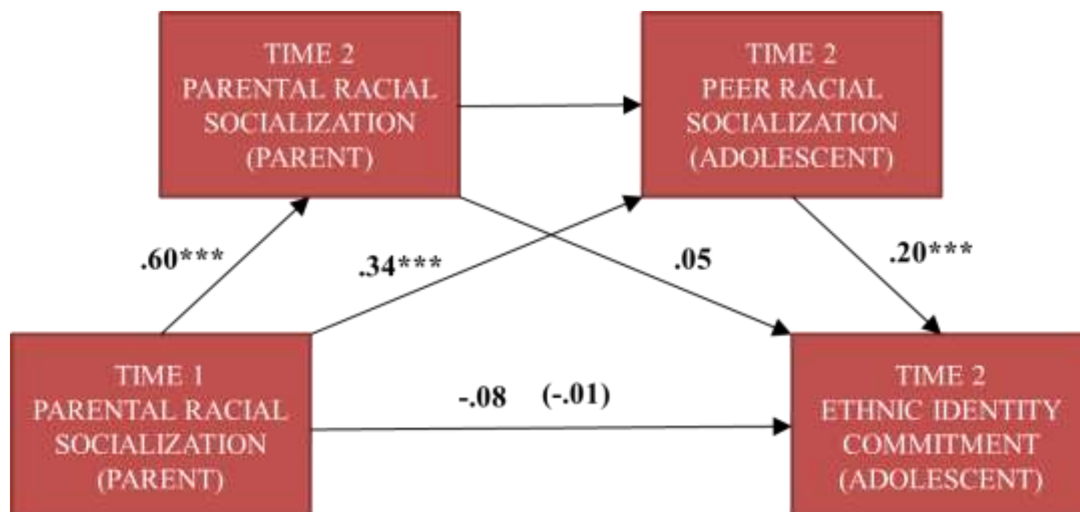

Figure 3. *Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment. The unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent ethnic identity commitment, controlling for T2 parental and peer racial socialization, is in parentheses.* *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

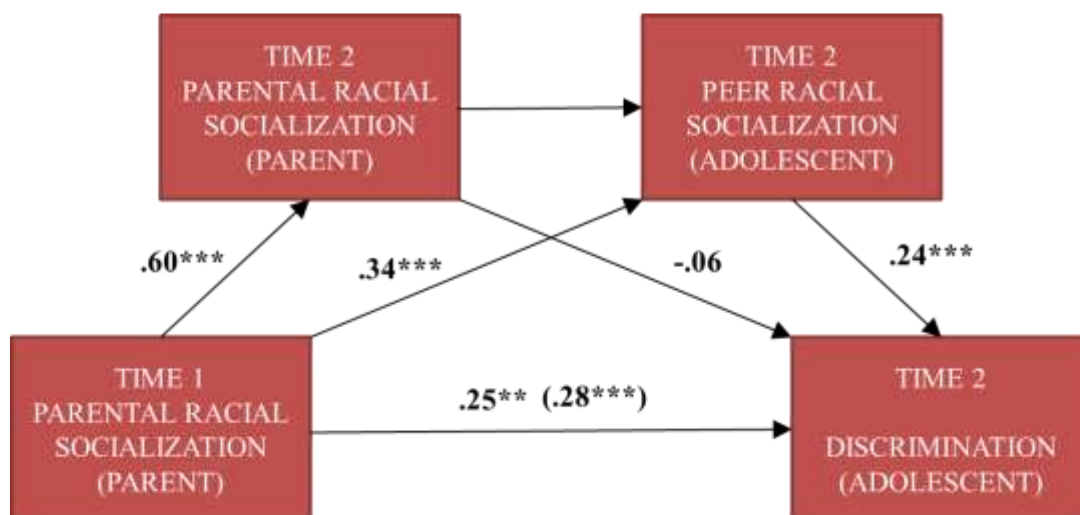

Figure 4. *Unstandardized regression coefficients for the relationship between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination. The unstandardized regression coefficient between T1 parental racial socialization and T2 adolescent perceived discrimination, controlling for T2 parental and peer racial socialization, is in parentheses.* *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.