

EXPLORING CULTURE KEEPING AND CULTURAL TOURISM

**Exploring Culture Keeping and Cultural Tourism in
Families with Children from China**

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Abstract

This study explored cultural socialization in 17 transracial adoptive families with children from China. To do so, the study adopted Quiroz's (2012) conceptualization of *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism*, and operationalized her differentiation using the ethnic-racial socialization model developed by Pinderhughes (2010). The study thus identified 4 indicators for *culture keeping/cultural tourism*, and coded each indicator from parent interviews on a 5-point Likert scale. The findings were that cultural socialization activities reflected *cultural tourism*; the majority of parents took proactive approaches to cultural socialization, which reflected *culture keeping*; parents' motivation for cultural socialization was equally distributed between *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism*; and parents' attitudes toward cultural differences indicated *culture keeping*. However no family was *culture keeping* across all indicators. This study presented complexities of cultural socialization in transracial adoptive families, and demonstrated the value in taking a culturally sensitive approach to cultural socialization. Limitations with concepts and measures were discussed.

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Exploring Culture Keeping and Cultural Tourism in Families with Children From China

The United States is the largest receiving country of international adoptions. In the fiscal year 2012, 8,668 children were adopted to the U.S., among whom 2,697 adoptees were from China (U.S. Department of State). China has been the largest source of adoption to the United States since 1995. Most of these intercountry adoptive parents are middle-income white Americans, and they contribute one subgroup of families – transracial adoptive (TRA) families.

There are controversies among adoption professionals, researchers and practitioners regarding the psychological well-being of transracial adoptees. Some studies that compared transracial adoptees, same-race adoptees, and nonadoptees showed a comparable rate of serious behavioral and emotional problems, and similar levels of self-esteem and social adjustment among the three groups of children (see Lee, 2003). However, some professionals are concerned about psychological risks associated with transracial adoptions. In 1972, the National Association of Black Social Workers asserted its opposition to white parents adopting black children (NABSW, 1972). Their opposition was not ungrounded. For example, a Sweden-based study found that transracial adoptees were 2-3 times more likely to have serious psychiatric and social maladjustment problems than their Sweden-born siblings (Hjern, Lindblad, & Vinnerljung, 2002).

Adult transracial adoptees themselves also have voiced their struggles about growing up in families of mixed races. There are a number of books featuring collective stories of adult transracial adoptees. Common themes in many of the

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stories are identity struggle, searching for biological parents, and relearning about their birth culture (Ahn-Reading & Simon, 2007; Trenka, Oparah, & Shin, 2006; Simon & Roorda, 2000). Adoptees' stories and research in transracial adoption both pointed out risks and struggles associated with transracial adoption.

Among controversies in transracial adoption, many of the disputes revolve around identity formation. Forming a self-identity - understanding who we are - is an important developmental task for all human beings. For transracial adoptees, identity formation may be more complex. Transracial adoptees face the tasks of forming their adoptive identity as well as an ethnic identity, which may differ from adoptive parents. Ethnic self-identity is considered "central to the development of the personal identity of minority group members" (Maldonado, 1975, p. 621). For example, compared to minority adolescents who had not explored ethnic identity and those who were involved in ethnic identity exploration but had not committed to an ethnic identity, minority adolescents scored highest on ego identity and psychological adjustment when they had explored and achieved ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989). Therefore the major concern for those who stand against transracial adoption is whether adoptive parents, who are usually white, can provide sufficient support for their children of color to develop a healthy ethnic identity.

Books and reports featuring adoptees' stories brought a big impact to the international transracial adoptive community. Many adoption professionals hence encourage maintaining connections to adoptees' cultural background in TRA families in order to help adoptees develop a hybrid identity – an identity that

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incorporates both the adoptive culture and the birth culture. For example, it is often recommended that prospective adoptive parents attend cultural literacy programs before the finalization of an adoption. Parents who adopt from China thus may choose to purchase Chinese dolls, celebrate Chinese New Year, enroll their daughters in Chinese dance lessons in order to preserve the culture of their children's birth country. Parents who adopted from China in the past few decades were generally educated about the importance in providing culture exposure; and learning about birth culture became a common practice in transracial adoptive families (Jacobson, 2008).

Transracial adoptive parents from late nineties are aware of the importance of maintaining a connection to birth culture, however cultural practices vary. Heather Jacobson (2008) referred to these activities as *culture keeping*, acknowledging white mothers' attempts to keep connections to their children's birth culture. However, at best, some of the cultural activities create only a superficial connection to the adoptee's birth culture. For instance, when adoptive parents purchase adoption-related books and dolls that look like the adoptee, one may doubt whether these books and dolls can effectively improve the adoptee's cultural competence. Quiroz (2012) called these superficial culture-connecting activities *cultural tourism*. She further suggested that *cultural tourism* might provide partial understanding of why TRA children often fail to develop hybrid identities.

Despite the fact that many TRA parents are aware of adoptees' identity struggles and subsequently offer cultural activities, little is known regarding what cultural exposure to provide and how to provide it. Quiroz (2012) pointed to the

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fact that many cultural activities are superficial, and the present study attempted to look at variations in culture-connecting activities practiced in transracial adoptive families.

Cultural Socialization

The term *cultural socialization* had not been used consistently in the literature. Researchers used different terms such as ethnic socialization, racial socialization, and cultural socialization among others to capture various facets of racial and ethnic socialization, and sometimes these terms were used interchangeably. Hughes and colleagues (Hughes et al., 2006) hence clarified the usage of terminologies and proposed four themes describing racial and ethnic socialization: *cultural socialization*, *preparation for bias*, *promotion of mistrust*, and *egalitarianism*. Whereas *cultural socialization* refers to activities that promote cultural pride and skills that enable a person to function in a culture group, *preparation for bias* refers to parents' efforts to make children aware of racism and to teach children how to cope with it. *Promotion of mistrust* emphasizes interracial mistrust; parents with an *egalitarian* approach encourage children to look beyond race, and promote an attitude that is silent about race. The present study adopts Hughes and colleagues' terminology, and focuses on cultural socialization in TRA families. The focus of the present study then, is on cultural activities such as learning about history, achievement and customs, and through which children can learn about their birth culture and feel good about their ethnic identity.

The importance of cultural socialization. Transracial adoptees may experience difficulties with their ethnic identity, and one of the ways to feel positive

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about their identity is through cultural socialization. Many TRA children struggle with a sense of “being different” and feelings of loss (Friedlander et al. 2000). When transracial adoptees leave home to enter college and workforce, they may feel, on the one hand, unprepared for and overwhelmed by racism, and, on the other hand, find themselves not accepted either by the white group or the group of their birth countries (Friedlander, 1999; Baden, Treweek, & Ahluwalia, 2012). However, if an adoptee is exposed to her/his birth culture from a young age and learns to navigate both in the birth culture and the adopted culture, she/he may have a better sense of belonging.

There are abundant anecdotal reports from adult transracial adoptees that highlighted the lack of cultural socialization and adoptees’ subsequent struggles with marginalization (Ahn-Reading & Simon, 2007; Trenka, Oparah, & Shin, 2006; Simon & Roorda, 2000). Marginalization by both mainstream and birth cultures, and consequently, failure to develop a hybrid identity, was also noted in research. For example, although most Asian adopted teenagers reported getting along well with people of all races, 22% wished to be of “a different race”, and only 51% reported feeling accepted by other Asians (Benson, Sharman, & Roehlkepartain, 1994). More recently, a report from the Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute (McGinnis, Livingston Smith, Ryan & Howard, 2009) found that 78% adult Korean transracial adoptees had considered themselves to be or wanted to be white as children; compared to same-race adoptees, Korea-born adoptees identified more strongly with their ethnic group, however, they were less likely to have a strong sense of

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belonging to their ethnic group. Ethnic identity is undoubtedly one of the major struggles of transracial adoptees.

However, a positive ethnic identity was repeatedly reported to be predictive of better psychological adjustment in transracial adoptees (DeBerry et al., 1996; Yoon, 2000; Basow, Lilley, Bookwala, & McGilicuddy-Delisi, 2008; Tan & Jordan-Arthur, 2012), and cultural socialization plays an important role in building a positive ethnic identity (DeBerry et al., 1996; Yoon, 2000; Huh & Reid, 2000). In a study of Korean adoptees, Basow and colleagues (Basow et al., 2008) found Korean adoptees' psychological well-being - measured by personal growth, self-acceptance, and positive relationships with other - was affected by ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was measured by experiential explorations of ethnicity and commitment to the ethnic identity. The positive association between ethnic identity and psychological well-being was also reported in Chinese adoptees. Using the same measurement for ethnic identity in Basow et al.'s (2008) study, Tan and Jordan-Arthur (2012) found that adopted Chinese girls' global self-esteem correlated with ethnic identity affirmation. Ethnic identity, as it is in other minority groups (e.g., Aboud, 1987; Phinney, 1989), remains a determinant factor to psychological well-being for transracial adoptees.

Moreover, research showed that cultural socialization is associated with positive ethnic identity and better psychological adjustment. In a study of African American transracial adoptees, DeBerry and colleagues (1996) interviewed both adoptive parents and adolescent adoptees, and coded ethnic-racial socialization based on attitudes, behaviors and practices that addressed race and culture issues.

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The authors found that a family's degree of verbal and behavioral endorsement of ethnic-racial socialization predicted Africentric reference group orientation, which contributed significantly to adjustment. In Asian transracial adoptees, the positive relation between cultural socialization, ethnic identity and psychological well-being was also found. Korean adoptees' participation in Korean cultural activities was associated with the extent of adoptees' identification with Korean culture (Huh & Reid, 2000). In TRA families where parents supported their Korea-born children's ethnic identity and shared ethnic socialization experiences, these children showed better psychological adjustment (Yoon, 2000). In short, for transracial adoptees, ethnic identity is related to well-being and adjustment, and cultural socialization is one of the ways to achieve a positive ethnic identity.

Complexities in cultural socialization. Transracial adoptive families with children from China belong to a cohort that was generally well informed by adoption professionals about maintaining a cultural connection, and many parents provide culture exposure to their children (Jacobson, 2008). However TRA parents' cultural practices vary. Crolley-Simic and Vonk (2008) conducted in-depth interviews with 8 white mothers who adopted from China, Korea and Vietnam and summarized these mothers' socialization practices in four types. The first type is socializing with *families like ours*. These families attended playgroups, celebrations, and camps specifically designed for TRA families. Mothers from this category hoped to normalize the transracial makeup of the family. The second type of socialization is *visiting culture*. White mothers provided regular exposure of birth culture to their children. For example, experiences such as attending cultural festivals and visiting

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ethnic markets make up the majority of their socialization activities. Another type of socialization is being *invested in culture*. Mothers who were invested in culture integrated culture into their daily lives. Compared with culture visiting mothers, mothers who are invested in culture spend much greater time and effort in connecting to the child's birth culture. The last type of socialization is *diverse life*. Adoptive mothers not only routinely exposed their children to their birth culture, but also took an active approach regarding racial equality. Although all mothers in Crolley-Simic and Vonk's study reported providing racial and cultural socialization, their cultural practices were diverse.

However, existing measurements for cultural socialization do not always address variations such as those reported by Crolley-Simic and Vonk (2008). For example, DeBerry and colleagues (1996) assessed the degree to which parents' attitude, behavior and practices reflected race and culture issues; Huh and Reid (2000) adopted a quantitative measurement of the extent of family involvement in Korean cultural activities; and Yoon (2008) developed an 8-item scale that measured parents' direct and indirect support of child's ethnic background. These measurements tended to assess general parental effort in cultural socialization.

However it is necessary to use a measurement that can address complexities in cultural socialization. Adult transracial adoptees of African heritage responded to interview questions such as "how do parental socialization practices facilitate or constrain their access to a black reference group with peers" (p. 30), and claimed that although they were exposed to African American culture to various degrees as a child, they had to "relearn" the African American culture when they became older

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(Samuels, 2010). Adoptees reported that some of the cultural socialization activities such as receiving books, dolls, and attending cultural festivals build only a superficial connection to the birth culture. However, receiving ethnic dolls and attending cultural festivals were common items in cultural socialization measurements (e.g., Lee et al., 2006; Johnston et al., 2007).

Mohanty and Newhill (2011) measured ethnic socialization (cultural socialization)¹ and its relation to psychological well-being in adopted Asian youths. The authors also included activities such as receiving dolls and attending cultural festivals in their cultural socialization subscale. Contrary to previous findings, cultural socialization was not found to be related to low marginality and high self-esteem. The authors discussed that one of the factors contributing to the lack of association between cultural socialization and well-being could be that their cultural socialization measurement contained “superficial” cultural activities. Samuels (2010), and Mohanty and Newhill (2011) pointed out the cultural socialization was a broad practice, and it might be problematic to view all activities as having equal contributions to ethnic identity.

Similar reflections were also found in Korean adoptees (McGinnis et al., 2009). From their survey of adult Korean adoptees, McGinnis and colleagues found that activities specifically designed for adoptees to connect to the birth culture, such as culture camps and ethnic festivals, were insufficient in helping transracial adoptees to develop a healthy, positive sense of self. What helped, according to adult

¹ The authors used the term “ethnic socialization” instead of “cultural socialization”. However, the measures for racial socialization taps onto teaching about heritage and Hughes et al. (2006) categorized these activities to cultural socialization.

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adoptees, were “lived” experiences such as traveling to the birth country, attending racially diverse schools, and having role models of their own race/ethnicity. In addition, 80 percent of the adult adoptees reported having tried to learn more about their ethnic group.

This “relearning” experience was recently coined by Baden and colleagues (Baden, Treweeke, & Ahluwalia, 2012) as *reculturation*. After a brief period of enculturation to a child’s birth culture, a child who is relinquished and adopted internationally quickly assimilates to the adopted culture and no longer experiences enculturation of the original culture. Although many TRA parents start providing cultural socialization to their children from a young age, it is exceptional for TRA parents to provide ongoing, substantive and authentic experiences of adoptees’ birth culture, and Baden and colleagues believe that TRA children rarely maintain cultural ties to their birth countries. When TRA children reach adolescence or adulthood, they initiate *reculturation* to build connections to their birth culture. Baden and colleagues’ theory on *reculturation* indirectly points to the broad and often superficial practices of cultural socialization in transracial adoptive families, which is also the focus of the present study.

Culture Keeping and Cultural Tourism

As the complexities in cultural socialization have become better addressed, Quiroz (2012) suggested looking at cultural socialization by its two orientations - *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism*. *Culture keeping*, as coined by Jacobson (2008), refers to TRA parents’ efforts in maintaining the connection to an adoptee’s birth culture. *Cultural tourism* was defined by Quiroz as “the selective appropriation of

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consumption of renovated cultural symbols, artifacts, and cultural events as a means of constructing identity” (p. 528). Whereas genuine *culture keeping* parents make substantive attempts to maintain their adopted children’s birth culture, *cultural tourism* parents only keep culture to the extent that is convenient for them without significant changes in life style. The present study adopts Quiroz’s differentiation in *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism*.

According to Quiroz (2012), *culture keeping* is the more authentic way of connecting a transracial adoptee to the birth culture than *cultural tourism*. However, Quiroz also noted that *culture keeping* is rare. From comments posted by transracial adoptive parents on adoption forums, Quiroz found that although parents engage in both *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* activities, there was a predisposition toward *cultural tourism*. Moreover, “participants who enthusiastically and unreservedly engaged in culture keeping were exceptional” (p. 538). The most frequently practiced cultural socialization activities by TRA families in Quiroz’s (2012) report were those that satisfy parents’ perceived obligation to maintain a connection to their child’s culture and minimally challenging to incorporate into daily lives. Celebrating Chinese New Year hence was a very common practice among families that adopted from China. However the extent to which culture is kept by celebrating a Chinese festival organized by white Americans may be limited. To identify what activities are *culture keeping* and what activities are *cultural tourism*, Quiroz provided the following descriptions.

Quiroz (2012) proposed *culture keeping* as: adoptive parents’ efforts in building cross-cultural contacts; becoming members in cultural associations other

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than those exclusively for TRA families; and changes in social and geographical locations and identities. *Cultural tourism* requires less substantive effort, and it includes engagement in cultural events, renaming a child, resistant to cultural socialization, and consumption of cultural artifacts.

Although the idea of differentiating *culture keeping* from *cultural tourism* was culturally sensitive, the descriptions Quiroz provided to differentiate these two orientations is difficult to operationalize. For example, renaming is a one-time event but building cross-cultural contacts may be a life long effort of cultural socialization. Engagement in cultural events describes activities, whereas resistance to cultural socialization can describe both behavior and cognition. Moreover, Quiroz argued that attending cultural events such as celebrating Chinese New Year is *cultural tourism*. However, if a TRA family celebrates Chinese New Year with a Chinese family and the adoptee gained enormous cultural pride by learning about Chinese New Year from the Chinese family; such an activity may reach the level of *culture keeping*.

Quiroz claimed that the differentiation between *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* is an activity-level differentiation. However, transracial adoptees grow up in a family that incorporates an array of cultural activities, not to a particular activity. Thus it might be worthwhile to look at *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* at the family level.

To date, Quiroz's (2012) conceptualization of *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* has not been applied in research. Neither is there a measurement for *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism*. In order to operationalize *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism*.

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tourism, a systematic measurement is needed. The present study attempts to measure Quiroz's concept by adopting a framework developed by Pinderhughes (2010). Pinderhughes proposed a framework that assesses ethnic and racial socialization in its context. She proposed that ethnic-racial socialization encompasses 6 facets: *types of ethnic-racial socialization; contextual issues; modality of ethnic-racial socialization; parent's role; developmental considerations; and child and adolescent engagement*. Developing cultural socialization further, and drawing from a qualitative analysis of parents' cultural socialization activities, Bebiroglu and Pinderhughes (2012) suggested researchers look at the parental approach to cultural socialization by examining 1) *motivation*, 2) *acknowledgment of racial and cultural differences*, and 3) *contextual layers and structures of cultural activities parents provide for their children*.

The present study used Pinderhughes' framework to investigate whether *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* can be differentiated among TRA families. Indicators of family-level *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* are the following:

Cultural socialization activities. According to Pinderhughes' framework, when researchers explore cultural socialization in TRA families, they should take into consideration contextual issues. A TRA family could celebrate Chinese New Year at personal level (child alone), at family level, at school level, at community level, or at national level (travel to China for Chinese New Year). Another dimension that should be taken into consideration for assessing cultural socialization is the modality. For example, an activity can be structured, which is organized and led by adults who are able to impart cultural knowledge, and delivered regularly; or

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unstructured, which happens by parent's convenience and does not involve cross-cultural interactions. Therefore apart from the nature of activity itself, who is involved in a cultural activity, and the structure of the activity can all determine the degree to which culture is kept.

Pinderhughes' (2010) model is for general racial and ethnic socialization; Bebiroglu and Pinderhughes (2012) adopted and modified this model, and focused on cultural socialization specifically. The authors analyzed interviews of parents who adopted from China, and argued that cultural socialization incorporated a range of activities that differ in structure, frequency, and who is involved. For example, the whole family attending language school and learning Chinese every week is a very different cultural experience from watching a Chinese New Year parade once a year. Thus it would be problematic to view family language learning and festival celebration as having equal contributions to building cultural competence.

In addition to contextual factors and structure, the extent of cross-cultural contact is also an important factor in evaluating cultural socialization. Quiroz (2012) suggested that cross-cultural contacts are one of the defining features of *culture keeping*. In other words, interacting with culturally knowledgeable persons is a key element to *culture keeping*. Putting the models together, cultural socialization activities should be assessed at least by structure, who is involved, and whether there is cross-cultural interaction.

Parents' approach to cultural socialization. Parents' roles in deciding whether to undertake cultural activities are an important factor in assessing cultural

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socialization. Quiroz (2012) argued that TRA parents who waited for children to initiate cultural socialization are demonstrating an implicit form of cultural avoidance. By reserving the decision for adoptees when they grow up, parents “relinquish responsibility for ethnoracial consciousness, assures distance from families of origin, and leaves the burden of identity searching for adoptees...” (p. 543). Bebiroglu and Pinderhughes (2012) noted that parents’ approaches to cultural socialization vary, and proposed to categorize parents’ approaches as *initiating*, *proposing*, and *waiting*. *Initiating* refers to when a parent initiates a cultural socialization activity for the child and the child does not have an option regarding whether or not to participate. *Proposing* refers to when a parent offers an option instead of forcing the child to participate a cultural activity. *Waiting* refers to when a parent waits for the child’s requests to start a cultural activity.

Bebiroglu and Pinderhughes (2012) reported that parents’ approaches were flexible, and their approaches were influenced by child’s reactions. Moreover, child’s interest in cultural activities was related to parents’ approach. However, Bebiroglu and Pinderhughes did not report which approach had the strongest association with child’s interest. Considering children’s developmental stages, *initiating* may be a more devoted approach to *culture keeping* for young children. An *initiating* approach indicates that a parent values the importance of cultural socialization and is taking a proactive approach to it. A *proposing* approach on the one hand respects a child’s needs, on the other hand may put cultural socialization at stake since many young children do not like structured activities such as language lessons. The

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present study not only looks at parents' approaches to cultural socialization but also explores approaches from the lens of *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism*.

Parents' motivation for cultural socialization. Bebiroglu & Pinderhughes (2012) summarized three reasons why parents who adopted from China engage in cultural socialization activities. The first category of motivation is *unmet needs for the child's positive identity development*. These parents considered cultural socialization necessary for their children's positive ethnic identity development. The second category of motivation is *limited opportunity for the child to socialize with people who look like her*. These parents highlighted the importance of being around with people with similar appearance and experiences. The third category of motivation is *an influence of agents in the adoption community*. These parents' decision in providing cultural socialization was largely influenced by the adoption agents, adoption professionals or other adoptive parents.

The first category of motivation, *unmet needs for positive ethnic identity*, may be an indicator for *culture keeping*. Compared with parents who are motivated by *limited opportunities* and *adoption community*, parents who are motivated by child's needs for positive ethnic identity may be more child-oriented in terms of cultural socialization and have a better appreciation for *culture keeping*.

The second category of motivation, *limited opportunity to socialize with children who look like her*, was also noted in Crolley-Simic and Vonk's (2008) report on white TRA mothers. Some white mothers socialization practices were characterized as socializing with *families like ours*. The major concern from these mothers was to normalize the transracial adoption status. Mothers whose

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socialization style was *families like ours* were found to have the least degree of cultural integration compared to mothers' who were characterized as *visiting culture* or *invested in culture*, whose focus of socialization were more centered on culture. Quiroz (2012) argued that socialization with children with similar experiences helps normalize the minority and adoption status. However normalizing minority status does not necessary promote pride in birth culture.

The third category of motivation, *influence by agents*, was one of the most common motivations for cultural socialization described in Jacobson's (2008) book *Culture Keeping*. She listed a number of reasons why parents engage in cultural socialization. A predominant reason for cultural socialization is that many adoption professionals and agents recommended *culture keeping*. The United Nation's Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) guarantees children the right to preserve their identity. The Hague *Guide to Good Practice* (Hague Conference on Private International Law, 2008), an implementation and operation document complementing the 1993 Hague Intercountry Adoption Convention, suggested that adoptive families maintain a cultural connection to the child's birth country. Therefore prior to the finalization of an adoption, adoption agents usually educate prospective parents about the importance of maintaining the birth culture; and agents' influence remains one of the main motivations for culture socialization in TRA families. Despite the prevalence of this category of motivation, parents who provide cultural socialization because of others' influences may indicate little personal reflection on child's needs in terms of ethnic identity. The present study

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looked at parents' motivations for providing or not providing cultural socialization, and whether motivation is an indicator for *culture keeping/cultural tourism*.

Parents' attitudes toward cultural differences. Parental attitudes toward racial and cultural differences are related to how they provide cultural socialization for their children of a different race. From the in-depth interviews Crolley-Simic and Vonk (2008; 2011) conducted with white mothers described earlier, the authors demonstrated variations in adoptive mothers' attitudes toward race. Four properties emerged from white mothers' reflections on race: *color-blind*, *ambiguous*, *multiple perspectives*, and *coming together*. *Color-blind* mothers usually claimed to "look beyond skin color" (p. 173), and downplayed racial differences. They refused to identify their child as a member of another race, while, at the same time, showed an understanding of the racial hierarchy in the society. *Ambiguous* mothers addressed possible racial oppression their TRA child may confront but felt uncomfortable addressing these issues. The discomfort associated with racial issues may come from conflicting reflections that these mothers, on the one hand, disdain racism, and, on the other hand, hold racially superior views. Mothers who had a *multiple perspective* view on race described their families as multiracial; they were aware of white privilege and they appreciated diversity. Mothers with a *coming together* property of reflection on race took an active approach in racial differences that promote social change.

Multiple researchers addressed color-blind racial attitudes and argued against holding a color-blind attitude especially in TRA families (e.g., McRoy & Zurcher, 1983; DeBerry, Scarr & Weinberg, 1996). Being colorblind indicates an

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individual's resistance to believing and validating others' experiences. In transracial adoptive families, if an adoptive parent holds a color-blind attitude, this parent not only overlooks racial differences between the adopted child and the adoptive parent, but the parent also denies the importance of providing cultural experiences that would help build a sense of ethnic pride in the adoptee.

Lee and colleagues (Lee et al., 2006) measured the level of color-blindness in TRA parents and found that enculturation beliefs were a mediating factor between racial attitude and cultural socialization practices. Enculturation beliefs refer to a parent's belief in the importance of providing the adoptee with opportunities that promote ethnic knowledge and pride. Low scores in color-blind racial attitudes were related to enculturation beliefs; and enculturation beliefs in turn were associated with cultural socialization practices. Thus Lee et al. (2006) concluded that awareness of racial differences itself was not sufficient to ensure cultural socialization practices, parents need to value the importance of providing cultural experiences in order to engage in cultural socialization behaviors.

Lee and colleagues (2006) assessed parents' attitudes toward racial differences, as did many other researchers (Fong & Wong, 2001; Lee, 2003). However Bebiroglu and Pinderhughes (2012) suggested separating attitudes toward racial differences from attitudes toward cultural differences. All TRA parents in their study endorsed cultural differences, but not all parents endorsed racial differences. Therefore for the purpose of assessing cultural socialization, the present study focuses on attitudes toward cultural differences.

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The present study examines parents' attitudes toward culture by assessing parents' acknowledgement of cultural differences and how salient cultural differences are in their daily lives. Acknowledgement of cultural differences refers to awareness of cultural differences between the adoptee's birth culture and the mainstream culture. Salience of cultural differences refers to the importance of cultural differences in a family's life. It is possible that compared to parents who minimize cultural differences, parents who acknowledge cultural differences and give cultural differences a salient role in life would engage in more *culture keeping* activities.

The Present Study

The present study looks at cultural socialization from the indicators discussed above. Quiroz's differentiation of *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* looks at cultural socialization from a culturally sensitive perspective. However Quiroz did not provide a measurement that can accurately distinguish these two approaches. Thus, the present study synthesized Quiroz's concept and Pinderhughes' model, and generated a few indicators with the aim of capturing *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* in transracial adoptive families. The following research questions are addressed:

1. What and how do parents provide cultural socialization for their children from China?
2. What are the respective characteristics of *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* in cultural socialization activities?
3. Are parents consistent in *culture keeping* and/or *cultural tourism* across the

indicators?

Method

Participants & Procedure

Data used in this study are a part of the Tufts Adoption Development Project (ADP), which is a study investigating experiences in families who adopted from China. Families were recruited through organizations and service providers for adoptive families in New England and greater New York City. The total number of families in ADP is 47. Participating families were interviewed at locations convenient for them. The entire visit lasted approximately 1.5-2 hours. Parents and children were usually interviewed by different interviewers.

In order to explore *culture keeping/cultural tourism* and capture variations in the phenomena, the present study selected a subgroup of 17 families and applied in-depth qualitative analysis. The 17 families were selected based on the availability of existing cultural socialization codes because this study used not only new codes, but also existing codes from previous analyses. Within this subgroup, the age of parents ranged from 42 to 60 years old, with a mean age of 50 years, ($SD = 4.9$). One parent's age was missing. Children's age ranged from 4 to 10 years old, with a mean age of 7.3 years, ($SD = 1.3$). Families in this subgroup also varied in family make up. Eight (47%) families were heterosexual two-parent families, 2 (12%) families were two-mother families, 6 (35%) families were single mother families, and 1 (6%) family was a two-dad family. Most parents in this sample were well educated. Ten (59%) held graduate degrees, 5 (30%) held college degrees, and 2 (11%) completed some graduate school.

Constructs and Measures

The present study used parent interviews. The parent interview is a semi-structured interview consisting of 70 open-ended questions. Topics in the parent interview include demographic information, parents' reflections on race, ethnicity and culture, and experiences of adoption (see Appendix 1 for the parent interview).

A 5-point scale was used to assess each indicator of *culture keeping/cultural tourism*. The indicators are “cultural socialization activities”, “parents' approaches to cultural socialization”, “parents' motivations for cultural socialization”, and “parents' attitudes toward cultural differences”. The reason for using similar 5-point Likert scales across all indicators was to make cross-indicator comparisons possible. Scores of 4 and 5 across all indicators were considered reflective of *culture keeping*, whereas scores of 2 and 3 across all indicators reflected *cultural tourism*, and a score of 1 across all indicators reflected resistance to cultural socialization (see Appendix 2).

Coder reliability. All interviews in this sample were coded and discussed by two coders. Both coders were master-level graduate students of Chinese heritage; and both coders had prior experiences in coding cultural socialization in transracial adoptive families. Coders coded all interviews separately, and discrepancies in coding were discussed until an agreement was reached.

Cultural socialization activities. Cultural socialization (CS) activities are TRA parents' attempts to provide cultural experiences for their Chinese children. All CS activities described in parent interviews were coded on a 5-point CS Activity Scale. A score of 5 represents genuine *culture keeping* activities such as family-level

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regular cross-cultural interactions; a score of 1 indicates a parent's resistance to culture socialization activities (see Appendix 2).

Pinderhughes and colleagues (Pinderhughes, 2010; Bebiroglu & Pinderhughes, 2012) proposed to examine cultural socialization activities by structure of activities and level of parental involvement. Quiroz (2012) suggested cross-cultural contact is a key element in *culture keeping* activities. Therefore, CS activities in this sample were coded on 3 dimensions – child level, family level or community level activities; structured or unstructured activities; and the presence of one or more Chinese cultural experts (see Appendix 3).

A Chinese cultural expert is defined as any adult who plans and leads a cultural activity. A cultural expert can be a Chinese adult or a non-Chinese person who has substantial knowledge of Chinese culture, for example, experts in Chinese music. However, Chinese children, adopted or non-adopted, would not be coded as Chinese culture experts because imparting cultural knowledge is unlikely to be the focus of child-level interactions.

All CS activities were coded by the 3 dimensions described above. For example, Chinese language lessons are child-level structured activities with one or more Chinese cultural experts, thus language lessons score 4 on the CS Activity Scale. Each family received an overall CS activity score, which was calculated by averaging the scores of all CS activities a parent provided.

Parents' approaches to cultural socialization. Parents' approaches were coded as *initiating*, *proposing*, or *waiting*. *Initiating* describes an approach when a parent initiates an activity without offering choices to the child, or when the child

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starts an activity before the age of 4. A *proposing* code is given to situations when a parent offers options of activities for a child to choose from. Parents who wait for children to suggest or request an activity would receive a *waiting* code for the particular activity (see Appendix 4). Individual approach codes were coded in pair with corresponding CS activities; and an overall approach score was calculated based on the mode of individual approach codes (see Appendix 2 for formula). An overall score of 5 indicated a parent's proactive approach to cultural socialization, and an overall score of 1 indicated a parent's passive approach to cultural socialization.

Parents' motivation for cultural socialization. Parents' motivations for providing and not providing cultural socialization experiences were captured by motivation codes. There are four categories of motivations: 1) unmet needs for child's positive development; 2) limited opportunity for the child to be around people who look like her; 3) influence by the adoption community; and 4) resistance to cultural socialization (see Appendix 5). For example, if a parent's reason for providing calligraphy lessons is to have his/her child feel proud about being Chinese, it would be coded as the first type of motivation. Every motivation for or against cultural socialization was coded, and an overall score was calculated based on the mode of individual motivation codes (see Appendix 2 for formula). An overall score of 5 on motivation indicates a parent's predominant motivation is perceived child's needs for identity development, and an overall score of 1 indicates a parent's predominant motivation is resistance to cultural socialization.

Parents' attitudes toward cultural differences. Parents' attitudes toward

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cultural differences were assessed by their acknowledgement and reported salience of cultural differences. Any comment regarding cultural difference between a parent's ethnic group and an adoptee's ethnic group was marked and coded as acknowledgement of cultural differences. A comment that acknowledged cultural differences was coded as high acknowledgement, and a comment that denied or minimized cultural differences was coded as low acknowledgement. Every cultural difference comment either received a high or a low code (see Appendix 6).

In addition to acknowledgement of cultural differences, the extent to which cultural differences play a role in a family's daily life was coded to complement acknowledgement. High salience of cultural differences was coded when a parent addresses the importance of cultural differences, and low salience was coded when parents view cultural differences as secondary compared to other things in life (see Appendix 6). For example, a parent who said they moved to a new neighborhood with more Chinese residents in order to provide more cultural exposure to their children would be given a high salience code; a parent who remarked that being a single parent was his/her biggest challenge would be given a low salience code. The total numbers and percentages of high/low cultural difference acknowledgement and salience were calculated, respectively, and a final attitude score was calculated based on the ratio of high acknowledgement and high salience of cultural differences (see Appendix 2 for formula). An overall score of 5 indicated high in both acknowledgement and salience, and overall score of 1 indicated low in both acknowledgement and salience.

Results

Cultural Socialization Activities

Parents in this sample received an overall CS activity score of either 2 or 3 (see Figure 1). Nine (53%) families had 3 as the overall CS activities score, and 8 (47%) families had 2 as the overall CS activities score. Parents that received 3 for overall CS activities typically provided activities that meet parents' perceived obligation to provide culture exposure and other parental needs/interests. Parents that received 2 for overall CS activities were those who made superficial attempt to maintain a cultural connection to the child's birth country. In short, the overall style of cultural socialization activities in this sample was *cultural tourism*.

However, overall scores did not capture subtle differences in cultural socialization activities in these families (see Table 1). Among families that scored 3 for overall CS activities, some families had high percentages of *culture keeping* activities (activities that scored 4 or 5, e.g., 56% in family 62), and some families provided fewer *culture keeping* activities (e.g., 31% in family 5). The discrepancies among families that scored 2 for overall CS activities were even larger. Two parents (family 52 and family 58) provided no *culture keeping* activity, whereas some families that also received 2 for overall CS activity provided more frequent *culture keeping* activities (e.g., 33% in family 78). Notably, these higher ratios of *culture keeping* activities in families with overall score of 2 were as high as families that scored 3 for overall CS activities. Thus although overall scores of CS activities were similar across families in this sample of TRA families, there were more variations in cultural socialization activities than the overall scores revealed.

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As seen in table 2, families in this sample engaged in a total number of 152 cultural socialization activities. The vast majority of CS activities parents provided were of *cultural tourism* nature. Seventy percent of the activities were coded either 2 or 3 in the 5-point CS Activity Scale; 59% of the CS activities received a score of 2. About one third of the CS activities were *culture keeping* activities; 23% were coded at level 4 and 7% were coded at level 5.

Cultural socialization activities that scored at level 2 and 4 were the most commonly practiced activities in TRA families. Activities that were coded as 2 were mostly unstructured activities without cross-cultural interactions. These activities included becoming a member of adoption support communities, artistic activities such as listening to Chinese music, consumption of Chinese artifacts, gifts and toys, reading books about China, going to Chinatown, celebrating Chinese's New Year and other Chinese festivals, wearing Chinese outfits, eating and cooking Chinese food, friends with Chinese children, listening to language tapes, and presenting Chinese culture at school. Most of the level 4 CS activities were structured activities with cross-cultural interactions. These CS activities included artistic lessons such as dance lessons and paper cutting lessons, the Big Sister program, culture camps, cooking classes, language lessons, and playgroups.

Popular (total occurrence above 10) CS activities in this sample were reading books, celebrating Chinese New Year, eating and cooking Chinese food, learning the language, and socializing with other adoptive families. Language was the only CS activity that received scores at all possible levels. Language was also the most practiced cultural socialization activity. Note that the occurrence of language

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exceeded the number of families in this sample because a few families incorporated more than one form of language learning activities. For example, a family can send their child to Chinese school, and also listen to Chinese tapes at home.

To summarize, parents' overall scores for cultural socialization activities indicated tendencies toward *cultural tourism*. Results from individual cultural socialization activities across families also showed that *cultural tourism* activities were more commonly practiced than *culture keeping* activities. However overall scores did not capture variations in cultural activities parents provided for their children.

Parents' Approach to Cultural Socialization

There was a range of 1 to 5 in parents' overall scores on approach to cultural socialization (see Figure 2). Nine (53%) parents received a total score of 4 on approach. An overall score of 4 was given when the *initiating* and *proposing* approaches sum to 70% or more of all approach codes. An approach score of 4 indicates that a parent is generally proactive in providing cultural socialization to her/his child. Three (18%) parents in this sample received an overall approach score of 5, which indicates that these 3 parents were very active and firm in providing cultural socialization to their children. Two (12%) parents from this sample had *waiting* as the predominant approach to cultural socialization, and their overall approach code was 1. One (6%) parent's approach to cultural socialization was a mixture of *waiting* and *proposing*; the overall approach score was 2, which indicates that this parent was generally passive in terms of providing cultural socialization. One (6%) parent's approach to cultural socialization was a mixture of

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waiting, proposing and *initiating*. Her overall approach score was 3. One (6%) parent offered no information on approaches to cultural socialization. Parents' overall approach to cultural socialization at score 4 and 5 were conceptualized as *culture keeping*; 12 (71%) parents in this sample scored either 4 or 5 on overall approach. Hence it appears that parents in this sample tended to be *culture keeping* in terms of their approaches to cultural socialization activities.

However there are variations within families that were not captured by the overall scores. Parents took different approaches to different activities. For example, a parent might have initiated the Chinese playgroup, proposed dance lessons, and waited for the child to request for Chinese language lessons. The relations between specific activities and approaches, however, were not revealed by the overall scores.

To summarize, parents took different approaches to different cultural socialization activities. However, their overall approaches indicated a tendency toward *culture keeping*.

Parents' Motivation for Cultural Socialization

There were more variations in parents' overall motivation than in their overall approach to cultural socialization (see Figure 3). Five (29%) parents' overall motivation was 5. These parents' predominant motivation for cultural socialization was child's unmet needs for positive ethnic identity development. Three (18%) parents scored 4 on motivation for cultural socialization. This was given when the combination of child's ethnic positive ethnic identity development and socializing with others with similar experiences summed to 70% or above of all motivation codes. In other words, overall score of 4 and 5 indicated parents were motivated by

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child's needs. Six (35%) parents received an overall motivation score of 3, which was given when there was no predominant category of motivation. Three (18%) parents were coded as 2 for overall motivation for cultural socialization. This level of motivation was given when influence of adoption agents was the main motivation (60% of all motivation codes or above), or the combination of agents' influence and motivations against cultural socialization was predominant (60% of all motivation codes or above).

The most common overall score for motivation was 3, which indicated that a parent was not inspired in any particular category of motivation. No parent in this sample received 1 for motivation. Overall motivation score of 1 would be given when resistance to cultural socialization is the main motivation. Although parents had various reasons for not providing cultural socialization, resistance to cultural socialization was not predominant in any of the families in this sample.

Table 3 showed distribution of all motivation codes in this sample. Motivation for cultural socialization was brought up 75 times. About half of the motivations addressed child's needs for a positive ethnic identity. Twenty-four percent ($n = 19$) of the motivations were parents' reasons for not providing cultural socialization.

To summarize, there were variations in parents' overall motivation for cultural socialization. Children's need for positive ethnic identity development was the most addressed reason for providing cultural socialization. However parents also provided various reasons for not providing cultural socialization. There were more parents who showed a mixed constellation of all motivations than parents

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whose primary concern was child's needs. In other words, *cultural tourism* was the more common overall motivation than *culture keeping*.

Parents' Attitudes Toward Cultural Differences

Overall attitudes toward cultural differences in this sample reflected *culture keeping* (see Figure 4). An overall attitudes score was calculated by the ratio of a parent's high acknowledgement of cultural differences and high salience of cultural differences. Over half of the parents were consistently high in acknowledgement and salience. Six (35%) parents scored 5 on overall attitudes toward cultural differences, which means that 70% or more of their comments on cultural differences reflected high acknowledgement, and 70% or more of their salience comments reflected high salience of cultural differences in their lives. Four (24%) parents received 4 on their overall attitudes toward cultural differences. They were equally high on acknowledgement of cultural differences as parents who received 5; however high salience was between 50% and 70% of all salience codes. An overall score of 4 or 5 in attitudes indicates that cultural differences are not only acknowledged but also play a salient role in a family. Therefore these 10 families were *culture keeping* in terms of attitudes toward cultural differences.

All parents who received 3 for overall attitudes showed high acknowledgement but low salience in cultural differences. In other words, these parents acknowledged cultural differences but did not shape their lives around these differences. One (6%) parent scored 2 on overall attitudes towards cultural differences. This parent's high acknowledgment of cultural differences was between 30% and 70% of all acknowledgement codes, however, her high salience of cultural

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differences was below 50% of all salience codes. In other words, this parent was not particularly high in acknowledging cultural differences, and was low in addressing the importance of cultural differences. Parents who received an overall attitudes score of 2 or 3 were marked by low (below 50%) salience of cultural differences.

To summarize, the majority of parents' attitudes toward cultural differences was *culture keeping*, for they showed both high acknowledgement and high salience of cultural differences. Parents who received *cultural tourism* scores (2 and 3) were characterized by low salience of cultural differences. No parent was both low in cultural acknowledgement and salience.

Cultural Socialization Across Indicators

As seen in table 4, cultural socialization indicators were modestly to moderately correlated. There was a significant positive correlation between CS activity and attitudes toward cultural differences ($r = .619, p < .01$). This positive correlation indicated that parents who scored high on CS activities were likely to score high on attitudes toward cultural differences.

No family in this sample was *culture keeping* across all indicators since the highest overall score for CS activities was 3 (see Table 1, Figure 5, Figure 6, and Figure 7). Five out of six families that were *culture keeping* in approach, motivation and attitudes scored 3 for overall CS activities. Thus although not thoroughly *culture keeping*, these 5 families showed tendencies toward *culture keeping*. Two families (family 44 and family 58) scored low across all indicators, which indicated *cultural tourism*. One parent (family 52) provided no *culture keeping* activity but scored 5 across all other indicators.

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To summarize, CS activities, approach, motivation and attitudes showed modest to moderate correlations. CS activities were significantly correlated with attitudes toward cultural differences. No family was *culture keeping* across all indicators, but some families displayed tendencies toward *culture keeping*.

Discussion

The present study found that when TRA parents provided cultural socialization to their children, their choice of CS activities reflected *cultural tourism*. Most parents approached cultural socialization proactively, and their attitudes toward cultural differences indicated *culture keeping*. There were more parents whose general motivation for CS reflected *cultural tourism* than parents whose motivation reflected *culture keeping*. More specifically, by assessing CS activities from 3 dimensions - who is involved, structure of the activity, and the extent of cross-cultural contact - the study was able to detect variations in apparently similar CS activities. Lastly, the present study explored if it is possible for a TRA family to keep culture across all indicators, however no family was *culture keeping* across all indicators.

Cultural Socialization Activities

Parents either received an overall CS activities score of 2 or 3 in this sample, which means that by looking at activities alone, none of the families was *culture keeping*. This finding was consistent with Quiroz's (2012) and Baden et al's (2012) report that *culture keeping* is rare in TRA families. Moreover, the distribution of families' individual CS activities showed that most cultural activities practiced in this sample were superficial; the activities either did not involve cross-cultural

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interaction or took place at parents' convenience. Genuine *culture keeping* activities were uncommon.

However, considering adoptee's age in this study, *cultural tourism* or superficial activities may be more developmentally appropriate for young children. A few parents expressed their wish to start some activities when the children were older. Thus cultural socialization activities may vary with adoptees' age. In addition, there were more variations in cultural socialization activities than overall scores could capture.

Variations within cultural socialization activities. Certain activities could be practiced differently and thus were scored differently. For example, language learning activities received scores at all possible levels. Most language learning activities were coded at level 4. Level 4 language learning activities were child-level structured language classes, and level 5 language learning activities were family-level structured language classes. Language learning activities at level 3 were language classes that did not last long enough to be coded as a structured activity. Level 2 language learning activities were unstructured and without cultural experts such as listening to language tapes or watching language videos. In sum, language learning was often times a *culture keeping* activity, however it was not uncommon that learning language could take place at a *cultural tourism* level.

Previous research on cultural socialization activities typically reported whether parents provided CS activities (Mohanty & Newhill, 2011; Yoon, 2000), or what activities were provided (Rojewski, 2005; Jacobson, 2008). However results from the present study showed that ways in which CS activities were practiced vary,

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and how CS activities were practiced rather than what activities were provided determined whether a CS activity was *culture keeping* or *cultural tourism*. Thus examining cultural socialization activities from 3 dimensions captured some of the complexities in CS practices.

Structure of cross-cultural contact. Coding cultural socialization activities by different dimensions also captured variations in cross-cultural contact. According to Quiroz (2012), building cross-cultural contact is key to *culture keeping*. However not all activities that involve cross-cultural contact were *culture keeping*. For example it was not *culture keeping* to have an adult Chinese friend and have dinner with the friend several times a year. However, one family made connections to a Chinese lady and their cross-cultural interaction became very frequent and profound. The Chinese friend became their family friend, children's tutor and babysitter. The cross-cultural contact became part of the family life. Inspecting all activities that included cross-cultural contact, whether an activity was *culture keeping* or *cultural tourism* could be inferred by how structured the activity was.

Orientation of cross-cultural contact. However, even between activities with similar scores, the extent to which culture is kept may still vary. All child-level structured activities that involve cross-cultural interaction were coded as level 4 cultural socialization activities. Examples of level 4 CS activities were the Big Sister program, playgroups and dance lessons. However parents' reflections regarding these activities varied greatly. One parent talked about how Big Sister provided a good role model for her child:

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...and that's just been great. I think for her just to have this, kind of, great, cool role model who she does cool stuff with and that she's more alike. And that, you know, like when we went to her Big Sister's graduation last year, and...um, and she was just so proud, I think, like she knew someone who was graduating ... and I liked that she kinda felt cool about that, so I think the Big Sister has been a good part for her, too.

Positive reflections were also found regarding Chinese playgroups. One parent described the playgroup as "Incredibly important. Wonderful. Loves it. Very Important". Another parent also had very positive opinion about the Chinese playgroup:

Especially after this [the playgroup] I think (Child's name) is very interested in Chinese culture. I think it is also because of her age. She is highly interested. Wanting to learn more, the language especially. She is excited.

However, reflections quite so positive were not found for dance classes or other structured lessons.

It is important to note that the Chinese playgroup referred to by many parents in this sample was a particular playgroup led by a doctoral student who was half Chinese herself and had substantial knowledge in child development. As the sample does not include enough parents who attended other playgroups, it would be unwise to generalize the positive reflections about this playgroup to all transracial adoptee playgroups.

Regardless of generalizability, what is in common between the Big Sister and this particular playgroup was having a role model, and possibly having

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conversations about of Chinese heritage. Compared with skill-oriented activities such as dance, calligraphy and Kung Fu lessons, the Big Sister and the Chinese playgroup were more relationship-oriented. In McGinnis and colleague's (2009) report, one of the experiences that facilitated Asian transracial adoptees in forming a positive ethnic identity was affiliation with people of Asian background. More specifically, having Asian friends and role models, and connecting to the adoptees' community enabled Asian transracial adoptees to "see and appreciate the beauty of Asian people" (p. 38). A recent study found that teenage Korean adoptees appreciated conversations about race and ethnicity more than socialization activities (Kim, Reichwald & Lee, 2013). Samuels (2010) also recommended a relational approach to transracial adoption practice. Thus cross-cultural relationships may reflect *culture keeping* more accurately than does simple cross-cultural contact.

Context of cross-cultural contact. In addition, how cross-cultural contact was constructed may also affect the extent to which culture can be kept. Quiroz (2012) categorized attending cultural events to be *cultural tourism*. A few parents in this sample also noted that attending events organized by white adoption professionals or white adoptive families felt "fake". Therefore these parents either attended cultural events organized by Chinese persons, or chose to live in a diverse community in order to create "natural" opportunities for adoptees to build cross-cultural contacts. Thus the "naturalness" of cross-cultural contact may be another indicator for *culture keeping*.

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McGinnis and colleagues (2009) found “lived” experiences more helpful in forming positive ethnic identity than activities specifically designed for adoptees. These lived experiences included access to a diverse community, affiliation with people of Asian background, gaining knowledge about the birth culture, and travel beyond one’s own country. Notably, gaining knowledge about the birth culture often coincided with moving to communities of varied populations. Thus having access to a diverse community and learning about the birth culture in a “natural” context might be a useful indicator for *culture keeping*.

The importance of natural cross-cultural contact was further supported by a parent who reflected very positively about their family trip to China. The parent described how eager his son was to bring examples of his birth culture to school:

... when he came back from there- from our trip to China- and this is not like (child’s name) cause he’s not like (child’s name)’s sister, he’s really shy. He wanted to bring in something- like for seven days in a row, or five days in a row, from China. And I- I will prompt him- but this time, I really didn’t have to prompt him. He really, you know, there had to be something really important about that experience- he’d run up to me, ‘Well, what can I bring today? What can I bring today?’

Visiting China enables an adoptee to form cross-cultural contact in the most natural context. Living in a diverse community and attending a diverse school also created natural opportunities for cross-cultural interactions. Both Quiroz (2012) and McGinnis et al (2009) suggested the importance of diverse communities in cultural socialization. The present study coded choosing diverse communities and schools to

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be *culture keeping*, however, there are more ways to form natural cross-cultural contact, and future studies can assess the context in which cross-cultural contact is formed.

Examining cultural socialization activities by level of family involvement, structure, and the extent of cross-cultural interaction was helpful in detecting variations in cultural activities. This coding method was especially helpful in understanding nuances in apparently similar activities. However, cross-cultural contact was more complex than the current measurement could capture. The orientation of cross-cultural contact and the context in which cross-cultural contact is formed may affect an activity's contribution to *culture keeping*.

Parents' Approach to Cultural Socialization

Parents in this sample were generally proactive in providing cultural socialization. The majority of parents either initiated or proposed CS activities. This finding could be related to the age of adoptees in this sample. The mean age of the adoptees was 7 years old. Parents of young children may take a more active approach to cultural socialization, and when children reach teenage years parents may give children more options. Although not directly addressing approaches to cultural socialization, Hughes et al. (2006) found TRA families provided more ethnic-racial socialization as children grew older. More specifically, the content and frequencies of ethnic-racial socialization varied with age. It is possible that approach also varies with age. Nevertheless, parents' proactive approach to cultural socialization indicated that they valued cultural socialization and consciously sought cultural exposure for their children.

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Two parents waited for children to cue or request for CS activities. Their scores for overall motivation also showed ambivalence to cultural socialization. Hence it was possible that these parents took a passive approach because they did not value cultural socialization. However it is also possible that these parents' approaches reflected children's responses to CS activities. Bebiroglu and Pinderhughes (2012) reported that some parents' approaches to CS activities changed; most of the changes were in response to children's interests to CS activities. Parents' approach to cultural socialization was not static; approaches vary with CS activities and children's reactions. Thus cross sectional or longitudinal studies are needed to further understand parents' approaches to cultural socialization.

Parents' Motivation for Cultural Socialization

Parents had various motivations for and against cultural socialization. Providing activities that can promote adoptees' positive ethnic identity was the most articulated motivation for cultural socialization. Compared with other international adoptive parents, parents with children from China were more active in providing cultural exposure (Jacobson, 2008; Rojewski, 2005). As noted in the present study, becoming a member of adoption support groups or socializing with other adoptive families were common practices in TRA families. Although influence from adoption agents and community was less articulated in this sample, it is possible that parents' values in cultural socialization and ethnic identity were affected by the adoption community. Further studies are thus needed to understand

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the roles of adoption communities and professionals in parents' motivation for cultural socialization.

A number of parents also listed their reasons for not providing cultural socialization. Quiroz (2012) considered resistance to cultural socialization *cultural tourism*. However in this sample of transracial adoptive parents, resistance to cultural socialization was not a definite indicator for *cultural tourism*. Some parents had doubts about the importance of cultural socialization. For example, one parent said "... *I don't think she's going to die because of it (lack of cultural socialization).*" Some parents wanted to balance the interest between self and the child. For example, two parents stopped going to cultural activities because they were "too tired" and had to fulfill other parenting tasks. However, some parents were thinking of the child's needs when they vetoed a cultural activity. For example, two parents articulated that their reason for not pursuing language classes was because the adoptee hated language classes and they did not want to turn cultural socialization into a negative experience. Parents' motivation against cultural socialization thus ranged from disregarding the value of cultural socialization to balancing child's needs and own needs, and envisioning cultural socialization in the long term.

Understanding reasons parents articulated against cultural socialization may be as important as understanding reasons supporting cultural socialization. Parents' reasons for resistance to cultural socialization had not been addressed in previous studies. However understanding why parents did not provide cultural socialization is of great importance in helping adoption professionals to understand and identify difficulties associated with *culture keeping*.

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The numbers of parents whose overall motivation reflected *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* were similar. The differences between *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism* seem to lie in the extent of resistance to cultural socialization. Parents whose motivation reflected *culture keeping* had low number of resistant motivation codes whereas parents whose motivation reflected *cultural tourism* had more resistant motivation codes. It is possible that most parents understood their child's needs for positive ethnic identity development; *culture keeping* parents put child's needs as the priority, and *cultural tourism* parents did not. Thus unpacking resistance to cultural socialization may be a useful step to take in understanding cultural socialization.

Parents' Attitudes Toward Cultural Differences

The majority of parents in this sample were *culture keeping* in their attitudes toward cultural differences. The determinant factor for their overall score on attitudes was salience of cultural differences. In other words, the overall attitudes score a parent received was largely determined by the extent to which she/he valued cultural differences. Parents who were high in both acknowledgement and salience were *culture keeping* parents; and parents who were high in acknowledgement but low in salience were *cultural tourism* parents. In this sample, only 1 parent showed low acknowledgement to cultural differences, the remaining 16 parents all acknowledged cultural differences. Therefore acknowledgement may be necessary but not sufficient to distinguish *culture keeping* attitudes from *cultural tourism* attitudes. This finding was consistent with Lee and colleagues' (2006) report that salience (enculturation beliefs) played a mediating role between

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acknowledgement (racial attitude) and cultural socialization practices. In other words, salience, or the extent to which a family is oriented toward cultural differences, may be more important to cultural socialization than acknowledgement alone.

Cultural Socialization Across Indicators

In order to explore whether *culture keeping* across all indicators is possible in TRA families, the present study compared parents' overall scores and tested correlations between indicators. The result showed that no family in this sample was *culture keeping* across all indicators, and indicators were modestly to moderately correlated. This finding supported Quiroz's (2012) and Baden et al.'s (2012) claim that genuine *culture keeping* was exceptional in TRA families.

However there lacks a clear description regarding the optimal level of cultural socialization for TRA families in research. The extent of cultural socialization varies with immigration status (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, cultural practices in Chinese-American families in the United States may be different from families that live in China; moreover, cultural practices in second and third generation Chinese-American families may differ from first generation immigrant families. Cultural socialization varies with family make up and family history. The optimal level of cultural socialization for transracial adoptees is not known. Researchers have not clarified whether mono cultural socialization (keeping the birth culture), hybrid cultural socialization, or an alternative socialization is the developmental goal for all transracial adoptees. Future studies need to clarify the

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goal of cultural socialization, and subsequently provide practical guidelines for TRA families to achieve the recommended level of *culture keeping*.

Attitudes toward cultural differences were positively correlated with cultural socialization activities. Parents who scored high on attitudes were characterized by high salience of cultural differences, and high salience was also reflected in high overall scores on CS activities. In other words, acknowledgement is necessary but not sufficient as an indicator for cultural socialization activities.

Limitations and Future Studies

Data used in the present study were secondary - the parent interview was designed prior to the present study. Hence there were discrepancies in the amount of information available for each indicator. For example, there was abundant information on CS activities but little information on approaches to activities because approach was not directly addressed in the interview. An interview or questionnaire that addresses all indicators directly would help researchers understand complexities in cultural socialization better.

The size of the sample may also have affected the findings. The small variance in overall CS activities scores, and the modest to moderate correlations between indicators may be affected by the limited sample size. Thus exploring cultural socialization using similar measures in a larger sample is needed.

It is important to note that adoptees in this sample were young; the average age was 7 years old. Parents' choice of cultural socialization activities, approaches, motivations and their attitudes toward culture may be associated with the developmental stages of their children, and cultural socialization may change as

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children grow older. Longitudinal or cross sectional studies in the future will help determine if there are changes in these indicators; and whether families shift in their patterns of *culture keeping* or *cultural tourism*.

The relatively small variance in parents' general scores on CS activities may be affected by the way in which overall scores were calculated – for every family, the mean of all activities scores was used as the overall CS activities score. Therefore one family that provided books (level 2), celebrated Chinese New Year (level 2) and attended Chinese classes together (level 5) would score the same on overall CS activities as another family whose only CS activity was dining with a Chinese friend (level 3). Both families would be given an overall CS activity score of 3, however, ways in which cultural socialization was practiced were very different between these two families. An alternative method is needed to capture variations in CS activities within and between families.

Moreover, there may be more dimensions related to whether a CS activity is *culture keeping*, and the present study only operationalized three. For example, whether a CS activity is *culture keeping* or *cultural tourism* may be also related to a child's developmental stage, and the match between a child's interest and an activity. The present study demonstrated the value in investigating CS activities from various dimensions; future studies that aim to understand CS activities may take a similar approach.

There were also complexities in parents' approaches to cultural socialization that were not captured by the current coding system. Some parents' approaches to cultural socialization changed and many of the changes were reflections of child's

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reactions to cultural socialization activities. The current coding method was unable to capture changes in parents' approaches because of the limited nature of secondary analysis. Moreover, current approach codes were applied to how an activity started but not to how an activity was maintained. However whether a cultural activity is maintained may be an important contributor to *culture keeping*. A measurement that incorporates time factors in approach is needed.

Adoptee's reactions to cultural socialization were out of the present study's scope. However Kim et al. (2013) found discrepancies in parent reported cultural socialization and adolescent adoptee reported cultural socialization; and only adolescent self-reports of cultural socialization matched the qualitative coding of family conversations designed by the researchers. Thus understanding *culture keeping/cultural tourism* from adoptee's perspective is needed in future studies.

Last but not least, the present study attempted to differentiate *culture keeping* from *cultural tourism*, however the extent to which *culture keeping/cultural tourism* contributes to positive ethnic identity formation is not known. Future studies can explore whether *culture keeping* is a more desirable orientation to cultural socialization than *cultural tourism*, and if so, how should parents keep culture.

Conclusion

Transracial adoptive parents provide a variety of cultural activities for their children. The present study incorporated Quiroz's (2012) conceptualization of *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism*, and Pinderhughes' (2010) framework on facets and complexities of racial-ethnic socialization. Using these two frameworks, the

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present study measured cultural socialization activities, parents' approaches to cultural socialization, parents' motivation for cultural socialization, and parents' attitudes toward cultural differences. The study found that cultural socialization activities provided by parents reflected *cultural tourism*; the majority of parents' approaches to cultural socialization reflected *culture keeping*; parents' motivation for cultural socialization was equally distributed between *culture keeping* and *cultural tourism*; and parents' attitudes toward cultural differences indicated *culture keeping*. White parents who adopted from China were unlikely to be *culture keeping* across all indicators.

Despite limitations, the study demonstrated cultural socialization is a broad and complex practice; and researchers need to take a culturally sensitive approach to address these complexities. The present study also showed in terms of understanding cultural socialization in transracial adoptive families, it might be more informative to look at how parents practice culture than what cultural experiences are provided.

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Table 1. Number of CS Activities, Percentage of CK Activates, and Overall Scores across Indicators (N = 17).

ID	Number of CS Activities	CK Activity %	CS Activities	Approach	Motivation	Attitude
5	16	31%	3	5	4	5
6	6	33%	3	1	3	5
7	16	38%	3	4	4	5
9	10	30%	2	N/A	2	4
41	9	33%	3	5	3	5
44	5	20%	2	1	3	3
45	10	10%	2	4	3	3
47	14	7%	2	4	3	3
52	6	0%	2	5	5	5
56	8	38%	3	3	4	4
58	6	0%	2	2	3	2
61	9	45%	3	4	5	4
62	3	56%	3	4	5	4
74	11	33%	2	4	5	3
75	6	33%	3	4	2	3
77	6	36%	3	4	5	5
78	14	33%	2	4	2	3

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Table 2. Individual CS Activity Scores and Frequencies (N = 152).

Activity	Count	Score 2	Score 3	Score 4	Score 5
<i>Total Count</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>90 (59%)</i>	<i>16 (11%)</i>	<i>35 (23%)</i>	<i>11 (7%)</i>
Adoption support group	6	5	1		
Artistic activity	4	4			
Artistic lessons	7			7	
Artifact consumption	6	6			
Big Sister	3			2	1
Books	10	10			
Chinatown	7	7			
Chinese New Year	14	14			
Chopsticks	1	1			
Community	5			3	2
Cultural events	2		2		
Culture camp	5			5	
Food	10	9		1	
Friends with Chinese adults	6	1	4		1
Friends with Chinese children	3	3			
Kung Fu	1		1		
Language	20	4	2	10	4
Mahjong	1	1			
Name	1		1		
Other Chinese festivals	6	5	1		
Outfit	4	4			
Pictures	2	2			
Playgroup	8		2	6	
School	4			1	3
School presentation	4	3	1		
Socializing with adoptive families	11	11			
Trip to China	1		1		

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Table 3. Individual Motivation Code Distribution (N = 75)

Motivation	Count (percentage)
Unmet needs	38 (49%)
Limited opportunity	11 (14%)
Agents	10 (13%)
Against CS	19 (24%)

Table 4. Correlation Matrix of CS Activities, Approach, Motivation and Attitudes toward Cultural Differences (N = 17).

Correlations				
	CS Activities	Approach	Motivation	Attitudes
CS Activities	1			
Approach	.142	1		
Motivation	.293	.301	1	
Attitudes	.619**	.323	.403	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

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Figure 1: Overall CS Activity Score Distribution (N = 17).

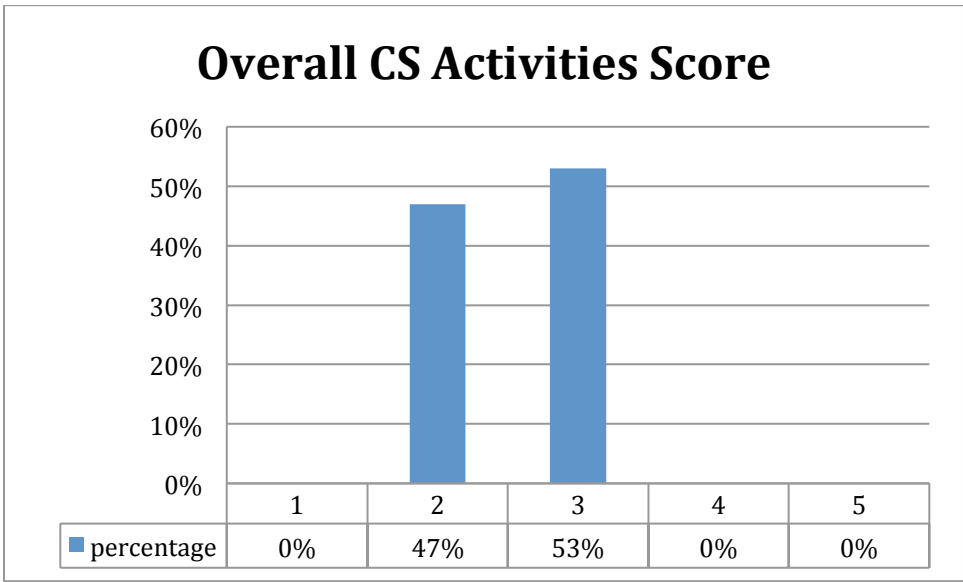
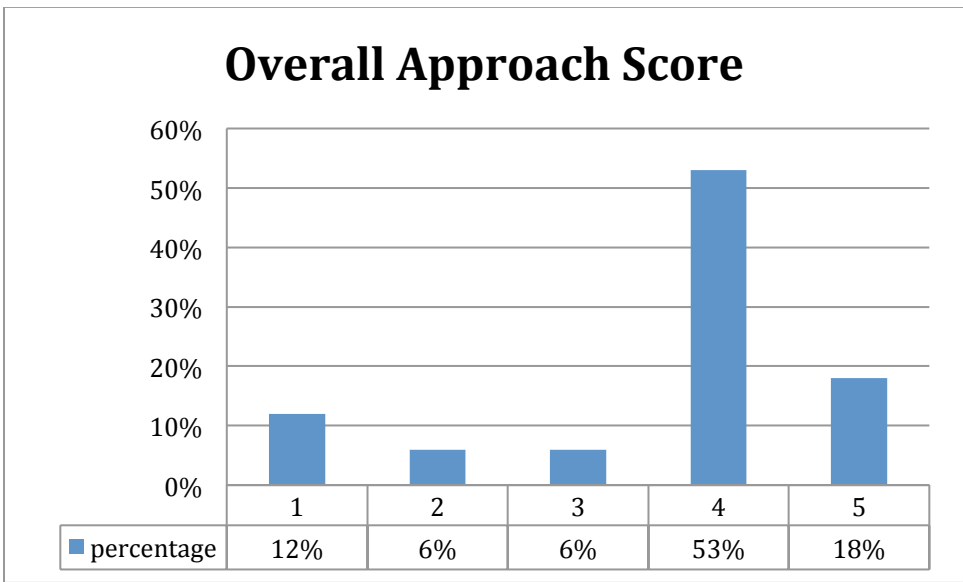


Figure 2. Overall Parents' Approach Distribution (N = 16).



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Figure 3: Overall Parents' Motivation Distribution (N = 17).

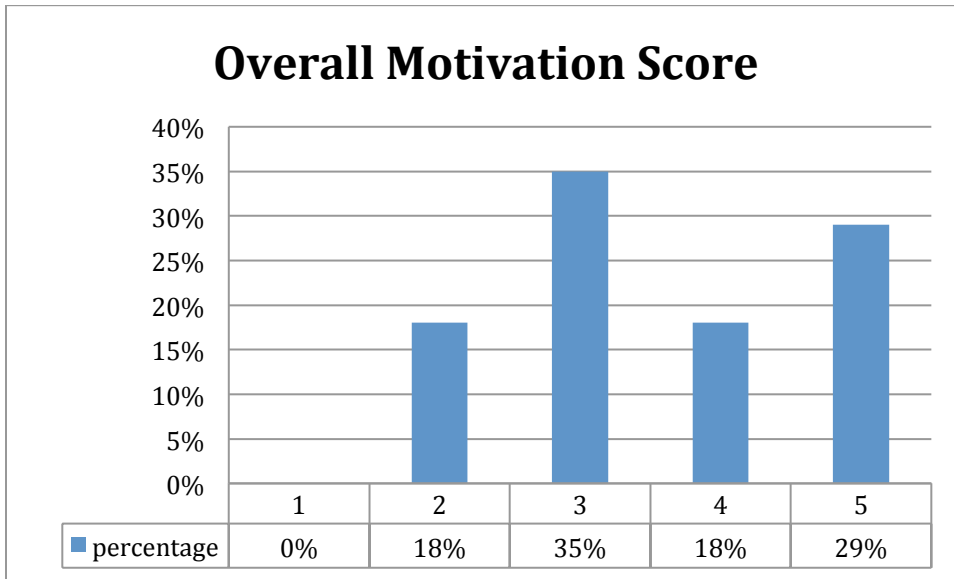
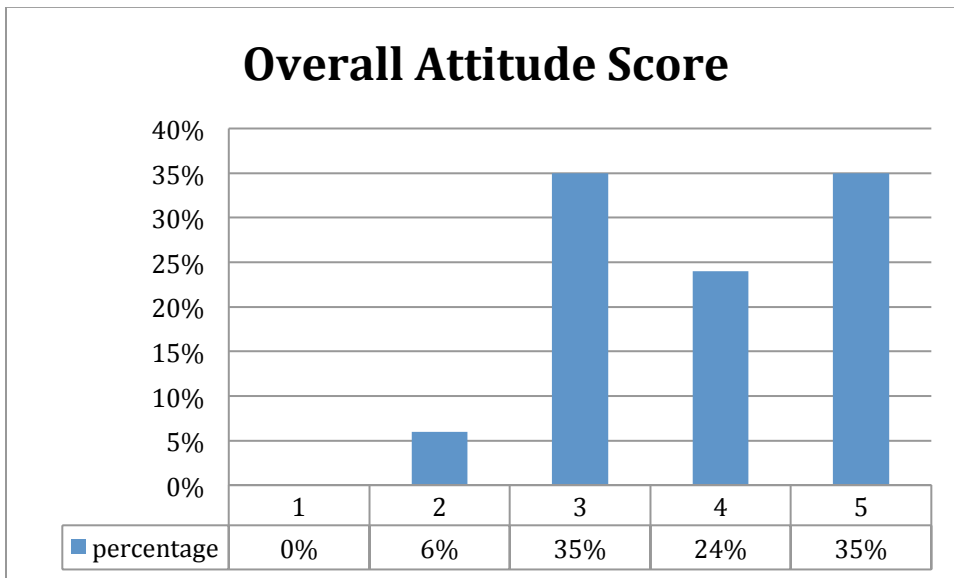


Figure 4. Overall Acknowledgement of Cultural Differences Distribution (N = 17).



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Figure 5. Overall Scores Across Indicators for Family 5, 6, 7, 9 and 41 (N = 5).

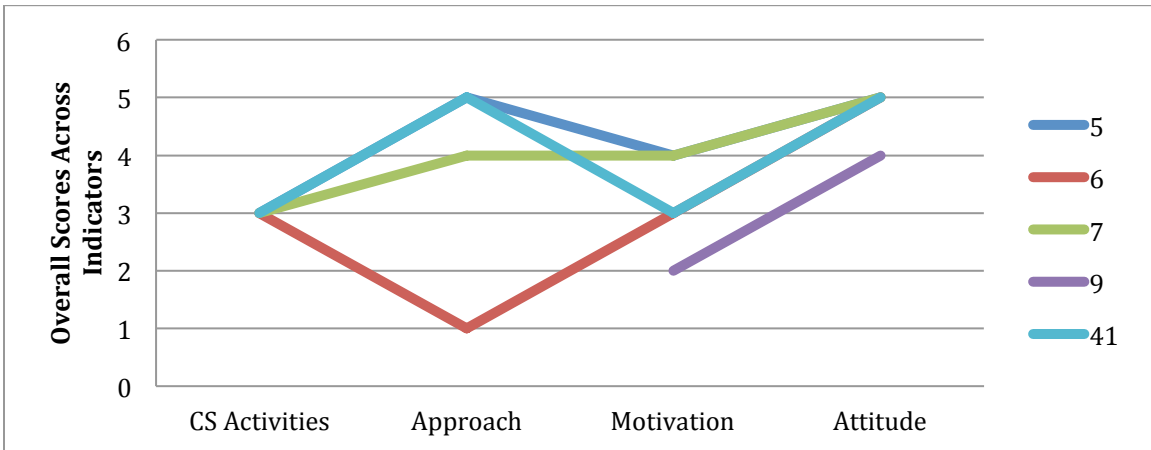


Figure 6. Overall Scores Across Indicators for Family 44, 45, 47, 52, 56 and 58 (N = 6).

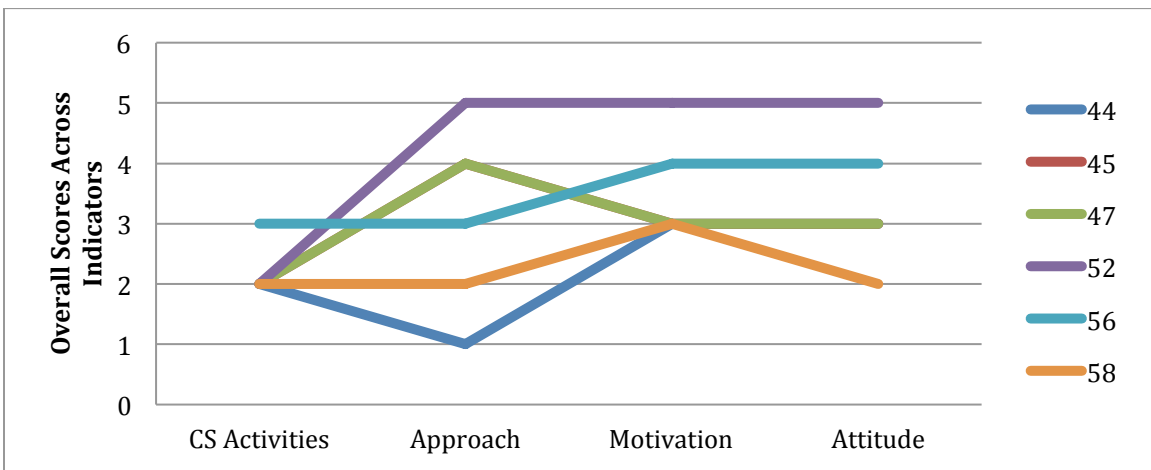
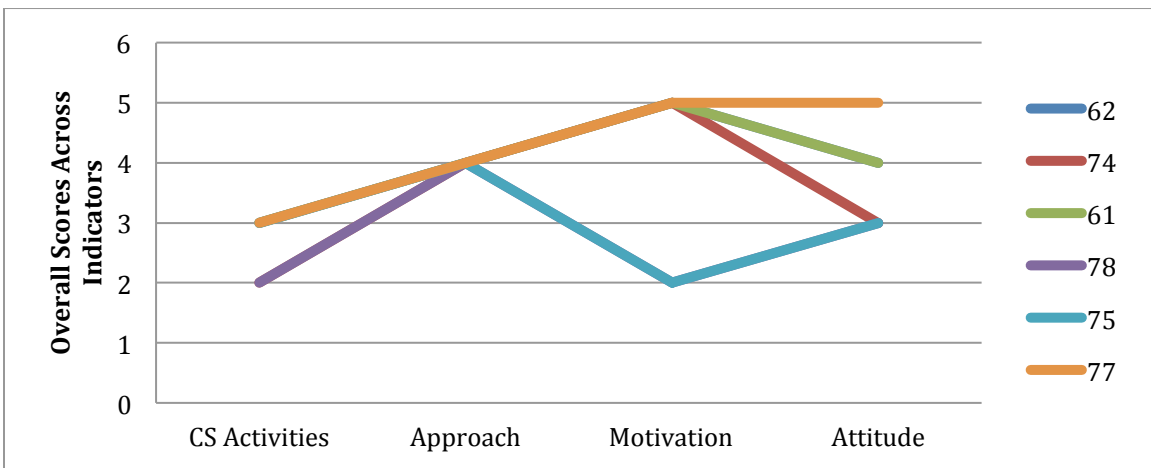


Figure 7. Overall Scores Across Indicators for Family 62, 74, 61, 78, 75 and 77 (N = 6).



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Appendix 1

Family and Adoption Interview Questions Parent

Thank you so much for agreeing to talk with us. What we learn from you will help us better understand the process of adoption, especially for families in international adoptions. As we discussed before, I will be asking you some questions about different ways parents choose to raise their adopted children. We are not advocating one way or another. We are just interested in your experiences as a parent in (CHILD)'s life and what you find yourself doing. The interview will take about an hour. If at any point during the interview you feel like taking a break, just let me know. Do you have any questions?

You have been (CHILD)'s parent for several years now, how is it going?

Let's talk about (CHILD)'s school experience (Education).

1. How old is (CHILD)?
2. Where is she/he in school?
3. Which grade is she/he in?
4. How racially diverse is your child's classroom?
5. How racially diverse is the school? Are there any children of your child's ethnic background at school?
6. Are there any other adopted children at school?
7. How racially diverse is the community you are in?

Now, let's talk a little bit about how (CHILD) describes herself/himself/himself (Child's Self Description).

8. How do you think your child labels or describes herself/himself/himself racially/ethnically?
9. Do you think that these descriptions change when she/he is in different settings? For instance, does your child see herself/himself/himself one way at home and another way in other places, for instance....school...playgroup/with friends in the neighborhood ?

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Parents who have adopted children from other countries describe their children's cultural background in different ways.

10. How would you describe your child's cultural background?
11. What does it mean to be a parent of a child who is _____?
(Interviewer: use the cultural descriptor that the parent used).

Now, I would like to talk with you a bit about your family.

12. How would you describe the ethnic make-up of your family? How would you describe the ethnic make-up of the family that you have together/ your current family?
13. This detail is very helpful. Would you describe yourself differently in a casual conversation?
14. Does the topic of race/ethnicity come up at home? If so, who brings it up?
15. Can you tell me about the last time it was discussed?
16. When you look back on your discussions, what do you hope your child has learned?
17. How much does the ethnic make-up of your family affect the values and traditions of your family?
18. How much of these values and traditions reflect your background and the way you were raised?
19. How much of these values and traditions reflect your understanding of your child's cultural background?(Rephrase: Since your daughter is from China, how much have you included things that you understand from her culture in the values and traditions of your family?)

(Race/Ethnicity and Parenting)

20. Some parents feel that raising a child is rewarding...And some parents also find it challenging. What is it like for you?

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For some parents, being in a transracial adoptive family adds an additional layer to the parenting.

21. Some parents find it rewarding to be a parent in a transracial family... And some parents also find it challenging. What is it like for you?
22. What experiences have you provided for her/him to learn about/explore her/his ethnicity? Why do you think it is important to provide those experiences?
23. When your child participates in Chinese activities is the rest of the family involved? Who else in the family is involved? If so, how come? (*Interviewer – here we are getting at why the parent has decided to have other family members join in the activity*) If not, how come? (*Interviewer – here we are getting at why the parent has decided NOT to have other family members join in the activity*)
24. How much Chinese culture do you feel you need to know in order to raise your child?
25. How interested is your child in Chinese culture? (Really interested, sort of interested, doesn't care, not interested, really not interested)
26. And to what extent does this fit your expectation? (Is very much like I expected, somewhat like I expected, somewhat not expected, not at all like what I expected)
27. How has your child's interest in Chinese culture changed over time? (Less interested over time, more interested over time, up and down over time, no change – still isn't interested, no change – is very interested)
28. What types of supports have you used or are you using yourself to help you understand or handle parenting a child of a different race or ethnicity? Why do you think it is important to get these types of support?
29. What is important for you to provide for her/him regarding her race/ethnicity?
30. Does she/he have any siblings? If yes, how old is she/he?
31. Is she/he also adopted? From where?

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32. Parents have different reasons for adopting more than once. Can you tell me why you adopted more than once?
33. What is it like for your family?

Now, I would like to talk about the racial/ethnic differences that (CHILD) may have been exposed to outside your family, and how those differences affect your family and the way you raise her/him.

34. What kind of experiences has she/he had that have exposed her/him to racial/ethnic differences? Can you tell me more about these experiences and what they were like for her/him?
35. Do you think that she/he has noticed racial/ethnic physical differences? If so, when? Can you tell me more about it?
36. How do you think she/he became aware of these differences?
37. Do you think that racial/ethnic differences have been problematic for her/him in the past? Why or why not?
38. Do you think that race/ethnicity is problematic for her/him now? Why or why not?
39. Do you think it may become more or less problematic in the future? Why or why not? (Rephrase: Do you have any sense of why it might become problematic?)

(Others-Race/Ethnicity)

40. What have other children or adults done or said to her/him about her/his ethnicity?
41. How do you think she/he has handled it? (Follow-up) What was her/his response?
42. How did you handle it?
43. What have other children or adults done or said to you about her/his ethnicity?
44. How did you handle it?

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45. Do you have any concerns? If any, how are you addressing these concerns?

HIGHLY SENSITIVE QUESTIONS – Interviewer – these next questions are very sensitive and must be asked carefully. You must remind the parent that s/he can decline to answer any question.

I want to talk with you about some adoption related issues that are rather sensitive. We are very interested in understanding as much as we can about parents' experiences. But we understand that you may not feel comfortable answering these questions. Please – if you would rather not answer, let us know. We will certainly understand.

46. Why did you decide to adopt?
47. How do you feel about raising a child who is not your biological child?
48. How and why did you decide to adopt from China?
49. How do you feel about raising a child who is ethnically different from you?
50. When you think back to the first year after your child joined your family, what challenges did you face as parent?
51. How much do you feel you need to know about adoption in order to raise your child?

Parents find different ways to talk with their children about what adoption means in general and why some children are adopted.

52. Have you talked with your child about the process of adoption in general? If so, what have you told her/him? What kind of questions has she/he asked about adoption? How have you answered those questions? If not, have you thought about how you might handle talking about adoption when she/he gets older? When and how might you talk about it?
53. How often does the topic of adoption come up at home? Who brings it up?
54. Can you tell me about the last time it was discussed?

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55. When you look back on those discussions, what do you hope your child has learned?

56. What do you think she/he understands about adoption in general?

Parents also find different ways to talk with their children about their adoption. Some talk about it from when their children are babies, and others talk about it when their children are older.

57. Have you talked with your child about her/his adoption? If so, what have you told her/him? What kind of questions has she/he asked about being adopted? How have you answered those questions?

I have another question that some parents find is sensitive. Please – if you would rather not answer, let us know. We will certainly understand.

I would like to talk for a minute about birth moms. Some adoptive parents bring up the discussion, others wait for their child to bring it up, and others don't talk about it at all.

58. How do you handle discussions about your daughter's birth mom?

59. How often does the topic of her/his being adopted come up at home? Who brings it up?

60. Can you tell me about the last time it was discussed?

61. When you look back on those discussions, what do you hope your child has learned?

62. What do you think she/he understands about being adopted?

Others-Adoption

63. What do you think have other children or adults done or said to her/him about her /his adoption?

64. How do you think she/he/he has handled it?

65. How have you helped her/him with questions that others ask about her/his being adopted?

66. What have other children or adults done or said to you about her/his adoption?

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67. How do you handle other people's questions about her/his being adopted?

Parents' Perception of Adoption

68. What types of supports have you used to help you teach/talk with your child about adoption? Why do you think it is important to get these types of support?
69. What experiences have you provided for her/him to learn about/explore being adopted? Why do you think it is important to provide those experiences?
70. Are there any other thoughts you have about your experiences raising your child that we have not talked about?

Thank you very much for talking with me about ____ (your child) and your experiences and thoughts as her/his parent.

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Appendix 2

General Coding Procedure:

Retrieve vignettes from Atlas.ti using relevant existing codes. The order of codes retrieval is 6501 child level activities, 6502 family level activities, 6503 community level activities, 4351a example - waiting, 4352a example - proposing, 4353a example - initiating, 4307a unmet needs for child's positive identity development, 4307b limited opportunity for the child to be around people who look like her, 4307c influence of the agents in the adoption community, 4331a example - high acknowledgement of cultural differences, 4332a example - low acknowledgement of cultural differences. Apply new codes on top of existing codes. If there are disagreement between new codes and existing codes, report to project supervisor, discuss and reach an agreement regarding whether changes are necessary.

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Table A1. Description of 5-point Scales for All Indicators

Overall Score	CS Activity Scale	Parents' Approach Scale	Parents' Motivation Scale	Parents' Acknowledgement Scale
5 A parent who thinks deeply about cultural differences, enthusiastically and unreservedly engages in culture keeping	Activities or a lifestyle that allows a family to have regular cross-cultural interaction (e.g., diverse community, structured family language lessons)	<i>Initiating</i> is the dominant approach and <i>initiating</i> is 70% of CS approach codes or above.	<i>Unmet needs</i> is the dominant motivation for CS and is 70% of CS motivation codes or above.	<i>High acknowledgement</i> is 70% of all acknowledgement codes or above and <i>high salience</i> is 70% of all salience codes or above.
4 A parent who puts substantial effort in keeping culture. Culture keeping is a very important part of daily lives.	Activities that address culture regularly. Either child-level activities involving structured interaction with cultural experts, or family-level structured cultural activities without the presence of a cultural expert.	<i>Initiating</i> is between 50% to 70% of CS approach codes, and the combination of <i>initiating</i> and <i>proposing</i> is 70% of CS approach codes or above.	<i>Unmet needs</i> is between 50% and 70% of CS motivation codes, and the combination of <i>unmet needs</i> and <i>limited opportunity</i> is 70% of CS motivation codes or above.	<i>High acknowledgement</i> is 70% of all acknowledgement codes or above and <i>high salience</i> is 50% of all salience codes or above.
3 A parent who acknowledges the importance of culture exposure and chooses culture activities that balance the interests of both parent and child	Activities address Chinese culture but require less effort to implement comparing to activities at level 4 or 5. For example, child-level structured activities without a cultural expert,	The combination of <i>initiating</i> and <i>proposing</i> is higher than 50% of CS approach codes.	A parent has mixed motivations for CS, and fits none of the other descriptions.	<i>High acknowledgement</i> is 70% of all acknowledgement codes or above and <i>high salience</i> is below 50% of all salience codes; or <i>high acknowledgment</i> is between 30%-70% of all

· A previous analysis with the ADP used 70% as the cut off for categorizing acknowledgement and 50% for categorizing salience (Pinderhughes et al., 2010). The present study applied the criteria to attitudes and other indicators.

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	or unstructured family-level interactions with a cultural expert			acknowledgement codes and <i>high salience</i> is 50% of all salience codes or above.
2 A parent makes superficial attempt to keep culture.	Activities that touch upon culture superficially. For example, all child-level unstructured activities and family-level unstructured cultural activities without a cultural expert.	The dominant approach to CS is the mix of <i>proposing</i> and <i>waiting</i> . <i>Proposing</i> and <i>waiting</i> add up to more than 70% of CS approach codes.	<i>Influence of agents</i> is 60% of CS motivation codes or above; or the combination of <i>influence of agents</i> and <i>motivation against CS</i> is 60% of CS motivation codes or above.	<i>High acknowledgement</i> is between 30% and 70% of all acknowledgement codes, and <i>high salience</i> is below 50% of all salience codes; or <i>high acknowledgement</i> is below 30% of all acknowledgement codes and <i>high salience</i> is 50% of all salience codes or above.
1 A parent who shows resistance to cultural socialization.	Parent articulate not doing a particular activity	<i>Waiting</i> is the dominant approach and <i>waiting</i> is 70% or above.	<i>Motivation against CS</i> is the 50% or above.	<i>High acknowledgement</i> is below 30% of all acknowledgement codes and <i>high salience</i> is below 50% of all salience codes.

Appendix 3.

Coding Guideline for Cultural Socialization Activities

Read through all vignettes, identity activities and code each activity according to its 3 dimensions (see table A2 and table A3). Give each CS activity a score considering the 3 dimensions. A CS activity score of 1 will be given if a parent articulates not participating in a particular activity. For example, a parent says, “we thought about having a mentor, but I’m too tired, we’ll do this when she’s older”.

When two coders both think the pre-assigned CS activity score cannot accurately depict the level of CK to a particular vignette, a new CS activity score can be given. For example, if a parent says "We traveled to China with a Chinese family that we were quite close to, we were in China for a month, and after that TY's been obsessed with Chinese culture..." this is a family-level unstructured activity with cultural experts, thus 3. However if two coders both agree that this experience is particularly powerful and should get a higher score, we can give it a 4. Coders can only alter pre-assigned CS activity score by 1.

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Table A2. CS Activities Scoring Instruction.

Activity	Child/ Family	Structured/ Unstructured	Chinese expert (Y/N)	Coder's note	CK/CT score
e.g. Weekly Chinese language lessons	C	S	Y		4
e.g. Monthly Play groups	C	S	N		3
e.g. Museum cultural event	C	U	Y		2
e.g. Play group (convenience)	C	U	N		2
e.g. Family level art lessons	F	S	Y		5
e.g. Chinese movie circle	F	S	N		4
e.g. New Year with a Chinese family	F	U	Y		3
e.g. Watching lion dance	F	U	N		2
e.g. Moved to a new neighborhood	Comm unity level	N/A	Y		5

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Table A3. CS Activities Coding Instruction.

Code	Usage and examples
Child-level structured activities	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an activity giving the child experience of or information about her birth culture or exposure to people “like her”; and • The child participates without a parent; and • The activity is regularly attended on a schedule (at a minimum 4 times per year, for at least 4 instances) and usually is led or facilitated by an adult who is imparting knowledge. <p>Usually these consistently scheduled activities are being used to give the child structured information about her birth culture with people who have similar background.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chinese language class every weekday for a month, - Chinese summer camp - Weekly dance lessons - Fortnightly Chinese playgroup e.g. Iris’ playgroup - Monthly Big Sister with a Chinese big sister.
Child-level unstructured activities	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an activity giving the child experience of or information about her birth culture or exposure to people “like her”; and • The child participates without a parent; and • The activity is NOT regularly scheduled – it is done whenever convenient or attended less than 4 times or less than 4 times per year. <p>Generally these activities are used to give the child information about her birth culture at a convenient time.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Taking the child to play with other children adopted from China - Taking child to a drop-in Chinese playgroup - Play-date with a Chinese friend.
Family-level structured activities	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an activity giving the child experience of or information about her birth culture or exposure to people “like her”; and • At least one parent attends along with the child; and • The activity is regularly attended on a schedule (at a minimum 4 times per year, for at least 4 instances) and usually is led or facilitated by an adult who is imparting knowledge. <p>Generally these consistently scheduled activities are being used to give the child information about the birth culture on a regular basis by</p>

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	<p>emphasizing togetherness.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A tutor teaches the whole family Chinese language once per week for a year.
<p>Family-level unstructured activities</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an activity giving the child experience of or information about her birth culture or exposure to people “like her”; and • At least one parent attends along with the child; and • The activity is NOT regularly scheduled – it is done whenever convenient or attended less than 4 times or less than 4 times per year. <p>Generally these unscheduled activities are used to give the child information about the birth culture by emphasizing togetherness.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Outside activities such as going to fairs, meeting with the travel groups - Chinese New Year celebrations - At-home activities e.g. reading culture/language books as a family - A tutor has become a friend and cooks Chinese food with the family occasionally - Choosing to occasionally shop at an Asian market rather than the local market.
<p>Community level actions</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The child is exposed to other people who are “like her” on a day-to-day basis (NOT just when they do X); and • She has this opportunity because of a minor or major lifestyle change the family has made consciously <p>Generally these activities/actions are used to give a sense of community and to expose the child to other children who look “like her”.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Moving to another town because of its diversity (major change) - Choosing a diverse day care (minor change) - Choosing a Chinese tenant - Having a Chinese exchange student to stay with them
<p>Chinese cultural expert</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an activity providing interactions with one or more adults who imparts cultural knowledge to the child. • A cultural expert can be a Chinese or a non-Chinese person who has substantial knowledge in Chinese culture • Chinese children, adopted or non-adopted, are not cultural

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	<p>experts.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ Chinese dance lessons➤ Celebrating Moon Festival with Chinese families➤ Chinese culture camp
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Appendix 4.

Table A4. Parents' Approach Coding Instruction

Code	Usage and examples
Waiting	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent waits for cues from the child – wishes, questions or other indications the child might want to participate in a regular structured cultural activity; and • Parent offers the child the option rather than forcing her to participate in the structured activity. <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ “I guess I’ve taken my cues from her, that if we’re not showing a ton of interest in it, do I want to be the one, I mean I don’t want to be like throwing it down her, so I kind of take my cues from when the questions come, answering however I can” ➤ “TY and I bring it [race & ethnicity] up. TY probably brings it up more. And I also let her take the lead, although we’ve had so many foundational discussions about it that I now don’t feel compelled to talk a lot about it unless she brings it up.” ➤ “If she asks me for anything she could have it. We’ve brought home CDs for her to learn her language....she wanted to know what it was like to live in China. So we had this opportunity to bring home this exchange student from China...so TY got to ask her those questions. So we do anything within our means to let her explore what she needs, we answer her questions as they come up” ➤ “Whatever she wants, Some kids care a lot. Some kids don’t care...I think it’s important to TY...she’s had the opportunity to learn the language, if she wants to do the language class. We’ve talked about taking the dance thing. We’ve talked about the martial arts...they seem to be perking up on that. That comes from them. I just don’t know how much to force it anymore....If they say no, they don’t want to do it, I’m just tired of trying to force it...Really it’s very difficult to know how much to push and how much to let go.”
Proposing	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent offers the child the option rather than forcing her to participate in the structured CS activity; AND • Parent offers this activity, perhaps with other options, without waiting for the child to suggest it. <p>Generally this strategy is used to make the child aware of the possibilities.</p>

	<p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ “I gave her the choice of wearing them [Chinese dresses] to school and she chose not to which endlessly disappointed me...I think I gently said that it might be nice to wear something that represents this wonderful part of you. But she didn’t want it – the dress was too tight or whatever. I try to be careful – I don’t want to foist any disappointment on her. Instead I want to gently encourage her”] ➤ “She was the one who asked for the Mandarin classes; they had a choice of basketball, soccer, Kung Fu...she had already done drumming...they offered drumming again and she said no she wanted to take Mandarin, and I said ‘really? Don’t you get enough of that in the play group’ She says ‘No, we’re not really learning enough in play group’ so I was surprised.” – <i>parent suggest drumming but allows child to decline</i> ➤ “She wouldn’t have asked for it [language class], I don’t think...The teacher has since moved...she hasn’t asked me to find her a new teacher....It’s important for me that I don’t push it on her. Because if I made her learn Chinese and stuck her in front of a teacher, it wouldn’t happen and it would be a negative experience...but at least now she’s had this immersion...and so since she knows it’s there she can come back to it if she decides her Chinese identity is more important to her later on”
<p>Initiating</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent initiates a structured CS activity for her child without offering any choice about whether or not to participate, or • If it is clear the child has been doing the activity since they were young (age 4 or less). <p>Generally this strategy is used to expose the child to her cultural heritage, make her aware of possibilities, prepare her for future confusion, to open a door for the child, or “leave breadcrumbs”. Initiators after some failed attempts can turn into waiters.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ “It [language class] was my idea” ➤ “my goal is that I want her more with Chinese kids...we’ve been able to pull in some of the kids she goes to school with to join in because I don’t want her just with other adoptive kids. I want her with Chinese kids from Chinese families...” ➤ “it’s [language lessons] like playing the piano. You have to force them”

Appendix 5.

Table A5. Parents’ Motivation Coding Instruction

<p>Unmet need for child’s positive identity development</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent discusses how they felt it was important to provide role models; or • Parent says they think a CS activity is good for some aspect of development. <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ “[hope she has learned]...a grounding of self in who...the ability when she goes out in the world and people make racist comments that she’ll have some tools for how to deal with them...how to feel pride and security...” (1_2b line 95) ➤ “it’d be ideal for her to feel pride in her ethnicity and race and not shame” (2_2 line 59) ➤ “we try to really work with her and try to find things she can feel good about...with Iris culture playgroup...” (002_2 line 105) ➤ “I hope that she finds a level of comfort in her identity as a Chinese person” (3_2 line 53)
<p>Limited opportunity for the child to be around people who look like her</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent describes making changes to allow their child to have more exposure to Chinese adults or children, and says they felt this was important. <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ “why don’t we just adopt a second child...so that our daughters share the same background” (43_2 line 333) ➤ “I pulled her out of there and put her in a daycare that was over half Asian families” (42_2a line 17) ➤ “we wanted TY to have other kids as friends who have a similar base of experiences” (59_2_a_b line 295)
<p>Influence of the agents in the adoption community</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent is influenced by someone in the adoption community to do CS. • NOT when parent is influenced by someone outside the adoption community. <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ “other parents organized this and I thought we’d join in” ➤ “someone said we should...” ➤ “I took her to an adoption therapist...my pediatrician gave me her name – she has adopted children herself” (57_2 lines 135-

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	<p>9)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ “From Jane the FCC stuff, we do those sort of things” (77_2b line 329) ➤ “I mostly get information from more diligent parents, people in the playgroup...so she would be comfortable in both cultures” (9_2 line 103)
<p>Resistance to cultural socialization</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent explains reasons for not providing a particular type of activity. • Parent doubts benefits of cultural socialization. <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ ... it’s I guess it’s more like uncertainty and a sense of how important is it really ➤ sometimes I think we emphasize Chinese too much ➤ We didn’t do calligraphy because I think she’s too young. We’ll probably do that next year. ➤ I’m too tired. I need a break

Appendix 6

Table A6. Parents' Attitudes Coding Instruction

<p>High acknowledgement of cultural differences</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent acknowledges cultural differences, e.g. by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ defining <i>her child's cultural background</i> as either Chinese or Chinese-American; ○ referring to how s/he helps child/family think about cultural differences ○ mentioning practice of Chinese culture within the family, e.g. food, clothing, rituals, celebrations, language; ○ sharing thoughts that s/he values differences between cultural groups. • NOT when parent is talking about another family or extended family member rather than their child • NOT when parent reports what the <i>child</i> calls herself culturally. <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ “that’s tricky because she’s of Chinese ancestry but she’s an American citizen. So is she Chinese or is she American? ...I’ll say she was born in China...But if she wants to say she’s Chinese, that’s fine. But she’s not a Chinese citizen.” ➤ “...where she didn’t want to be Chinese. We said ‘why?’ and she said ‘because I want to be like you.’ And my husband said something like, ‘Why? Being Chinese is great! We wish we were Chinese!’” ➤ “we certainly make more of an effort around Chinese New Year, reading books about china” ➤ “we chose it because it was close by, because it’s our church school, it was a good school academically and it had diversity in the student body which the public school would have as well”
<p>Low acknowledgement of cultural differences</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent minimizes or rejects cultural differences, e.g. by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ labeling her child as having a cultural background which is not Chinese; ○ reporting that she is raising her child as non-Chinese; ○ reporting that s/he provides NO cultural socialization activities;

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	<p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ “I don’t want them to be China, Guatemala, of these culturally, these impoverished countries. China to my eyes is undergoing a major industrial revolution that is going to rule people out so there’s going to be the same tide of adoption from rural areas” ➤ “I didn’t want her to think that she was very different at that point” ➤ “It’s something we try not to make an issue of. We try to keep the door open. And we often talk about being born in China and I don’t even like to think of them being Chinese. She’s my daughter, TY.” ➤ “I think of her as Asian American and the culture is Euro-American.”
<p>High salience of cultural differences</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parent is constantly and intensely aware of cultural differences; or • Parent makes cultural differences a priority so that family life is shaped around them. • including when the parent minimizes another culture in preference to Chinese culture. <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I think what is dominant for us is...to convey a respect and appreciation for a variety of cultures and a kind of openness to learning about other cultures.” • “I think it’s [teaching about Chinese culture] very good for their identity development...I felt to prepare them so that they wouldn’t have as severe or difficult a time and grow up with a great deal of anger, that it would be good to expose them from a very early time so that they would know who they were, where they came from...” <p>“it feels a little bit silly to say that we’re a Chinese American family because I’m not, my parents aren’t. But I also don’t feel like I’m doing it just for herHey I want to be too!”</p>
<p>Low salience of cultural differences</p>	<p>Use when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents view cultural differences as “one part of” their children; or • Some parents explicitly state that is secondary

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	<p>compared to other things in their life (e.g. being a single mother); or</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Parents acknowledge forgetting about these differences. <p>Note this code can arise together with High acknowledgement or Low acknowledgement.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ “it’s [TY’s special needs] just a huge amount of work in terms of helping give structure and organization to her life...It guides us, while we are very focused on this adoption, her racial background – the first thing we always have to thinking about school decisions and getting her special needs addressed”➤ “I don’t know if her interest [in Chinese culture] kind of mimics mine, and my issue is that I just don’t really care very much. But I talked to a lot of her friends and at this age, they’re much more interested in what kind of jeans they’re buying. I think it’s age related”➤ “I care more about that realization of the inequalities in the world than I really care about their Chinese [culture]...it’s a funny superimposition, to have this affinity or adoration of Chinese culture because they came from there”➤ <p>“Blending a family has its challenges. I don’t think it has anything to do with her being from China at all.”</p>
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