

“You Have Mistaken Assumptions”:
How Parents’ Role, Parents’ Prep-for-Bias, and Children’s Ethnic Self-Label are Interrelated
Among Transracial Adoptions from China

A thesis submitted by
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Child Study and Human Development
Tufts University
August 2022
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Abstract

Researchers (e.g., Bebiroglu & Pinderhughes, 2012; Dolan, 2015) have found that the amount of ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) parents provide their transracially-adopted children is related to adoptees' ethnic identity and adoption status. Most studies examine one aspect of ERS, cultural socialization (CS), while very few study the impact of Preparation-for-Bias (Pfb) (Hughes et al., 2006) on transracially-adopted children's views of their ethnic identity.

The transactional system theory of ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) developed by Pinderhughes et al. (2021) proposes that various factors involved in ERS impact the relationship between transracially-adopted children and their parents.

Drawing from this model, I examined (1) the nature of specific Pfb messages, (2) the link between parents' role variables and Pfb messages, and (3) the link between Pfb messages and children's ethnic self-label. Forty-one transracial adoptive families were interviewed about their experiences being in a transracial adoptive family. Findings are reported with implications for supporting TRA families.

Acknowledgments

I want to start by saying thank you so much to the Eliot-Pearson Department of Child Study and Human Development here at Tufts. EP is such a welcoming, warm, community of people and I am so grateful to have been a member of this community for two years.

There are so many people who have helped contribute to this finished product. Whether it was reminding me to stop procrastinating on creating an SPSS file or reprimanding me for typing for six hours straight, I thank you all for guiding me to the finish line.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my thesis advisor Dr. Ellen E. Pinderhughes for her continued support throughout this process. Her unwavering enthusiasm and dedication to studying adoptive families is greatly inspirational and I hope to contribute to the field one day alongside her works.

I would also like to thank my other thesis committee members: Dr. M Ann Easterbrooks, my academic advisor, and Dr. Xian Zhang, an alumnae of this Master's and PhD program. Your encouragement and feedback about ways to further improve this study were very much appreciated. I couldn't have submitted this without you both!

Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Theo Klimstra for not only being a wonderful statistics professor, but for also helping me navigate the data analysis section of my study.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family and my roommates. I must have said the sentence "*Sorry, I have to work on my thesis*" about a million times over the last year and each and every time I was met with nothing but kindness and empathy. Thank you for your endless patience. It's finally finished!

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“You Have Mistaken Assumptions”: How Parents' Role, Parents' Prep-for-Bias, and Children's Ethnic Self-Label are Interrelated Among Transracial Adoptions from China

There has been an upsurge of Anti-Asian attacks in the United States since the novel coronavirus was detected in Wuhan, China in December 2019 (Brockell, 2021). These hate crimes have further been fueled by former President Donald Trump's frequent usage of the terms “China virus” and “Kung Flu” (Brockell, 2021). Between March 2020 and February 2021, there were almost 3,800 self-reports of anti-Asian hate crimes documented by the Open Society grantee *Stop AAPI Hate* (Ispahani & Ramdas, 2021). While it is certainly upsetting to watch coverage of these attacks on the news, it is unfortunately not the first time in U.S. history that Asians have been the target of racial hate and prejudice.

Given that there are attacks on Asians still occurring today, many parents with Asian American children are motivated to discuss with them topics of racism and prejudice (Pham, 2021). By having open conversations about racism against Asian Americans, parents are engaging in preparation-for-bias for they are helping their children prepare for future racist encounters (Hughes et al., 2006). There is a difference, however, in the way that Asian parents discuss racism with their children versus how White parents discuss it (Perry, 2021). The most notable difference is that Asian parents may have experienced racism whereas White parents may have not. Having this lack of experience may be a reason why some White parents struggle to discuss issues of race and prejudice with their adopted Asian children. One way to initiate these conversations, however, is for parents provide their children a history of anti-Asian bias in the U.S. so they are aware of the context of racism against Asians.

History of Anti-Asian Bias in the United States

1854: People v. Hall. Discrimination against Asians traces back to the 1850's. Shortly after former President Abraham Lincoln abolished slavery, Chinese immigrants were brought to the U.S. to work in the mines and railroads. Though these jobs were extremely dangerous, they were of high demand and Chinese immigrants were willing to do the work (Traynor, 2017). In 1854, a White man named George Hall shot and killed a Chinese immigrant man named Ling Sing. Unfortunately, following this murder, the California Supreme Court ruled that people of Asian descent could not testify against a White person in court. Therefore, White people were able to commit violent acts against Asians without being punished (Traynor, 2017).

1871: Chinese Massacre in Los Angeles. On October 24, a White man was murdered while caught in the crossfire between rival Chinese groups. In response, over 500 White and Hispanic rioters surrounded and attacked L.A.'s Chinese community, called "Negro Valley". Eighteen Chinese men and boys were lynched. Although 8 of the rioters were convicted of manslaughter, these convictions were overturned and the rioters escaped punishment for their crimes (Shyong, 2021).

1875: Page Act. This act excluded East Asian women from the U.S. because of the stereotype that they were sex workers and therefore were 'temptations for White men'. This act also prevented existing Chinese-American women from becoming citizens. This law was repealed in 1943, around the same time that former President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Japanese internment camps (Rotondi, 2021).

1882: Chinese Exclusion Act. As a result of Congress passing this Act, Chinese immigration was banned for twenty years. Former President Chester Arthur vetoed it, but then signed a 10-year ban instead. It was the first law that placed restriction on immigration to the U.S. It was extended for more than 60 years, until it was repealed in 1943 (Greenberger, 2017).

1885: Rock Springs Massacre. In September, 100-150 people surrounded and attacked Chinese mineworkers. Twenty-eight people were killed and 79 homes were burned. Those who survived sought shelter in a nearby town. They then boarded a train and were told it would bring them to San Francisco. Unfortunately, it was a trick, and the train ended up bringing them back to Rock Springs, where they were forced back into the mines. Federal troops were stationed there for 13 years to impose the order (Rea, 2014).

1943: Japanese Internment Camps. After Japan bombed Pearl Harbor and the U.S. entered World War II in 1941, the U.S. government feared there were Japanese-American spies living in the U.S. Due to this fear, the government forced Japanese-Americans into internment camps until the War was over. Conditions in the camps were severe: extremely hot in the summer, and freezing cold in the winter. No spies were ever found, and when the Japanese were freed, they found their homes and businesses vandalized (Brockell, 2021; Do et al., 2021).

1982: Murder of Vincent Chin. On June 19, a Chinese-American man named Vincent Chin was out in Detroit, celebrating his upcoming wedding with some friends at a local bar. While there, two White men picked a bar fight and blamed Chin, who they mistakenly took for being Japanese, for the "Japanese" taking their auto-industry jobs. Outside of the bar, the two men beat Chin repeatedly with a baseball bat. Chin died a few days later from his injuries. In court, the judge gave the men probation and a \$3,000 fine; a lenient punishment that sparked anger among Asian American communities across the U.S. (Little, 2020).

1992: Los Angeles Riots. On April 29, police officers were caught on camera beating Rodney King. Tensions had been rising between the Black and Korean American communities in L.A. for years, and this incident was the breaking point. L.A. erupted in riots, and Korean

American businesses became the targets of break-ins and vandalisms (Brockell, 2021; *L.A. Times* Staff, 2017).

2001: 9/11 Inspired Hate Towards South Asians. After the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, hate crimes spiked against Muslim people, and those perceived to be Muslim. On September 15, just four days after the attacks, a man named Frank Silva Roque murdered an Indian man named Balbir Singh Sodhi, who was a gas station owner. Roque had mistakenly thought Sodhi was of Muslim descent (Brockell, 2021).

Aligning my study with this timeline, the data I used was collected between 2006 and 2010, among families who adopted children in the late 1990's to early 2000's. Many of these children were adopted as a result of former President Bill Clinton's law to speed up the adoption process for families (Baker, 1997). Since there were so many families adopting from China at the time, transracially-adoptive families had a community they could reach out to for support when needed. Though there were still challenges to face, having other adoptive families to talk to may have helped ease some of the stress and anxiety both parents and their adoptees encountered.

This background information was important for me to keep in mind while reading through both the parents' and the adoptees' interviews. Had these interviews been conducted today, the responses might have been vastly different given today's social contexts. Specifically, because there are not many couples adopting from China, there may be a lack of adoptive family communities these families can turn to for support. Additionally, because of the ongoing coronavirus pandemic that has caused some people to call it the "China virus", there are likely to be many Chinese people who are the targets of prejudiced and racist remarks.

Connecting the ongoing pandemic to the history of anti-Asian bias in the United States, this continuous discrimination against Asians has led to Asian Americans' desire to strengthen

their racial, ethnic, and cultural pride as well as teach newer generations how to cope with racist encounters (Pham, 2021). The ways in which parents discuss and teach their children about race, ethnicity, and their cultural roots is known as ethnic-racial socialization (ERS), and it can be done in a number of ways (Hughes et al., 2006).

What is Ethnic-Racial Socialization (ERS)?

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS), sometimes called Family ERS, is defined as “a multifaceted construct that captures how families socialize youth regarding the values, traditions, and practices associated with their ethnic-racial group. It also includes families’ efforts to teach youth about potential ethnicity and race-based threats and how to cope with these experiences”(Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020, p. 245). Hughes and colleagues (2006) completed an extensive review of studies that examined ERS, and found there are four types: 1) Cultural Socialization (CS): the transmission of cultural values, customs, and traditions; 2) Preparation-for-Bias (PFB): preparing youth for discrimination and teaching them how to cope with it; 3) Promotion of Mistrust (PM): communicating the need for wariness and distrust of other ethnic-racial groups, not offering advice for how to cope with discrimination; and 4) Egalitarianism (Egal): emphasizing equality among all ethnic-racial groups.

While it is important for parents of all races and ethnicities to speak to their children about discrimination, ERS is especially important among families where there are children of color. This is because children of color, rather than White children, are the ones who face racism and discrimination on a regular basis and should thus be taught how to deal with and perceive it.

ERS Among Families Raising Children of Color

There have been a number of studies (Brown & Ling, 2012; Contreras, 2015; Marshall, 1995; Snyder, 2012; Tran & Lee, 2010; Woo et al., 2020) examining how ERS is utilized by

both White and ethnic minority parents raising children of color. These studies also illustrate the developmental differences in the process of parents engaging in ERS with their children of color.

Brown & Ling (2012) sought to find out if self-identified Asian American adolescents (ages 18-25 years old) who received cultural socialization from their Asian American parents had a higher self-esteem. The researchers distributed to their 114 participants an online survey that included questions about perceived CS, ethnic identity, and self-esteem. Findings revealed that participants who indicated receiving more CS from their parents had a stronger sense of their ethnic identity and therefore had a higher self-esteem.

Contreras (2015) examined the extent to which mothers' early ERS behaviors may be adaptive in promoting school readiness of their young children. Interviews with 468 young mothers whose children were around 3 to 5 years old revealed that two parts of ERS, CS and PfB, were relevant aspects of young mothers' parenting. Furthermore, although both ethnic minority and European-American mothers engaged in ERS behaviors, findings suggested that ethnic minority mothers' own marginalized social experiences were positively associated with CS and PfB. Ultimately, engaging in activities that taught their children about their culture were found to be developmentally appropriate for young children. In contrast, to test the impact of PfBs on children, the mothers were given prompts that included list of messages and communications that were specific to treatment of the child's ethnic/racial group. They were then asked to indicate whether they had ever engaged in the behavior. If they indicated yes, they also indicated how often in the past year they had given it. Findings suggested that it was developmentally inappropriate for parents to engage in PfB: speaking to their young children about racism and ways to cope with it.

Marshall (1995) explored ethnic socialization among middle-class African American parents and their children who were students (ages 9 to 10 years old) at predominantly White schools. Specifically, the relations between ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, and academic achievement were examined. Findings revealed that, unexpectedly, children who received more ethnic socialization from their parents did not do very well in school. Marshall (1995) guessed this may be because children who have lower grades also have parents who are sensitive to the discriminatory remarks their children receive, and therefore are likely to discuss this with them.

Snyder (2012) wanted to understand how multiracial people of African descent experienced racism while in schools as well as how their parents prepared them to cope with racist encounters in school. Through conducting interviews with multiracial and transracial adopted adults of African descent, Snyder (2012) sought to understand how family racial socialization processes affected students' ability to cope with racism. Findings showed that families where at least one parent was Black were likely to openly talk about issues regarding race and racism. In contrast, families where neither parent was Black were unlikely to openly discuss issues of race and racism.

Woo et al. (2020) investigated whether and how racial discrimination is associated with ERS in the family, as well as how particular aspects of ERS influence children's ethnic and American identity among Filipino American and Korean American families. Youth in this study were between 14 and 17 years old. Youth reported racial discrimination was associated with weaker American identity. In concurrent models, racial discrimination experienced by both youth and their parents was positively associated with youth-reported prep-for-bias. This was also linked with stronger ethnic identity among the Filipino-American, but not the Korean-American, participants. In longitudinal models, parent-reported discrimination was connected to

higher levels of Promotion of Mistrust among both Filipino-American and Korean-American participants. This finding predicted weaker ethnic identity among Filipino-American youth, but stronger American identity among Korean-American youth.

Hughes et al. (2009) examined the relationships between adolescents' and mothers' reports of ERS and adolescents' ethnic-racial identity. Hughes and colleagues distributed surveys to 170 sixth-graders along with their mothers, who all identified as either Black, Puerto Rican, Dominican, or Chinese. Two dimensions of ERS, CS and PFB, were examined, as well as three dimensions of ethnic-racial identity, exploration, affirmation & belonging, and behavioral engagement. Results indicated that mothers' reports of their CS predicted adolescents' reports. However, mothers' reports of PFB predicted boys' but not girls' reports of PFB. Additionally, mothers' and adolescents' perceptions of CS engagement played a more important role in the girls' identity process than the boys' identity process.

These studies examined families with youth of color who ranged from early childhood aged to early adolescence. Overall, these studies suggest that parents who engaged in ERS impacted their youth's sense of identity and self-esteem. Given the range of ages and findings among these studies, it is also important to keep in mind the need to understand how PFB is given to youth at different ages. My study investigated this by looking at how the age of adoptees (5-7 years old versus 8-10 years old) may be related to the PFB messages given by parents.

As noted earlier, ERS processes can occur among both ethnic minority parents raising their children and White parents raising children of color. Due to differences in race and ethnicity, these latter families are known as transracial adoptive families.

History of Transracial Adoption in the United States

Prior to World War II, it was the norm in the U.S. to race match child to family during the adoption process (Weaver, 2018). However, after the country experienced a postwar economic boom, there was more demand for adoptive children. As described: "When the U.S. Children's Bureau began including race in its reporting system, a need for permanent homes for black children in foster care was uncovered" (Weaver, 2018, para. 3). Due to this, adoption agencies began to place ethnic minority children into White families' homes. Between 1960 and 1976, there were more than 12,000 transracial adoptions in the U.S (Weaver, 2018).

However, there was some setback to these transracial adoptive placements. In 1972, the National Association of Black Social Workers issued a statement that emphasized their belief that White parents were not well-equipped to raise a Black child because they did not know how to properly teach about racism. Additionally, they believed White-Black transracially-adoptive families were created to only benefit the parents, not the child (Weaver, 2018).

Today, agencies may consider the race of a child as a factor when making placements. However, due to the Multiethnic Placement Act of 1994, along with the Interethnic Placement Act of 1996, agencies that receive federal funding are not allowed to state race and ethnicity as reasons for a delay in matching a child to a family (Weaver, 2018).

The most common type of transracial adoptive families in the U.S. are families who have adopted children from China (Brandeis University, 2011). Chinese adoptions began in 1992, about thirteen years after China implemented their one-child policy (Berenson, 2015).

Chinese Adoptions. In 1979, China introduced their one-child policy. This policy required that all couples from China's Han ethnic majority limit themselves to having only one child (Berenson, 2015). It was not until a year later, however, that the policy became an official law

issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (Berenson, 2015). The Chinese government enforced this new law by fining couples who had a second child without obtaining a permit first, and by offering longer maternity leave to couples who obeyed the law (Berenson, 2015). Despite the severity of the new law, some couples continued to have more children. As an attempt to keep the population lower, women were forced to become sterilized or get abortions (Berenson, 2015). It was not until 1985 that China slightly relaxed their one-child law by allowing some couples in rural areas of the country to have a second child (Berenson, 2015).

As a result of China's one-child law, many mothers' newborns were either left at or taken by government officials to orphanages around the country (Zhang & Wang, 2019). These newborns stayed in the orphanages until April of 1992, when China began to allow foreigners into the country to adopt their thousands of orphans (Brandeis University, 2011). That year, 206 babies were adopted from China; three years later, China sent 2,500 children into foreign adoption (Brandeis University, 2011). From there, the numbers continued to escalate as more foreigners began to show interest in adopting from China. The United States is currently the country with the most (81,600) Chinese adoptions (Brandeis University, 2011).

Challenges Facing Transracially-Adoptive Families

Information from the Child Welfare Information Gateway (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2015) reveals that many of the couples who chose to adopt from China are White and from European descent. Some families have adopted multiple children, some have only their adopted child, and others have biological children and one adoptee (Zill, 2017). These families are referred to as transracially-adoptive families because the adoptee is of a different race than their adoptive family members (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services). This

difference in race is one challenge transracially-adoptive parents face while raising their adoptee. Furthermore, because transracially-adoptive families physically stand out among non-adoptive, same-race families, people begin to notice and offer comments and questions (Hrapczynski & Leslie, 2019; Vashchenko et al., 2012). While their questions might appear harmless on the surface to some, the emotions that arise inside transracially-adopted children reflect the discomfort such questions cause (Baden, 2016; Zhang et al., 2019). These offensive remarks are known as microaggressions (MAs), and are experienced by many transracially-adopted children (Baden, 2016; Sue et al., 2007).

Experiencing racial bias on a regular basis has detrimental consequences on transracially-adopted children's self-esteem and mental health (Mohanty & Newhill, 2011). When faced with MAs such as "*Your eyes look funny, why are they so small?*" and "*Who are your real parents?*," transracially-adopted children often immediately feel self-conscious about their appearance and adoptee status and thus their self-esteem may decrease (Baden, 2016). Furthermore, they may also feel anxious about having future interactions in which more MAs will be directed at them.

Prior research has suggested that transracially-adopted children may approach (Dolan, 2015) their parents about the topics of race and ethnicity (Dolan, 2015; Pinderhughes et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2019). When a transracially-adopted child approaches their parent and tells them about an MA incident they experienced, it can be hard for the parent to find a solution (Pinderhughes & Brodzinsky, 2019). Finding a solution to experiencing MAs may be hard because MAs are uniquely targeted towards racial and ethnic minorities, so transracially-adoptive parents do not have much, if any, experience handling them. Therefore, whereas some transracially-adoptive parents attempt to comfort their child by offering support or validating their feelings (Colaner & Kranstuber, 2010; Harrigan & Braithwaite, 2010), others are at a loss

for words or actions (Docan-Morgan, 2011). This lack of support or emotional validation can make transracially-adopted children feel like their reactions towards MAs are inappropriate, and thus they may feel as if they can no longer turn to their parents for help (Mohanty & Newhill, 2011). Since MAs are remarks made about transracially-adopted children's physical appearance, transracially-adopted children may also feel uncomfortable about their adoption status (Godon-Decoteau & Ramsey, 2017).

Suter & Ballard (2009) suggested that parents may change the way they respond to MAs as their adoptee ages and develops. The researchers distributed a survey to transracially-adoptive parents asking them about their responses to racist encounters. Results showed that parents' decision of how and whether to respond to MAs changed across time and as their child developed. As children got older, parents made changes in their responses to better protect their adoptee's privacy. Although racial remarks are often made when the transracially-adopted child is present, there are some instances where a racial comment may be made when the parent is without their child.

In situations where the parent is with their child and someone makes a racist remark, the child's presence may cause the parent to hesitate to say something since they do not want to upset their child (Dolan, 2015). In contrast, in situations where the parent does not have their child with them and someone makes a racist remark, their child's absence may cause parents to react to the MA (Dolan, 2015). Regardless of whether the child is present or not in a MA situation, it is up to the parents to decide if they should speak up against comments that insult their adoptee. Parents who do challenge racist remarks, though, reflect their support of their adoptee.

ERS Among Transracially- Adoptive Families

A theoretical framework developed by Pinderhughes et al. (2021) explores Ethnic-Racial-Socialization processes among transracially-adoptive families. This model is important for it characterizes the ERS processes among transracially-adoptive families as well as includes parents, adoptee, family, and developmental and contextual considerations. Aspects of transracially-adoptive parents' role that impact their relationship with their transracially-adopted child are part of the model. Two significant facets of parents' role are family's acknowledgment of differences and family's ethnic label (Pinderhughes et al., 2015). The first term refers to the degree to which parents recognize and accept the racial and/or ethnic differences between themselves and their transracially-adopted child. The second term refers to the label transracially-adoptive parents use to describe their family's ethnicity.

Both transracially-adoptive parents' acknowledgment of differences and how they ethnically label the family may also relate to how they choose to respond to MAs. Responses in which parents attempt to teach their children how to respond to racist and prejudiced comments are known as Preparation-for-Bias (PfB). For instance, a transracially-adoptive parent who has a higher level of acknowledgment of differences may be more likely to include their adoptee's ethnicity in their family's ethnic label. Since they are demonstrating support of their adoptee's ethnicity, they may also support their adoptee by helping them cope with MAs. This is a question that needs addressing.

Parents' reactions to MAs (PfB messages) may also be related to their adoptee's ethnic self-label an adoptee may follow their parent's lead and be willing or unwilling to include the Chinese part of their identity when labeling their own ethnicity. Additionally, the PfB message a parent chooses to engage in may relate to how a transracially-adopted child feels about their

ethnic label. For instance, if a parent responds to someone's comment by educating them about their child's adoption status, their child may pick up on the supportive undertones of their parent's response and therefore feel good about being Chinese.

Considering all of these variables, as well as the theoretical framework by Pinderhughes et al. (2021), this mixed-methods study examined how family acknowledgment of differences, family ethnic-label, children's ethnic self-label, and how children feel about their ethnic label are related to the PFB messages parents give their transracially-adopted children in response to MAs. Relations among these variables were measured through nonparametric tests of group differences.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that inspired my research study and research questions is the Ethnic-Racial-Socialization (ERS) Model developed by Pinderhughes and colleagues (2021). I used this model (see Figure 1) to support the various aspects of my study.

Different aspects of the ERS model are discussed in the literature review and my research questions. The ERS model proposes the system of ERS is "organized with structures and transacting or co-creating processes" (Pinderhughes et al., 2021, p.496). The model posits how various factors involved in ERS, such as Cultural Socialization (CS) and Preparation for Bias (PFB), impact the relationship between adoptive parents and their TRA children. Specifically, the model is constructed of three main components: Parent Role (A), ERS Processes (B), and Child Functioning (C). As described by Pinderhughes et al. (2021), each of the three components has four facets. The first component, Parent Role, has four facets: (1) parents' general attitudes about cultural and racial differences (A1), (2) parents' ethnic and racial affiliation (A2), (3) parents' cognitive and emotional processes (A3), and (4) parental approach/action to providing ERS (A4).

ERS Processes also has four facets: (1) type of ERS (B1), (2) nature of ERS (B2), (3) level of involvement in ERS (B3), and (4) who delivers ERS (B4). Lastly, Child Functioning has six facets: (1) perception of and coping with bias (C1), (2) self-esteem (C2), (3) ethnic-racial identity (C3), (4) adoptive identity (C4), (5) emotional adjustment (C5), and (6) academic achievement (C6). Many of the facets also have their own elements. For example, under the facet *parents' general attitudes about cultural and racial differences*, there is the element *ethnic/racial affiliation*, which refers to the parents' ethnic and racial identities (Pinderhughes et al., 2021).

There are two other components included in the ERS Model (Pinderhughes et al., 2021): Developmental Considerations (D), and Contextual Considerations (E). Developmental Considerations has two facets: (1) age/developmental level (D1) and (2) special needs/disability (D2), and Contextual Considerations has three facets: (1) societal values (E1), (2) parents' personal history, family, friends (E2), (3) community: adoption professionals, other adoptive parents, broader community including peers, school (E3). All of these components and facets of ERS interact with one another, as depicted in Figure 1. These interactions among the components and facets of ERS suggest that the relationships between Parent Role, ERS Processes, and Child Functioning are a lot more complicated and intricate than they appear on the surface.

My research study focused on several aspects of the ERS model. For Parent Role, I focused on the first and second facets, *parents' general attitudes about cultural and racial differences* and *parents' ethnic and racial affiliation*, respectively, by examining family acknowledgment of differences and family ethnicity. For ERS Processes, I focused on the first facet, *type of ERS*, by examining parents' PfB responses to the MAs their transracial adopted children experience. For Child Functioning, I focused on the third facet, *ethnic racial identity*, by looking at how TRA children ethnically label themselves, as well as their feelings towards their

ethnic label. Lastly, I included Developmental Considerations by examining the first facet, *child's age/developmental level* and how it relates to the previously stated variables. The aspects of the ERS model I focused on for my study have been discussed in previous literature that emphasizes each variable's importance in the relationship between transracially-adoptive parents and their children.

Literature Review

There have been a range of studies investigating different aspects of adoption and how they impact both transracially-adopted children and their adoptive parents. Though there is quite some overlap in the research findings, each study contributes significantly to the field's understanding of how complex race and ethnicity are in different aspects of adoption.

Family Acknowledgment of Racial Differences

There are two facets of the component "parents' role". The first facet, family acknowledgment of differences, refers to the degree to which transracially-adoptive parents verbally recognize the racial and ethnic differences between themselves and their transracially-adopted children.

I chose to look at this construct because it is one that can be reflected in a multitude of ways; there is no single way for a parent to acknowledge the differences between themselves and their transracially- adopted child. For instance, Bebiroglu & Pinderhughes (2012) conducted interviews with adoptive parents and their children and focused mostly on how parents approached acknowledging ethnic and racial differences. Pinderhughes et al. (2015) also conducted interviews with parents and children and noted comments from parents that reflected their acknowledgment of differences. In both of these studies, parents showed their awareness of

racial and ethnic differences in a variety of ways. Along with those studies, Tan & Nakkula (2004) and Reinoso et al. (2013) also examined parents' acknowledgment of differences.

Pinderhughes and colleagues (2015) examined the relations among parents' role variables, CS behaviors, and children's self-perceptions through interviews with transracial adoptive parents and children. Family acknowledgment of differences was determined by noting remarks from parents that reflected their recognition of ethnic and racial differences between themselves and their transracial adoptees. Parents who reflected a high acknowledgment of differences were more likely to engage in CS behaviors.

Similarly, Bebiroglu & Pinderhughes (2012) examined engagement in CS behaviors among 6-8 year old transracial adopted girls from China and their mothers. The focus was on the mothers' decisions about their children's socialization and interest in learning about China and being Chinese. Additionally, the researchers focused on parents' approach to acknowledging racial and ethnic differences. After conducting separate interviews with mothers and their children, it was revealed that there was a strong connection between parents' CS practices and their children's interest in learning about China and being Chinese. In regards to mothers' approach to racial and ethnic differences, three main approaches appeared from the data: 1) accepting, 2) rejecting, and 3) using both. Parents who utilized an accepting approach were strongly committed to embracing their adoptee's ethnic and racial differences and helped them become aware of those differences. In contrast, parents who utilized a rejecting approach did not point out racial and ethnic differences, often highlighting how all races are similar. They also took on this approach as a way to make their adoptee feel closer to their family members. These mothers' decision to engage in CS activities also reflected their high acknowledgment of differences, for they were willing to have their adoptee learn about their birth culture. Transracial

adoptive mothers who engage in CS activities and who take on an accepting approach as a way to support their adoptee may also be willing to support their child by helping them respond effectively to MAs.

Tan & Nakkula (2004) interviewed a group of White adoptive mothers who shared their thoughts regarding their transracially-adopted daughters from China's ethnicity. They found that most mothers ethnically labeled their transracially-adopted daughters as Chinese-American. Their decision to choose this ethnic label was "influenced by the dominant culture, the adoptive parents' own ethnicity, and the awareness of the difference between Chinese and American culture" (Tan & Nakkula, 2004, p. 57). Through making the distinctions between the two cultures, these mothers acknowledged the differences between their transracially-adopted daughters and themselves.

However, some parents do not acknowledge racial and ethnic differences between themselves and their adoptees. Reinoso et al. (2013) looked into children's and parents' thoughts about adoption and birth culture identity. In their interviews, many parents did not think their adoptees identified with their birth culture. However, adoptees' interview responses revealed otherwise. It was concluded that adoptive parents should acknowledge and not underestimate their adoptees' daily experiences regarding cultural identity with their birth country.

There is a lack of literature examining how parents may vary in their acknowledgment of racial and ethnic differences based on their adoptee's age. One way that parents can demonstrate acknowledging racial and ethnic differences, however, is by giving PfB messages. Therefore, my study examined how parents may vary in giving PfB messages to their children based on the child's age.

Family Ethnic Identity

A second facet of “parents’ role”, Family Ethnic Identity (FEI), is the ethnic identity transracially-adoptive parents use to describe their family as a whole. I chose to look at this construct because I believe that the way a parent describes their family’s ethnic-makeup reflects how they perceive their adoptee’s ethnicity. A parent who says their family is “German-American” is excluding their adoptee’s Chinese identity, which suggests they do not think their adoptee’s identity is significant enough to change their family’s ethnic-makeup. In contrast, a parent who says their family is “Irish-Chinese-American” *is* including their adoptee’s Chinese identity, which suggests they consider their adoptee’s identity as significant, and does change their family’s ethnic-makeup. Furthermore, if a child hears their parent’s choice for the family ethnic-label, it may impact whether they include “Chinese” while labeling themselves.

There are a few studies investigating this component. Bergquist et al. (2003) interviewed White parents raising transracially-adopted children from Korea. After being asked about family adjustment related to adoption, over two-thirds of parents were in agreement that having a Korean adoptee in the family “did not change the racial characteristics of their family” (Bergquist et al., 2003, p. 51). Earlier, Friedlander et al. (2000) investigated bicultural identity development among eight transracially-adoptive families. During interviews with adoptees and parents separately, they were asked how they identify themselves. Responses from parents revealed that they defined the family “as a whole, in terms that reflected diversity” that included “a mishmosh”, “mixed”, “multicultural” (Friedlander et al., 2000, p. 192).

Pinderhughes et al. (2015) investigated the ethnic labels transracially-adoptive parents used to describe their families and created three categories: Mono-Ethnic (“American” or “Chinese”), Inclusive of TRA’s Ethnicity (“White parents with a Chinese daughter”) and

Broadening Family Identity (“Biracial”) (Pinderhughes et al., 2015, p. 9). Findings from the study revealed that family ethnic identity was related to children’s ethnic self-label, as well as parents’ CS behaviors. Based on these studies, evidently, there is some variation in how adoptive parents choose to ethnically label their families.

Microaggressions

Coined by former Harvard University psychiatrist Chester M. Pierce, microaggressions (MAs) refer to the “commonplace, daily verbal, behavioral or environmental slights, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile attitudes toward stigmatized or culturally marginalized groups” (Pierce et al., 1978, p. 68). The most common type of MAs are Racial Microaggressions (RMAs), which are insults specifically directed towards people of color (Sue et al., 2007). There are a few subtypes of RMAs: microassaults, which are verbal or nonverbal attacks meant to hurt the victim by name-calling or avoiding them intentionally; microinsults, which are rude and insensitive communications that demean a person’s racial identity; and microinvalidations, which are communications that exclude or negate the thoughts and feelings of people of color (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274).

Along with RMAs, there are also Adoption Microaggressions (AMAs), which are “common slights, insults, indignities, that can occur almost daily that may be intentional or unintentional” (Baden, 2016, p. 6-7). AMAs target adoptees, their adoptive parents, as well as their birth parents. Most AMAs touch upon criticisms about adoption, foster care, or relinquishing care of a child (Baden, 2016).

I chose to examine this construct in my study because while there are some studies (Baden, 2016; Docan-Morgan, 2011; Dolan, 2015; Hrapczynski & Leslie, 2019; Sue et al., 2007; Zhang et al., 2019) examining MAs experienced by adoptive families, there are still constructs

related to MAs that have yet to be studied. One way that parents can respond to MAs is to engage in prep-for-bias. In doing so, they are modeling for their children how to combat discriminatory remarks from others. Therefore, through examining parents' prep-for-bias messages, I was also looking at various MA instances transracially-adoptive families faced and how they responded to them.

Unfortunately, transracially-adopted children are targets of both types of MAs. Not only are they people of color, but also they are adoptees, therefore they hear comments about their race, ethnicity, and adoption status. Zhang et al. (2019) were interested in learning more about the MAs experienced by transracially-adopted children from China. Through interviews with children, the researchers discovered that the majority of children experienced multiple MAs in a single interaction. For instance, a transracially-adopted child may be at school when a classmate comments, "You don't look like your parents. Why didn't your *real* parents want you?" Transracially-adopted children faced the task of navigating through the emotions linked to several hurtful comments simultaneously. Zhang et al. (2019) concluded that parents of transracially-adopted children should make a conscious effort to prepare their children for MA incidents as soon as they are able to comprehend them to try and buffer the harmful effects of them.

Compton-Lily (2020) completed a longitudinal study that examined the micro and macroaggressions African American individuals experienced at each school level: elementary, middle, and high school. At the end of the study, it was concluded that MAs in elementary school were very ambiguous and emotion-laden; in middle school, MAs often occurred in the contexts of transportation, student behavior policies, and testing. In high school, there were many racist assumptions made by teachers and school administrators that the Black students were part

of a gang at school. With age, evidently, MAs became more and more harmful towards participants' psychological well-being. While the findings from Compton-Lily (2020) are important in thinking about MAs experienced by Black youth, my study aimed to add to this by examining how microaggressions may change across age for transracially-adopted children from China.

Parents' Preparation-for-Bias

Preparation for Bias (PFB) refers to the efforts parents make to increase their child's awareness of racism and discrimination as well as to help them cope with future discriminatory incidents (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006). Some forms of PFB actions include parents talking openly to their child about racism and oppression, helping their child comprehend that being the target of prejudice does not equate with being unworthy, and assisting their child in creating effective coping strategies to combat discrimination (Hrapczynski & Leslie, 2019).

There are two main ways in which parents can engage in prep-for-bias: direct socialization, in which parents talk to their adoptees about how to handle instances of racism and discrimination; and indirect socialization, when "parents model openness and education of others around nonnormative identities" (Goldberg & Smith, 2016, p. 399). Because they physically stand out among others, transracial adoptive families often encounter questions from others regarding their adoptee's background and adoptive status. These remarks are typically insensitive, leaving parents to decide on the spot whether or not to share information about their family. Goldberg & Smith (2016) found that transracially-adoptive parents may be more likely to engage in public conversation with others and thus confront their invasive questions and comments.

I chose to look at this construct because in studies examining ERS in adoptive families, many researchers choose to examine CS activities parents engage in with their adoptees (Kim et al., 2013; Pinderhughes et al., 2015; Zhang & Pinderhughes, 2019). However, Hrapczynski & Leslie (2019) found that PfB actions, rather than CS, helped buffer the impacts of racism-related stress on transracially-adopted children. Inspired by this finding, I wanted to contribute to studies on PfB messages and see what other aspects of transracially-adoptive families may relate to parents' PfB messages.

Studies by Breshears (2018), Colaner & Kranstuber (2010), and Harrigan & Braithwaite (2010) discuss ways in which transracially-adoptive parents respond to MAs. Breshears (2018) found that some parents view the content of an MA negatively and respond by shutting down the person's commentary. In contrast, rather than shutting down a person's hurtful comment, some parents choose to take on the role of an educator (Harrigan & Braithwaite, 2010) and help the person understand why their comment is offensive. Colaner & Kranstuber (2010) found that some parents, rather than focusing on addressing the person who made the comment, focus on empowering their adoptee and affirming their experiences and feelings. These reactions to MAs demonstrate the three types of PfBs I focused on in my study: parents who shut down the conversation with other, parents who engage in conversation with other, and parents who empower their adoptee.

In thinking about whether a child's presence during an MA incident changes the likelihood of a transracially-adoptive parent challenging the comment, a parent talked about how it was awkward for her to face discriminatory comments once her children were able to understand what the person was saying. Echoing this thought, another mother admitted that she tried to "never be upset with anyone" (Dolan, 2015, p. 87) in front of her child in fear that her

child would believe they'd done something wrong. These reflections suggest that having a child present during an MA incident may decrease a parent's willingness to challenge the racist remark.

Some studies have looked at how the PFB messages parents give may change over time, and as their adoptee ages. Suter & Ballard (2009) examined how transracially-adoptive parents responded to racist comments made by others. The researchers distributed a survey to transracially-adoptive parents asking them about their responses to racist encounters. Results showed that parents changed how and whether to respond to MAs changed across time and as their child developed. As children got older, parents made changes in their responses to better protect their adoptee's privacy. Petronio (2002) found, in contrast, that over time some transracially-adoptive parents became more open about their adoptee by educating others about the adoption process.

Children's Ethnic Self-Label

Children's ethnic self-label is assessed through asking transracially-adopted children in interviews or demographic surveys what ethnic label they choose to assign themselves. I chose to look at this variable because it is important to ask transracially-adopted children how they would label themselves ethnically as a way to gauge how much they accept the Chinese aspect of their identity. By asking adoptees what their ethnicity is, researchers could examine how ethnic identity relates to how adoptees view and accept themselves.

Friedlander et al. (2000) were among the earliest researchers to ask adoptees how they labeled themselves ethnically. The majority of transracial adoptees ages 6 to 16 years old, labeled themselves ethnically as Chinese, but identified more with Euro-American culture. Furthermore, all of the children (except for two teens, who said they were Korean-

American) identified themselves by their birth country by saying “adopted from [*country name*]” (Friedlander et al., 2000, p. 196). Children’s responses did not indicate confusion regarding their adoption or ethnicity, suggesting that children have a good grasp on the concept of their ethnicity and adoptive status.

Tessler and colleagues (2009) asked adoptees ages 11 to 19 years old questions regarding their ethnicity in hopes of figuring out how secure they felt about the Chinese aspect of their identity. Adoptees reported being Chinese is an “important component” in how they view themselves (Tessler et al., 2009, p. 146). Additionally, two-thirds of the adoptees thought of themselves as Chinese “some” or “a lot”, whereas three-quarters thought of themselves as Chinese-American “some” or “a lot”. Interestingly, although participants indicated relating themselves strongly to Chinese, they also indicated not having much interest in connecting with Chinese youth. Instead, most participants reported enjoying spending most time with their White peers at school (Tessler et al., 2009). Nevertheless, most of these adoptees thought of themselves as either Bi-ethnic or Mono-ethnic Chinese, reflecting that they all had some degree of connection to their birth culture. These findings connect to my proposed study because I am also interested in examining the ethnic labels TRA children from China assign themselves.

Pinderhughes et al. (2015) asked about adoptees’ (ages 6 to 9 years old) ethnic self-labels through interviews and found their responses fell into one of four categories: “Mono-Ethnic American”, “Mono-Ethnic Chinese”, “Bi-Ethnic (Chinese & American)”, and “Unsure”. The researchers discovered that children’s ethnic self-label was related to the family ethnic identity their parents chose.

There is a lack of studies on how age may contribute to how transracially-adopted children chose an ethnic label for themselves. Due to this gap in the literature, I sought to examine age differences in the relation between Pfb messages and children's ethnic self-label.

Children's Feelings About Ethnic Label

The way transracially-adoptive children feel about their ethnic label is assessed through asking transracially-adopted children in interviews or demographic surveys how they feel about the ethnic label they assign themselves. I chose to include this construct in my study because not only is it important to understand what ethnic label transracially-adoptive children give themselves, but it is also important to understand their feelings about their ethnic label. For instance, some children may feel proud about being "American", while others may feel uneasy about it, unsure if they should include "Chinese" to their ethnic label. Learning more about their attitudes about their ethnic labels may provide insight into how they discuss ethnicity in their families.

In their study, Pinderhughes et al. (2015) assessed adoptees' ethnic labels as well as how they felt about their ethnic labels. Results from this study indicated that although the children provided their ethnic self-labels and how they felt about them, they were not related. This lack of connection reflected the complexities in how transracially-adopted children perceive themselves.

Additionally, although all of these studies cover a variety of topics regarding these aspects of the ERS model developed by Pinderhughes et al. (2021), there are still some areas not addressed by the literature. I addressed these in my study.

Gaps in the Literature

Previous literature on transracially-adoptive families tends to examine either transracially-adoptive parents or children (Docan-Morgan, 2011; Mohanty & Newhill, 2011;

Heiden-Rootes, 2019; Reynolds et al. 2021; Robinson-Wood, 2011) Since the manner in which parents respond to situations may relate to the way their children respond to MA situations, it is important to have studies where parents and their children are studied at the same time.

Additionally, many studies that examine ERS processes focus on CS, rather than PfB messages given by parents. Considering this, my study examined how family acknowledgment of differences, family ethnic label, children's ethnic self-labels, and the way they feel about their ethnic labels may relate to adoptive parents' PfB messages. Age of the adoptee were also considered when thinking about these variables.

Current Study

This study contributes to the literature with an examination of the relations between variables such as family ethnic identity and parents' PfB messages that have not been examined much in the field. This study is noteworthy because I included both parent and youth as participants – parents are respondents about family acknowledgment of differences, family ethnic label, and PfB variables, and children are the respondents about children's ethnic self-label and the way they feel about their ethnic label variables. My exploration of PfBs in this study is a contribution to the literature, for many studies that examine ERS processes choose to focus on CS.

There is a variety in the PfB messages give their adoptees. The PfB messages I examined in my study consisted of parents engaging directly with their adoptee, or engaging with others with their adoptee present. There are three categories of the types of PfB messages in this study: 1) actions that engage the other person in order to shut down the conversation, 2) actions that promote discussion with the other person, and 3) actions that engage the child about the bias experience. To further make a distinction between the PfB codes, they were put into two

categories: parents' modeled Pfb messages for the child (indirect socialization), and parents' direct Pfb messages to the child (direct socialization).

Research Questions & Hypotheses

In thinking about transracially-adopted children and their relationship with their adoptive parents, my study focused on how the variables family acknowledgment of differences, family ethnic identity, children's ethnic self-label, and the way they feel about their ethnic labels may relate to parents' Pfb messages. I also focused on differences in parents' Pfb messages based on children's ages. Considering all of these variables, I addressed the following research question:

Among transracial adoptions, how are parents' role (family acknowledgment of differences; family ethnic identity), parents' preparation for bias (response to MAs) and children's ethnic self-label interrelated? How might age play a role in these variables?

To investigate the relations between the variables in my main research question, I addressed the following sub-questions, along with their respective hypotheses. For the first research question, because it is a descriptive question, it does not have a hypothesis. Similarly, because there is not supporting literature examining the relation between the variables, the fourth research question is exploratory and thus does not have a hypothesis.

R1: *What kinds of Pfb messages do parents give? What are the patterns in parents' Pfb messages?*

R2: *What is the link between Parent Role and Parents' Pfb messages?*

H2a: Among parents who demonstrate having a high acknowledgment of differences, there will be more parents who give indirect and direct Pfb messages. Among parents who demonstrate having a low or mixed acknowledgment of differences, there will be fewer parents

who give direct and indirect PfB messages. I examined the modeled and direct PfB messages separately.

I hypothesized this because previous literature (Berbery & O'Brien, 2011; Dolan, 2015; Pinderhughes et al., 2015) has suggested that parents who demonstrate having a higher acknowledgment of differences are more likely to engage in ERS activities, whether that be CS activities or PfB messages.

H2b: Among parents who provide a broadening or inclusive family ethnic identity, there will be more parents who give indirect and direct PfB messages. For parents who provide a monoethnic family identity, there will be fewer parents who give direct and direct PfB messages. I examined the modeled and direct PfB messages separately.

I hypothesized this because a parent who gives their family a broadening ethnic label demonstrates they are including and supporting their adoptee's ethnicity and therefore may also be likely to support their adoptee by engaging in PfBs. Previous literature has shown parents who demonstrate their support for their adoptee by either broadening their family ethnic label to include their adoptee's ethnicity (Freidlander et al., 2000) or engaging in PfB (Dolan, 2015).

R3: *What is the link between Parents' PfB messages and Children's Ethnic Self-Label? How do parents' PfB messages relate to the way children feel about their ethnic self-label?*

H3a: A greater number of parents who give indirect and direct PfB messages will have more children who identify as Chinese-American. In contrast, a fewer number of parents who give indirect and direct PfB messages will have more children who identify as Chinese.

H3b: A greater number of parents who give indirect and direct PfB messages will have more children who feel good about their ethnic self-label. In contrast, a fewer number of parents

who give indirect and direct Pfb messages will have more children who feel mixed about their ethnic self-label.

I formed these hypotheses because a study by Rivas-Drake et al. (2009) examined how sixth graders received ethnic-racial socialization from their parents, and how ethnic racial discrimination experiences were related to their ethnic identity. Findings found that youth who received parental ethnic-racial socialization had higher levels of ethnic centrality (the extent to which they identified themselves in terms of their group), and also had positive regard (feelings about their own ethnic group). Although these participants were a bit older than the participants in my study, and they were not adoptees, these findings suggest the impact of ERS on children's ethnic identity and their feelings about their ethnic group.

R4: *How might age relate to the link between parents' Pfb messages and Children's Ethnic Self-Label? How might it relate to the link between Pfb messages and Children's Feelings About their Ethnic Self-Label?*

Methods

Participants and Recruitment

I used secondary data in my study that are part of the Tufts University Adoption and Development Project (ADP), a study that investigated the experiences of families who adopted children from China. There were forty-six families participating in ADP. Families were recruited through adoption-related organizations and places that celebrated Chinese culture located in the Northeastern United States. There were 56 girls, 1 boy, and 57 parents interviewed. In some families, both parents were interviewed either together or separately. Families were only included in my study if at least one parent was White and parents also described their family's ethnicity (N = 44). Seventeen families (39%) adopted multiple children from China. One girl per

family who was closest to the target age range (6 to 9 years old) was included (one of the girls was 10 years old; $N = 42$). Of the families, 61% of the couples were heterosexual; 11% were homosexual; 27% were single mothers. In terms of education, 21% of parents had completed college, 75% had graduate training. Fifty-two percent of families lived in suburban locations, 39% were in urban locations, and 7% were in rural locations. Parents' mean age was 50 years old ($SD = 4.9$); children's mean age was 7.2 years old ($SD = 0.98$). Children's average age at adoption was 15 months old ($SD = 8$). Due to missing data from three families, the final sample used for my study was 41 families. This study was approved the Tufts University Institutional Review Board.

Procedure

Interviews that took place at the families' homes lasted between 2 and 2.5 hours. After parents gave consent, two interviewers met with the parent and child separately, in two different rooms. Their discussions were confidential. In order to minimize coercion, children were allowed to refuse to answer any questions, and were given many breaks. Interviewers were female, ethnically diverse, graduate students ages 22 to 28 years old who had experience working with young children. The interview audiotapes were transcribed and coded. These procedures and measures were previously approved by the Tufts University IRB.

The interviews were transcribed and then coded by teams that involved at least one of the authors from Pinderhughes et al. (2015) and guided by a manual created by open coding of ten interviews (Bebiroglu & Pinderhughes, 2012). The qualitative data analysis was guided by a principle of mixed-methods research and coded numerically to use in descriptive and statistical analyses (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). All of the coders were trained to reliability, each

team coded the interviews, compared their codes, and resolved any differences through discussions.

Constructs and Measures

Family Acknowledgment of Differences

The variable *Family Acknowledgement of Differences* was created after coding for acknowledgment and salience of racial and ethnic differences in parents' interviews. Parents' comments made about cultural or ethnic differences between parents and their adoptee's ethnic groups were coded as either high (acknowledging differences), low (denying differences), or mixed (going back and forth between denying and acknowledging differences). When applicable, comments reflecting parents' acknowledgment were coded for salience (the extent to which these differences impacted the family's daily life) of differences as well (Pinderhughes et al., 2015) (see Table 1.1 for parents' quotes for each acknowledgment of differences category).

Acknowledgment and salience codes were aggregated for each interview. Parents who reflected having a higher level of acknowledgment of differences (70% or higher) were rated as having a high acknowledgment. An example of a parent with high acknowledgment of differences is "She is Chinese and she is American and she has a mother who is not Chinese and that she can hold those two identities" (Pinderhughes et al., 2015, p. 10). Parents who reflected a lower level of acknowledgment of differences (70% or lower) were rated as having low acknowledgment. An example of a parent with low acknowledgment of differences is "You know, I forget she's Chinese [...] I don't see her as Chinese. [...] I don't think of her as Chinese ever" (Pinderhughes et al., 2015, p.10). Lastly, parents with irregular patterns of acknowledgment and salience were coded as having mixed acknowledgment.

Family Ethnic Identity

The variable *Family Ethnic Identity* was created after parents were asked in interviews about their adoptive family's ethnicity ("How would you describe the ethnic make-up of your family? How would you describe the ethnic make-up of your current family?") as well as the impact of their adoptee's background on the family's practices ("How much of these values and traditions reflect your understanding of your child's cultural background?"). Based on responses to these questions, parents were grouped into three categories: Mono-Ethnic ("We are American"), Inclusive of TRA's Ethnicity ("We are White parents with a Chinese daughter"), and Broadening Family ID ("We are a multiracial family") (see Table 2.1 for parents' descriptions for each type of ethnic identity).

Parents' Reactions to Microaggressions (PFB Messages)

Parents' PFB Messages were measured by using the codes created by Tufts' ADP in their codebook "Microaggression and Preparation for Bias Coding Manual" (Pinderhughes et al., 2013). This coding manual was developed with a grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and was created based on the RMA (Sue et al., 2007b) and AMA (Baden, 2016) theoretical models. Other codes in the manual included the target of, the context of, the perpetrator of, parent's cognition about the experience and perpetrator, parent's behavioral response, and parent's cognitions. My study focused solely on the PFB messages parents gave their adoptees. Specifically, the codes I used for my study were the 1212 group, which are actions where the parent engages the other person in order to shut down the conversation; 1213 group, which are actions where the parent engages the other person in order to promote discussion; and the 1214 group, which are actions where the parent engages directly with their child in order to empower them. Each code group also has alpha codes, which are specific

examples of each stated action. For instance, under 1212 there is the alpha code 1212a - staring the other person down, and under 1213 there is alpha code 1212c – educate others.

To further make a distinction between the PfB codes, I categorized them into two groups: 1) interactions where the parent is modeling PfB messages for the child, which includes codes 1212 and 1213, and 2) interactions where the parent is directly engaged with the child, which includes the 1214 group codes. To aggregate the PfB codes, I simply did a count of the PfB messages for each participant, and then reported the pattern of direct PfB codes and the pattern of modeled PfB codes across all participants. (See Table 3.1 for a breakdown of the PfB categories. Also see appendix C for the specific codes from the codebook).

Although the PfB manual includes other PfB codes, I focused on 1212, 1213, and 1214 because they are actions that help the child prepare the child for future MA incidents through modeling by the parent. Other PfB codes, such as 1211, have parents reacting in a manner that does not model engagement with others.

Because there were a large number of parents who did not engage in the PfB messages, I decided to dichotomize the PfB variable into the groups “Did not give PfB message” and “Gave PfB message 1+ time”. These dichotomized PfB variables were used when running the Chi-Square tests, as well as when doing the qualitative analyses.

Children's Ethnic Self-Label

The variable *Children's Ethnic Self-Label* was created after adoptees were asked in interviews the question, “*What does being born in China and growing up in America mean to you? What do you call that?*” Interviewers allowed the children to answer. When children could not think of a self-label, interviewers offered three examples of ethnic labels (“Being American, Chinese, or Chinese-America?”). Transracially-adopted children's responses were then coded

into three categories: Mono-Ethnic American, Mono-Ethnic Chinese, and Bi-Ethnic (American and Chinese). In some rare cases, a child might have said they didn't know what their ethnic label is, or they were unsure (see Table 4.1 for quotes from children about their ethnic label). Since there were so few children (N=3) who identified as American or were unsure of one's ethnicity (N=3), their responses were not included in the analyses.

In order to examine how children's age related to their self-label, I split the children into two groups. Because there were six different ages in this sample (5-10 years old), I decided the younger children would be the three youngest age groups of the sample (5-7 years old), and the older children would be the three oldest age groups of the sample (8-10 years old).

Children's Feelings About Their Ethnic Self-Label

The variable *Children's Feelings About Their Ethnic Self-Label* was created after adoptees were asked in interviews the question, "How do you feel about being ___? [Chinese, Chinese-American, American]". Their responses were coded as "good" (e.g., "happy", "proud"), "mixed" (e.g. "different from other kids, but sometimes it's okay"), or "don't know". No children provided a response that reflected only negative feelings towards their ethnic label (Pinderhughes et al., 2015) (see Table 5.1 for quotes from children's feeling about their ethnic label). Since there were so few children were unsure of their feelings towards their ethnic label (N=5), their responses were not included in the analyses. In order to examine how children's age related to their feelings about their self label, I used the age groupings described above.

Data Analyses

I used a mixed-methods approach for my study; data included quantitative variables, qualitative codes, and vignettes. Because of the small sample size, its lack of variability, and its representativeness, analyses assuming normal distribution of the data could not be used.

Therefore, Chi-Square tests and nonparametric correlation analyses were used to test the hypotheses, and attention was focused on strength of relations. Although statistical significance levels are reported, the results should be interpreted cautiously given the previously stated limitations. I used IBM SPSS statistics, version 28 to conduct all of these analyses.

For my first research question, *What kinds of Pfb messages do parents give? What are the patterns in parents' Pfb messages?*, I conducted descriptive analyses that included counts of how many Pfb instances were coded in each interview, and the number of parents who gave 1212, 1213, and 1214 Pfb's, as well as their alpha codes. Additionally, I reported the findings of the Pfb counts and number of parents who gave each Pfb message.

For my second research question, *What is the link between Parents' Role and Pfb messages?*, because the variables family acknowledgment of differences, family ethnic identity, and Pfb messages were not normally distributed, I conducted Chi-Square tests to examine the relations between these variables.

For my third question, *What is the link between Pfb messages and children's ethnic self-label? How do the way children feel about their ethnic label relate to the Pfb messages they receive from their parents?* because none of the variables were distributed normally, I conducted Chi-square tests to examine the relations between these variables as well.

For my fourth and final research question, *How might age relate to the link between parents' Pfb messages and Children's Ethnic Self-Label? How might it relate to the link between Pfb messages and Children's Feelings About their Ethnic Self-Label?* Because none of the variables were distributed normally, I conducted Chi-Square tests to examine if the age of the adoptees created differences in the links between parents' Pfb messages and the children's variables. I also conducted several Chi-Square tests with the older children and the younger

children and noted differences in how parents' PfBs and children's feelings related to each other between the two age groups.

Results

Variables were analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Table 6.1 includes descriptives of all the variables examined in this study.

Parents' Prep-for-Bias Messages

Types. There were three types of PfB messages examined in this study. To further differentiate them, I split them into two categories: indirect socialization (1212 group: shutting down conversation with others) (see Table 7.1), 1213 group: engaging in conversation with others) (see Table 7.2), and direct socialization (1214 group: empowering the adoptee) (see Table 7.3). Each PfB category also had specific actions that illustrate that PfB message, such as "giving a simple response" under the shutting down conversation with others category. See Table 8.1 for quotes from parents that illustrate the different types of PfB messages.

Patterns. Descriptive analyses revealed a pattern among the PfB messages. Of the three main PfB categories, most parents gave "1212: shutting down conversation with others" messages. Within this category, most parents gave the PfB message 1212c: simple response to others. Table 9.1 shows the range in the types of simple responses parents gave others. Whereas one parent said, "*Yeah, she's adopted*", another said, "*My husband and I are the lucky ones,*" and a third parent said, "*She's from China.*"

Of the three main categories, most parents gave "1213: engage in conversation with others" messages. Within this category, most parents gave the PfB message was 1213c: educate others. Table 10.1 shows the range in what parents educated others about, as well as how they educated them, Whereas one parent said, "*You know what?*" I said, "*It's really important to me*

that you know that the orphanage that Bethany¹ came from was a very loving place. Bethany was loved. People there loved her. She was very special.”, another said, *“They think that we are good people and they think she is lucky. I just try to correct people’s way of thinking. Telling them, “No that is not what it is like.”*, and a third said, *“I try to educate, but I kind of get a little too emotional and I tend to be very abrupt, like, I ask, “Why you asking me that?”*”.

Of the three main PfB categories, most parents gave “1214: empower the adoptee” messages. Within this category, most parents gave the PfB message 1214a: helping the child develop strategies. Table 11.1 shows the range in the strategies parents gave their children, and Table 11.2 shows the range in which parents educated their children. Among parents who helped their child develop strategies, one parent said *“Sometimes it might make you feel uncomfortable when people have that many questions and you can say “I don’t want to talk about it”*, whereas another parent said, *“Daphne, do you want to answer these question right now? Because you don’t have to.”*, and a third parent said, *“I’ve just helped her in a sort of general way so as how you can decide what you want to share.”*

Among parents who educated their child, one parent said, *“You don’t buy people, you buy groceries, but there are fees attached to adoption”*, whereas another said, *“I told her there are lots of reasons mothers choose to give up their children and particularly since you came to China, there are laws that don’t allow mothers to have more than one child”*, and a third said, *“Every once in a while we’ll see a book in which the family makeup involves people of different races and we’ll point it out and talk about it.”*

I also examined the number of parents who did not give indirect and/or direct PfBs compared to parents who gave indirect and/or direct PfBs. Patterns showed that parents were

¹ Pseudonyms used for children’s names

more likely to give indirect or direct PfBs than to not give them. However, patterns also revealed that parents of older children who self-identified as Chinese-American were more likely to not give direct socialization PfBs than they were to give them.

Quantitative Analyses: Chi-Squares

Family Acknowledgment of Differences and PfBs. Several Chi-Square tests were run to see if there was a significant relation between parents' acknowledgment of racial differences and the three types of PfB messages. No significant results were found for the relation between acknowledgment of differences and shut down conversation with others PfBs ($x^2 = .044$, $p = .978$), acknowledgment of differences and engage in conversation with others PfBs ($x^2 = 2.439$, $p = .295$), or acknowledgment of differences and empower the adoptee PfBs ($x^2 = .585$, $p = .746$) (see Table 12.1).

Family Ethnic Identity and PfBs. Several Chi-Square tests were run to see if there was a significant relation between family ethnic identity and the three types of PfB messages. No significant results were found for the relation between family ethnic identity and shut down conversation with others PfBs ($x^2 = 1.629$, $p = .443$), family ethnic identity and engage in conversation with others PfBs ($x^2 = .413$, $p = .813$), or family ethnic identity and empower the adoptee PfBs ($x^2 = .510$, $p = .775$) (see Table 12.2).

PfBs and Children's Ethnic Self-Label. Several Chi-Square tests were run to see if there was a relation between the three types of parents' PfB messages and children's ethnic self-label. No significant results were found for the relation between shut down conversation PfBs and ethnic self-label ($x^2 = 2.983$, $p = .084$), the relation between engage in conversation with others PfBs and ethnic self-label ($x^2 = 3.730$, $p = .053$) or the relation between empower the adoptee PfBs and ethnic self-label ($x^2 = .583$, $p = .445$) (see Table 12.3).

PfBs and Children's Feelings About Their Ethnic Self-Label. Several Chi-Square tests were run to see if there was a relation between the three types of parents' PfB messages and children's feelings about their ethnic self-label. No significant results were found for the relation between shut down conversation PfBs and children's feelings ($\chi^2 = .026, p = .871$); the relation between engage in conversation PfBs and children's feelings ($\chi^2 = 1.851, p = .174$); or the relation between empower the adoptee PfBs and children's feelings ($\chi^2 = .000, p = 1.00$) (see Table 12.4).

Age Groups: PfBs and Children's Ethnic Self-Label

Group 1: Children ages 5-7 years old. Several Chi-Square tests were run to see if there was a significant relation between each of the three types of PfB messages and younger children's ethnic self-label. No significant results were found for the relation between engage in conversation with others PfBs and ethnic self-label ($\chi^2 = 1.180, p = .277$), or the relation between empower the adoptee PfBs and ethnic self-label ($\chi^2 = .187, p = .665$).

There was a significant relation found, however, between shut down conversation with others PfBs and ethnic self-label ($\chi^2 = 3.850, p = .050$): Parents who gave "shut down conversation with others" PfBs were likely to have younger children who self-identified as monoethnic Chinese. There were no significant differences for younger children who self-identified as biethnic Chinese-American (see Table 12.5).

Group 2: Children ages 8-10 years old. Several Chi-Square tests were run to see if there was a relation between the three types of PfB messages and older children's ethnic self-label. No significant results were found for the relation between shut down conversation with others PfBs and ethnic self-label ($\chi^2 = .043, p = .835$), the relation between engage in conversation with others

PfBs and ethnic self-label ($x^2= 3.343, p= .067$), or the relation between empower the adoptee PfBs and ethnic self-label ($x^2= .3.343, p= .067$) (see Table 12.6)

Age Groups: PfBs and Children's Feelings

Group 1: Children ages 5-7 years old. Several Chi-Square tests were run to see if there was a significant relation between each of the three types of PfB messages and younger children's feelings about their ethnic self-label. No significant results were found for the relation between shut down conversation with others PfBs and feelings ($x^2= .773, p= .379$), the relation between engage in conversation with others PfBs and feelings ($x^2= .109, p= .742$) or the relation between empower the adoptee PfBs and feelings ($x^2= .773, p= .379$) (see Table 12.7)

Group 2: Children ages 8-10 years old. Several Chi-Square tests were run to see if there was a relation between each of the three types of PfB messages and older children's feelings about their ethnic self-label. No significant results were found for the relation between shut down conversation with others PfBs and feelings ($x^2= .325, p= .569$), the relation between engage in conversation with others PfBs and feelings ($x^2= 1.935, p= .164$) or the relation between empower the adoptee PfBs and feelings ($x^2= .034, p= .853$) (see Table 12.8).

Qualitative Analyses

Family Acknowledgment of Racial Differences and PfBs. A qualitative examination of the data revealed that for 1212: shut down conversation with others PfBs, the majority of low, mixed, and high acknowledging parents gave 1212c: give a simple response to others messages. For 1213: engage in conversation with others PfBs, the majority of low, mixed, and high acknowledging parents gave 1213c: educate others messages. For 1214: empower the adoptee PfBs, low and high acknowledgment parents gave both 1214a: help child develop strategies and

1214b: educate child messages. Mixed acknowledgment parents, however, gave more 1214b: educate child messages (see Table 13.1)

Family Ethnic Identity and PfBs. A qualitative examination of the data revealed that for 1212: shut down conversation with others PfBs, the majority of monoethnic, inclusive, and broadening parents gave 1212c: give a simple response to others messages. For 1213: engage in conversation with others PfBs, the majority of monoethnic, inclusive, and broadening parents gave 1213c: educate others messages. For 1214: empower the adoptee PfBs, monoethnic and broadening parents gave both 1214a: help child develop strategies and 1214b: educate child messages. Inclusive parents, however, gave more 1214b: educate child messages (see Table 13.2).

PfBs and Children's Ethnic Self-Label. A qualitative examination of the data revealed that for 1212: shut down conversation with others PfBs, the majority of parents who had Chinese or Chinese American self-identifying children gave 1212c: give a simple response to others messages. For 1213: engage in conversation with others PfBs, the majority of parents who had Chinese or Chinese American self-identifying children gave 1213c: educate others messages. For 1214: empower the adoptee PfBs, parents who had Chinese children gave both 1214a: help child develop strategies and 1214b: educate child messages. Parents who had Chinese American children, however, gave more 1214b: educate child messages (see Table 13.3)

PfBs and Children's Feelings. A qualitative examination of the data revealed that for 1212: shut down conversation with others PfBs, the majority of parents who had children who felt mixed or good about their ethnic label gave 1212c: give a simple response to others messages. For 1213: engage in conversation with others PfBs, the majority of parents who had children that felt mixed or good about their ethnic self-label gave 1213c: educate others

messages. For 1214: empower the adoptee PfBs, parents who had children who felt good about their ethnic self-label gave both 1214a: help child develop strategies and 1214b: educate child messages. There were more parents who had children who felt mixed, however, that gave 1214a: help child develop strategies messages (see Table 13.4).

Age Groups: PfBs and Children's Variables

The patterns I reported above between whether parents gave PfBs and children's ethnic self-label, as well as the patterns between whether parents gave PfBs and children's feelings about their ethnic self-label were generally the same for the younger and older age group. One of these patterns was that parents who gave 1212c: simple response PfB messages were likely to have younger or older children who identified as either Chinese or Chinese-American (see Table 13.5 for younger age group, Table 13.6 for older). A similar pattern was that parents who gave 1213c: educate others PfBs were likely to have younger or older children who felt either mixed or good about their ethnic self-label (see Table 13.7 for younger age group, Table 13.8 for older). For both age groups, the sample sizes were quite small.

Discussion

This study examined how the variables parents' role (family acknowledgment of racial differences, family ethnic identity), children's ethnic self-label, and their feelings about their ethnic self-label related to parent's prep-for-bias messages. Children's ages were also examined in relation to the links between PfB messages and children's ethnic self-label, as well as PfB messages and children's feelings.

The most important finding from this study was that transracially-adoptive parents were more likely to give indirect socialization – engaging with others – messages than direct socialization – engaging with their adoptee – messages. This suggests that transracially-adoptive

parents may be more comfortable responding to MAs given by others than they are helping their child develop strategies to respond to MAs and/or educating them about MAs and discrimination. Parents may be more comfortable with engaging in indirect socialization because it may be easier for a parent to simply shut down a person's inquiry ("That's none of your business") than to help their child understand a topic as difficult as racism. Furthermore, since many White parents have not experienced racism, they may not be comfortable talking about it with their child.

In addition, within the indirect socialization messages, the most commonly given PFBs were giving a simple response to others, and educating others. The finding that parents were more likely to engage in indirect socialization is supported by Breshears (2018) who found that many transracially-adoptive parents chose to respond to others' comments by shutting down conversation with them; and Harrigan & Braithwaite (2010) who found that, rather than shutting down conversation, some parents chose to engage in conversation with others by educating them about their adoptee's backstory, and the adoption process overall.

One possible reason why parents gave more indirect than direct socialization PFBs may be due to the methodology of this study. The interview questions pulled for more reactive messages from parents, but parents may have engaged in other kinds of conversations with their children. However, the interviewers did not ask those kinds of questions. Galvin (2006) found that discourse dependent families, such as transracial adoptive families, keep a sense of family identity and cohesion through engaging in four types of communication practices: naming, discussing, narrating, and ritualizing. The type of communication most relevant to parents' PFB messages is discussing, as it consists of parents having ongoing disclosures regarding the

family's situation. Discussions among these families often occur at home, when the family is all together, rather in public places where they are with strangers.

The qualitative analyses of this study revealed some patterns. Within the indirect socialization messages, parents tended to give simple responses when shutting down conversation with others. When engaging in conversation with others, they tended to educate them. Within the direct socialization messages, parents tended to either help their child develop strategies, or educate their child. As stated earlier, it makes sense that many parents choose to respond to an MA by giving a simple response. It may not only be easier to say something short and to the point, but it may also be difficult for a parent to give a longer response if they are shocked by the comment. In other words, giving a simple response may be the result of the parent's temporary inability to form a lengthier answer. For parents that choose to engage in conversation, perhaps they educate others as a way to try and prevent others from making more hurtful comments. Often, a person's comment or question reflects their lack of understanding about adoption (e.g., "*How much did she cost?*"); thus a parent may want to inform them so they will stop asking such questions. Parents who empower their child may alternate between helping them develop strategies and educating them depending on the conversation they are having with their child. For instance, if a child comes home to their parent and tells them, "*The kids in my class keep making fun of me because of my eyes,*" the parent may respond by giving their child several phrases they can use to try and shut down the kids at school. However, if a child comes home and asks their parent, "*Mommy, why didn't my birth mom want me?*", the parent may respond by teaching their child about the One-Child policy as a way to soothe their worries. Based on the situations parents reflected on in this study, it seems that both types of situations occur and therefore parents may respond accordingly (Colaner & Kranstuber, 2010).

In thinking about the difference between indirect and direct socialization messages, something to consider is that they may differ in how they prepare adoptees for conversations they will have both one-on-one, and conversations they will hear others having. Through indirect socialization, children learn how to imitate behavior and conversation (Rymanowicz, 2015). For example, a child who watches their parent respond to someone asking, *“Is she Chinese?”* by smiling and saying, *“Yes, she is.”* may imitate their parent later on when someone asks them *“Are you from China?”* by smiling and answering rather than ignoring them. In contrast, through direct socialization, children learn how to open up about problems that may be bothering them, and they also learn whether to trust their parent to provide them support when needed (Lyness, 2021). For example, if a child approaches their parent and asks them, *“What can I say to so-and-so next time they tell me I’m weird because I’m adopted?”* the parent has a choice of either helping their child come up with things they can say, or they may instead brush aside the child’s concern and not answer. A parent who does the former shows their child that the parent is a source of comfort for the child, whereas a parent who does the latter conveys to their child that they cannot turn to them for help.

Although children whose parents give only indirect socialization messages may learn how to effectively respond to people’s hurtful comments, they do not learn how to open up to and build trust with their parents, or with anyone else, one-on-one. On the other hand, children whose parents only give direct socialization messages may learn how to trust their parents or others and talk about things that bother them, but they may freeze up when confronted with hurtful comments from others. Therefore, in order for children to master the skill of opening up to others but also keeping social boundaries, it is important for parents to give both indirect and direct socialization messages.

There was only one significant finding in the quantitative analyses: parents who gave shut down conversation with others PFBs were likely to have younger children who self-identified as Chinese. After reading through some of the simple response PFBs parents of younger children gave others in the interviews, common messages they said were: “*Yup, she’s Chinese,*” “*She’s from China,*” and “*Well, she’s adopted from China*”. There were many instances where parents were responding to someone’s question or comment by emphasizing that their child was Chinese/ from China. Given that children were present during these interactions, they may have heard their parents telling others about their Chinese heritage and thus decided to label themselves as Chinese. There is a lack of literature that examines the possible link between parents’ prep-for-bias messages and how their young children view themselves ethnically. However, one question to keep in mind is: which came first, the child ethnically labeling themselves, or the parent giving PFB messages? One way this question could be addressed in a new study is for the researchers to ask parents, “*Approximately when did your child begin labeling themselves ethnically?*” Another question could be, “*Can you recall one of the first times someone made a comment about your child’s race/ethnicity? How old was your child at the time?*” Through asking these questions, researchers may be able to get a better sense of whether parents begin giving PFB messages before their child starts labeling themselves ethnically, or vice versa.

Because of this study’s small sample size, it may have been too small to detect significant differences. However, the fact that this study had only one significant finding may reflect the reality that the relations among transracially-adoptive parents and their children are more complex than they may appear. The ERS Model developed by Pinderhughes et al. (2021) proposes that the three main components of ERS and their facets among transracial adoptive

families all interrelate with each other. The model's visual illustrates the reality that there are numerous ways in which various parts of transracial adoptive families can connect. This study had mostly non-significant findings, one of them being that there is no relation between family ethnic identity and parents' PFB messages. This lack of significance suggests that there may be other aspects of parent role that may relate to parents' PFB messages, and that future research could examine the model further to try and look at the potential relations. Though there have been a multitude of studies (Tessler et al., 2009; Friedlander et al., 2000; Reinoso et al., 2013; Heiden-Rootes et al., 2019) examining various aspects of transracially-adoptive families, it is very difficult to capture the dynamics among transracial adoptive families in a single research study. I believe the closest way researchers can learn more about the relationships among transracial adoptive families is through conducting in-depth interviews and actively listen to how participants describe their daily lives and relationships with their family and community members. Some potential questions that could be asked in future interviews with transracial adoptive parents are, *"Do you think the way you describe your family's ethnic make-up may impact how your child describes their own ethnic identity?"*, *"Do you think the way you discuss racism and prejudice with your family relates to how your child responds to any racist encounters they have?"*. While my study contributed to the literature by interviewing both transracial adoptive parents and their children, I think it would have been helpful to ask questions that examined if parent role variables (such as family ethnic identity) relate directly to child role variables (such as how children respond to MAs). In addition, since my study examined age differences among the children, future interviews could ask questions about how children's responses to MAs may change with age.

As noted in the Introduction, there has been a long history of anti-Asian bias in the United States, and it is unfortunately still present today, especially in the context of the ongoing coronavirus pandemic. Gover et al. (2021) found that, since COVID-19 began, Asian-American youth have received plenty of hateful and derogatory comments from others. Though it is always important for parents to support their Asian-American children, it is a particularly critical time for parents to take the time to help their children and teach them ways to respond to MAs and other hurtful comments they may receive from others. Asian-American parents may feel prepared and confident in having these important conversations with their children, for they may have previous and ongoing experience dealing with racist, discriminatory comments. Jung et al. (2018) examined ERS among second-generation Asian American parents. They found that parents' motivation to provide ERS was dependent on families' location, specific contexts, and transitions. In addition, although they found the task of promoting awareness and discrimination to be challenging, they also believed it was necessary.

However, this responsibility may be intimidating to parents who are White and of European descent, for they may not have faced racism before and may not know how to have these conversations. In addition, parents who take on a color evasive approach may not be willing to have conversations with their adoptees regarding race. Harrigan (2009) found that White parents of Asian-American children are faced with contradictions as they engage in identity work. Examples of these contradictions are: similarity versus difference, fortune versus loss, openness versus closedness, and community versus privacy. Connecting these contradictions to the findings from this study, some parents may have trouble knowing how to respond to an MA because they enact both sides of a contradiction. For instance, a parent may want to comfort their child by telling them just because they are adopted and not biologically

their child, does not mean they aren't still a part of the family. This is an example of how a parent might acknowledge the differences between themselves and their adopted child, yet they want to make sure they don't feel different. Since some White, transracially- adoptive parents themselves struggle with making sense of these contradictions, they may not feel capable of helping their adoptee understand these concepts, either. Goar et al. (2016) examined White, transracial adoptive parents who attended culture camps and identified patterns of color evasiveness and race consciousness in their responses. They found that these parents often moved between being color evasive and race conscious – for instance, at times they would insist about the importance of considering race, but at other times would make excuses for racialized comments.

Aside from racial differences between transracial adoptive parents and their adoptees, there may also be variation in transracial adoptive families' constellations: some parents are married, others may be single; some parents have not experienced marginalization or been oppressed and others have; and some families have one adopted child and others have multiple. In terms of the adoptees in these families, they may differ in age, race/ethnicity, and gender. These variations in transracial adoptive families' constellations may create differences in PFBs parents give. For example, Richardson & Goldberg (2010) examined White, lesbian couples who adopted racial/ethnic minority children. Although some of the parents expressed concern because their adoptees were being raised in a White-privileged society, others noted that, because they themselves had faced discrimination, they had experience coping with hurtful comments. In a study examining factors relating transracial adoptive parents' levels of cultural competence, Vonk & Massati (2008) found that among both single parent families and married couple families, mothers were more likely to engage in ethnic-racial socialization activities than

fathers were. The researchers speculated this may have been due to the fact that mothers are often the primary caregivers and take on a more nurturing role than fathers do. These variations in transracial adoptive families' constellations suggest that parents' experiences with prejudice may shift their likelihood in giving PfBs messages. Additionally, parents who have more than one adoptee may increase the number of PfB messages they give. To help us better understand these variations among transracial adoptive families' constellations, researchers could interview a variety of transracial adoptive families that intentionally differ in the parents' sexuality and/or marriage status, as well as the number of adoptees in the family. After interviewing all these families, researchers could compare the responses and note if there were any patterns in the PfBs parents gave and see if it may be related to the families' constellations.

In order to help support and promote confidence in Asian American youth, it is important for parents of these children to take the steps needed towards educating themselves and their children about the harsh realities of racism. In addition, transracially-adoptive parents can support their children by respecting their privacy in regards to sharing their adoption story with others. Loftus et al. (2021) examined transracially-adoptive parents' coordination of private, adopted-related information decisions and found that one of the motivations for increasing privacy was to prevent their child from feeling hurt. Furthermore, parents reported that, as their child aged, they felt it was appropriate to protect their privacy. While transracially-adopted youth may very likely continue to face MAs, they will hopefully feel much more equipped to handle them given their parents' efforts to prepare them for these situations.

Limitations

There were several limitations to my study. First, findings from the Greater Boston area and New York may not be generalizable to transracial adoptive families in other locations. A

future study examining transracial adoptive families would benefit from recruiting participants from a wider range of locations. Second, there were very small sample sizes in this study, meaning they were non generalizable and it was difficult to draw conclusions given the small numbers. Third, because these interviews were conducted between 2006 and 2010, the participants' responses may not accurately represent transracial adoptive families today. For instance, the prep-for-bias messages parents gave in 2006 and 2010 may differ in content and frequency from prep-for-bias messages parents would give today in the context of the anti-Asian bias occurring during the COVID-19 pandemic. Lastly, I only examined three types of prep-for-bias messages, when there may have been PfBs in the interviews that did not fit under the categories I looked at. Due to this restriction, I may have not been able to capture the full picture of the PfB messages parents gave.

Implications

The findings from this study have several practical implications. First, transracial adoptive parents should become comfortable with acknowledging racial and cultural differences and talking about them with their child from a relatively young age. Talking about these topics can be integrated through planned activities and conversations (such as having a set aside time after dinner to talk to their adoptee), but parents should also expect to engage in spontaneous teaching moments (Pinderhughes et al., 2016). Second, as a way to promote their child's ethnic identity, parents should encourage in their children an ongoing process of self-reflection while also engaging in their own self-reflective process. From a young age, children are quite curious about themselves and have lots of questions for adults in their life. When a child brings up a question about their ethnic identity, rather than avoiding the topic, parents should engage in a reflective conversation that enables their child to come to terms with their emotions surrounding

it. Parents should be aware that they set the tone for how their adoptees view themselves and their experience as a transracial adoptee, so they should do their best to make it as positive and informative of a process as they can (Pinderhughes et al., 2016).

One way that parents can talk about issues of race and ethnicity with their children is to inform them about both the history of anti-Asian bias and the current anti-Asian hate due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Saady, 2021). Parents would most likely have to decide how to discuss these in an age-appropriate manner – younger children, for instance, might receive a more generalized explanation than older children. Parents may discuss the history of anti-Asian bias by saying something along the lines of, *“Because Asian Americans’ families came from a different country, there are sadly some people who don’t like them being here. However, just because they were born in another country doesn’t mean they don’t belong to live here. Just because you were born in China does not mean you aren’t American, too. You belong here. This is your home.”* To discuss the current spike in racism against Asian Americans due to the COVID-19 pandemic, parents may say something similar to, *“Well, the first person who got the virus lived in China, and so there are some people who think all people from China caused the virus. But this is not true. And I wanted to tell you this incase someone says something mean to you about this virus. They’re not telling the truth.”* It would be important for parents to be honest with their children, but to not overwhelm or scare them either. Parents could practice having these conversations with an adoption professional or a child psychologist who has experience discussing race and discrimination with children.

Lastly, as a way to encourage transracial adoptive families to embrace their multiple ethnicities present, they should attend support groups where they engage in conversations that allow them to view themselves as a multiethnic, multicultural family. These support groups

would ideally be led by adult transracial adoptees, “seasoned” transracial adoptive parents, and adoption professionals.

Future Directions

Future studies could include recruitment of more transracial adoptive families, as well as recruiting them from across the country, rather than in one area. For example, a future study examining different types of PFBs parents give could recruit families from the Northeast, the West coast, the Midwest, and the Deep South. Through interviewing families from various regions of the U.S., researchers may find that there is a difference in cultural norms from region to region. A recent bill in Florida, for example, has stated that others are banned from making White people feel bad about racism (Levin, 2022). This bill, if passed, would thus prevent people in schools from making White peers feel badly during lessons on discrimination. In this context, transracial adoptive families living in Florida, by law, may not be able to speak up against racist, prejudiced comments they receive.

An article by the Pew Research Center (2021) found that in places where Republicans reside, such as states in the Deep South, it is believed that discussing the history of slavery and racism is bad for the country. In contrast, in places where Democrats live, such as the Northeast, people believe it is important to openly discuss these topics both in academic and personal settings (Pew Research Center, 2021). Despite there being differences in regions across the country, there is an observation that race is, overall, being discussed more and more nationwide (Barroso, 2019). The fact that race is being discussed more across the nation may be due to recent events in the U.S. such as the tragic deaths of George Floyd (Hill et al., 2020) and Breonna Taylor (Oppel Jr. et al., 2021) and the spa shooter that murdered multiple Asian Americans in Atlanta (Jeong, 2022). One only needs to check out a social media platform such as

Facebook or Twitter to see millions of posts by people talking about race, discrimination, and bias in response to these events.

In addition, future studies could find methods of capturing in-the-moment daily realities of transracial adoptive families, rather than having participants reflect on instances retrospectively (Robinson-Wood, 2011; Young et al., 2021). This could be done by researchers asking families to keep a daily journal (or, if they are comfortable, a daily audio or video diary) in which they sit down at the end of each day and write (or record) notable interactions they had. Furthermore, having families keep a daily journal or audio or video diary may also provide researchers access to the non-reactive messages families may engage in.

Lastly, future studies investigating parents' PFB messages could collect information about them solely through qualitative methods in which they gather themes about common PFB messages. As noted earlier, the lack of significant quantitative results from this study may be due to its small sample size. Nevertheless, it may suggest that the relationships among transracial adoptive families cannot be accurately described through numbers, and should therefore be described through vignettes or other qualitative methods.

Through conducting future research studies using qualitative methods, researchers could also be sure to include families who adopted children between 2010-2022. By doing this, they could see if there are differences in the way this group of transracial adoptive families experiences microaggressions compared to the families in this study's sample, who had adopted between the late 1990's and early 2000's. One factor that may impact families' experiences is that China's adoption policy has changed over time. Starting on May 1, 2007, China put restrictions on applicants hoping to adopt: parents had to be married, a healthy weight, make a certain income, and not have any mental health concerns (Brandeis University, 2011).

Unfortunately, this meant that many parents who had been hoping to adopt, notably single adults, suddenly became ineligible to do so. Furthermore, China also slowed down the adoption process: in the 1990's, the process took anywhere from a few months to a year; starting in 2007, the process took three to five years to complete (Great Wall China Adoption, 2016). Another change was that older children, as well as children with disabilities, became available for parents to adopt. Parents who adopted older children may face the challenge of engaging in more ERS processes, given that older children may take longer to learn English and adapt to American culture and customs. This contrasts with children who were adopted from infancy, for many of them may not have learned about Chinese culture prior to being adopted. Specifically, parents who adopt older children may need to increase the amount of PFB messages they give their children, for they may be strongly connected to Chinese culture and thus may have trouble adjusting to American culture and knowing how to protect themselves against hurtful comments and questions.

Parents who adopt children with disabilities may a number of challenges, such as preparing themselves emotionally for the strain it may make on their family (Perry & Henry, 2009). Another challenge parents may face is needing to adjust how and when they engage in ERS with their adoptee. Depending on the child's disability, parents may engage in PFB with them at either an earlier age or older one. For instance, if the child has a physical disability, such as having a missing limb, a parent may be prompted to teach them about racism and ableism sooner rather than later, since people may comment on the child's race, adoptee status, and disability status shortly after the child is adopted. However, if the child has a mental disability that changes their ability to comprehend topics like racism and discrimination, a parent may decide to teach them about racism and mental health discrimination a bit later in life.

Today, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the adoption process for many prospective parents has been suspended – there are no new child files being prepared, and there aren't any travel approvals being assigned to parents (Great Wall China Adoption, 2016).

Given that fewer parents have been adopting since mid-2007, there may be a smaller community of new transracial adoptive families compared to the thousands of them between the 90's and early 2000's. Newer transracial adoptive families may feel less supported in their experiences since there are not many other newer families they can easily reach out to. Or, these newer families may find a strong community of experienced transracial adoptive families to whom they could reach out to for support. This contrasts to the earlier group of families who did not have many experienced transracial adoptive families they could contact. Nevertheless, the social distancing rules put into place due to the pandemic may have made it difficult for these families to reach out to others for help if needed. Therefore, one way in which researchers could help transracial adoptive families in the time of COVID-19 is to perhaps create studies examining how transracial adoptive families support one another. To keep everyone safe and healthy, researchers could create Zoom meetings where they invite families to join and have open discussions about their experiences. By listening to their stories and words of advice for one another, researchers would gain insight into how to best support transracial adoptive families and could encourage other families to reach out for help as well. Researchers' findings from these studies could also be applied in practice (such as creating more support groups, or encouraging families to connect with each other outside of the study) in helping to support and empower transracial adoptive families.

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Tables

Table 1.1: Parents' Acknowledgment of Differences Quotes

Parents' Acknowledgment of Differences	Example from Parents' Responses
Low	<p>“I don't think of her as that ethnically different. I think of her as my daughter. Uhm, you know we have a lot in common. We dwell on those commonalities as much as possible.”</p>
Mixed	<p><i>[after saying she does not think race and ethnicity would be problematic for her child]:</i> “I think because she is able to articulate to others that she was born in China, she'll just kind of blurt it out (<i>laughs</i>). My mom adopted me from China she came to China to come get me. And if she sees, like especially if somebody questions she'll just kind of like get right in on the conversation.”</p>
High	<p>“But certainly, when we talk, um, we'll say, ‘Well, you're Chinese’. But you know, all in all I'm real ambivalent about the whole Chinese thing because part of me says, ‘Well, we shouldn't care since race is a socially constructed thing’, you know. They're what they are and there's no reason why you have to label it because, you know, all these words are so loaded. You know, I don't-what does ‘Chinese’ mean?”</p>

Table 2.1: Family Ethnic Identity Quotes

Family Ethnic Identity	Example from Parents' Responses
Mono-ethnic	"We're just Americans."
Inclusive	"We're two White parents with a Chinese daughter."
Broadening	"We're a Chinese-American-Jewish family."

Table 3.1: Indirect and Direct PfBs

PfB Messages	# of times PfB message was given	# of parents who gave PfB message
Indirect Socialization (modeling for adoptee)		
Shut down conversation	70	28
Engage in conversation	42	22
Direct Socialization (talking to adoptee)		
Empower the child through conversation	68	26

Table 4.1: Children's Ethnic Self-Label Quotes

Children's Ethnic Self-Label	Examples from Children's Responses
Don't Know	"I don't know..."
American	"I call myself American, because now, I'm in America"
Chinese	"Probably, like mostly Chinese because that's what I am. I'm not like fully American."
Chinese-American	"I'm half-Chinese and half-American"

Table 5.1: Children's Feelings About Ethnic Self-Label Quotes

Children's Feelings About Ethnic Self Label	Examples from Children's Responses
Don't Know	"Don't know."
Mixed	"Well, some of it makes me feel happy that I know I'm Chinese and from America. But sometimes it makes me feel bad because I'm not really like my friends."
Good	"I feel good about being Chinese. And when I feel like I'm being Chinese, it makes me think about China."

Table 6.1: Descriptives of Parent and Child Variables

Variable	Category	M/n	SD/%
Family Acknowledgment of Differences (N = 41)	Low	7	17.1
	Mixed	9	21.4
	High	25	59.5
Family Ethnic Identity (N = 41)	Monoethnic	11	26.2
	Inclusive	9	21.4
	Broadening	22	52.4
Children's Ethnic Self-Label (N = 40*)	Don't Know	3	7.5
	American	3	7.5
	Chinese-American	24	60.0
	Chinese	10	25.0
Children's Feelings About Ethnic Self-Label (N = 39**)	Don't Know	5	12.8
	Mixed	6	15.4
	Good	28	71.8
Children's Age Groups (N = 41)	Younger (5-7 years)	27	65.9
	Older (8-10 years)	14	34.1

*1 child did not provide an ethnic self-label

** 2 children did not say how they felt about their ethnic self-label

Table 7.1: Total Counts of “Shut down conversation with others” PFBs

1212 Prep-for-Bias Type	Total # of Times PFB Message Was Given	Total # of Parents Who Gave PFB Message (N =41)
1212a: stare down other person	0	0
1212b: negative message to other person	8	7
1212c: simple response to other person	54	26
1212d: set limit on what other person says	1	1
1212e: turn question on questioner	7	4
1212 alpha codes total	70	28
1212 total	121	28

*The total # for the numeric code is not the sum of the alpha codes, since a response could have received multiple alpha codes

Table 7.2: Total Counts of “Engage in conversation with others” PfBs

1213 Prep-for-Bias Type	Total # of Times PfB Message Was Given	Total # of Parents Who Gave PfB Message (N =41)
1213a: change topic of conversation	5	4
1213b: respond positively to RMA/AMA	7	5
1213c: educate other person	30	18
1213 alpha codes total	42	22
1213 total	63	22

*The total # for the numeric code is not the sum of the alpha codes, since a response could have received multiple alpha codes

Table 7.3: Total Counts of 1214 "Empower their adoptee" PFBs

1214 Prep-for-Bias Type	Total # of Times PFB Message Was Given	Total # of Parents Who Gave PFB Message (N =41)
1214a: help child develop strategies	39	17
1214b: educate child	29	18
1214 alpha codes total	68	26
1214 total	97	26

*The total # for the numeric code is not the sum of the alpha codes, since a response could have received multiple alpha codes

Table 8.1 Parent Quotes That Illustrate PfB Categories

Shutting Down Conversation with Others	Parent Characteristics
<u>Negative Message:</u> "I try to either ignore them, I try to educate, but I kind of get a little too emotional and I tend to be very abrupt, like, I ask, "Why you asking me that?"	Monoethnic, mixed acknowledgment parent
<u>Simple Response:</u> "Usually people will say where was she born? Was she born in China? Where was she born? I hear questions like that. I just say "China".	Monoethnic, low acknowledgment parent
<u>Set Limit on What Others Say:</u> "Right, and my face blanched, I like yanked my sister over and said (laughing), tell [person] not to say that, and she said, why? I think that's fine, and I said, no, I don't actually think that that's fine."	Broadening, high acknowledgment parent
<u>Turn Question on Questioner:</u> "I was on a field trip and this new boy, who has bullied her, who she again has taken care of, had said to me, "What is she?" And I looked at him and said, "She's a little girl, what are you?"	Monoethnic, low acknowledgment parent
Engaging In Conversation with Others	Parent Characteristics
<u>Change Topic:</u> "Sometimes kids just ask too many questions...you know "where's her real mom?" and that kinda stuff, again that's more around adoption...and so, I will then quickly try to ask them questions, "Do you have any brothers and sisters?"	Broadening, high acknowledgment parent
<u>Respond Positively to MA:</u> "And I was fighting back tears, trying not, cause I don't want K to think it's a sad thing and I was just like "Oh honey that's great!"	Broadening, high acknowledgment parent
<u>Educate Others:</u> "I modeled it, I went to her class and talked about it and told the story. It was a little combination of telling the story about what adoption is in general and her story. I think that was important and that...to do with her in front of her friends."	Monoethnic, high acknowledgment parent

Empowering Adoptee	Parent Characteristics
<p><u>Help Child Develop Strategies:</u> "We've been working at what are all your different choices for how to respond. You could say, "I don't like that," you could say, "I don't understand why you're doing that," you could just roll your eyes and say, "Oh brother," and walk away, you could say, "Cut it out," you know, you could find an adult. So we try to, you know, play through all the different choices."</p>	<p>Broadening, high acknowledgment parent</p>
<p><u>Educate Child:</u> "And I said, "You know TY , I did not birth you but I am your real mother. Your birth mom, your biological mom, she was real and she gave birth to you. And I'm real and we're moms to you now. And we will always be."</p>	<p>Inclusive, mixed acknowledgment parent</p>

Table 9.1: Simple Response PfBs: Quotes

Parent Characteristics	Quote That Demonstrates Parent Giving Simple Response to Others
Broadening, low ack parent	"And Kindergarteners just really interview. This little Afro-American girl, no big, she was like, up to here on me, asked, "How come you don't look like Max or TY?" "Um, because she's adopted." "Oh okay."
Monoethnic, high ack parent	"We know she's not your biologic child...so" they might say "where did you adopt her from?" they might say cuz they don't want to make assumptions, they don't want to look like they're making assumptions "is she adopted?" "yes," "where is she from?" I think that's the most common"
Monoethnic, mixed ack parent	"He went, 'She's Chinese where's her mother?' I said, "I am her mother."

Table 10.1: Educate Others PfBs: Quotes

Parent Characteristics	Quote That Demonstrates Parent Educating Others
Inclusive, mixed ack parent	<p>And so I explained yes, that she has, that she has a mother in China who gave birth to her, who wasn't able to care for her and placed her for adoption, so she was, you know became part of a family that would love her and be able to take care of her forever. I said, I'm her forever mommy because that's the adoption lingo and you know, and um, so I said but we don't know who her Chinese mommy is.</p>
Broadening, low ack parent	<p>"Well, I, you know, I think that China, we portray China as a very big, important country in the world. We talk about the history and marvel over it and talk about it for instance, we don't talk about it all the time but we may have said it once. Like, when we have spaghetti we might say, "Did you know spaghetti was invented in China?" Or 4th of July, "Remember, the Chinese invented fireworks!" So we try to bring important aspects of that culture into our culture. To integrate them.</p>
Broadening, mixed ack parent	<p>Oh yeah..people don't mean it in a bad way. They think that we are good people and they think she is lucky. I just try to correct people's way of thinking. Telling them, "No that is not what it is like." People have these assumptions about how it is, what it is like and I try to tell them how it really is." They think it is dirty, or that children are found in trashcans...I am like, "where did you hear that from!"</p>

Table 11.1: Help Child Develop Strategies Patterns: Quotes

Parent or Child Characteristics	Quote That Demonstrates Parent Helping Child Develop Strategies
Low Acknowledgment of Differences	"Just recently my son has been coming to me saying that it's hard for him because, I mean, he's heard Chinese jokes and he doesn't know what to do with that. And he said he told this kid that that was stupid and he walked away. And I said that that was a really, you know, that was a good thing to say. You know, you say something and then you get out of there because you're not going to change someone at that point."
High Acknowledgment of Differences	"So she'll come home to me and say, "Mommy, so-and-so said this." Or, "So-and-so asked this." So we talked about different possible ways for her to respond and so, I'm not exactly sure what she says, what she's said."
Monoethnic Family Identity	"I guess the best way I've helped her is by just letting her know that she can or can't answer them, that's up to her. They're personal questions, if she wants to answer them, that's great. But if she doesn't, that's fine too. You know, that it's up to her."
Broadening Family Identity	"I don't always handle it the best when it happens because I'm often so thrown by it that, uhm, I, I, I might not say anything until later. But, I do talk about it. I would talk about it later with TY. And I do talk about it like, "Well, I didn't handle that well..." or "I should have just said this..." or, "Here are some things I might have said..." So, which I think, uhm, I think is actually good modeling because I think most of us don't come up with a great line right when it's happening."
Monoethnic Chinese Children	"But, the message that we hope to, uhm, to relay to our kids is that your family is the information spot for these questions you get at school or anywhere else. You can bring them back to us. If you have any problems or questions, ask us and hopefully we can answer them and you can go back or we can help you go back to answer them to your class or to whoever"
Children Who Felt Mixed	"And back to the um, locker room, I remember telling her, and she was a little thing three, two, three years old, I said, "You know TY, people ask all sorts of questions cause they don't understand what a family is

	all about and you know, we just have to just ignore them sometimes." I think it was just something simple for a two, three year old."
Younger Monoethnic Chinese Children	"Yeah, I tell her that if she wants to tell them the story, she can. I don't think she's, I don't know of any times she's really done it. Umm, and I tell her to just tell people it's private. It's her own story."
Older Chinese-American Children	"I want her to be armed with some potential answers that she is comfortable with. I've gone over some of this with her but it's been along with being able to just tell someone, 'I don't want to answer that' or 'That's personal.'
Younger Children Who Felt Mixed	"It's starting to feel clear to be that she and I should probably talk about it, maybe try to strategize some ways to deal with it. Um, you know on the one hand I like the fact that it's just out the table. You know, she's adopted. She's Chinese. It's there, but at the same time, you know, it's also then it's always in HER face that I'm white and she's Chinese and um, you know, I think it's, I think it's sort of there for her."
Older Children Who Felt Mixed	"So, you know, I said, 'You, don't even think about it cause, who knows what your nose is eventually gonna look like'. Then I gave her some good examples of people in our family whose noses look like one thing-tiny when they were eight but they didn't look so tiny when they were twenty-eight."

Table 11.2: Educate Child Patterns: Quotes

Parent or Child Characteristics	Quote That Demonstrates Parent Educating Child
Mixed Acknowledgment of Differences	"And if they have more than one child, quite frequently they can't take care of the child, they don't have enough money to care for the baby and they want a wonderful life for that baby, so they put the babies up for adoption so that then they'll you know have a warm house and a full belly and I kind of say stuff like that."
Inclusive Family Identity	"And I don't usually make a big stink about things but I didn't let her get away with that for too long because I didn't want somebody else to come along, I didn't want some kid to come along and say, "That's not your real mom." I am your real mom. I'm not your birth mother. They're separate things and I made a big point of not letting her use that word that way. Uhm, not because it hurt me but because I didn't want somebody else to yield that as a weapon over her."
Biethnic Chinese American Children	"The first time we talked about kids making fun of you, I figured I'd touch on something that was from my own experience and didn't get at the more complex issues of race and adoption. I said, "you know you have a funny name, a funny last name to some people and when I went in to school sometimes people would say" and I told her some of the rhymes and taunts and silly stuff, figuring that was a good starting place."
Children Who Felt Good	"And, uhm, you know, and I said, you know, the kids in China are celebrating Chinese New Year right now and it's this big celebration with fireworks kinda like we do at the 4th of July. And the kids have a good time. I mean, the kids eat a lot and they get presents, just like you guys do"
Younger Biethnic Chinese-American Children	"She said to me, and I think she was probably four at the time, are you going to dye your hair? And I said yes and she said, but will you still be my mom? And I said, "Of course honey, it's got nothing to do with our hair."
Older Chinese Children	"And so then TY wanted to know what I had talked to her teacher about. So we had this big talk about ethnicity and sharing about, it was probably more about adoption than ethnicity but it was about what ethnicity would she present in a school project. And, she might have a family tree."

Younger Children Who Felt Good	"And then I said, just the opposite is true. I said, and being the nurse that I am, I'm like there have been scientific studies that actually show that a Chinese person's brain is actually larger, I said so that makes them smarter (laughs). That's how I responded!"
Older Children Who Felt Good	"And I said "Well what do you think that means?" and she said "Oh my eyes look different than some other kids." I said "Well you know that's not really a nice thing for people to do we don't necessarily point out kids that have red hair and talk about it."

Table 12.1: Family Acknowledgment of Differences and PfBs Chi-Square Tests

Fam Ack of Diff x Shut Down Convo with Others PfBs N = 41	Did not Give	Gave
Low (n = 7)	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)
Mix (n = 9)	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)
High (n = 25)	8 (32.0%)	17 (68.0%)
$X^{(2)} = .044, p = .978$		
Fam Ack of Diff x Engage in Convo with Others PfBs N = 41	Did not Give	Gave
Low (n = 7)	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)
Mix (n=9)	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)
High (n=25)	11 (44.0%)	14 (56.0%)
$X^{(2)} = 2.439, p = .295$		
Fam Ack of Diff x Empower Adoptee PfBs N = 41	Did not Give	Gave
Low (n=7)	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)
Mix (n=9)	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)
High (n=25)	8 (32.0%)	17 (68.0%)
$X^{(2)} = .585, p = .746$		

Table 12.2: Family Ethnic Identity and “Shut Down Convo” PfBs

Family Ethnic Identity x Shut Down Convo with Others PfBs N = 41	Did not Give	Gave
Monoethnic (n=11)	2 (18.2%)	9 (81.8%)
Inclusive (n=9)	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)
Broadening (n=21)	7 (33.3%)	14 (66.7%)
$X^{(2)} = 1.629, p = .443$		
Family Ethnic Identity x Engage in Convo with Others PfBs N = 41	Did not Give	Gave
Monoethnic (n=11)	5 (45.5%)	6 (54.5%)
Inclusive (n=9)	5 (55.6%)	4 (44.4%)
Broadening (n=21)	9 (42.9%)	12 (57.1%)
$X^{(2)} = .413, p = .813$		
Family Ethnic Identity x Empower Adoptee PfBs N = 41	Did not Give	Gave
Monoethnic (n=11)	5 (45.5%)	6 (54.5%)
Inclusive (n=9)	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)
Broadening (n=21)	7 (33.3%)	14 (66.7%)
$X^{(2)} = .510, p = .775$		

Table 12.3: PfBs and Children's Ethnic Self-Label Chi Square Tests

Children's Label x Shut Down Convo with Others PfBs N = 35	Did not give	Gave
Chinese (n = 10)	1(10.0%)	9 (90.0%)
Chinese-American (n = 25)	10 (40.0%)	15 (60.0%)
$X^{(2)}= 2.983, p= .084$		
Children's Label x Engage in Convo with Others PfBs N = 35	Did not give	Gave
Chinese (n = 10)	2 (20.0%)	8 (80.0%)
Chinese-American (n = 25)	14 (56.0%)	11 (44.0%)
$X^{(2)}= 3.730, p= .053$		
Children's Label x Empower the Adoptee PfBs N = 35	Did not give	Gave
Chinese (n = 10)	3 (30.0%)	7 (70.0%)
Chinese-American (n = 25)	11 (44.0%)	14 (56.0%)
$X^{(2)}= .583, p= .445$		

Table 12.4: PfBs and Children's Feelings Chi Square Tests

Children's Feelings x Shut Down Convo with Others PfBs N = 36	Did not give	Gave
Mixed (N = 6)	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)
Good (N = 30)	9 (30.0%)	21 (70.0%)
$X^{(2)} = .026, p = .871$		
Children's Feelings x Engage in Convo with Others PfBs N = 36	Did not give	Gave
Mixed (N = 6)	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)
Good (N = 30)	11 (36.7%)	19 (63.3%)
$X^{(2)} = 1.851, p = .174$		
Children's Feelings x Empower Adoptee PfBs N = 36	Did not give	Gave
Mixed (N = 6)	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7%)
Good (N = 30)	10 (33.3%)	20 (66.7%)
$X^{(2)} = .000, p = 1.00$		

Table 12.5: Younger Children: PfBs and Ethnic Self Label Chi Square Tests

Self-Label x Shut Down Convo with Others PFBs (N = 22)	Did not give	Gave
Chinese (N=7)	None	7 (100.0%)
Chinese-American (N=15)	6 (40.0%)	9 (60.0%)
$\chi^2 = 3.850, p = .050$		
Self-Label x Engage in Convo with others PFBs (N=22)	Did not give	Gave
Chinese (N=7)	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)
Chinese-American (N=15)	8 (53.3%)	7 (46.7%)
$\chi^2 = 1.180, p = .277$		
Self-Label x Empower Adoptee PFBs (N=22)	Did not Give	Gave
Chinese (N=7)	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)
Chinese-American (N=15)	5 (33.3%)	10 (66.7%)
$\chi^2 = .187, p = .665$		

Table 12.6: Older Children: PFBs and Ethnic Self-Label Chi-Square Tests

Self-Label x Shut down Convo with Others PFBs (N=13)	Did not give	Gave
Chinese (N=3)	1 (33.3%)	2 (66.7%)
Chinese-American (N=10)	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)
$X^{(2)} = .043, p = .835$		
Self-Label x Engage in Convo with Others PFBs (N=13)	Did not Give	Gave
Chinese (N=3)	0 (0.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Chinese-American (N=10)	6 (60.0%)	4 (40.0%)
$X^{(2)} = 3.343, p = .067$		
Self-Label x Empower Adoptee PFBs (N=13)	Did not Give	Gave
Chinese (N=3)	0 (0.0%)	3 (100.0%)
Chinese-American (N=10)	6 (60.0%)	4 (40.0%)
$X^{(2)} = 3.343, p = .067$		

Table 12.7: Younger Children: PfBs and Feelings Chi Square Tests

Feelings About Self-Label x Shut Down Convo with Others PFBs (N=23)	Did not give	Gave
Mixed (N=2)	0 (0.0%)	2 (100.0%)
Good (N=21)	6 (28.6%)	15 (71.4%)
$X^{(2)} = .773, p = .379$		
Feelings About Self-Label x Engage in Convo with Others PFBs (N=23)	Did not give	Gave
Mixed (N=2)	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)
Good (N=21)	8 (38.1%)	13 (61.9%)
$X^{(2)} = .109, p = .742$		
Feelings About Self-Label x Empower Adoptee PfBs (N=23)	Did not give	Gave
Mixed (N=2)	0 (0.0%)	2 (100.0%)
Good (N=21)	6 (28.6%)	15 (71.4%)
$X^{(2)} = .773, p = .379$		

Table 12.8: Older Children: PFBs and Feelings Chi Square Tests

Feelings About Self-Label x Shut Down Convo with Others PFBs (N =13)	Did not give	Gave
Mixed (N=4)	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)
Good (N=9)	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)
$X^{(2)} = .325, p = .569$		
Feelings About Self-Label x Engage Others in Convo PFBs (N=13)	Did not give	Gave
Mixed (N=4)	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)
Good (N=9)	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)
$X^{(2)} = 1.935, p = .164$		
Feelings About Self-Label x Empower Adoptee PFBs (N=13)	Did not give	Gave
Mixed (N=4)	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)
Good (N=9)	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)
$X^{(2)} = .034, p = .853$		

Table 13.1: Family Acknowledgment of Racial Differences & PfBs

N = 28 parents (# of parents who gave 1212: shut down convo with others PfBs)	1212b Neg msg	1212c Simple res	1212d Set limit	1212e Turn ques
Low (N = 5)	1 (20.0%)	5 (100.0%)	none	2 (40.0%)
Mix (N = 6)	3 (50.0%)	5 (83.3%)	none	none
High (N = 17)	3 (17.6%)	16 (94.1%)	1 (5.9%)	2 (11.8%)
N = 22 parents (# of parents who gave 1213: engage in convo with others PfBs)	1213a Change topic	1213b Respond positive	1213c Educate others	
Low (N = 2)	none	1 (50.0%)	2 (100.0%)	
Mix (N = 6)	none	1 (16.7%)	6 (100.0%)	
High (N=14)	4 (28.6%)	3 (21.4%)	10 (71.4%)	
N = 26 parents (# of parents who gave 1214: empower adoptee PfBs)	1214a Help child develop strategies	1214b Educate child		
Low (N = 4)	3 (75.0%)	3 (75.0%)		
Mix (N = 5)	2 (40.0%)	5 (100.0%)		
High (N=17)	12 (70.6%)	10 (58.8%)		

Table 13.2: Family Ethnic Identity & PfBs

N = 28 parents (# of parents who gave 1212: shut down convo with others PfBs)	1212b Neg msg	1212c Simple res	1212d Set limit	1212e Turn ques
Mono (N=9)	4 (44.4%)	8 (88.9%)	none	1 (11.1%)
Inclusive (N=5)	none	5 (100.0%)	none	none
Broadening (N=14)	3 (21.4%)	13 (92.9%)	1 (7.1%)	3 (21.4%)
N = 22 parents (# of parents who gave 1213: engage in convo with others PfBs)	1213a Change topic	1213b Respond positive	1213c Educate others	
Mono (N=6)	none	none	6 (100.0%)	
Inclusive (N=4)	none	1 (25.0%)	4 (100.0%)	
Broadening (N=12)	4 (33.3%)	4 (33.3%)	8 (66.7%)	
N = 26 parents (# of parents who gave 1214: empower adoptee PfBs)	1214a Help child develop strategies	1214b Educate child		
Mono (N=6)	4 (66.7%)	4 (66.7%)		
Inclusive (N=6)	3 (50.0%)	5 (83.3%)		
Broadening (N=14)	10 (71.4%)	9 (64.3%)		

Table 13.3: PfBs and Children's Ethnic Self Label

N = 24 children (# of children whose parents gave 1212: shut down convo with others PfBs)	1212b Neg msg	1212c Simple res	1212d Set limit	1212e Turn ques
Chinese (N=9)	4 (44.4%)	7 (77.8%)	none	1 (11.1%)
Chinese American (N=15)	2 (13.3%)	15 (100.0%)	1 (66.7%)	2 (13.3%)
N = 19 children (# of children whose parents gave 1213: engage in convo with others PfBs)	1213a Change topic	1213b Respond positive	1213c Educate others	
Chinese (N=8)	1 (12.5%)	1 (12.5%)	8 (100.0%)	
Chinese American (N=11)	2 (18.2%)	4 (36.4%)	8 (72.7%)	
N = 21 children (# of children whose parents gave 1214: empower adoptee PfBs)	1214a Help child develop strategies	1214b Educate child		
Chinese (N=7)	5 (71.4%)	4 (57.1%)		
Chinese American (N=14)	8 (57.1%)	11 (78.6%)		

Table 13.4: PfBs and Children's Feelings

N = 25 children (# of children whose parents gave 1212: shut down convo with others PfBs)	1212b Neg msg	1212c Simple res	1212d Set limit	1212e Turn ques
Mixed (N=4)	none	4 (100.0%)	none	1 (25.0%)
Good (N=21)	7 (33.3%)	19 (90.5%)	1 (4.8%)	3 (14.3%)
N = 21 children (# of children whose parents gave 1213: engage in convo with others PfBs)	1213a Change topic	1213b Respond positive	1213c Educate others	
Mixed (N=2)	1 (50.0%)	none	1 (50.0%)	
Good (N=19)	3 (15.8%)	5 (26.3%)	16 (84.2%)	
N = 24 children (# of children whose parents gave 1214: empower adoptee PfBs)	1214a Help child develop strategies	1214b Educate child		
Mixed (N=4)	4 (100.0%)	2 (50.0%)		
Good (N=20)	12 (60.0%)	14 (70.0%)		

Table 13.5: Younger Children: PfBs and Ethnic Self Label

N = 16 children (# of children whose parents gave 1212: shut down convo with others PfBs)	1212b Neg msg	1212c Simple res	1212d Set limit	1212e Turn ques
Chinese (N=7)	3 (42.9%)	6 (85.7%)	none	1 (14.3%)
Chinese American (N=9)	2 (22.2%)	9 (100.0%)	1 (11.1%)	2 (22.2%)
N = 12 children (# of children whose parents gave 1213: engage in convo with others PfBs)	1213a Change topic	1213b Respond positive	1213c Educate others	
Chinese (N=5)	1 (20.0%)	none	5 (100.0%)	
Chinese American (N=7)	2 (28.6%)	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)	
N = 14 children (# of children whose parents gave 1214: empower adoptee PfBs)	1214a Help child develop strategies	1214b Educate child		
Chinese (N=4)	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)		
Chinese American (N=10)	5 (50.0%)	8 (80.0%)		

Table 13.6: Older Children: PfBs and Ethnic Self-Label

N = 8 children (# of children whose parents gave 1212: shut down convo with others PfBs)	1212b Neg msg	1212c Simple res	1212d Set limit	1212e Turn ques
Chinese (N=2)	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)	none	none
Chinese American (N=6)	none	6 (100.0%)	none	none
N = 7 children (# of children whose parents gave 1213: engage in convo with others PfBs)	1213a Change topic	1213b Respond positive	1213c Educate others	
Chinese (N=3)	none	1 (33.3%)	3 (100.0%)	
Chinese American (N=4)	none	2 (50.0%)	3 (75.0%)	
N = 7 children (# of children whose parents gave 1214: empower adoptee PfBs)	1214a Help child develop strategies	1214b Educate child		
Chinese (N=3)	2 (66.7%)	3 (100.0%)		
Chinese American (N=4)	3 (75.0%)	3 (75.0%)		

Table 13.7 Younger Children: PfBs and Feelings

N = 17 children (# of children whose parents gave 1212: shut down convo with others PfBs)	1212b Neg msg	1212c Simple res	1212d Set limit	1212e Turn ques
Mixed (N=2)	none	2 (100.0%)	none	1 (50.0%)
Good (N=15)	6 (40.0%)	14 (93.3%)	1 (6.7%)	3 (20.0%)
N = 14 children (# of children whose parents gave 1213: engage in convo with others PfBs)	1213a Change topic	1213b Respond positive	1213c Educate others	
Mixed (N=1)	1 (100.0%)	none	none	
Good (N=13)	3 (23.1%)	2 (15.4%)	11 (84.6%)	
N = 17 children (# of children whose parents gave 1214: empower adoptee PfBs)	1214a Help child develop strategies	1214b Educate child		
Mixed (N=2)	2 (100.0%)	none		
Good (N=15)	9 (60.0%)	10 (66.7%)		

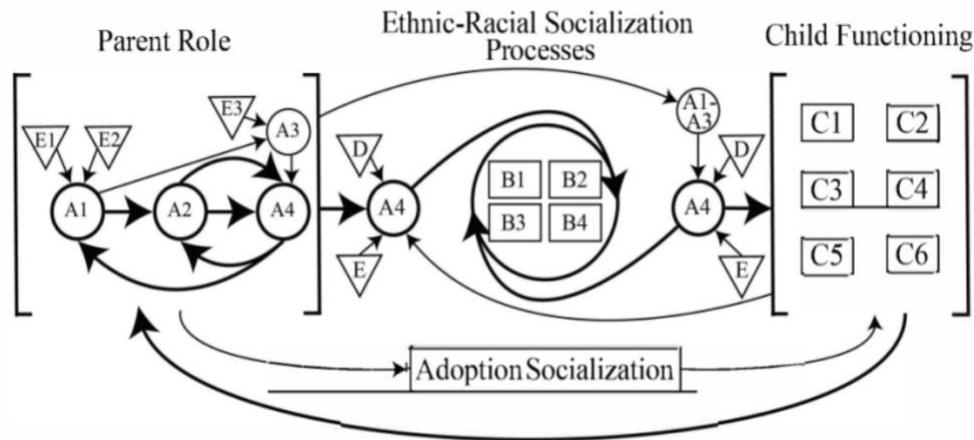
Table 13.8: Older Children: PfBs and Feelings

N = 8 children (# of children whose parents gave 1212: shut down convo with others PfBs)	1212b Neg msg	1212c Simple res	1212d Set limit	1212e Turn ques
Mixed (N=2)	none	2 (100.0%)	none	none
Good (N=6)	1 (16.7%)	5 (83.3%)	none	none
N = 7 children (# of children whose parents gave 1213: engage in convo with others PfBs)	1213a Change topic	1213b Respond positive	1213c Educate others	
Chinese (N=1)	None	None	1 (100.0%)	
Chinese American (N=6)	None	3 (50.0%)	5 (83.3%)	
N = 7 children (# of children whose parents gave 1214: empower adoptee PfBs)	1214a Help child develop strategies	1214b Educate child		
Chinese (N=2)	2 (100.0%)	2 (100.0%)		
Chinese American (N=5)	3 (60.0%)	4 (80.0%)		

Figure

Figure 1: "Process-oriented Transactional System of Ethnic-Racial Socialization among TRA Families" ERS Model developed by Pinderhughes et al. (2021)

highlighted sections are the variables I examined



Parent Role (A) Facets (A1-4) Represented as circles

A1 Attitudes about and acknowledgment of racial, cultural differences

[Family acknowledgment of racial and ethnic differences]

Beliefs about Ethnic-Racial Socialization (ERS)

Ethnic/Racial Affiliation (self, with child's cultural group)

[Family ethnic identity/label]

Perception of Bias

Perception of Child

A2 Self-efficacy in providing ERS; Comfort level re ERS

A3 Motivation: to meet adoptee's identity needs

to expose to others who look like adoptee

to follow others' suggestions

to not provide ERS

A4 Decision to address child's ERS: initiate; propose; wait

Ethnic Racial Socialization (ERS) Processes (B) Facets (B1-4) Represented as squares/rectangles

B1 Type of ERS:

Cultural Socialization (CS)

Preparation for Bias (PFB)

[Parents' reactions to MAs → PFB messages]

Promotion of Mistrust (PMT)

Egalitarianism and Silence about Race (Egal)

B2 Nature of activity: resources, activities, discussions; frequency or amount; quality; depth

B3 Level of involvement: adoptee only; siblings; family level

B4 Who delivers; is cultural expert involved?

Child Functioning (C) Facets (C1-6) Represented as rectangles

C1 Perception of/Coping with Bias

C2 Self-Esteem

C3 Ethnic/Racial Identity

[Children's ethnic self-label; How children feel about their ethnic label]

C4 Adoptive Identity

C5 Emotional Adjustment

C6 Academic Achievement

Developmental Considerations (D) Facets; represented as triangles

D1 Age/developmental level

[How adoptee's age plays a role among the other variables]

D2 Special needs/disability

Contextual Considerations (E) Facets (E1-3); represented as triangles

E1 Societal Values

E2 Parents' Personal History, Family, Friends

E3 Community: Adoption professionals, other adoptive parents, Broader community, including peers, neighborhood, school

Appendix

Appendix A: Family and Adoption Interview Questions: Parent Interview: created by Adoption and Development Project

Adoption and Development Project

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 ?

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?

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?
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?

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?

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?
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.

Appendix B: Excerpt from Family and Adoption Interview Questions: Child Interview: created by Adoption and Development Project

Some children who are adopted talk with their parents about where they were born. And some children don't talk with their parents about this.

25. Do you talk about China with your parents? What do you talk about? What do you know about China? *[Interviewer: If child says they were born somewhere other than China, use that location in the questions.]*

26. Do you like to talk about China? Why or why not?

27. When you are talking about China, how do you feel? Pick the face.

27. What does bring born in China and growing up in America mean to you? What do you call that? Chinese? Chinese-American?

28. How do you feel about being_____?

Appendix C: Prep-for-Bias Codebook: Microaggression and Preparation for Bias Codes: created by Adoption and Development Project

Prep for Bias Behaviors

1210. Parent's Response/Action or Proactive Action (any anticipatory action or belief, for example, creating a situation that facilitates discussion or that avoids/limits discussion; prepare others to work with child; consider how parent will handle upcoming situations)

1211. Actions to avoid, ignore

1211a. Ignore (mention that parent ignored other)

1211b. Walk away or similar action to leave situation / minimize contact (explicit mention of behavioral action)

1211c. Stop going to setting where the RMAs or AMAs happen

1212. Actions that engage other person in order to shut down conversation

1212a. Stare down

1212b. Negative message (e.g., "that's none of your business", "go ask someone else")

1212c. Simple response (e.g., brief response intended to answer question, but not promote discussion)

1212d. Set limit on what others do/say (e.g., parent tells relative that if s/he doesn't stop the comments, we won't visit anymore)

1212e. Turn question on questioner (e.g., if someone asked "how much did she cost?", "I would say, '\$250,000 after college, how much did your kids cost?")

1213. Actions that promote discussion

1213a. Change topic in order to divert focus

1213b. Parent responds positively to RMA or AMA (e.g., parent agrees with other)

1213c. Educate others (teaching/explaining to stranger/other person who made comment/question; provide information to teachers, neighbors, family, professionals; engaging in higher level advocacy such as lobbying to change school curriculum)

1214. Actions to empower child

1214a. Help child develop strategies, response, coping (providing tools for action: this includes when parent says s/he models behaviors for child: e.g., “here’s how you can handle a situation like this”, “just ignore them and walk away”, “it might be hard to deal with, but we can talk about it afterward”, “I know it feels unfair, and it is, but we have to learn how to deal with it”)

1214b. Educate child (providing information and historical background, explaining stereotypes and others’ intentions, why child needs to learn how to respond to comments)

1215. Send child to lessons (e.g., Chinese, math) that would give the child skills that others stereotypically think Asians have (e.g., “I give her Chinese lessons because others expect her to be able to speak Chinese”)

1216. Preparing internal self (whether emotional, cognitive – e.g., “I feel like teaching others today” or “I have to be ready for whatever someone says...”)

1217. Parent fails to respond