ABSTRACT

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This study examined predictors of White adoptive parents' ($N = 200$) cultural and racial socialization behaviors with their Asian adopted children. Specifically, the study investigated White Racial Identity statuses, cultural and racial socialization beliefs, cultural socialization self-efficacy, and racial socialization self-efficacy as predictors of cultural and racial socialization behaviors. This study also tested a model which linked cultural and racial socialization beliefs to cultural and racial socialization behaviors through their respective types of self-efficacy. Findings revealed that parents' cultural and racial socialization beliefs were most important in predicting their socialization practices. There was not support for cultural socialization self-efficacy or racial socialization self-efficacy as moderators.

PREDICTORS OF WHITE ADOPTIVE PARENTS' CULTURAL AND RACIAL
SOCIALIZATION BEHAVIORS WITH THEIR ASIAN ADOPTED CHILDREN

By

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Cultural and racial socialization has been shown to be critical in the development of a positive identity and self-esteem in international, transracial adoptees (Johnston, Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Deckard, & Petrill, 2007; Mohanty, Keoske, & Sales, 2007; Yoon, 2001). Cultural socialization refers to teaching children about their birth culture, and transmitting cultural values, behaviors, and traditions of the country of origin (Lee, 2003). Racial socialization refers to promoting racial awareness and pride, teaching about racism, and giving children specific tools to cope with racism (Lee, 2003). Adoptive parents play a particularly important role in the cultural and racial socialization of their children (Thomas & Tessler, 2007; Yoon, 2001). Parents may take a range of positions on socialization, from downplaying any mention of differences, to engaging the whole family in multicultural activities and open discussions about race (Lee, 2003). Little is known about why some parents avoid teaching their children about culture and race, while others make great efforts to culturally and racially socialize their children.

Through international adoption, many children without homes in their countries have been placed with families in the United States. Most research on international, transracial adoption has concentrated on the experiences of the adoptees (Zamostny, O'Brien, Baden, & Wiley, 2003), but this study focused on the White adoptive parents of Asian children to advance understanding regarding transracial adoptive families. The vast majority of adoptive parents are White (Mosher & Bachrach, 1996). Currently, about sixty percent of the children being adopted into White families are of Asian origin, specifically South Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese (Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2008). Studying cultural and racial socialization in transracial adoptive families is

important to foster healthy adjustment for all members of the family (Johnston, Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Deckard, & Petrill, 2007; Mohanty, Keoske, & Sales, 2007; Yoon, 2001).

Limitations of Past Research on Socialization in Adoptive Families

Past research on cultural and racial socialization in adoptive families has several limitations (Zamostny, O'Brien, Baden, & Wiley, 2003). First, few studies have focused on adoptive parents (rather than children) and the parents' role in cultural and racial socialization. To design a program to assist parents with socialization, we need to know more about the cultural and racial socialization practices of adoptive parents. For example, parents' racial identity and personality factors may influence whether a parent decides that cultural and racial socialization is important for their child. One recent study looked at several parent characteristics, specifically parents' psychological connection to Asian Americans and connection to White identity (Johnston, Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Deckard, & Petrill, 2007). Parents who felt more connected to Asian Americans, but not White identity, were more likely to engage in cultural and racial socialization with their children (Johnston et al., 2007). White identity was measured by a projective measure of feelings of closeness to Whites. Unfortunately, this study did not use an empirically validated measure of White identity. In fact, there is a different conceptualization of White racial identity that has a reliable and valid measure which has been used in many studies. Helms (1984, 1990) defined positive White identity not as connection to Whites, but as awareness of race and rejection of racism and White privilege. Helms' White racial identity model may be related to parents' socialization attitudes and behaviors, since a parent that rejects racism and White privilege will probably be more likely to engage

their child in cultural and racial socialization than a parent who thinks racism does not exist any longer. So far, no study on adoptive families has used the White racial identity model proposed by Helms. This study aimed to address the question of parents' racial identities and how they might influence the cultural and racial socialization of their children.

Second, though a few studies have investigated cultural socialization and racial socialization in international adoptive families, no studies to our knowledge have compared the differences in White parents for these two types of socialization behaviors. Different terms have been used for cultural and racial socialization, which can result in confusion. Some of these terms combine both cultural and racial socialization into one measure, for example cultural competence (Vonk, 2001) and bicultural socialization (Thomas & Tessler, 2007). Others separate cultural and racial socialization into two distinct behaviors – for example, enculturation and racialization (Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt, Gunnar, & The Minnesota International Adoption Project Team, 2006), or socialization/pluralism and preparation for bias (Johnston et al., 2007). This study operationalized the two types of socialization as distinct and used the terms cultural socialization and racial socialization to reflect the two constructs.

We theorized that adoptive parents might feel more comfortable talking about culture than talking about race. At least a few studies shown that parents (non-adoptive) are more likely to engage in cultural socialization than racial socialization with their children (Hughes et. al, 2006). In the history of the United States, race has played a central role (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Race has been an important demographic factor since race-based slavery, segregation, and the civil rights movement, and still plays a role

in contemporary politics (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Because of its history, race is a topic that has been linked in people's minds to power dynamics, but culture may not automatically be linked to power in the same way. Some research shows that Whites can have an emotional reaction to talking about race and racism, for example, having feelings of anxiety, fear, anger, sadness, guilt, and shame (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). A similar reaction may occur in White parents of children of color when they talk about race. A discussion of race has to include an acknowledgement of power and oppression, privileges and disadvantages. Thus, we believed that race could be a more difficult subject for White parents because it could bring up an intense emotional reaction to their privileges and their children's disadvantages based on something they cannot control. This study analyzed cultural and racial socialization behaviors separately to determine if differences exist in the two types of behaviors in White parents.

Third, we felt that it was important to study specifically adoptive families where the parents are White and children are Asian. For example, some research has been done on transracial Black adoptees (DeBarry, Scarr, & Weinberg, 1996), but it may not apply to transracial adoptees of other races. Asian children may have different experiences in this country. Their White parents may need to prepare in different ways when they educate their children about race and racism. For example, Asian children can be stereotyped in a different way from other ethnic minorities. Asian Americans have been portrayed as the "model minority" with high academic achievement and upward mobility, so their hardships or experiences with discrimination may be dismissed (Wong & Halgin, 2006). Parents with Asian children then might have to teach different ways of coping with this type of racism than the traditional type of racism. Asian adoptees may feel

differently about race and racism compared to other adoptees. One study suggested that female Asian transracial adoptees may have less comfort in their appearance and pride in their birth group than female African American transracial adoptees (Brooks & Barth, 1999). Given that 60% of children adopted into White families are Asian (Evan B. Donaldson Institute, 2008), it is important to learn more about these particular families' socialization practices. This study aimed to broaden the current knowledge on transracial adoptions by specifically studying White parents that adopted Asian children.

Fourth, many studies on cultural and racial socialization have methodological problems. For example, there are very few measures of cultural and racial socialization that have been validated for use with adoptive families (Lee, 2003). This study used measures that are valid and reliable.

Finally, the little research on parents' cultural and racial socialization of their adoptees lacks a theoretical model. This study addressed parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors through an integration of two theoretical models. We believe White Racial Identity Theory (Helms, 1984, 1990) and Self-Efficacy Theory (Bandura, 1994) may inform research on adoptive parents. Parents who score high in certain statuses of White racial identity are more secure with their identity, more likely to understand the reality of racism in this country, and more likely to work towards eliminating racism. Thus, we believed one factor that could predict whether a parent believes cultural and racial socialization is important would be their White racial identity status(es). Furthermore, we believed self-efficacy theory would also play a role because it involves a person's confidence in their ability to be successful in certain domains (Bandura, 1994). In the domain of cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy, parents

may have varying degrees of confidence in their abilities, which may affect how much they are able to teach their children about culture and race (Miller, Grome, & Lee, 2008). Parents may believe cultural and racial socialization is important, but a lack of confidence may impede them from persisting in their attempts to carry out the behaviors (Miller et al., 2008). For example, they may not be confident in their ability to participate in cultural activities with their children, or they may not be confident in their ability to talk about race with their children. We also noted that if indeed self-efficacy beliefs were hampering parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors, this is something that could be improved through training sessions or classes.

Proposed Model of Cultural and Racial Socialization Behaviors in White Adoptive Parents

In the proposed model of cultural and racial socialization behaviors in White adoptive parents of Asian children, parents' White racial identity, their cultural and racial socialization beliefs, and their cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy were hypothesized to predict their cultural and racial socialization behaviors with their children. In addition, we predicted that cultural socialization self-efficacy would moderate the relationship between cultural beliefs and cultural socialization behaviors, while racial socialization self-efficacy would moderate the relationship between racial beliefs and racial socialization behaviors (See Figure 1).

White racial identity.

White racial identity is defined by Helms (1984, 1990) as the various statuses or attitudes that a White person can have in the development of a nonracist White identity. The identity can be categorized as one or more of the six possible statuses, which can be

flexible and do not necessarily develop in a prescribed order. The first status is Contact, where a person would be unaware of current racism. The second status is Disintegration, where a person would start to become aware of racism, and feel confusion, guilt, and conflict about what this means for their identity as a White person. The third status is Reintegration, where a person resolves the conflict they previously felt by embracing beliefs of White superiority. The fourth status is Pseudo-Independence, where a person can intellectually identify the costs of racism, and they may make an effort to "help" minority race groups. The fifth is Immersion/Emersion, which involves a proactive development of a positive White identity. The sixth and final status is Autonomy, where a person can actually accept a nonracist White identity and work to end discrimination and racism, while giving up privileges they might have because they are White. Each person has a score for each of the statuses, which means they may be high in more than one status at a time. We suspected that a parent who scored high in the first three statuses (Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration) would be less likely to see the importance of cultural and racial socialization behaviors with their children than a parent who scored high in the last three statuses (Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy). They would feel more uncomfortable talking about culture and race, and prefer to see the world as color-blind and just. Meanwhile, we proposed that a parent who scored high in the Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, or Autonomy statuses would be more likely to make efforts to educate their children about their culture and race than a parent who scored high in Contact, Disintegration, or Reintegration, because they will be more aware of race and power dynamics.

Cultural and racial socialization beliefs.

We believed parents' beliefs about cultural and racial socialization also were likely to be related to their cultural and racial socialization behaviors. We defined cultural and racial socialization beliefs as parents' values and attitudes with regards to the importance of teaching their children about culture and race. In one study, cultural and racial socialization beliefs and behaviors in adoptive parents were found to be moderately correlated (Massatti, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004). Surprisingly, they were not perfectly correlated, meaning that parents are not acting exactly according to their beliefs. There seems to be other factors that affect the likelihood of beliefs becoming behaviors.

Possible moderator: Cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy.

We examined two specific types of self-efficacy which we expected to be moderators of the link between cultural socialization and racial socialization beliefs and behaviors. Self-efficacy refers to a person's confidence in their capability to be successful at a certain domain of interest (Bandura, 1977). Self-efficacy beliefs affect our feelings about the domain, how much effort we put into it, and how long we persist at the activity (Bandura, 1977). We used the terms *cultural socialization self-efficacy* and *racial socialization self-efficacy* to refer to a parent's confidence in their ability to culturally and racially socialize their children, respectively (Miller et al., 2008). These variables were seen as important because they should affect a parent's persistence at the behaviors involved in cultural and racial socialization. In particular, we believed they would be moderators between parents' cultural socialization and racial socialization *beliefs* and *behaviors.* Cultural socialization self-efficacy could moderate the relationship between cultural socialization beliefs and cultural socialization behaviors, such that there would be

no relationship between cultural socialization beliefs and cultural socialization behaviors for parents that have low cultural socialization self-efficacy, and there would be a positive relationship between cultural socialization beliefs and cultural socialization behaviors for parents that have high cultural socialization self-efficacy. Similarly, we believed that racial socialization self-efficacy would moderate the effect between racial socialization beliefs and behaviors, such that there would be no relationship between racial socialization beliefs and racial socialization behaviors for parents that have low racial socialization self-efficacy; and there would be a positive relationship between racial socialization beliefs and racial socialization behaviors for parents high in racial socialization self-efficacy. Cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy were studied as two separate moderators because a parent could feel more confident and comfortable in one socialization domain than in the other.

Outcome variable: Parental cultural and racial socialization behaviors.

In this study, we examined adoptive parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors. Parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors have been shown in previous studies to be important to an adoptive child's cultural and racial identity, self-esteem, and psychological adjustment (Mohanty et al., 2007; Yoon, 2001). The parents' behaviors result in information about culture and race being transmitted (or not) to the children. For example, a study of Korean, Vietnamese, and Indian/Bangladeshi transracial adoptees found that parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors were positively related to children's self-esteem and negatively related to feelings of marginality (Mohanty et. al, 2007). Another study found that parents' direct and indirect socialization behaviors played a central role in helping their Korean-born children

develop self-esteem, a positive ethnic identity, and psychological adjustment (Yoon, 2001). A third study found that White parents' participation in cultural activities with their Korean children was critical to the children's interest in their native culture and their ethnic identification (Huh & Reid, 2000). Thus, it seems that what adoptive parents do influences their children's healthy development (Huh & Reid, 2000; Mohanty et al., 2007; Yoon, 2001). Since parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors are salient, we wanted to understand what might lead parents to engage in or refrain from these behaviors with their children.

Summary of Proposed Work

There were five main purposes to this study. The first purpose was to evaluate the factor structure of the cultural and racial socialization beliefs scale as well as the cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy scale. The second purpose was to learn more about White adoptive parents of Asian children. Specifically, we were interested in their statuses of White racial identity (as defined by Helms), levels of cultural and racial socialization beliefs, cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy, and cultural and racial socialization behaviors. The third purpose was to assess the relationships among the variables of interest for White adoptive parents. The fourth purpose was to examine the unique and shared contributions of White Racial Identity, cultural socialization beliefs, racial socialization beliefs, cultural socialization self-efficacy, and racial socialization self-efficacy to the cultural and racial socialization behaviors of White adoptive parents. Finally, the fifth purpose was to test a model which links cultural and racial socialization beliefs to cultural and racial socialization behaviors through two moderators: cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy. We suggested that

cultural socialization self-efficacy would moderate the relationship between cultural socialization beliefs and cultural socialization behaviors, while racial socialization self-efficacy would moderate the relationship between racial socialization beliefs and racial socialization behaviors. It was our hope that the findings from this study could provide the foundation and impetus for theoretically grounded and empirically tested programs to educate White parents regarding effective means to culturally and racially socialize their adoptive children.

CHAPTER 2

Review of Literature

This review of the literature will provide information regarding Asian transracial adoptions, discrimination and racism against adoptees and adoptive families, and cultural and racial identity development in adoptees. In addition, an overview of research on cultural and racial socialization and White parents' role in socialization will be addressed. The theoretical foundations for this study, specifically White Racial Identity Theory and Self-Efficacy Theory, will be outlined and the hypotheses and research questions will be described.

International, Transracial Adoption and Asian Adoptees

The number of international adoptees has doubled in the last decade (National Adoption Immigration Clearinghouse, 2002), making international adoption much more common than it was just a few decades ago. In the year 2006, 20,705 children from other countries were adopted into families in the United States (Office of Immigration Statistics, 2007). The top countries of origin for adoptive children in the United States were China, Guatemala, Russia, Ethiopia, South Korea, and Vietnam (Office of Immigration Statistics, 2007). There are various sociopolitical reasons that many adoptees come from Asia. Not all countries have opened their doors to foreign parents that want to adopt children. But in China, for example, the one child policy has lead to many infant girls being abandoned in orphanages, so the government has enabled international adoption for the girls to be raised in homes with families (Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2008).

In South Korea, international adoptions began after the Korean War, when American soldiers left behind single Korean mothers. Currently in South Korea, pregnant single women are often ostracized, and the social welfare budget is small, leading to a number of children available for international adoption (Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2008). These factors, among others, have meant that more children are available for international adoption in Asia than in other countries.

The reasons that a parent may choose to adopt a child vary, but often include infertility (Rojewski, 2005). Parents may choose to adopt internationally as opposed to domestically because they feel that families are needed for many children in developing countries, or they want to create a multicultural family. One study of White parents of Korean adoptees found that the reasons for adopting a Korean child were, in order of frequency: a desire to adopt internationally, decreased wait time, not being eligible for a White infant, and a specific interest in Korean culture (Bergquist, Campbell, & Unrau, 2003). Another study of parents of Chinese adoptees found that the most common reasons for adoption from China were feeling that the children needed homes, concerns about U.S. adoption laws, wanting to adopt a baby girl, the limited possibility of birthparent claims, and finally, interest in Chinese culture (Rojewski, 2005).

The Hague Convention on Intercountry Adoption was created in 1993 to protect the interests of adopted children and to establish cooperation among participant countries to protect children from abduction and trafficking (Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption, 1993). It has been ratified by 75 countries and only recently by the United States (April, 2008). It is likely to change the face of international adoption in the United States because now all

international adoptions will be nationally regulated and adoption agencies will have to be accredited (Hollinger, 2004). This only affects adoptions from member countries but is meant to simplify the process and make it safer for the children involved (Hollinger, 2004). As the Hague Convention was quite recently ratified in the United States, we still do not know how this will affect the numbers of parents that are adopting, or the countries from which they are adopting.

Racism and Discrimination against Transracial Adoptees

In transracial adoptions, due to the child's appearance relative to the parents, the adoption is more apparent than if parents and children were of the same race. Thus, the child is likely to sometimes be discriminated for their adoptive status (Lee, 2003). The child is also likely to be discriminated simply because of their race, or because they have an interracial family, due to racism in the United States (Lee, 2003). For example, the child may receive judgmental or hurtful comments from people in their schools and communities (especially if their community is mostly White and unaccustomed to racial and ethnic diversity). Most of the time, children adopted internationally are adopted in infancy (Lee, 2003). They do not have memories of their birth family and culture, so they feel fully American, yet they are associated with their birth culture by the outside world (Lee, 2003). The difficulties transracial adoptees face have been called the transracial adoption paradox (Lee, 2003). For Asian children with White parents, the paradox is that adoptees may feel American, but other people will identify them as Asian (Lee, 2003).

Research has shown that Asian adoptees experience racism and discrimination (Freundlich & Lieberthal, 2000; Friedlander, Larney, Skau, Hotaling, Cutting, & Schwam, 2000; Huh & Reid, 2000). For example, one study of 167 adult Korean

adoptees found that adoptees reported receiving more discrimination due to race (70%) than having been adopted (28%; Freundlich & Lieberthal, 2000). In another study of 30 adoptive families, most of the 40 adopted Korean children reported "a great deal of teasing" about their appearance around when they began school, between the ages of 7 and 8 (Huh & Reid, 2000). Moreover, in a qualitative study of 8 families, the 12 children interviewed reported feeling "different" from others and being bothered by questions from strangers (Friedlander et al., 2000). For example, some Asian children reported being teased about having "slanty eyes" or "a real flat face" (Friedlander et al., 2000, p. 194). The majority of the parents interviewed reported that their children had been questioned, insulted, or teased by other children about their appearance (Friedlander et al., 2000). Furthermore, a study of White adoptive parents found that the parents of 32% of the Asian children said their child was discriminated against sometimes or often (Feigelman, 2000). The numbers are likely to be even higher than what was reported in this study, because the parents may not be aware of all of the child's discrimination experiences.

Forming a Positive Cultural and Racial Identity as an Adoptive Child

Internationally adopted minority children often struggle with racial and ethnic identity issues and feelings of loss of their culture of origin (Mohanty & Newhill, 2006). At the same time, having a strong, positive ethnic identity has been related to better self-esteem and psychological well-being in ethnic minorities (Seaton, Scottham, & Sellers, 2006; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, 2006). A strong ethnic or racial identity would involve feelings of pride in one's ethnicity/culture/race and feeling comfortable with one's identity as a member of that group.

Studies suggest that the ethnic or racial identity of a child of color may vary depending on whether they are adopted transracially or in a same-race family. In a meta-analysis of six previous empirical studies of racial identity in transracial adoptees and same-race adoptees, transracial adoptees had lower racial/ethnic identities than did adoptees in same-race families (d = -0.52) (Hollingsworth, 1997). For example, one of the studies included in the meta-analysis found that in Mexican-American adoptees, those that were adopted transracially were more likely to identify as American, while those in same-race families were more likely to identify as Mexican-American (Andujo, 1988).

The meta-analysis also revealed that the strongest identity difference between the transracial and same-race adoptees occurred in late adolescence, which may mean that racial/ethnic identification decreases as transracial adoptees get older (Hollingsworth, 1997). However, other studies indicate that ethnic identity may increase later in adulthood. In the Freundlich and Lieberthal study (2000) on Korean transracial adoptees, for example, the surveyed adopted adults reported that when they were children and adolescents, 36% considered themselves Caucasian, 28% Korean-American or Korean-European, 22% American or European; and 14% Asian or Korean. As adults, they were more likely to call themselves Korean-American or Korean-European (64%) and less likely to describe themselves as Caucasian (11%) or American or European (10%). Despite the inconclusive results on the developmental stages of ethnic identity development in transracial adoptees, many studies indicate that transracial adoptees may struggle with defining their ethnic or racial identity at some point in their lives.

In fact, other studies have shown that those adoptees who struggled with racial identity development experienced lower self-esteem and social maladjustment (Mohanty,

Keokse, & Sales, 2007). One reason for the self-esteem and adjustment problems may be that transracial adoptees are unprepared to deal with racism and discrimination when they are growing up (Mohanty & Newhill, 2006). Lee's theory is that these children face a transracial adoption paradox. They are recognized as minorities in society, and sometimes face discrimination, but at other times are treated as a part of the majority White group because of their adoption into a White family (Lee, 2003). This can lead to conflicting feelings and confusion about how to negotiate a bicultural identity. Adoptive parents who are White may underestimate the amount of discrimination their children face, or they may not understand the discomfort that their children of color feel since they have probably not directly experienced racism themselves. They may minimize the effects of negative comments and teasing about race or ethnicity. White parents may need to be educated about the prevalence of racism and discrimination, and its effects on children, to teach their children to cope with negative incidents and have a healthy bicultural identity.

Cultural Socialization and Racial Socialization

Parents play a very important role in helping their children develop a positive identity (Thomas & Tessler, 2007; Yoon, 2001). They can foster healthy adjustment for their children through cultural socialization and racial socialization. Cultural socialization is a term that has been used to describe the process in immigrant families through which parents teach their children about the values, traditions, and behaviors of their birth culture (Umaña-Taylor, 2006). They develop cultural pride through customs, for example, teaching their language, eating foods from their country, participating in cultural activities, visiting the homeland, etc. (Umaña-Taylor, 2006). In international

adoptive families, parents may try to go through a similar process, but they do not have the same first-hand knowledge of the culture of origin (also called enculturation; Lee, 2006).

Racial socialization, on the other hand, refers to the process of teaching children about their racial identity and racism in society (Hughes, 1997). This most often has been studied in African American families in the United States, where parents use various methods to increase racial awareness and to educate their children about coping methods for discrimination. For example, parents may have open discussions with their children about experiences of racism and the history of race in the United States, prepare them to deal with bias in society, and teach coping strategies for dealing with discrimination (Coard, 2004; Fisher, 1999; Hughes, 1997, 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2005, 2006; Nesblett, 2006). In transracial adoptive families, White parents may try to prepare their non-White children for the racism they may encounter in society by replicating some of the methods used in African American families, but they do not have the experience of being a racial minority (Lee, 2006). Racial socialization also has been called racialization (Lee, 2006). Some adoptive parents instead choose to downplay the differences and the importance of race. They take a color-blind approach to their family, with the goal of making the child feel like they belong (Lee et al., 2006).

However, research on transracial adoptees' cultural and racial socialization has been optimistic, and does not indicate that it makes children feel like they do not belong. In fact, one study found that cultural socialization was related positively to belongingness and related negatively to marginality in adult adoptees (Mohanty, Keoske, & Sales, 2007). Despite most parents' lack of personal experience with the culture and race of the

child, it seems that many parents are beginning to take a more active approach in teaching their child about culture and race. For example, one study of 1,834 adoptive parents in Minnesota found that only 18% of children did not have any exposure to their culture of origin (Hellerstedt, Madsen, Gunnar, Grotevant, Lee, & Johnson, 2008).

Several studies have shown that there was a positive relationship between cultural socialization and self-esteem in adoptees (Mohanty et al., 2007; Yoon, 2001). Cultural socialization was related to a more positive ethnic identity, and it predicted psychological adjustment in a study of 241 Korean-born adolescent adoptees (Yoon, 2001). This study showed that "parental support of ethnic identity development… [and] a positive parent-child relationship had a direct positive effect on the child's psychological adjustment." A child's status as an adoptee was "alone… not likely to result in the child's negative identity development" (Yoon, 2001, 76). Furthermore, another study indicated that transracial, international adoptees who engaged in cultural socialization were less likely to have delinquent behaviors (Johnston, Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Deckard, & Petrill, 2007). Exposure to cultural activities also increased transracial adoptive children's developmental understanding of culture and race (Lee & Quintana, 2005). In addition, cultural socialization also allowed for a child to have the skills to function, at least at a modest level, in their country of origin or with people from their country of origin (Thomas & Tessler, 2007).

Family socialization is a critical component of ethnic identity formation (Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). In particular, parents' participation in cultural activities and ability to communicate openly has been shown to be important in the formation of ethnic identity in adoptive children (Huh & Reid, 2000). Parents can take their children to

cultural activities, for example, but it is especially helpful if they also become actively involved. This way, the child learns that the whole family wants to learn about their culture, instead of feeling that they are different and have a burden to learn about their culture alone.

Racial socialization goes beyond learning values, customs, and cultural activities of people of your same race. Racial socialization helps the child develop pride in their racial identity, learn about power dynamics in history and in society today, and become aware of the privileges and disadvantages that people face based on their race. In addition, it involves preparing a minority child to deal with racism and discrimination by teaching them coping strategies (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Parents teach their children about race through both verbal and non-verbal messages (modeling behaviors) (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Racial socialization may be especially difficult for transracial adoptees, because their parents are White and do not have personal experiences with racism. Many transracial adoptive children report discomfort with their race, and some transracial adoptive children even wish they were White (Huh & Reid, 2000). For instance, in one study 36% of Korean adult adoptees reported that as a child and adolescent, they considered themselves Caucasian (Freundich & Lieberthal, 2000).

For many Whites, talking about race has become a sensitive and emotion-laden topic (Katz, 1978; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Legally, people of all races are supposed to be equal, yet we know that inequalities still exist (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). Some people are unaware of inequalities, or want to believe that we are all treated the same, so they believe that talking about differences will only divide us more (Lee et al.,

2006). Furthermore, White people may often think of racists as examples of bad individuals, and may not take personal responsibility for past racism, so they do not feel it is important to discuss (McIntosh, 1998). But they are unable to recognize their White privilege – the ways that they, as White people, benefit from racism (McIntosh, 1998). Acknowledging racism and White privilege can lead to a range of emotions in White people, from anxiety, to guilt, anger, and sadness (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). However, injustices still occur today for people of minority races, and it is important for transracially adopted children be prepared for difficult interactions that they will face (Lee et al., 2006).

White Adoptive Parents' Role in Cultural and Racial Socialization

Due to the importance of cultural and racial socialization in a child's identity, self-esteem, and psychological adjustment, it is becoming increasingly important to help White adoptive parents foster healthy cultural and racial identities for their children of color (Lee et al., 2006; Mohanty et al., 2006). Recently, some research has been done on White adoptive parents and the socialization techniques they use with their children. Cultural competence in White adoptive parents has been defined as possessing three main components: multicultural planning (teaching children about culture), racial awareness, and survival skills (teaching children techniques to deal with racism; Vonk, 2001), which can be seen as corresponding to cultural and racial socialization. Furthermore, researchers have conceptualized that cultural and racial socialization parenting behaviors can be separated into two types: direct parenting (those activities and opportunities that engage the child) and indirect parenting (modeling behaviors and values rather than engaging the child; Lee et al., 2006).

White adoptive parents can take a range of positions on cultural and racial socialization. Some parents take a color-blind approach, either because they are unaware of differences based on race in society, or because they want to deny those differences (Lee et al., 2006). These may be parents that may not want to "force" the culture or race on their children, and prefer to let the child choose when they want to engage in activities. They may feel that their child is unlikely to experience racism, so they avoid discussions of race which they feel may hurt their child (Lee et al., 2006). In the last decade, however, it has become more common for parents to be more proactive in cultural and racial socialization, for example by embracing a multicultural family, involving their children in cultural activities, teaching cultural values, and having open discussions on race and racism (Lee, 2003).

Nevertheless, little is known regarding what might lead some parents to be color-blind, while other parents feel more comfortable openly acknowledging and celebrating being a multicultural family. Research has shown that cultural and racial socialization can be beneficial for non-White international adoptive children, yet not all White adoptive parents are engaging in these parenting behaviors with their children. Many questions remain unanswered about what characteristics, beliefs, or attitudes may lead a parent to value cultural and racial socialization in their children. This study aims to identify key factors that may predict whether White parents will or will not engage in cultural and racial socialization with their children.

White Racial Identity Theory

Helms (1984, 1990, 1995) defined White racial identity development as different from minority racial identity development because it involves adapting a nonracist White

identity and abandoning White privilege, versus minorities' racial identity development, which involves coming to terms with the oppression and discrimination that exists in society. White racial identity can be measured in six flexible statuses, and a person can be in more than one status at a time. Contact is defined as satisfaction with the racial status quo, and denial of racism in society. Disintegration is defined as increased awareness of race and racism, and anxiety and confusion regarding stereotypical beliefs. Reintegration involves resolving the dissonance of the previous status through the idealization of Whites. Pseudo-Independence can be seen as an intellectual recognition of racism, and may involve decision to "help" other groups. Immersion/emersion is search for and development of a positive White identity. Finally, Autonomy involves assuming a non-racist White identity and abandoning racism and White privilege (Helms, 1984).

Multicultural Counseling Competence in Whites has been associated with the latter three levels of White racial identity development: Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/emersion, and Autonomy statuses (Ottavi, Pope-Davis, & Dings, 1994; Vinson & Neimeyer, 2000). Similar to counselors, White adoptive parents who are in these statuses of White racial identity development feel secure in their racial identity, and reject racism and White privilege, are probably more likely to engage in the cultural and racial socialization of their children. If they feel more comfortable with their identity, they will probably be less threatened by talking about race and racism with their children.

Self-Efficacy in Parenting

Self-efficacy refers to a person's confidence in their abilities to be successful in certain domains (Bandura, 1977). Self-efficacy is not a global trait, but a set of beliefs regarding functioning in specific domains. Thus, it must be tested in the domain of

interest (Bandura, 1994). We are interested in adoptive parents' self-efficacy, particularly in the domain of cultural and racial socialization. Cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy, defined as how confident adoptive parents feel in their ability to culturally and racially socialize their children (Miller et al., 2008), may play a salient role in parents' behaviors with regard to educating their children about culture and race. Self-efficacy has been related to persistence in the domain of interest and feelings about the domain of interest (Bandura, 1977), so it may play an important role in whether the parent can carry out socialization activities. A parent may have an awareness of culture and race, and may have knowledge on different cultures or races, but it is theorized that they also need self-efficacy or confidence in their abilities to actually translate beliefs into actions and teach their children about culture and race (Miller et al., 2008). Furthermore, a parent may feel confident about cultural socialization, but uncomfortable when talking about race, which research shows can bring up unpleasant feelings for White people (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Research has not yet addressed the role of self-efficacy in adoptive parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors. It would be important to find out more about the role of self-efficacy because if it is a predictive factor, programs could be developed to help less confident parents increase their confidence so they could engage their children in cultural and racial socialization.

Purposes, Research Questions, and Hypotheses

Purpose 1.

The first purpose of the study was to evaluate the factor structure of the cultural and racial socialization beliefs scale as well as the cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy scale.

    Research question 1. With regard to the measure of cultural and racial socialization beliefs, do the items assessing cultural beliefs and the items assessing racial beliefs comprise two distinct subscales on this instrument?

    Research question 2. With regard to the measure of cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy, do the items assessing cultural beliefs and the items assessing racial beliefs comprise two distinct subscales on this instrument?

Purpose 2.

The second purpose of the study was to learn more about White adoptive parents and their White Racial Identity, cultural and racial socialization beliefs, levels of cultural socialization self-efficacy, racial socialization self-efficacy, and cultural and racial socialization behaviors.

    Research question 3. How can this sample be described with regard to adoptive parents' age, gender, race, ethnicity, education, income, marital status, sexual orientation, diversity of community, and reasons for adoption? How can their adoptive and biological children be described with regard to age, age at time of adoption, gender, race, and country of birth?

    Research question 4. What are the levels of White Racial Identity statuses, cultural and racial socialization beliefs, cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy, and cultural and racial socialization behaviors reported by this sample of White adoptive parents?

Purpose 3.

The third purpose of the study was to learn more about the relationships among the variables of interest for White adoptive parents.

Hypothesis 1a. There will be a negative relationship between the White Racial Identity statuses of Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration and cultural socialization beliefs.

Hypothesis 1b. There will be a negative relationship between the White Racial Identity statuses of Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration and racial socialization beliefs.

Hypothesis 1c. There will be a negative relationship between the White Racial Identity statuses of Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration and cultural socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 1d. There will be a negative relationship between the White Racial Identity statuses of Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration and racial socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 1e. There will be a positive relationship between the White Racial Identity statuses of Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, Autonomy and cultural socialization beliefs.

Hypothesis 1f. There will be a positive relationship between the White Racial Identity statuses of Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, Autonomy and racial socialization beliefs.

Hypothesis 1g. There will be a positive relationship between the White Racial Identity statuses of Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, Autonomy and cultural socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 1h. There will be a positive relationship between the White Racial Identity statuses of Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, Autonomy and racial socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 1i. There will be a positive relationship between cultural socialization beliefs and cultural socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 1j. There will be a positive relationship between racial socialization beliefs and racial socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 1k. There will be a positive relationship between cultural socialization self-efficacy and cultural socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 1l. There will be a positive relationship between racial socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization behaviors.

Purpose 4.

The fourth purpose of the study was to examine the contributions of White Racial Identity, cultural socialization beliefs, racial socialization beliefs, cultural socialization self-efficacy, and racial socialization self-efficacy to the cultural and racial socialization behaviors of White adoptive parents.

Hypothesis 2. White Racial Identity, cultural socialization beliefs, and cultural self-efficacy will contribute unique and shared variance in the prediction of White adoptive parents' cultural socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 2a. White Racial Identity will contribute unique variance to the prediction of cultural socialization behaviors. We expect the relationship to be negative for Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration and positive for Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy.

Hypothesis 2b. Cultural socialization beliefs will contribute unique variance to the prediction of cultural socialization behaviors. A positive relationship between these variables is expected.

Hypothesis 2c. Cultural socialization self-efficacy will contribute unique variance to the prediction of cultural socialization behaviors. A positive relationship between these variables is expected.

Hypothesis 3. White Racial Identity, racial socialization beliefs, and racial socialization self-efficacy will contribute unique and shared variance in the prediction of White adoptive parents' racial socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 3a. White Racial Identity will contribute unique variance to the prediction of racial socialization behaviors. We expect the relationship to be negative for Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration and positive Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy.

Hypothesis 3b. Racial socialization beliefs will contribute unique variance to the prediction of racial socialization behaviors. A positive relationship between these variables is expected.

Hypothesis 3c. Racial socialization self-efficacy will contribute unique variance to the prediction of racial socialization behaviors. A positive relationship between these variables is expected.

Purpose 5.

The fifth and final purpose of the study was to test a model which links cultural and racial socialization beliefs and cultural and racial socialization behaviors through two moderators: cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self efficacy. We wanted to determine whether cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy were moderating variables between their respective types of socialization beliefs and behaviors.

Hypothesis 4a. The effect of parents' cultural socialization beliefs on their cultural socialization behaviors will depend on their cultural socialization self-efficacy, such that there will be no relationship between cultural socialization beliefs and behaviors for parents who have low cultural socialization self-efficacy, and there will be a positive relationship between cultural socialization beliefs and behaviors for parents who have high cultural socialization self-efficacy.

Hypothesis 4b. The effect of parents' racial socialization beliefs on their racial socialization behaviors will depend on their racial socialization self-efficacy, such that there will be no relationship between racial socialization beliefs and behaviors for parents who have low racial socialization self-efficacy, and there will be a positive relationship between racial socialization beliefs and behaviors for parents who have high racial socialization self-efficacy.

CHAPTER 3

Method

Participants

To calculate the number of participants needed for a factor analysis, the recommendation is that there should be at least five participants per item in the scale (Tinsley & Tinsley, 1987). The longer of the two measures being analyzed was the TAPS (Massatti, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004) which had 36 items; thus, a minimum of 180 participants were needed. Since several multiple regressions also were planned, a power analysis for multiple regression was calculated, which indicated that a minimum of 147 participants were needed to detect a medium effect size (power = .80, α = .01) for eight predictors (Cohen, 1992). Thus, the aim was to collect data from at least 200 participants. To participate, individuals had to be White parents over the age of 18 who had internationally adopted an Asian child.

Data were collected from 251 participants, but 51 exited the survey before completing the measures. Of the 51 that were incomplete, 45 completed the TAPS beliefs measure, 31 completed the self-efficacy measure, 21 completed the behaviors measure, and 5 completed the White racial identity measure. Incomplete data were not included in the analyses. Complete data were collected from 200 participants, which was approximately 80% of those that accessed the survey.

Procedure

Several large international adoption agencies as well as agencies providing adoption services (e.g., the Center for Adoption Support and Education) in the metropolitan region of Washington, DC were sent a letter containing an invitation for

their clients to participate in the study. The adoption agencies were given a flyer (See Appendix A) to distribute to their clients as an email message. The flyer described the study briefly and also stated that adoptive parents' help was needed for researchers to better understand transracial adoptive families. The flyer had a link to the web-based study, located on a secure server (www.SurveyMonkey.com). The letters to adoption agencies were followed up by phone calls to speak to the agency directors about the study. Adoption agencies in other regions of the United States were contacted through phone calls as well, in which they were given information about the study and asked to send the invitation to their clients. One researcher also attended an event sponsored by an adoption agency and distributed flyers to the agency's clients. In addition, the study was publicized on online forums and groups for adoptive parents and families (e.g., Korean American Adoptee Adoptive Family Network (KAAN), Facebook and Yahoo groups for adoption). The researchers also contacted persons they knew who fit the criteria to invite them to participate.

To ensure the independence of the data set, only one parent from each family was invited to participate. The instructions clearly indicated that only one parent per family should complete the measures. If a parent was interested in participating, they could access the website, read the informed consent, and if agreement was given to participate, she or he could complete the questionnaires. A web-based survey was selected due to being an efficient way to reach potential participants and to reach adoptive parents who might not participate actively in adoption agency events.

Measures

      Demographics. A demographic questionnaire was included in the survey (see Appendix B). Questions assessed the age, gender, race, education level, income, marital status, sexual orientation of the parent, and diversity of their community. The parents also were asked to provide the total number of children, the number of adoptive children, the adoptive child(ren)'s age(s), age(s) at time of adoption, gender, race(s), and country (or countries) of origin. If the parent had more than one adoptive child, they provided this information for all of their children.

      White racial identity. The White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Helms, 1990) was used to assess parents' acceptance of their White racial identity and their rejection of racism and White privilege. The scale yields six scores for each person, one for each racial identity status (Helms, 1990) (see Appendix C). The scale has 60 total items (10 items for each status) which are measured on a 5-point Likert type scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). By summing the scores for each item in a scale, a total score was obtained for the scale, ranging from 10 to 50. Example items included: for the Contact status, "There is no race problem in the United States;" for the Reintegration status, "I live or would live in a segregated (White) neighborhood;" for the Disintegration status, "There is nothing I can do to prevent racism;" for the Pseudo-Independence status, "White people should help Black people become equal to Whites;" for the Immersion/Emersion status, "I am taking definite steps to define an identity for myself that includes working against racism;" and for the Autonomy status, "I speak up in a White group situation when I feel that a White person is being racist."

Reliabilities of the statuses were calculated in several studies. In one, the lowest reliability was .67 (Contact) and highest was .82 (Reintegration) (Westbrook, 1986). Another study which was a meta-analysis of the WRIAS found that the lowest average reliability was .49 (Contact; average from 21 studies) and the highest was .78 (Disintegration and Reintegration; average from 23 studies) (Behrens, 1997). Numerous studies have used the WRIAS subscale scores (Behrens, 1997; Helms, 1997). A question has been raised about the WRIAS measuring racial identity along a single continuum, but since results were inconclusive, the separate status subscales continue to be used (Helms, 1997).

For this study, four of the six White Racial Identity statuses were found to have poor reliability: Contact (.42), Disintegration (.57), Pseudo-Independence (.33), and Autonomy (.35). Only two of the statuses were found to have an acceptable reliability: Reintegration (.79) and Immersion/Emersion (.75). Thus, only the two statuses with acceptable reliability rates were included in further analyses.

Cultural and racial socialization beliefs. The Transracial Adoptive Parents Scale (TAPS) scale was used to measure transracial adoptive parents' beliefs with regard to the cultural and racial socialization of their children (Massatti, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004) (see Appendix D). The scale has 36 items which are rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Examples of items included: "Examination of my motivation for adopting a child of a different race or culture is very important," "I want to help my child establish relationships with children from his or her birth culture," and "I think it is very important to educate my child about the realities of prejudice, bias, and discrimination." Responses were summed to create a total score.

Internal consistency was supported by an alpha of .91 (Massatti, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004). Six factors emerged: Multicultural planning – no contact, Multicultural planning – with contact, Multicultural planning – with integration, Survival Skills, Racial Awareness, and Negative Attitudes, which had internal consistencies ranging from .65 to .88, however a total score is used to measure overall attitudes about cultural and racial socialization (Massatti, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004). There was a moderate correlation between the TAPS total score and the authors' own cultural and racial socialization behavior index (Massatti, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004). Validity also was supported as the TAPS total score was weakly related to a measure of effective family functioning (Family Functioning Style Scale). Cultural and racial socialization beliefs were related to effective family functioning, but were not exactly the same, which suggested that these constructs differed from family functioning.

For this study, three factors emerged after an exploratory factor analysis (see Results section). The reliabilities were .87 for Racial Socialization, .85 for Building Relationships in Socialization, and .84 for Cultural Socialization.

Cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy. As Bandura (1995) suggested, self-efficacy must be measured in the specific domain of interest. The focus of this study was cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy, which differs from general parenting self-efficacy. A person may be confident in her or his ability to parent her or his child, but at the same time not feel confident in teaching the child about culture and race (Miller et al., 2008). To the researchers' knowledge, no scale has been developed to measure cultural or racial

socialization self-efficacy. Thus, scales were developed to assess cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy for this study (see Appendix G).

Items were developed by modifying items from two socialization behavior scales. We selected behaviors described on the 12 item TAPS Behavior Checklist by Massatti, Vonk, and Gregoire (2004; see Appendix E) and the 16 item Race, Ethnic, and Cultural Socialization scale for White parents of Asian adoptees (see Appendix H) by Johnston et al. (2007; who modified their scale for adoptive parents from Hughes and Chen's 1997 socialization measure). The items were changed slightly to make stems that began with a present tense activity, and parents rated how confident they felt in their ability to do the behaviors. Then, some items also were added after a thorough review of the adoption socialization literature. The scale that was created had a total of 25 items (13 related to race socialization self-efficacy, 12 related to cultural socialization self-efficacy). The ratings were scored on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (not at all confident) to 4 (highly confident).

A pilot study was conducted on the new measure of cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy. Forty seven White adoptive parents of Asian children completed the measure along with the measure of cultural and racial socialization behaviors (see below). The average age of the parents was 40 (SD = 6.6), and of 53 adopted children, most were from China (n = 26) or South Korea (n = 17). The full self-efficacy measure was found to have an internal consistency of .89, while the full behaviors measure was found to have an internal consistency of .88. The two measures had a correlation of .55, suggesting they were related but measuring distinct concepts. The mean score for the self-efficacy measure was 100.02 (SD = 13.4) on a scale of 0 to

125. After consulting with two adoption research experts, it was decided to make the items more stringent to obtain a wider range of responses. The author worked together with two adoption experts (who were counseling psychology professors) to modify items that had little range (most participants had endorsed high confidence) in the pilot study and make them more difficult. In addition, a few items were deleted while new items were added. The scale was also expanded to a 7 point scale, from 0 (not at all confident) to 6 (highly confident) (see Appendix G).

In this study, four factors emerged after an exploratory factor analysis (see Results section). The alphas for each of the subscales were the following: .84 for Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy, .75 for Cultural Socialization Self-Efficacy, .67 for Parental Involvement Self-Efficacy, and .79 for Race-Related Social Justice Self-Efficacy.

Cultural and racial socialization behaviors. Two scales were used to assess parents' engagement in socialization behaviors with their children. Johnston et al. (2007) created a Race, Ethnic, and Cultural Socialization scale for White parents of Asian adoptees (see Appendix H), using Hughes and Chen's (1997) measure of racial socialization for Black parents as a guide. First we will discuss the original measure by Hughes and Chen (1997), followed by the modification for adoptive parents by Johnston et al. (2007). The original measure had 16 items. The authors conceptualized socialization in African American families as having three dimensions – cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust – which were supported after a principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation.

Johnston et al. (2007) used two of the three subscales in their modification for White parents of Asian adoptees. They included the Cultural Socialization/Pluralism

scale (measures cultural socialization behaviors) and the Preparation for Bias scale (measures racial socialization behaviors), and left out the Promotion of Mistrust scale, which they theorized would not be common in transracial adoptive families because the White parents would not be likely to promote mistrust of their race. The items were modified by replacing "Black" with "Asian" or "Asian American" for the study, for example, "I've talked to [child's name] about racial stereotypes, prejudice, and/or discrimination against Asians." They also added four new items that specifically reflected the experiences of Asians in the United States. An example of the new items was, "I've talked to [child's name] about expectations others might have of Asians' abilities." The two scales each had 8 items, for a total of 16 items. The responses measured how frequently each behavior occurred, ranging from 0 (never) to 7 (several times a week).

The factor analysis was tested with a sample of oldest/only children, and then confirmed with a sample of younger children. Cronbach alphas for the Preparation for Bias scale were .80 (older children) and .82 (younger children), and for the Cultural Socialization/Pluralism scale they were .82 (older children) and .81 (younger children). The measure's validity was supported as both scales were correlated with mothers' connection to Asian Americans. Contrary to hypotheses, neither of the two scales was correlated with mothers' identification with Whites, assessed using the Inclusion of the Ingroup in the Self pictorial measure with overlapping circles (Tropp & Wright, 2001) and Swim and Mallet's (2007) White racial identity scale which assessed how similar and close participants feel to other Whites.

This measure of cultural and racial socialization also correlated with predictors in the children. For example, children's age was a predictor of both cultural socialization/pluralism and preparation for bias. Preparation for bias increased as the children got older and peaked

around 14 years, while cultural socialization/pluralism was more of a flat trend with a slight decrease as the children got into their adolescent years.

In this study, Cronbach alphas were calculated for the two behaviors subscales. The cultural socialization behaviors subscale had an internal consistency of .77, and the racial socialization behaviors subscale had an internal consistency of .89.

Analyses

First, we conducted two factor analyses. We used exploratory factor analyses to investigate the factor structure of the Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale (Massatti, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004), which is the measure of socialization beliefs. We also used exploratory factor analysis to study the factor structure of the measure that we created to assess racial and cultural socialization self-efficacy.

Second, we obtained descriptive statistics (i.e., means, standard deviations, ranges) on all subscales and the continuous demographic variables (e.g., age of children), and frequencies on the categorical variables (e.g., children's country of birth). Third, we calculated bivariate correlations among all variables of interest.

Fourth, since the assumptions for conducting regression analyses were met, we calculated two hierarchical linear regression equations to investigate the collective and unique contributions of White Racial Identity statuses, cultural and racial socialization beliefs, and cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy in predicting cultural and racial socialization behaviors in the parents, respectively.

Fifth, we tested the moderation hypotheses. We believed that cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy beliefs would be moderators between socialization beliefs and behaviors. We conducted two hierarchical regression equations. The moderations were tested using the two outcome measures – cultural socialization behaviors and racial

socialization behaviors. First, since the predictor and moderator variables were both measured on continuous scales, they were standardized by creating z-scores for the scales. This was done to allow for relative comparisons to be made using a common scale. Also, standardizing the variables should reduce problems associated with multicollinearity in calculating regressions. An interaction term was created where standard scores on the cultural beliefs scale were multiplied by the standardized cultural socialization self-efficacy measure scores. Next, for the cultural socialization behaviors hypothesis, we entered the cultural socialization beliefs scale, then cultural socialization self-efficacy, and third, the cultural socialization product (interaction) term in a hierarchical regression equation predicting cultural socialization behaviors. If the interaction term contributed unique variance above and beyond that accounted for by the predictor variables, we could assume that cultural socialization self-efficacy would be a moderator in the relationship between cultural socialization beliefs and behaviors.

Finally, for racial socialization behaviors, we first created an interaction term where z-scores for the racial beliefs scale were multiplied by z-scores for the racial socialization self-efficacy scale. Then, we entered the racial socialization beliefs measure, then racial socialization self-efficacy, and third, the product term into a regression equation predicting racial socialization behaviors. If the interaction term contributed unique variance above and beyond that accounted for by the predictor variables, we could assume that racial socialization self-efficacy was a moderator in the relationship between racial socialization beliefs and behaviors.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

Factor Analyses

To address the first purpose of the study, which was to investigate the factor structure of the Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale (TAPS; Massatti, Vonk, Gregoire, 2004) and the Cultural and Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy in White Adoptive Parents scale (Berbery & O'Brien, 2010), two exploratory factor analyses were conducted for two measures. The Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale (TAPS) measures parents' beliefs about cultural and racial socialization, and the Cultural and Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy Scale for White Adoptive Parents assesses parents' confidence in their ability to culturally and racially socialize their children. For both of these measures, the hypothesis was that two factors would emerge, one related to cultural socialization and the other related to racial socialization.

The factorability of the data for the TAPS measure was assessed using the Kaiser-Meyer Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) and Bartlett's test of sphericity; the KMO was .91, and Bartlett's test was significant, χ^2 (406, N=200) = 2462.494, $p < .01$, indicating that this data set was factorable. To examine the factor structure of the TAPS measure, a Principal axis factor analysis with Promax rotation (number of factors unspecified) was conducted. The scree plot and variance accounted for suggested solutions ranging from one to six factors; however very few items loaded on factor six and multiple loadings occurred across factors. Therefore five additional factor analyses were conducted with one, two, three, four, and five factors extracted. Then, the author and her advisor independently considered each factor solution to determine the best

solution (i.e., the highest loading items with the fewest cross-loadings and the greatest variance explained while maintaining parsimony). Both researchers independently selected the three factor solution as having the best fit for the data.

Using the three factor solution, 3 items were deleted because they did not load at .30 or greater on any factor (item 25, then 15, then 23). Then, 4 items were deleted because they did not load at .35 or greater on any factor (item 31, then 34, then 22, and then 7). The final scale had 29 items (alpha = .92). The first factor had 14 items, the second factor had 9 items, and the third factor had 6 items. Final items and factor loadings are reported in Table 1. The three factor model explained 43.26% of the total variance.

The two hypothesized factors (Cultural Socialization and Racial Socialization) seemed to correspond to the third and first factors, respectively. In addition, a third factor emerged, which we called Building Relationships in Socialization. The first factor, Racial Socialization, corresponded to items that assessed parents' beliefs about the importance of teaching their children racial awareness and how to deal with racism and discrimination (alpha = .87). The second factor, Building Relationships in Socialization, measured parents' beliefs about the importance of establishing relationships with adults, children, and the community of the child's birth country (alpha = .85). The third factor, Cultural Socialization, assessed parents' beliefs about the importance of teaching their child cultural pride for their country of origin (alpha = .84). These three factors were related positively to each other, however, the shared variance was approximately 27 to 40%, suggesting the factors were measuring distinct constructs.

A second factor analysis was conducted for the Cultural and Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy Scale. The factorability of the data for this measure was assessed using the Kaiser-Meyer Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) and Bartlett's test of sphericity; the KMO was .82, and Bartlett's test was significant, χ^2 (153, N=200) = 1373.339, $p <$ .01, indicating that this data set was factorable.

To examine the factor structure of the Cultural and Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy in White Adoptive Parents measure, a Principal axis factor analysis with Promax rotation (number of factors unspecified) was conducted. The scree plot and variance accounted for suggested solutions ranging from one to six factors; again, very few items loaded on factor six and multiple loadings occurred across factors. Therefore five additional factor analyses were conducted with one, two, three, four, and five factors extracted. Then, the author and her advisor independently considered each factor solution to determine the best solution (i.e., the highest loading items with the fewest cross-loadings and the greatest variance explained while maintaining parsimony) and both researchers selected the four factor solution as having the best fit for the data.

Using the four factor solution, 3 items were deleted because they did not load at .30 or greater on any factor (item 12, then 2, then 19). Then, 1 item was deleted because it loaded at .30 or more on more than 1 factor (item 22). Finally, 3 items were deleted because they became less than .30 on any factor (items 4, then 14, and then 24). The final scale had 18 items (alpha = .85). The first factor had 7 items, the second factor had 4 items, the third factor had 4 items, and the fourth had 3 items. Final items and factor loadings are reported in Table 2. The four factor model explained 50.08% of the total variance.

The two hypothesized factors (Cultural Socialization Self-Efficacy and Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy) seemed to correspond to the second and first factors, respectively. In addition, two additional factors emerged, which we titled Parental Involvement in Socialization Self-Efficacy and Race-Related Social Justice Self-Efficacy. The first factor, Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy, corresponded to items that assessed how confident parents feel in their ability to teach their child racial awareness and coping strategies for racism and discrimination (alpha = .84). The second factor, Cultural Socialization Self-Efficacy, reflected parents' confidence in their ability to plan activities and provide opportunities that would enhance their children's cultural pride (alpha = .75). The third factor, Parental Involvement in Socialization Self-Efficacy, measured parents' confidence in their ability to actively participate in their child's socialization (i.e. join the child in learning the language of origin, live successfully in the child's birth country) (alpha = .67). The fourth factor, Race-Related Social Justice Self-Efficacy, assessed parents' confidence in their ability to teach their child about their race's struggle for equality and engage in activities related to racial social justice (alpha = .79). These four factors were related to each other, but only shared 10 to 26% of the variance, suggesting they were distinct constructs.

Descriptive Statistics

To address the second purpose of the study, which was to learn more about the sample's demographic characteristics, as well as White Racial Identity statuses, levels of beliefs, self-efficacy, and behaviors, descriptive statistics were calculated for all variables (see Tables 3, 4, and 5). All of the participants were White adoptive parents of Asian children. The average age was 44.33 (SD = 7.7). Of the 200 participants, 91.5% were

female and 8% were male. The majority of parents surveyed were married (86.4%) and most identified as heterosexual (98%). The average income was $106,497 (SD = $73,082). Most of the parents had a high level of education: 60.5% had a graduate level education, 27% had completed a 4 year college, 6.5% completed a two year college, 5% completed high school, and only 1% did not complete high school.

Parents reported having a total of 300 adopted children (an average of 1.5 adopted children per family), 286 of who were children adopted from Asia (see Table 4). Of these 286 children, the majority were adopted from China (37.4%), Korea (31.1%), Vietnam (20.3%), and Thailand (7.8%). A small number of parents reported having children from the Philippines (1.4%), Kazakhstan (0.7%), Cambodia, Taiwan, Kyrgystan, and Nepal (0.3% each).

The fourteen non-Asian children who were adopted belonged to families that had at least one Asian adopted child. These adoptees came from countries including the United States, Russia, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Guatemala. Of all the adopted children, 62% were female and 38% were male. The average age of adoptive children was 7.56 (SD = 5.82), and their average age at time of adoption was 15.82 months (SD = 8.79).

Parents also reported having a total of 135 biological children, 65 of whom were female and 70 were male. The majority of the biological children were described as White (94.4%), while 1.4% Black/African American, and 1.4% Asian/Pacific Islander, with 2.8% described as "Other" race that was not included above (this may be because the participant's partner may have been of another race). The biological children were mostly born in the United States (95.5%), though a few were born in other countries

(England, Norway, Ireland, India, Argentina). The average age of the biological children was 14.61 (SD = 8.79).

Parents described their communities as mixed racially (50%) or mostly White (49%), with 1% living in mostly non-White communities. A post-hoc ANOVA revealed no significant differences on the variables of interest between parents that lived in communities that were mostly White and mixed racially. Most parents lived in suburban areas (57.5%), with the remainder split almost equally between rural and urban areas (22% and 20.5%, respectively). The most frequently reported states of residence were Maryland (19.5%), Vermont (11%), Texas (8%), New York (5%), Virginia and Arizona (4% each), Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania (3.5% each). Parents reported that they accessed the survey through the internet (52.5%), an adoption agency or organization (32%), or personal contact (15.5%).

The most frequently listed reasons for international adoption in this sample were: specific interest in child's culture of origin (56.5%), limited possibility of birth parent claims (42.5%), other reasons not listed (37.5%), less wait time than for American infants (34.5%), and feeling families were needed most for children in developing countries (32%). A small number of parents also listed wanting to choose the baby's gender (14.5%), and not being eligible for an American infant (5.5%).

Overall, the sample reported strong beliefs in the importance of racial and cultural socialization (M = 167.19, SD = 21.35, range 34-204). For the first factor, Racial Socialization, parents scored a mean of 4.52 (SD = .71, range 1-6). For the second factor, Building Relationships in Socialization, the mean score was 4.82 (SD = .80, range 1-6).

For the third factor, Cultural Socialization, the mean score was 5.43 (SD = .64, range 1-6).

The sample also reported moderate levels of cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy (M = 73.17, SD = 15.21, range 0 to 108). Ranging from 0 to 6, the first factor, Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy, had a moderately high mean of 4.82 (SD = 0.88). The second factor, Cultural Socialization Self-Efficacy, also had a moderately high mean of 4.77 (SD = 1.07). The third factor, Parental Involvement in Socialization Self-Efficacy, had a low mean of 3.58 (SD = 1.92). The fourth factor, Race-Related Social Justice Self-Efficacy, also had a low mean, at 3.19 (SD = 1.51).

In terms of socialization behaviors in which the parents were currently engaging, the frequency of behaviors was low. Parents had a low mean score for cultural socialization behaviors (M = 20.66, SD = 8.53, range 0-56) and a very low mean score for racial socialization behaviors (M = 9.14, SD = 8.82, range 0-56).

On the White racial identity measure, scores on each the subscales could range from 10 to 50. Parents had low scores in the Reintegration status (M = 15.74, SD = 4.12). They scored moderately in the Immersion/Emersion status (M = 29.03, SD = 5.63).

Correlational Analyses

The third purpose of the study was to learn about the relationships among the key variables in this sample of White adoptive parents (see Table 6). To address this purpose, Pearson's correlations were conducted among the variables of interest. A p value of <.01 was chosen to determine significance given the large number of analyses in this study.

Consistent with expectations, the White Racial Identity status of Reintegration was related negatively to cultural socialization beliefs (*r* = -.34) and negatively to racial

socialization beliefs ($r = -.41$). Reintegration also was associated negatively with racial socialization behaviors ($r = -.19$). There was no correlation between Reintegration and cultural socialization behaviors.

Consistent with expectations, Immersion/Emersion was correlated positively to cultural socialization beliefs ($r = .29$) and racial socialization beliefs ($r = .44$). In addition, Immersion/Emersion was associated positively with both cultural socialization behaviors ($r = .18$) and racial socialization behaviors ($r = .22$).

Consistent with the hypotheses, there was a positive relationship between cultural socialization beliefs and cultural socialization behaviors ($r = .48$). There also was a positive relationship between racial socialization beliefs and racial socialization behaviors ($r = .44$). Cultural socialization self-efficacy was correlated positively to cultural socialization behaviors ($r = .39$) and racial socialization self-efficacy was correlated positively to racial socialization behaviors ($r = .23$). Finally, there was a positive relationship between cultural and racial socialization behaviors ($r = .37$).

Linear Regressions

The fourth purpose of the study was to examine the contributions of White Racial Identity, cultural socialization beliefs, racial socialization beliefs, cultural socialization self-efficacy, and racial socialization self-efficacy to the cultural and racial socialization behaviors of the parents. To address this purpose, two hierarchical linear regressions were conducted, where the outcomes were cultural socialization behaviors and racial socialization behaviors (see Tables 7 and 8).

In the first step for both of these regressions, the two White Racial Identity statuses that had acceptable internal consistency were entered as a block (Reintegration

and Immersion/Emersion). In the second step, the three factors for socialization beliefs were entered (Racial Socialization, Building Relationships in Socialization, and Cultural Socialization). In the third step, the four factors of socialization self-efficacy were entered (Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy, Cultural Socialization Self-Efficacy, Parental Involvement Self-Efficacy, and Race-Related Social Justice Self-Efficacy).

In the regression predicting cultural socialization behaviors, the variables collectively accounted for 32% of the variance, with the beliefs variables (23%) and the self-efficacy variables (5%) contributing to involvement in cultural socialization behaviors. The racial identity variables did not contribute to the prediction of engagement in cultural socialization behaviors. With regard to the relative importance of the contributions of each variable, the belief in the importance of cultural socialization predicted unique variance in the actual cultural socialization behaviors.

In the second hierarchical regression predicting racial socialization behaviors, the variables collectively accounted for 22% of the variance. Variance was accounted for by the White racial identity variables (8%) and the beliefs variables (12%). The self-efficacy variables did not contribute variance to the prediction of parents' racial socialization behaviors over and above the variance accounted for by racial identity and beliefs. Finally, with regard to the relative importance of the contributions of each variable, beliefs in the importance of racial socialization predicted unique variance to the racial socialization behaviors.

The fifth and final purpose of the study was to test a model which linked cultural and racial socialization beliefs and cultural and racial socialization behaviors through two moderators: cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy. The

hypotheses were that cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy were moderators between their respective types of socialization beliefs and behaviors. Two additional hierarchical regressions were conducted with cultural socialization behaviors and racial socialization behaviors as the outcomes.

To test the hypothesis regarding cultural socialization behaviors, we first entered the cultural socialization beliefs factor, then cultural socialization self-efficacy, and finally, an interaction term created by multiplying the z-scores for cultural socialization beliefs by the z-scores for cultural socialization self-efficacy (see Table 9). For the hypothesis related to racial socialization behaviors, we first entered racial socialization beliefs, then racial socialization self-efficacy, and finally, the interaction term comprised of the z-score of racial socialization beliefs multiplied by the z-score for racial socialization self-efficacy (see Table 10).

The model for cultural socialization behaviors collectively accounted for 26% of the variance in behaviors. Variance was accounted for by cultural socialization beliefs (23%) but not by cultural socialization self-efficacy or the moderator variable (cultural socialization beliefs multiplied by cultural socialization self-efficacy).

The model for racial socialization behaviors collectively accounted for 21% of the variance in behaviors. Variance was accounted for by racial socialization beliefs (19%), but not by racial socialization self-efficacy or the moderator variable (racial socialization beliefs multiplied by racial socialization self-efficacy).

Posthoc analyses

A post hoc regression analysis was conducted as well. Using racial socialization behaviors as the outcome, we first entered racial socialization beliefs, then race-related

social justice self-efficacy, and finally, the interaction term comprised of the z-score of racial socialization beliefs multiplied by the z-score for race-related social justice self-efficacy (see Table 11). This model for racial socialization behaviors collectively accounted for 22% of the variance in behaviors. Variance was accounted for by racial socialization beliefs (19%), but not by race-related social justice self-efficacy or the moderator variable (racial socialization beliefs multiplied by race-related social justice self-efficacy).

We conducted an additional posthoc analysis. Specifically, two MANOVAs were calculated to examine the beliefs, self-efficacy, and behaviors for people who scored in the top 30% and bottom 30% (high and low scorers) on the Reintegration and Immersion/Emersion subscales of the WRIAS. Significant differences were found between high and low scorers on Reintegration on cultural socialization beliefs, racial socialization beliefs, cultural socialization self-efficacy, racial socialization self-efficacy, and parent involvement self-efficacy ($p < .01$). Significant differences were found between high and low scorers on Immersion/Emersion on cultural socialization beliefs, racial socialization beliefs, building relationships socialization beliefs, race-related social justice self-efficacy, cultural socialization behaviors and racial socialization behaviors ($p < .01$).

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

This study furthered understanding of the experiences of White adoptive parents of Asian children living in the United States. We know that cultural and racial socialization is helpful for the self-esteem and identity of Asian adopted children (Mohanty et al., 2007; Yoon, 2001), but we did not know why some parents did or did not engage in these socialization processes. In this study, we learned that cultural and racial socialization beliefs were the most important predictors of cultural and racial socialization behaviors, above and beyond the contributions of White racial identity statuses, cultural socialization self-efficacy, and racial socialization self-efficacy. Thus, this study advanced knowledge regarding factors that may explain White adoptive parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors.

The group of parents in this study was relatively affluent and had high levels of education, which may have contribute to their socialization practices (i.e., they may have had access to more resources). They reported adopting children from diverse Asian countries, so they may represent a broad group of adoptive parents. In addition, more than half reported that one of the reasons they chose international adoption was a specific interest in the child's culture of origin. On average, they endorsed a high level of beliefs in the importance of cultural and racial socialization, and they felt efficacious in culturally and racially socializing their children. However, they reported a low frequency of socialization behaviors, engaging in cultural socialization behaviors a few times a year, and racial socialization behaviors only once or twice a year.

The results of this study provided preliminary support that beliefs about socialization are comprised of three factors. The authors of the beliefs measure (Massatti, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004) conducted a factor analysis which resulted in a six factor model, but we hoped to see whether the items also corresponded to two broader categories, cultural and racial socialization. Two of the scales that emerged in our study were hypothesized factors: cultural socialization beliefs and racial socialization beliefs. In addition, a third factor emerged which described beliefs about the importance of building relationships with other adults and children of the child's country of origin as a significant component of socialization. This factor measures whether parents believe it is necessary to go beyond the typical cultural activities and form meaningful relationships with people that can provide knowledge and experiences about the child's country and race of origin. This third factor may be an important component of socialization beliefs because it measures parents' commitment to engaging with people who share their child's culture and race of origin. Building relationships takes a certain type of effort, compared to other cultural activities. However, it is important to consider that some parents may not have endorsed these beliefs because they live in areas that are less diverse, and they do not have access to other people of the child's culture. In addition, this also could be a measure of parents' extraversion and ability to reach out to people in their community.

The original (Massatti et al., 2004) authors discovered a factor called "Multicultural Planning with Integration" which, like Building Relationships, required a close level of contact with people of the birth culture. However, this factor only included two items, while Building Relationships includes nine items that seem to encompass a range of beliefs about whether having personal relationships with people of the culture of

origin is important. We believe the three factor model is parsimonious and theoretically clear for predicting behaviors (i.e., separating cultural and racial socialization beliefs).

In addition, the results of this study provided preliminary support for a reliable and valid measure of White adoptive parents' cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy. Two of the factors that emerged, cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy, were consistent with our hypotheses. Two additional factors emerged, parental involvement in socialization self-efficacy, and race-related social justice self-efficacy, that contribute additional information about the process of self-efficacy in White adoptive parents. These two factors also seem to go beyond the typical socialization activities, to activities that may require the parents to commit time and energy to becoming a multicultural family.

Parental involvement in socialization self-efficacy is salient because it measures a parents' confidence not only in teaching their children to have cultural and racial pride, but also their confidence in themselves becoming integrated in the child's culture. Previous research had found that the positive effects of socialization on children are stronger when parents become involved (Huh & Reid, 2000), thus, this factor may be especially important. Race-related social justice self-efficacy is a new factor that has not been researched before, but may be important to consider because it measures parents' confidence in their ability to get involved at an institutional level in eliminating racism. This construct may be connected to actual involvement in these activities and comfort with discussing race and societal change related to race, which could affect children's attitudes toward their racial background.

Another purpose of this study was to learn more about adoptive parents' current cultural and racial socialization practices with their transracially adopted children. One of the most important findings of this study was that parents reported low frequencies of actual socialization activities with their children, particularly racial socialization activities. On average, parents reported engaging in cultural socialization activities several times a year, but reported engaging in racial socialization activities only once or twice a year. None of the socialization activities seemed to be carried out on a regular basis (i.e. monthly, weekly, or daily). Cultural activities were reported to occur more frequently than racial activities, which supported our hypothesis that parents would be more likely to teach their children about culture than about race.

While celebrating cultural pride may have become more common in recent years, race seems to be discussed less frequently. There could be a variety of explanations for this result, including that parents do not find racial socialization to be as important. There also seems to be more stigma associated with talking about race, and parents may have conflicting feelings about what might happen if they discuss race with their children. Some parents may not be able to recognize the privileges that they have as a result of being White (McIntosh, 1998). Previous research has discussed that White people can have a range of emotional reactions when thinking about racial issues, including anxiety, anger, sadness, guilt, and shame (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). White adoptive parents may fear that they could make their child feel different from the rest of the family. They also may feel anxiety about how to approach the subject, sadness about racial inequalities which lead them to avoid the subject, or feel guilt and shame about benefitting from White privilege.

It is also possible that the measure used for socialization behaviors did not capture all the socialization behaviors in which parents are engaging. For example, this measure did not include items on visiting the birth country, discussing Asian countries' current events, or day to day experiences that parents may take as opportunities to socialize. However, it seems that although the terms are narrow, they do cover the most important parts of socialization that occur in minority families. It may be important to note that the behaviors scale was originally created to measure cultural and racial socialization in African American families, and adapted for White adoptive parents of Asian children. Perhaps the paradigm for families of color does not apply to White parents with transracial adopted children. Socialization is bound to be different from same-race families because parents do not have personal experience in being a racial minority.

Another question for White adoptive parents may be to what degree they identify with the child's culture and race. Some White parents may be familiar with the child's country of origin, having lived there or researched the history of the country extensively, while other parents may not have much knowledge about the country before deciding to adopt. Parents also may live in communities that are mostly White, where they do not have access to resources such as cultural events, or to Asian adults and children with whom the child could establish relationships.

Another contribution of this study was to investigate the role of White racial identity in adoptive parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors. Only two of the six statuses were found to have acceptable internal consistency for this sample: Reintegration and Immersion/Emersion, and thus, only these two statuses were included in the final model. Some of the other statuses have not had consistent reliabilities in past

studies (Behrens, 1997; Westbrook, 1986). In addition, the reliabilities may have been lower than they were in other studies because this study was focused on relations between White parents and their Asian children, while the WRIAS focuses on Black/White relations. Parents may have completed the questions inaccurately because they were worried about being perceived as racist. In this study, about 20% of people that accessed the survey dropped out before completing all the measures. A large portion of these people exited the survey during or after the WRIAS. We only included as participants the people that completed all the measures. It may be that the sample of parents that completed the survey had a more positive White racial identity than average, which is supported by the low scores on the Reintegration status and moderate scores on Immersion/Emersion. A few parents sent emails to the researchers complaining that they felt these questions were irrelevant to their relationship with their children. Thus, we may not have gotten an accurate description of all White adoptive parents' racial identity statuses, because those with a less positive identity could be more likely to feel ashamed, angry, or conflicted, and then exit the survey.

However, there were acceptable reliability estimates for two statuses. We had one status from each of the groups that we had hypothesized would have differing relations with the outcome variables. The parents tended to score low in Reintegration and moderately in Immersion/Emersion. This suggests that the sample was characterized by positive self-reflection on their identity as Whites and that they did not support racism or White superiority. Perhaps this is true of most parents that are open to adopting across races, or it also could have developed as a result of having a child of color and seeing their interactions with members of the community. The results supported the directions of

the relationships that we had hypothesized: the active and passive endorsement of White superiority and Black inferiority related negatively to socialization behaviors, while the self-initiated development of a positive White identity related positively to socialization behaviors. Thus, racial identity might play a salient role in racial and cultural socialization behaviors of adoptive parents, however the measure that we used did not allow us to completely test this proposition. Posthoc analyses did show that there were significant differences between parents that scored high and low on Reintegration and Immersion/Emersion, in their beliefs, self-efficacy, and behaviors. A more diverse sample of parents may have shown that White racial identity is an important contributor. However, it is critical to remember that in this sample, though these two factors did appear to contribute variance to the prediction of cultural and racial socialization behaviors, it was only a small amount.

Parents in this study reported high levels of beliefs in the importance of cultural and racial socialization. This supports the idea that there has been a shift in the last decade towards valuing and celebrating cultural and racial diversity. The parents' beliefs were the most important predictor in the model for predicting cultural and racial socialization behaviors. However, parents' beliefs only accounted for 26% of the variance for cultural socialization behaviors, and 20% of the variance for racial socialization behaviors. This means parents' beliefs are not corresponding directly to their behaviors. Other factors must be at play, preventing parents from behaving in accordance with their beliefs.

Our hypothesis was that self-efficacy could be one of these factors. Yet parents reported moderately high levels of self-efficacy in their ability to carry out cultural and

racial socialization behaviors. Self-efficacy did not appear to be as important as we had theorized, because it only added a small amount of additional variance after accounting for cultural and racial socialization beliefs. This was the first known test of the importance of self-efficacy in predicting behaviors related to cultural and racial socialization in adoptive families. Parents seemed more confident in their abilities to teach their children about culture and race through activities, but felt less confident in their abilities when they had to personally become involved in the process (i.e. learning the language of origin along with the child) or in race-related social justice activities (i.e. working to end racism). Perhaps these last two types of self-efficacy had more of an effect in determining parents' socialization behaviors. However, the results did not support the hypothesis that parents' levels of cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy would be moderators between their respective types of beliefs and behaviors. Behaviors did not seem to depend on the levels of self-efficacy; instead they were directly related to beliefs. Levels of confidence do not appear to be impeding this sample of parents from enacting their socialization beliefs. It is possible that this study sampled from a group of educated parents who were generally high in beliefs and self-effficacy. The range of self-efficacy may have been restricted and not representative of the general population of adoptive parents. It seems that self-efficacy would be more important for those parents that did not feel confident in their abilities to socialize.

Another limitation could have been that the items from the beliefs, self-efficacy, and behaviors measure were not matched on specificity. Items assessing self-efficacy and related constructs should be similar in degree of specificity (Lent & Hacket, 1987). For example, specificity would not match if the beliefs measure had an item about discussing

race generally, while the self-efficacy measure had an item on degree of confidence in talking to strangers who make racist comments at the grocery store. However, upon examination of the items on the beliefs, self-efficacy, and behaviors measures, it seems that items did match on levels of specificity.

A question arose about whether the shared variance between cultural and racial socialization beliefs and cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy affected the results. Upon examination of the bivariate correlation, there did not appear to be a lot of shared variance. One factor that may have masked the relationship between self-efficacy and the outcomes could have been a lack of variance within the scores on the self-efficacy measure. To test this idea, a hierarchical regression was run using race-related social justice self-efficacy in the place of racial socialization self-efficacy, since there appeared to be more variance in social justice self-efficacy. However, this model did not account for more variance than the others, which suggests that the lack of variance within the self-efficacy measure did not seem to mask a relationship.

Thus, these results suggested that there is more of a direct relationship between beliefs and behaviors. This could mean that self-efficacy is not an important variable, but the four factors of socialization self-efficacy should be studied further to see if any of the four contribute to parents' behaviors. Given that the measure was developed for this study, it is possible that our instrument was not accurately measuring the construct of cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy. Additional research could help support the validity and reliability of our instrument. In any case, self-efficacy is a factor that could be improved through training, so if it did play a role, it would be important for adoption professionals to address it with parents. For example, professionals could teach parents

about socialization and help them practice socialization activities (for example, discussing racism with children) to increase parents' confidence in their abilities.

If parents feel socialization is important, and they feel fairly confident in their ability to culturally and racially socialize, it remains unclear why the frequency of socialization activities so low. Further research is necessary to understand what other factors may impede parents from engaging in cultural and racial socialization behaviors. A few possibilities include colorblind attitudes (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000), political orientation, White guilt (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and other negative feelings about White privilege.

Strengths of the Current Study

This study focused on predictors of adoptive parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors. Parent-related factors have not been studied extensively in the past, so this study contributes new knowledge about how parents' White racial identity, cultural and racial socialization beliefs, and cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy are related to parents' actual socialization practices with their children. Parents' cultural and racial socialization beliefs were the most important parent variable in predicting their socialization behaviors. This study used empirically validated measures, and provided support for a new measure of cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy in adoptive parents.

Previous research on adoptive parents has not used theoretical models, but this research was based in two theoretical models, White Racial Identity Theory (Helms, 1984, 1990) and Self-Efficacy Theory (Bandura, 1977). Neither of these theories

appeared to be as essential as beliefs about socialization in explaining socialization

behaviors, but it was important to test them and investigate their possible contributions.

The current study also made a clear distinction between cultural socialization and

racial socialization, which have been confused in the past. Our results suggested that

parents are more likely to engage in cultural socialization than racial socialization, and

that neither type of socialization is engaged in frequently. This knowledge can help

provide directions for adoption professionals working with adoptive parents (see below).

Limitations

There were also several limitations in the study design. The study was

correlational, so though we can find relationships between the variables, we cannot

determine causation. In addition, the data was gathered through parents' self-reports. Due

to social desirability, parents may sometimes be biased when reporting their own beliefs

and behaviors. They may not want to admit to colorblind or racist beliefs or behaviors.

Or, they may exaggerate the frequency of their socialization behaviors. (Interestingly,

they endorsed low levels of engagement so if they were reporting overly positively,

active engagement in these activities would be very low.) Thus, another study could

compare parents' reports of their socialization behaviors to their children's reports of

what they experienced. In addition, only one parent from each family was invited to

participate in this study, and the parents may not have been assessing the degree to which

both parents were engaging in the behaviors (one parent could be more active than the

other).

The measures that were used may also have limitations. Since transracial adoptive

families are a relatively new area of research, most measures have not been tested

extensively and may not have established reliability or validity. We created a new measure of cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy because there was no existing measure to use. The factors that emerged would have to be tested again with another sample using a confirmatory factor analysis. The White Racial Identity measure also had low reliability in this sample, which affected our ability to use all six of the statuses as predictors.

Finally, this sample may not have been representative of all White adoptive parents in the United States. For example, recruitment methods could have contributed to oversampling specific types of parents. Parents that regularly visit online adoption groups or forums seem to be more motivated to seek advice and support, and thus may be more likely to culturally and racially socialize their children; personal contacts of the researchers may also be more educated about cultural and racial socialization. Recruiting from adoption agencies and organizations may be the best way to obtain a more representative sample, however, additional connections have to be established with the agencies and incentives may be needed to offer to participants. We also do not know if the results apply to White parents that have transracially adopted children from other countries (i.e. in Latin America, Africa) or for White adoptive parents that live in countries other than the US and may have different racial dynamics.

Future Directions

Additional research is needed to further understand White adoptive parents' cultural and racial socialization practices. Future research might look at additional personality factors that may predict parents' socialization behaviors. A few factors that may contribute include colorblind attitudes (Neville et al., 2000), political orientation,

extroversion and introversion, White guilt (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and other negative feelings about White privilege. Adult adoptees also could be asked to rate their parents on personality factors and relate these to their experiences of their parents' socialization practices.

In this study, only one parent from each family could participate. A future study might ask both parents to complete the measures and analyze whether the degree of agreement between the parents affected socialization behaviors. Parents could also be asked to carry a journal where they could write down every time they engaged in a cultural or racial socialization activity, or carry a personal digital assistant (PDA) and fill out a questionnaire each time racial or cultural issues or activities occur. Another way to address limitations of self-reports would be for researchers to use a lab to observe parents' cultural and racial socialization behaviors with their children (for example, asking the parent to talk to their child about a specific cultural or racial socialization topic for ten minutes) and then rate their socialization practices more objectively.

Perhaps parents' socialization behaviors are being determined by a lack of access to resources, rather than a lack of interest. A future study might take a qualitative approach to ask parents about what specific resources are available in their community (i.e. adoption support groups, language schools, immigrant communities from the child's country of origin, etc.). This study could ask parents whether they take advantage of their community's resources, why they do or do not, and what their feelings are about their level of involvement. Furthermore, some parents may say that a lack of time prevents them from engaging in cultural and racial socialization activities. Their children may be involved in other after-school activities, sports, or travel which they prioritize more than

cultural and racial socialization activities. Other parents may stop engagement when their child shows little interest in these activities (some children may feel that these activities separate them from their peers).

Another area of research could be additional testing of the cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy measure that we created. A confirmatory factor analysis is needed to see if the four factors we found are supported with additional samples. Future studies should investigate the connection (or lack thereof) between cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy and cultural and racial socialization behaviors. If there does not appear to be a connection, it would be interesting to learn more about why parents are confident in their abilities but do not use them. Perhaps one of the factors mentioned above that mediates or moderates the relationship.

Based on our results that parents' beliefs are most important in predicting their behaviors, another area of future research could be an experimental study of an intervention. Parents at an adoption agency could be assigned to control and experimental groups, where the experimental group attends workshops that educate about the importance of cultural and racial socialization. The control group could be on a waiting list to attend the workshops after the study is completed. Both groups would have their beliefs and behaviors assessed before and after the intervention, to see if changes in the experimental group's beliefs were related to changes in their behaviors with their children.

Implications for Practitioners

We originally believed that if we were to design a program to help improve the rates of cultural and racial socialization, we should focus on self-efficacy and increasing

parents' confidence in their abilities to socialize their children. However, this does not appear to be the most important factor related to behaviors. White racial identity also does not appear to be very important, which may be a positive sign, because it would be more difficult to change. Instead, interventions might focus on shifting White adoptive parents' beliefs about cultural and racial socialization. This might be done by avoiding a political discussion, and instead, focusing on the benefits for adoptees. It could be helpful to educate parents on research findings that they may not normally access, such as the relationship between cultural and racial socialization and the adoptee's self-esteem and healthy cultural and racial identity development (Mohanty et al., 2007; Yoon, 2001). Another idea would be to have a seminar where adult adoptees could speak about their experiences and the importance of cultural and racial socialization in their lives. Education about the importance of cultural and racial socialization for adoptees might change parents' beliefs about socialization and make them more likely to change their behaviors with their children.

Some people also might interpret these findings as a sign that adoption agencies should only place children with parents who strongly believe in cultural and racial socialization. If agencies were to decide to do this, it might benefit the adopted children by providing more of an assurance that they will be taught about their culture and race. However, this would be a controversial decision which could keep more children in orphanages rather than with families. Further research is necessary to evaluate whether parents can be taught the importance of cultural and racial socialization, or if this is a belief that would be difficult to change.

Conclusions

To conclude, this study indicated that socialization can be seen as two related but distinct processes, cultural socialization and racial socialization. This study provided initial support for a measure of cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy. One important finding of this study was that beliefs about cultural and racial socialization contribute more variance to cultural and racial socialization behaviors than either White racial identity or cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy. Another important finding was that parents are more likely to engage in cultural socialization behaviors than racial socialization behaviors. Further research will be necessary to understand what factors make racial socialization more difficult. We hope that these findings will help adoptive parents and adoption professionals increase cultural and racial socialization, to enhance the identity development of their Asian American children. The findings from this study may provide the base for a theoretically grounded and empirically tested intervention to educate White parents regarding effective means to culturally and racially socialize their adoptive children.

Figure 1. Model for White Adoptive Parents' Cultural and Racial Socialization Behaviors with their Asian Adopted Children.

PREDICTORS   **OUTCOMES**

White Racial Identity
-Contact
-Disintegration
-Reintegration*
-Pseudo-Independence
-Immersion/Emersion*
-Autonomy
WRIAS (Helms) – 60 items
statuses with acceptable reliability in this study

Cultural and Racial Socialization Beliefs:
Hypothesized as 2 factor scale:
Cultural Beliefs
Racial Beliefs
TAPS (Massatti, Vonk & Gregoire)
36 items

Cultural socialization self-efficacy
(Berbery & O'Brien) - 12 items

Racial socialization self-efficacy
(Berbery & O'Brien) – 13 items

Moderator: Cultural socialization beliefs x cultural socialization self-efficacy

Moderator: Cultural socialization beliefs x cultural socialization self-efficacy

Cultural socialization behaviors
Socialization/pluralism subscale (Johnston et al.) – 8 items

Racial socialization behaviors
Preparation for bias subscale (Johnston et al.) – 8 items
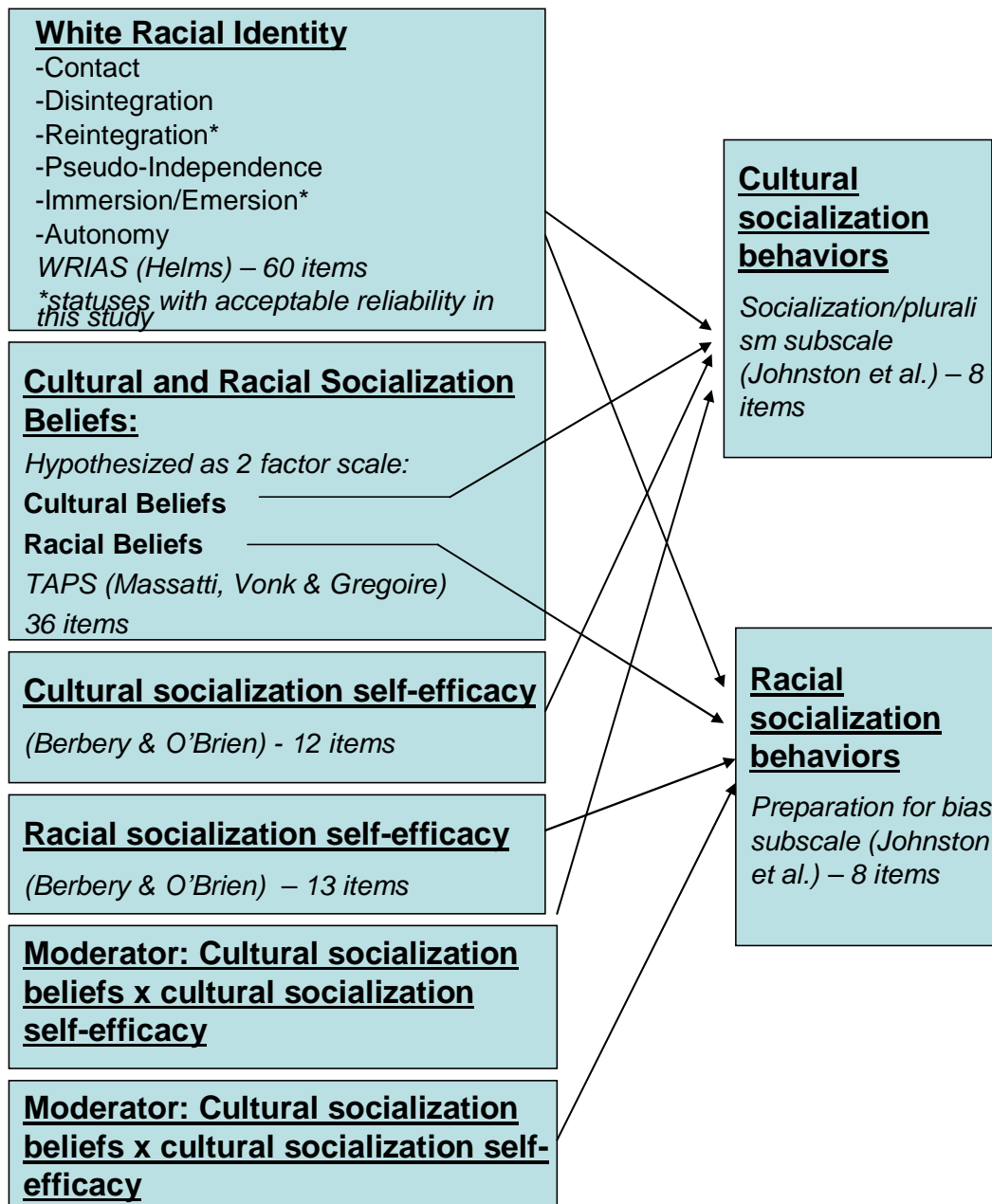
Appendix A
Advertisement to recruit participants

Are you a White adoptive parent of an Asian child or children?
Your help is needed for a research study about adoptive families!

You can provide researchers with valuable information that will help advance understanding regarding transracial adoptive families. This knowledge can eventually be used to help adoptive families.

      My name is Maria Luz Berbery and I am a doctoral student in counseling psychology at the University of Maryland, College Park. I am working with Dr. Karen O'Brien in conducting a research study on White adoptive parents of Asian children. We want to learn more about your experiences raising a child from a country of origin and race that are different from your own. Our study involves a one-time survey that is completed online in about 20 minutes. Your responses will be confidential, and although you will receive no direct benefits, your participation will help researchers understand more about international adoptive families. Please note that only one parent from each family may participate because parents in a couple may respond similarly, and we only want one set of responses for every family. This research has been approved by the University of Maryland, College Park IRB for research involving human participants.

      Please visit the following link if you are interested in participating. You will be taken to a website that gives a description of the study. You will also be able to view the informed consent form before you decide if you would like to participate.
http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=QedD2RlQTSmnlGgkYiTiYA_3d_3d

Contact Information:

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Appendix B: Demographic Questionnaire

1.) Age: _____

2.) Gender:
- a.) Female
- b.) Male

3.) Race:
- a.) White
- b.) Black (African-American)
- c.) Asian/Pacific Islander
- d.) Native American/Indigenous
- e.) Other

4.) Ethnicity: _____

5.) Education:
- a.) Did not complete high school
- b.) Completed high school
- c.) Completed 2-year college
- d.) Completed 4-year college
- e.) Completed graduate education (Masters' or PhD level)

6.) Marital status:
- a.) Single
- b.) Cohabiting
- c.) Married
- d.) Separated
- e.) Divorced
- f.) Widowed

7.) Income: _____

8.) Sexual orientation:
- a.) heterosexual
- b.) gay/lesbian
- c.) bisexual

9.) My community is:
- a.) Mostly White   b.) Mixed Racially   c.) Mostly non-White

10.) State of residence (select from drop-down menu of all states).

11.) I live in an area that is:
- a.) urban   b.) suburban   c.) rural

12.) Reasons for international adoption (select all that apply):
- a. less wait time than associated with an American infant
- b. not eligible for an American infant
- c. feeling that families are needed most for children in developing countries
- d. limited possibility of birthparent claims
- e. wanting to choose the baby's gender
- f. specific interest in child's culture of origin
- g. other reason: _____

Demographic Questionnaire, continued

13.) Adoptive children:

Adoptive child	Age	Age at time of adoption	Gender	Race	Country of origin
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

14. Biological children:

Biological child	Age	Gender	Race	Country of birth
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				

15. How did you hear about this study?
       a.) Adoption agency or organization
       b.) Internet
       c.) Personal contact

Appendix C

White Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (to be titled Social Attitudes Scale in Survey)

Helms, J. E. and Carter, R. T. (Ed.). (1990). *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice.* New York: Greenwood Press.

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. Circle the number that best describes how you feel.

Strongly Disagree 1	*Disagree* 2	*Uncertain* 3	*Agree* 4	*Strongly Agree* 5

1.	I hardly think about what race I am.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	There is nothing I can do by myself to solve society's racial problems.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I get angry when I think about how Whites have been treated by Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I feel as comfortable around Blacks as I do around Whites.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I am making a special effort to understand the significance of being White.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I involve myself in causes regardless of the race of the people involved in them.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	I find myself watching Black people to see what they are like.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	I feel depressed after I have been around Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	There is nothing that I want to learn from Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I enjoy watching the different ways that Blacks and Whites approach life.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	I am taking definite steps to define an identity for myself that includes working against racism.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	I seek out new experiences even if I know that no other Whites will be involved in them.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	I wish I had more Black friends.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	I do not believe that I have the social skills to interact with Black people effectively.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	A Black person who tries to get close to you is usually after something.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Blacks and Whites have much to learn from each other.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	Rather than focusing on other races, I am searching					

	for information to help me understand White people.	1	2	3	4	5
18.	Black people and I share jokes with each other about our racial experiences.	1	2	3	4	5
19.	I think Black people and White people do not differ from each other in any important ways.	1	2	3	4	5
20.	I just refuse to participate in discussions about race.	1	2	3	4	5
21.	I would rather socialize with Whites only.	1	2	3	4	5
22.	I believe Blacks would not be different from Whites if they had been given the same opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5
23.	I believe that I receive special privileges because I am White.	1	2	3	4	5
24.	When a Black person holds an opinion with which I disagree, I am not afraid to express my opinion.	1	2	3	4	5
25.	I do not notice a person's race.	1	2	3	4	5
26.	I have come to believe that Black and White people are very different.	1	2	3	4	5
27.	White people have tried extremely hard to make up for their ancestors' mistreatment of Blacks. Now it is time to stop!	1	2	3	4	5
28.	It is possible for Blacks and Whites to have meaningful social relationships with each other.	1	2	3	4	5
29.	I am making an effort to decide what type of White person I want to be.	1	2	3	4	5
30.	I feel comfortable in social settings where there are no Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
31.	I am curious to learn in what ways Black people and White people differ from each other.	1	2	3	4	5
32.	I do not express some of my beliefs about race because I do not want to make White people mad at me.	1	2	3	4	5
33.	Society may have been unfair to Blacks, but it has been just as unfair to Whites.	1	2	3	4	5
34.	I am knowledgeable about which values Blacks and Whites share.	1	2	3	4	5
35.	I am examining how racism relates to who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
36.	I am comfortable being myself in situations where there are no other White people.	1	2	3	4	5
37.	In my family, we never talk about race	1	2	3	4	5
38.	When I interact with Black people, I usually let them make the first move because I do not want to offend them.	1	2	3	4	5
39.	I feel hostile when I am around Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
40.	I believe that Black people know more about racism	1	2	3	4	5

	than I do.					
41.	I am involved in discovering how other White people have positively defined themselves as White people.	1	2	3	4	5
42.	I have refused to accept privileges that were given to me because I am White.	1	2	3	4	5
43.	A person's race is not important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
44.	Sometimes I am not sure what I think or feel about White people.	1	2	3	4	5
45.	I believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites.	1	2	3	4	5
46	I believe that a White person cannot be racist if he or she has a Black friend(s).	1	2	3	4	5
47.	I am becoming aware of the strengths and limitations of my White culture.	1	2	3	4	5
48.	I think that White people must end racism in this country because they created it.	1	2	3	4	5
49.	I think that dating Black people is a good way for White people to learn about Black culture.	1	2	3	4	5
50.	Sometimes I am not sure what I think or feel about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
51.	When I am the only White in a group of Blacks, I feel anxious.	1	2	3	4	5
52.	Blacks and Whites differ from each other in some ways, but neither race is superior.	1	2	3	4	5
53.	Given the chance, I would work with other White people to discover what being White means to me.	1	2	3	4	5
54.	I am not embarrassed to say that I am White.	1	2	3	4	5
55.	I think White people should become more involved in socializing with Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
56.	I don't understand why Black people blame me for their social misfortunes.	1	2	3	4	5
57.	I believe that Whites are more attractive and express themselves better than Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
58.	I believe that White people cannot have a meaningful discussion about racism unless there is a Black or other minority person present to help them understand the effects of racism.	1	2	3	4	5
59.	I am considering changing some of my behaviors because I think they are racist.	1	2	3	4	5
60.	I am continually examining myself to make sure that my way of being White is not racist.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix D: Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale (TAPS)

Massatti, R. R., Vonk, M. E., & Gregoire, T. K. (2004). Reliability and validity of the Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale. *Research on Social Work Practice, 14* (1), 43-50.

Instructions: This is a questionnaire designed to measure your attitudes about parenting practices that may be unique to raising a child who is from a different birth-race or culture than you. Each of the statements reflects an attitude or parenting practice that you may or may not agree with. There are no right or wrong answers, so please answer as honestly as possible.

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I want to help my child establish relationships with children from his or her birth culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. It is a high priority for me to encourage my child to seek support and advice from adults of his or her race about coping with prejudice.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Paying no attention to racial differences between my child and myself makes me a better parent.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. It is a high priority to seek out service providers in my community, such as doctors or dentists, who are of my child's race or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. I need to teach my child a variety of coping strategies from which to choose when faced with prejudice or bias.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Providing my child with opportunities to learn the history of the people of his or her race is a high priority.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. I feel I must provide my child with opportunities to learn the language or dialect of his or her birth culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. It is very important to wait for my child to indicate that race is an issue for him or her before initiating discussion on the topic.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Helping my child feel a sense of belonging within a community of people from his or her birth culture makes me a better parent.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. I want to help my child establish relationships with adults from his or her birth culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. I think that young children do not notice racial differences	1	2	3	4	5	6

	unless adults point them out.						
12.	I think it is very important to educate my child about the realities of prejudice, bias, and discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
13.	I know that prejudice and discrimination exist, but I believe there are more important things about which to teach my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	It is very important to include traditions from my child's birth culture, such as ethnic holidays, in my family celebrations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	Awareness of my feelings and attitudes about my child's birth culture and race is crucial.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	Examination of my motivation for adopting a child of a different race or culture is very important.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	It is very important to me to provide opportunities for my child to visit his or her community or country of birth.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18.	I think that coping with prejudice or racism is much the same as coping with other problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	Helping my child feel pride in his or her racial heritage is a high priority.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	I believe that I can prevent problems related to racial differences by providing love to my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	I do not believe that racial and cultural differences create significant additional parental responsibilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	It is very important for me to examine my feelings about interracial dating and marriage.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	Books, toys, and dolls that reflect the race of my child are very important for my family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	It is very important that I rely primarily on my own prior experiences when helping my child cope with race related	1	2	3	4	5	6

	teasing or prejudice.						

	How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
25.	It is crucial that I place my child in multicultural schools.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26.	I believe that it matters little what others think about my child's race as long as I love him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27.	I believe it is very important that I prepare my child to recognize racism	1	2	3	4	5	6
28.	I want to provide my child with opportunities to appreciate the fine arts, such as music and dance, of his or her birth culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29.	Seeking support and advice from adults or parents of my child's race about dealing with prejudice is a high priority.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30.	I believe that my child and I will make too much of racism if we develop sensitivity to it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31.	I want my family to live in an integrated neighborhood with neighbors who reflect the race of my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32.	It is very important for me to develop friendships with families and individuals of my child's heritage.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33.	I think it is best to simply ignore insensitive remarks from strangers about my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34.	It is important for me to remember that others may view my family as "different."	1	2	3	4	5	6
35.	I believe that discussions of racial differences with my child may do more harm than good.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36.	Providing my child with opportunities to learn values and traditions of his or her birth culture is a high priority.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix E

TAPS Behavior Checklist (Original)
Massatti, R. R., Vonk, M. E., & Gregoire, T. K. (2004)

For each of the following items please choose the answer that fits best:

Have you…	No, and most likely I will not.	No, but most likely I will someday.	No, but most likely I will within a year.	Yes, I have.
1. developed friendships with people of your child's heritage?	1	2	3	4
2. purchased books or toys that reflect your child's race?	1	2	3	4
3. taken your child to language (of birth culture) classes?	1	2	3	4
4. been living in a neighborhood with neighbors who reflect your child's race?	1	2	3	4
5. talked with your child about race or prejudice?	1	2	3	4
6. spoken with an adult of your child's race about coping with prejudice?	1	2	3	4
7. told your child about famous people or heroes of his or her race?	1	2	3	4
8. taught your child a few coping strategies to deal with racially based teasing?	1	2	3	4
9. carefully examined your motivation for adopting a child of a different race or culture?	1	2	3	4
10. made clear efforts to display intolerance of any racially or ethnically biased remarks?	1	2	3	4
11. carefully examined your feelings about interracial dating and marriage?	1	2	3	4
12. identified any parental responsibilities related to race and culture?	1	2	3	4

Appendix F

TAPS Behavior Checklist (Modified)

	To what extent have you…	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	All the time
1.	developed friendships with people of your child's heritage?	1	2	3	4
2.	purchased books or toys that reflect your child's race?	1	2	3	4
3.	taken your child to language (of birth culture) classes?	1	2	3	4
4.	been living in a neighborhood with neighbors who reflect your child's race?	1	2	3	4
5.	talked with your child about race or prejudice?	1	2	3	4
6.	spoken with an adult of your child's race about coping with prejudice?	1	2	3	4
7.	told your child about famous people or heroes of his or her race?	1	2	3	4
8.	taught your child a few coping strategies to deal with racially based teasing?	1	2	3	4
9.	carefully examined your motivation for adopting a child of a different race or culture?	1	2	3	4
10.	made clear efforts to display intolerance of any racially or ethnically biased remarks?	1	2	3	4
11.	carefully examined your feelings about interracial dating and marriage?	1	2	3	4
12.	identified any parental responsibilities related to race and culture?	1	2	3	4

Appendix G
Cultural and Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy in White Adoptive Parents (Berbery & O'Brien)

Instructions:
Below is a list of activities related to teaching your child about their culture and race. Please rate how confident you are in your ability to do each of the following items, using the rating scale from 0 to 6.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not at all Confident			Moderately Confident			Highly Confident

----

1.) Ensure that my child becomes fluent in the language of her/his birth culture.

2.) Often make use of books, toys, or movies that reflect my child's race.

3.) Speak out against any racially or ethnically biased remarks.

4.) Develop close friendships with adults of my child's heritage.

5.) As a family, engage in social justice activities focused on ending racism.

6.) Actively contribute to group activities focused on my child's heritage.

7.) Celebrate the most important holidays of my child's birth culture with our family.

8.) Teach my child how to confront the stereotypes that people may have about her or him due to race.

9.) Provide opportunities for my child to develop close friendships with children from his/her birth country.

10.) Teach my child about his or her race's struggle for equality in the United States.

11.) Talk about my feelings about racism and discrimination with my child.

12.) Pass on to my child the values that are important in his/her culture of origin.

13.) Talk with my child about our racial differences.

14.) Travel with my family to visit my child's birth country.

15.) Work as a political activist with the goal of eliminating racism.

16.) Join my child in learning his/her language of origin.

17.) Plan and engage in activities that foster pride in my child about his or her race.

18.) Role play techniques with my child to use in the case of racial teasing or racist comments at school.

19.) Live in an integrated neighborhood with people from my child's country of origin.

20.) Prepare authentic cuisine from my child's birth culture on a weekly basis.

21.) Live successfully in my child's birth country for an extended period of time.

22.) Speak with an adult of my child's race for ideas about how to cope with racism.

23.) Talk with my child about her or his experiences of racism and racial discrimination.

24.) Teach my child about the history of his or her birth country, including the most important individuals and events.

25.) Teach my child adaptive ways of coping with racism.

Appendix H
Race, ethnic, and cultural socialization in White parents of Asian adoptees

Johnston, K. E., Swim, J. K., Saltsman, B. M., Deater-Deckard, K., & Petrill, S. A.
(2007). Mothers' racial, ethnic, and cultural socialization of transracially adopted
Asian children. *Family Relations, 56*, 390-402.

Please indicate how often you have done each of the following behaviors with your adoptive child.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never	not this year	one or two times this year	several times this year	about once a month	several times a month	once a week	several times a week

Preparation for bias subscale
1. I've talked to [child] about racial stereotypes, prejudice, and/or discrimination against Asians.
2. I've told [child] that he/she or his/her sibling might be treated differently because of his/her race.
3. I've explained to [child] that something he/she has seen on TV or in movies showed stereotypic representations of Asians.
4. I've talked to [child] about Asian Americans fight for equality in the U.S.
5. I've talked to [child] about expectations others might have of Asian's abilities.
6. I've talked to [child] about things he/she was miss-taught in school about Asians.
7. I've told [child] that Asians must be better than White kids to get the same rewards.
8. I've talked about Asian race issues with someone else when [child] could hear.

Socialization/pluralism subscale
9. I've read or provided history books about Asian's experience in the U.S. to [child].
10. I've read or provided fiction about Asian Americans to [child].
11. I've taken [child] to Asian American cultural events.
12. I've done things to celebrate the history of Asian Americans with [child].
13. I've taken [child] to get Asian ethnic clothes or hairstyles.
14. I have taught [child] to speak Asian words.
15. I have celebrated Asian holidays with [child].
16. I've encouraged [child] to play with children from Asia or Asian Americans.

Table 1

Final items retained for Transracial Adoption Parenting Scale (TAPS)

Item	Factor loadings
FACTOR 1: Racial Socialization	
30. I believe that my child and I will make too much of discrimination if we develop sensitivity to it.	.76
13. I know that prejudice and racism exist, but I believe there are more important things about which to teach my child.	.71
21. I do not believe that racial and cultural differences create significant additional parenting responsibilities.	.61
35. I believe that discussions of racial differences with my child may do more harm than good.	.58
12. I think that it is very important to educate my child about the realities of prejudice, bias, and discrimination.	.58
26. I believe that it matters little what others think about my child's race as long as I love him or her.	.58
3. Paying no attention to racial differences between my child and myself makes me a better parent.	.55
20. I believe that I can prevent problems related to racial differences by providing love to my child.	.54
8. It is very important to wait for my child to indicate that race is an issue for him or her before initiating a discussion on the topic.	.53
11. I think that children do not notice racial differences unless adults point them out.	.52
18. I think that coping with prejudice or racism is much the same as coping with other problems.	.52
27. I believe that it is very important that I prepare my child to recognize racism.	.49
33. I think it is best to simply ignore insensitive remarks from strangers about my child.	.46
24. It is very important that I rely primarily on my own prior experiences when helping my child cope with race related teasing or prejudice.	.36
FACTOR 2: Building Relationships in Socialization	
2. It is a high priority for me to encourage my child to seek support and advice from adults of his or her race about coping with prejudice.	.89
29. Seeking support and advice from adults or parents of my child's race about dealing with prejudice is a high priority.	.70
10. I want to help my child establish relationships with adults from his or her birth culture.	.66
32. It is very important for me to develop friendships with families and individuals of my child's heritage.	.66
4. It is a high priority for me to seek out providers in my community, such as doctors or dentists, who are of my child's race or ethnicity.	.55
9. Helping my child feel a sense of belonging within a community of people from his or her birth culture makes me a better parent.	.52
5. I need to teach my child a variety of coping strategies from which to choose when faced with prejudice or bias.	.46
1. I want to help my child establish relationships with children from his or her birth culture.	.43
16. Examination of my motivation for adopting a child of a different race or culture is very important.	.42
FACTOR 3: Cultural Socialization	
19. Helping my child feel pride in his or her racial heritage is a priority.	.80
36. Providing my child with opportunities to learn values and traditions of his or her birth culture is a high priority.	.74
28. I want to provide my child with opportunities to appreciate the fine arts, such as music and dance, of his or her birth culture.	.72
17. It is very important for me to provide opportunities for my child to visit his or her community or country of birth.	.67
14. It is very important to include traditions from my child's birth culture, such as ethnic holidays, in my family celebrations.	.48
6. Providing my child with opportunities to learn the history of the people of his or her race is a high priority.	.42

Table 2

Final items retained for Cultural and Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy Scale

Item	Factor loadings
FACTOR 1: Racial Socialization Self-Efficacy	
25. Teach my child adaptive ways of coping with racism.	.80
23. Talk with my child about his or her experiences of racism and racial discrimination.	.75
13. Talk with my child about our racial differences.	.72
11. Talk about my feelings about racism and discrimination with my child.	.72
8. Teach my child how to confront the stereotypes that people may have about him or her due to race.	.67
18. Role-play techniques with my child to use in the case of racial teasing or racist comments at school.	.61
3. Speak out against any racially or ethnically biased remarks.	.36
FACTOR 2: Cultural Socialization Self-Efficacy	
6. Actively contribute to group activities focused on my child's heritage.	1.04
7. Celebrate the most important holidays of my child's birth country with our family.	.64
17. Plan and engage in activities that foster pride in my child about his or her race.	.49
9. Provide opportunities for my child to develop close friendships with children from his/her birth country.	.41
FACTOR 3: Parental Involvement in Socialization Self-Efficacy	
16. Join my child in learning his/her language of origin.	.81
1. Ensure that my child becomes fluent in the language of his/her birth culture.	.59
21. Live successfully in my child's birth country for an extended period of time.	.51
20. Prepare authentic cuisine from my child's birth culture on a weekly basis.	.35
FACTOR 4: Social Justice Self-Efficacy	
5. As a family, engage in social justice activities focused on ending racism.	1.00
15. Work as a political activist with the goal of eliminating racism.	.73
10. Teach my child about his or her race's struggle for equality in the United States.	.37

Table 3

Demographic characteristics of the parents (N = 200)

Variable	N	%
Race		
White	200	100%
Gender		
Female	183	91.5%
Male	16	8.0%
No answer	1	0.5%
Marital status		
Married	172	86%
Single	19	9.5%
Divorced	4	2.0%
Separated	2	1.0%
Widowed	1	0.5%
Cohabiting	1	0.5%
No answer	1	0.5%
Sexual orientation		
Heterosexual	195	97.5%
Gay/lesbian	2	1.0%
Bisexual	2	1.0%
No answer	1	0.5%
Educational level		
Completed graduate education (Masters or PhD level)	121	60.5%
Completed 4 year college	54	27%
Completed 2 year college	13	60.5%
Completed high school	10	5%
Did not complete high school	2	1.0%
Racial composition of community		
Mostly White	97	48.5%
Mixed racially	99	49.5%
Mostly non-White	2	1.0%
No answer	2	1.0%
Area density of population		
Urban	41	20.5%
Suburban	115	57.5%
Rural	44	22.0%
Recruitment method		
Adoption agency or organization	64	32.0%
Internet	105	52.5%
Personal contact	31	15.5%

Table 4
Demographic characteristics of the children

Variable	N	%
Country of birth of Asian adopted children (N = 286)		
China	107	37.4%
Korea	89	31.1%
Vietnam	58	20.3%
Thailand	22	7.8%
Philippines	4	1.4%
Kazakhstan	2	0.7%
Cambodia	1	0.3%
Taiwan	1	0.3%
Kyrgyzstan	1	0.3%
Nepal	1	0.3%
Country of birth of non-Asian adopted children (N = 14)		
USA	9	64.3%
Russia	2	14.3%
Ethiopia	1	7.1%
Uganda	1	7.1%
Guatemala	1	7.1%
Gender of adopted children		
Female	186	62%
Male	113	37.7%
Missing data	1	0.3%
Country of birth of biological children (N = 135)		
USA	129	95.5%
England	1	0.7%
Ireland	1	0.7%
Norway	1	0.7%
India	2	1.4%
Argentina	1	0.7%
Gender of biological children		
Female	65	48.1%
Male	70	51.9%
Parents' reasons for international adoption		
Specific interest in child's culture of origin	113	56.5%
Limited possibility of birth parent claims	85	42.5%
Less wait time than for an American infant	69	34.5%
Feeling families were needed most for children in developing countries	64	32%
Wanting to choose baby's gender	29	14.5%
Not eligible for an American infant	11	5.5%
Other reason	75	37.5%

Table 5

Demographic characteristics of the sample, continued (N = 200)

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Age	0	63	44.33	7.77
Income	5,000	550,000	106,497.50	73,082.56
Age adopted children	1	34	7.56	5.82
Age at time of adoption (in months)	0	155	15.85	21.12
Age of biological children	0	41	14.61	8.79

Table 6
Means, standard deviations, and correlations among key variables (N = 200)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Beliefs
1. Race	1
2. Relationships	.53*	1
3. Culture	.52*	.64*	1
Self-Efficacy
4. Race	.26*	.14	.19*	1
5. Culture	.31*	.39*	.57*	.40*	1
6. Parental Involvement	.17	.29*	.18	.32*	.34*	1
7. RR Social Justice	.40*	.35*	.25*	.51*	.39*	.31*	1
White Racial Identity
8. Reintegration	-.41*	-.31*	-.34*	-.29*	-.23*	-.14	-.36*	1
9. Immersion/Emersion	.45*	.49*	.30*	.04	.10	.17	.38*	-.15	1
Behaviors
10. Behaviors culture	.35*	.41*	.48*	.20*	.40*	.30*	.17	-.11	.19*	1
11. Behaviors Race	.44*	.22*	.23*	.23*	.19*	.12	.31*	-.19*	.22*	.37*	1
M	4.52	4.82	5.43	4.82	4.77	4.58	3.20	15.74	29.04	20.66	9.14
SD	.71	.80	.64	0.88	1.07	1.92	1.51	4.12	5.63	8.53	8.82
Cronbach's alpha	.87	.85	.84	.84	.75	.67	.79	.72	.75	.77	.89

*Note. *p <.01

Table 7

Summary of hierarchical regression analysis of White Racial Identity, cultural and racial socialization beliefs, and cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy as predictors of cultural socialization behaviors (N = 200)

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	df	R	R^2	F	ΔR^2	ΔF
Step 1	15.52	4.18		3.72*	2, 197	.20	.04	4.23	.04	4.23
WRIAS Reintegration	-.16	.15	-.08	-1.12						
WRIAS I/E	.27	.11	.175	2.48						
Step 2	-22.62	6.34		-3.57*	3, 194	.52	.27	14.09*	.23	19.86*
WRIAS Reintegration	.24	.14	.12	1.68						
WRIAS I/E	-.07	.11	-.05	-.64						
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.12	.07	.14	1.77						
Building Rel. Beliefs	.21	.11	.18	1.96						
Cultural Soc. Beliefs	.76	.19	.34	4.06*						
Step 3	-26.27	6.92		-3.80*	4, 190	.56	.32	9.87*	.05	3.63*
WRIAS Reintegration	.25	.14	.12	1.76						
WRIAS I/E	-.01	.12	-.01	-.12						
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.12	.07	.14	1.75						
Building Rel. Beliefs	.16	.11	.13	1.46						
Cultural Soc. Beliefs	.61	.21	.27	2.94*						
Racial Soc. SE	.74	.73	.08	1.01						
Cultural Soc. SE	.99	.66	.12	1.50						
Parental Involve. SE	.75	.30	.17	2.49						
Social Justice SE	-.56	.46	.10	-1.20						

Note. *p <.01

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Table 8

Summary of hierarchical regression analysis of White Racial Identity, cultural and racial socialization beliefs, and cultural and racial socialization self-efficacy as predictors of racial socialization behaviors (N = 200)

Variable	B	$SE\ B$	β	T	Df	R	R^2	F	ΔR^2	ΔF
Step 1	5.59	4.24		1.32	2, 197	.28	.08	8.08*	.08	8.08*
WRIAS Reintegration	-.35	.15	-.16	-2.35						
WRIAS I/E	.31	.11	.20	2.87*						
Step 2	-15.02	6.86		-2.19	3, 194	.44	.20	9.41*	.12	9.59*
WRIAS Reintegration	-.04	.15	-.02	-.28						
WRIAS I/E	.07	.12	.05	.62						
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.37	.08	.42	4.96*						
Building Rel. Beliefs	-.05	.12	-.04	-.44						
Cultural Soc. Beliefs	.03	.20	.02	.17						
Step 3	-18.67	7.66		-2.44	4, 190	.47	.22	5.92*	.02	1.44
WRIAS Reintegration	.06	.16	.03	.36						
WRIAS I/E	.04	.16	.03	.36						
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.34	.08	.39	4.49*						
Building Rel. Beliefs	-.07	.12	-.06	-.58						
Cultural Soc. Beliefs	.03	.23	.02	.15						
Racial Soc. SE	.65	.81	.07	.80						
Cultural Soc. SE	.07	.73	.01	.09						
Parental Involve. SE	.02	.33	.00	.06						
Social Justice SE	.76	.51	.13	1.48						

*Note. *$p < .01$

Table 9

Summary of hierarchical regression analysis of cultural socialization beliefs, cultural socialization self-efficacy, and the moderator of cultural socialization beliefs multiplied by cultural socialization self-efficacy as predictors of cultural socialization behaviors (N = 200)

Variable	B	$SE\ B$	β	T	Df	R	R^2	F	ΔR^2	ΔF
Step 1	-13.90	4.54		-3.07*	1, 198	.48	.23	58.88*	.23	58.88*
Cultural Soc. Beliefs	1.06	.13	.48	7.65*						
Step 2	-13.34	4.49		-2.96*	1, 197	.50	.25	33.21*	.02	6.05
Cultural Soc. Beliefs	.83	.17	.37	4.99*						
Cultural Soc. SE	1.47	.60	.18	2.46						
Step 3	-16.31	5.08		-3.21*	1, 196	.51	.26	22.71*	.01	1.53
Cultural Soc. Beliefs	.88	.17	.40	5.14*						
Cultural Soc. SE	1.66	.62	.21	2.69*						
Mod. Cult. Beliefs x SE	.57	.46	.09	1.24						

*Note. *p <.01

Table 10

Summary of hierarchical regression analysis of racial socialization beliefs, racial socialization self-efficacy, and the moderator of racial socialization beliefs multiplied by racial socialization self-efficacy as predictors of racial socialization behaviors (N = 200)

Variable	B	SE B	β	T	Df	R	R^2	F	ΔR^2	ΔF
Step 1	-15.42	3.61		-4.27*	1, 198	.44	.19	47.39*	.19	47.39*
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.39	.06	.44	6.88*						
Step 2	-19.39	4.21		-4.61*	1, 197	.45	.21	25.61*	.01	3.28
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.360	.06	.41	6.20*						
Racial Soc. SE	1.19	.66	.12	1.81						
Step 3	-20.38	4.32		-4.72*	1, 196	.46	.21	17.41*	.00	1.01
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.363	.06	.41	6.24*						
Racial Soc. SE	1.32	.67	.13	1.97						
Mod. Rac. Beliefs x SE	.553	.55	.07	1.00						

Note. *p <.01

Table 11

Post hoc test. Summary of hierarchical regression analysis of racial socialization beliefs, race-related social justice self-efficacy, and the moderator of racial socialization beliefs multiplied by race-related social justice self-efficacy as predictors of racial socialization behaviors (N = 200)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	B	*T*	*Df*	*R*	R^2	*F*	ΔR^2	ΔF
Step 1	-15.42	3.61		-4.27*	1, 198	.44	.19	47.39*	.19	47.39*
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.34	.06	.44	6.88*						
Step 2	-14.85	3.58		-4.24*	1, 197	.46	.21	26.76*	.02	5.14
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.33	.06	.38	5.47*						
RR Soc. Justice SE	.91	.40	.16	2.27						
Step 3	-15.94	3.61		-4.41*	1, 196	.48	.22	19.16*	.01	3.32
Racial Soc. Beliefs	.34	.06	.39	5.61*						
RR Soc. Justice SE	1.00	.40	.17	2.47						
Mod. Rac. Beliefs x SE	.92	.51	.12	1.82						

Note. *p <.01

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