ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: PARENTAL ETHNIC-RACIAL
SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES AMONG
CHINESE AMERICAN FAMILIES WITH
YOUNG CHILDREN

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Education

Despite literature suggesting that socializing children of color regarding race and ethnicity is key
to protect them against racism in America, little is known about how Asian American young
children are ethnically and racially socialized by their parents. In the event of increased anti-
Asian racism during COVID-19, it becomes urgent that we address this knowledge gap. The goal
of the present study is to understand the parental ethnic-racial socialization processes with Asian
American young children from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Fifty-seven low-income
(n=36) and middle-and-upper-income (n=21) Chinese American mothers (Mage =
37.14, SD =4.99) of four-to-seven-year-old children (Mage =5.63, SD =0.82, female n=33, 58%)
from Maryland and New York were interviewed. The participants shared the frequency and
strategies of their ethnic-racial socialization processes and their perception of the effectiveness of
these strategies. Using qualitative content analyses, results indicated that: (a) The two income
groups shared the same frequency of using each ethnic-racial socialization dimension (cultural

socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race); (b) Different patterns emerged in the content of how they used preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust; (c) Mothers from the low-income group were more likely to experience discrimination and to share the discrimination experiences with their children to prepare them for bias; (d) Mothers from both of the income groups recognized that their children face model minority stereotypes in the society, but they held different attitudes towards the stereotypes; (e) The two income groups found cultural socialization helpful and promotion of mistrust harmful. More diversity and less consensus were found in their perception of the effectiveness of preparation for bias and egalitarianism and silence about race. The current study is the first study to reveal diversity of ethnic-racial socialization processes among the Chinese American families with young children. It provides empirical support that socioeconomic context is an indispensable variable in understanding ethnic-racial socialization processes in families of color.

PARENTAL ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES

AMONG CHINESE AMERICAN FAMILIES WITH YOUNG CHILDREN

by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

America is becoming increasingly diverse. More than half of the students in public schools in this nation belong to a minority group (La Salle et al., 2019). Asian American is the fastest growing group among all of the ethnic minority population. By 2060, Asian American children and adolescents under the age of 18 are estimated to make up 7.9 percent of the entire U.S. population (Colby & Ortman, 2015).

However, despite high educational achievement, Asian American children report highest levels of peer and adult racial discrimination compared to their non-Asian peers (Greene et al., 2006; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). During the COVID-19 pandemic, nearly half of the Chinese American parents and youths reported being discriminated racially either online or in person (Cheah et al., 2020). Discrimination experiences were found to predict greater anxiety, depressive symptoms, and lower self-esteem among Asian American youths (Benner & Kim, 2009b; Juang & Alvarez, 2010; Juang & Cookston, 2009).

Ethnic-racial socialization—the process of conveying messages about race and ethnicity to children—has been found to have protective effects among ethnic minority youths against racial discrimination (Burt et al., 2012; Neblett et al., 2010, 2012). Thus, socializing Asian American children regarding race and ethnicity is critical to prepare them for living in an increasingly diverse country as a minority, especially in the event of increased anti-Asian racism during COVID-19. However, very few research examined the ethnic-racial socialization processes among Asian American children. Research on the ethnic-racial socialization of Asian American children living in low-income environments was, to my knowledge, non-existent. To

fill in the gap in the literature, the present qualitative study aims to explore Chinese American immigrant mothers' ethnic-racial socialization with young children (4-7 years old) and compare middle-and-upper-income and low-income mothers' ethnic-racial socialization processes.

I will first present the guiding theory and framework of the study, and then review literature on ethnic-racial socialization concept, including its history, content and measures, the relation between ethnic-racial socialization and family socioeconomic status, the importance of parental ethnic-racial socialization with young children, the influence of Asian American history and contemporary narratives on Asian American child development, and Asian American parents' ethnic-racial socialization of their children. After that, I will introduce the present study and share its results. I will conclude with discussion, implications and future directions.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices

Hughes et al. (2006) defined ethnic-racial socialization as the transmission of information regarding race and ethnicity from parents to their children. After reviewing more than 50 empirical articles between 1975 and 2005 using the keywords "racial socialization", "ethnic socialization", and "parenting and ethnic identity", Hughes et al. (2006) categorized ethnic-racial socialization messages into four dimensions – Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, Promotion of Mistrust, and Egalitarianism and Silence about race. Cultural socialization refers to teaching children about their racial or ethnic heritage and promoting cultural, racial, and ethnic pride. Preparation for bias is telling children to anticipate discrimination and preparing them to cope with it. Promotion of mistrust is emphasizing to children the need for caution and distrust in interracial interactions. Egalitarianism and silence about race refers to parental practices that either value individual qualities over racial group membership or avoid mention of race in discussion with their children.

Guided by this framework of ethnic-racial socialization practices, the present study will examine each of the four dimensions (Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, Promotion of Mistrust, and Egalitarianism and Silence about race) of the ethnic-racial socialization processes in Chinese American families. It will explore the frequency, content, and perception of usefulness of each dimension among Chinese American mothers of young children from both low-income and middle-and-upper-income backgrounds. A more elaborate literature review on ethnic-racial socialization guided by this framework will be covered in Chapter 2.

An Integrative Model for the Study of Developmental Competencies in Minority

Children

García Coll et al. (1996) proposed a conceptual model for the study of child

development in minority populations. García Coll et al. (1996) integrated mainstream

developmental frameworks and culturally diverse models, aiming to capture

constructs that were unique to the developmental processes of minority children as

well as constructs that were relevant to the developmental processes of all children.

Guided by this model, the ethnic-racial socialization of Chinese American young

children in the present study will be understood in contexts of socializing children

into both the mainstream society and their minority Chinese and Asian identity.

The integrative model consists of eight major constructs that influence

developmental processes for children of color – 1) social position variables (race,

ethnicity, social class, gender); 2) social stratification mechanisms (racism, prejudice,

discrimination, oppression); 3) segregation; 4) promoting/ inhibiting environments; 5)

adaptive culture; 6) child characteristics; 7) family; and 8) developmental

competencies. Centering social position variables (race, ethnicity, social class) and

considering them as core forces influencing the development of minority children is

the hallmark of this model (García Coll et al., 1996). The present study is anchored in

this thought. Chinese American families (both of the parents have to be of Chinese

ethnicity) from both low-income and middle-and-upper-income backgrounds were

recruited so that race, ethnicity, and social class would be examined in depth to

explore Chinese American families' ethnic-racial socialization processes. Of the eight

constructs highlighted by the model (García Coll et al., 1996), four constructs are

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directly relevant to the design of this study. They are social position variables, social stratification mechanisms, adaptive culture, and family.

Social position variables are attributes that societies use to place each individual in the social hierarchy. They include but are not limited to race, social class, ethnicity, and gender. Social class is achieved by adults and assigned to children (Rosenberg & Pearlin, 1978). It also influences parents' values and practices (Kohn et al., 1979). By studying the ethnic-racial socialization processes among Chinese American mothers with young children from both low-income and middle-and-upper-income social positions, this study hopes to explore the role of race, ethnicity, and social class in Chinese American parents' socialization of their children.

García Coll and colleagues (1996) listed and defined four *social stratification mechanisms*: racism – pervasive and systematic assumptions about the superiority of certain races; prejudice – preconceived judgments about a person or a group of certain social positions; discrimination – behaviors that deny a person or a group of people equal treatment; and oppression – systematic use of power to treat other people unjustly. These four concepts will be discussed in families of color through three of the ethnic-racial socialization dimensions—preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race. By examining how Chinese American mothers use preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race as part of the ethnic-racial socialization processes, the present study aims to explore and compare how Chinese American mothers from different

income levels talk about the social stratification mechanisms—racism, prejudice, discrimination, and oppression—with their young children.

Adaptive culture is a set of goals, traditions, values, histories, and contextual demands that differs from the mainstream culture. It is derived from a combination of collective history and current demands. The collective history are operated through three components: traditions and cultural legacies, economic and political history, and migration and acculturation patterns. The current demands refer to contemporary and immediate influences in the neighborhoods and communities, which may also be transmitted through education, media, and interpersonal interactions. The construct of adaptive culture is directly related to cultural socialization, one of the ethnic-racial socialization dimensions, that is being examined in the present study. By investigating how Chinese American mothers use cultural socialization as part of the ethnic-racial socialization process, the present study hopes to explore what aspects of the mothers' minority culture they wish to pass on to their offspring and furthermore how these mothers balance Chinese culture and dominant culture in child-rearing. Adaptive culture is also related to social stratification mechanisms (García Coll et al., 1996). Prejudice, discrimination and racism operate at this level and contribute to contextual demands for children. In the current study, examining the ethnic-racial socialization processes for Chinese American children will unpack the stories of Chinese American immigrant mothers making sense of their discrimination and racism experiences and how these experiences contribute to current demands for their children.

Minority *family* characteristics are highlighted by the structure and roles of the family; family beliefs, values, and goals; racial socialization; and socioeconomic resources (García Coll et al., 1996). These family elements are also influenced by adaptive culture. The ideal family structure, beliefs, values and goals may be traced back to the family's original country. Racial socialization helps families of color cope with racial discrimination. It also supports parents of color to maintain the positive image of their family racial identity with their child. Furthermore, the availability of socioeconomic resources and how parents of color use these resources influence their child's development. The present study examines how family beliefs and socioeconomic resources impact the ethnic-racial socialization processes in Chinese American families. Specifically, the close examination of the four ethnic-racial socialization dimensions will reveal to us how Chinese American family characteristics and adaptive culture influence the way Chinese American mothers share important cultural values, prepare their children for discrimination and help their children maintain positive racial identity.

In summary, guided by the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children (García Coll et al., 1996), the present study is designed to explore the parental ethnic-racial socialization experiences of Chinese American young children from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Specifically, the exploration will consider the influence of individual social position, social stratification mechanisms, the macro adaptive culture, and the micro family characteristics in each unique Chinese American family.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Concepts and History

Ethnic-racial socialization is defined by Hughes and colleagues (2006) as communicating about race and ethnicity to children. It is found to be a salient part of child rearing in ethnic minority families. Ethnic-racial socialization is linked with youth's perception of their race and the degree to which youths identify themselves as a member of the ethnic group (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). Ethnic minority children who receive more ethnic-racial socialization have more knowledge about their own culture (Knight et al., 1993; Quintana & Vera, 1999), are more likely to express racial identities (Marshall, 1995), and prefer behaviours that belong to their ethnicity and race (Quintana & Vera, 1999).

Work on ethnic-racialization socialization can be traced back to the early 1980s. Researchers documented that African American parents would instil racial pride and promote self-esteem in their children so that they are prepared for potential stereotypes and discrimination in the society (Richardson, 1982; Tatum, 1987). By the 1990s, researchers found that ethnic-racial socialization is also prevalent in other ethnic minority families, that include yet not limited to Puerto Rican families (Rodriguez, 1996), Latino families (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995), and West Indian families (Waters, 1999). Since then, research on ethnic-racial socialization has grown tremendously.

Racial socialization—transmission of information about race—and ethnic socialization—transmission of messages about ethnicity are historically used in different groups (Hughes et al., 2006). Racial socialization originates from research

with African American communities, where scholars focus on how African American parents talk about race with their children to instil racial pride and prepare them for bias in a white society (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Ethnic socialization is more often used in Asian and Latino communities (Chen, 1998), and less often in African American communities (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents who ethnically socialize their children emphasize cultural values and practices, ethnic identity and assimilation to the mainstream culture (Knight et al., 1993; Nguyen et al., 2015; Ou & McAdoo, 1993).

Despite the differences of how each racial and ethnic group approach this communication, racial socialization and ethnic socialization overlap considerably. Parents often do not distinguish messages about race and ethnicity when they talk to their children (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents include information about racial pride, discrimination, cultural traditions, ethnic behaviors and in-group attitudes in the same discussion. In addition, research has shown that children form the concept of ethnicity and race following similar developmental stages (Quintana, 1998; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Therefore, this paper will use ethnic-racial socialization to refer to the combined definition of racial socialization and ethnic socialization to demonstrate the inseparable nature of race and ethnicity in parenting and child development. Parental ethnic-racial socialization is thus in this paper defined as the transmission of information regarding race and ethnicity from parents to their children (Hughes et al., 2006).

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Dimensions

Ethnic-racial socialization literature is characterized by a variety way of conceptualizing ethnic-racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). Some studies examined ethnic-racial socialization as a unidimensional construct, for example focusing solely on promotion of cultural values and practices. Some studies examined multiple dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization. Some studies used a broad terminology, for example racial socialization while others used a more specific term, for example preparation for bias. The inconsistency in the conceptualization of ethnic-racial socialization made it difficult to synthesize results across studies. A more consistent and precise definition of ethnic-racial socialization is needed to compare and integrate results on this subject (Hughes et al., 2006).

In Hughes et al.'s seminal review on ethnic-racial socialization (2006), the researchers reviewed more than 50 articles on this topic between 1975 and 2005, and summarized four dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization—Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, Promotion of Mistrust, and Egalitarianism and Silence about race. In the current study, I chose the conceptualization of ethnic-racial socialization reflected in this review.

Next, I will present a literature review on the content, frequency, and ethnic minority youth outcomes of each dimension. I will have a more focused and detailed review on Chinese and Asian American youth outcomes of these four dimensions in a later section.

Cultural Socialization

Cultural socialization is teaching children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history and promoting cultural, racial, and ethnic pride, either directly or

indirectly (Hughes et al., 2006). Some examples may be talking about important historical or cultural figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books, music, and stories; celebrating cultural holidays; eating ethnic foods; and encouraging children to use their family's native language.

Ogbu's cultural-ecological model (1981) posits that parenting practices need to be interpreted in the culture in which they take place because parents socialize their children to be competent in a particular context. Ethnic pride, cultural knowledge and practices were among the first things parents talked about when they were asked to share thoughts about ethnic-racial socialization, suggesting that it is a significant parenting practice (Hughes et al., 2006).

Cultural socialization is also the most used theme across all ethnic minority groups. More than 90% of Latino parents and all African American parents reported cultural socialization in the past year (Hughes, 2003). In one study investigating African American families of young children, 67% of the parents gave messages related to racial achievement and 93% gave messages related to racial pride (Coard et al., 2004). Among Asian American samples, about 66% of Japanese parents reported teaching cultural practices (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Chinese American parents stressed to their children the importance of learning Chinese culture and speaking native language (Ou & McAdoo, 1993).

Cultural socialization is found to be consistently associated with positive outcomes for children of color. In a meta-analysis of 102 articles on ethnic-racial socialization, cultural socialization was positively associated with self-perceptions and interpersonal relationships, and negatively associated with externalizing

behaviors (Wang et al., 2020). Cultural socialization was the strongest predictor of ethnic-racial identity among all four ethnic-racial socialization dimensions, namely cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race (Huguley et al., 2019). It was also positively associated with ethnic identity exploration and commitment (Juang & Syed, 2010). In addition, cultural socialization was related to positive academic and psychosocial outcomes for students of color. Cultural socialization positively predicted students' academic achievement (GPA), educational aspirations, and initiative-taking in learning in a sample of 630 African American adolescents (Wang & Huguley, 2012). Wang and Huguley (2012) also found that cultural socialization attenuated the effect of teacher and peer discrimination on student grades. Caughy and colleagues (2002) conducted interviews about parental racial socialization and home environment in 200 families of African American preschool children living in urban settings. Results indicated that children who lived in homes with richer African American culture and received more cultural knowledge showed stronger problem-solving skills and fewer problem behaviors.

Preparation for Bias

Preparation for bias is teaching children to anticipate discrimination and preparing them to cope with it (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, parents might share with the child their own discrimination experiences at work. Parents might ask their child to work extra hard to get into a good college because they are a minority.

Preparation for bias is the second most studied ethnic-racial socialization dimension (Huguley et al., 2019). Preparation for bias, compared to cultural

socialization, is less mentioned by parents. In studies conducted with African American families, 8-14% of parents mentioned racial barriers when they answered questions around parental socialization (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990). In a more recent study that used in-depth interviews to specifically ask about discrimination, only 5% of African American parents reported never mentioning discrimination with their children (Frabutt et al., 2002). These numbers suggested that talking about racial discrimination is prevalent in African American families but is not the most available theme when they are first asked to associate with ethnic-racial socialization. In addition, participants might feel too painful and uncomfortable to mention racial barriers in interviews with strangers (Hughes et al., 2006).

Asian American parents consistently reported lower rates of using preparation for bias compared to African American parents. Although Japanese Americans experienced overwhelming discrimination during World War II, Japanese parents rarely discussed the unjust treatment they received with their children (Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Only 10% of Chinese immigrant parents talked about racial discrimination with their young children (Chen, 1998). One speculation to explain the low rates of using preparation for bias is that culturally, Asian American community were inclined to promote harmony and avoid conflicts with other groups, which hindered them from sharing discrimination in the interviews (Hughes et al., 2006). Benner and Kim (2009a) asked 444 Chinese American parents to rate from 1 to 3 how often they used preparation for bias practices (four total items). Higher score meant more frequent use of preparation for bias. The researchers reported low mean scores, indicating that Chinese American parents do not use preparation for bias

often. However, two individual preparation for bias items received higher frequency of use. More than 70% of Chinese American parents sometimes or often discussed with their children what to do if they were insulted or harassed. More than half of the Chinese American mothers and fathers sometimes or often told their children that because of their race, they needed to perform better in school in order to be as successful as others.

Studies examining youth outcomes of preparation for bias generated mixed findings. Preparation for bias was found to have some effects in helping youths understand and cope with discrimination, however these relationships were weak (Hughes et al., 2006). The protective effect of preparation for bias may not serve its intended function when children foster expectations for discrimination from other racial groups. In a study with 5,000 children of immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, researchers found that adolescents of color that anticipated discrimination showed more depressive symptoms and conflicts with their parents (Rumbaut, 1994). Smith and colleagues (2003) reported that African American children's perceived racial barriers and racial distrust were negatively associated with their academic achievement.

Researchers also examined the combined effects of the top two commonly used ethnic-racial socialization dimensions cultural socialization *and* preparation for bias in African American youth samples. Researchers found that high levels of cultural socialization and a moderate level of preparation for bias mitigated the negative association between racial discrimination and self-esteem (Harris-Britt et al., 2007). By contrast, a low level of cultural socialization combined with preparation for

bias regardless of high or low level was associated with a negative relation between racial discrimination and self-esteem (Harris-Britt et al., 2007). Therefore, cultural socialization and preparation for bias interact with each other to affect how adolescents feel about themselves when they receive discrimination.

Promotion of mistrust

Promotion of mistrust refers to practices that emphasize the need for wariness and distrust in interracial interactions (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents may caution their children to avoid others of a certain race or to be extra careful or skeptical in these interactions. It is different from preparation for bias in the sense that it does not involve teaching coping strategies (Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

Approximately 6-18% of parents reported using this dimensions in quantitative studies among different ethnic and racial groups (Hughes et al., 2006). Hughes and Chen (1997) conducted interviews with 157 African American parents with children 4 to 14 years old. They reported that promotion of mistrust was used less often than preparation for bias, which was used less frequently than cultural socialization. They also found that parents who actually engaged in promotion of mistrust tended to be those that experienced discrimination themselves.

A nuance of this dimension is the distinction between promotion of mistrust towards white people and towards other ethnic minority groups. In one qualitative study with African American parents (Hughes & DuMont, 1993), researchers found that in every focus group, themes of promotion of mistrust with white peers and parents emerged. An example of promoting mistrust towards non-white groups was that immigrant West Indian, Caribbean, and Dominican parents reminded their

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children to be skeptical of Black peers born in America due to their negative stereotypes (Pessar, 1995; Waters, 1994, 1999). Little research has investigated this aspect of promotion of mistrust (i.e., distrust white groups versus non-Asian minority groups) in Asian American families.

The youth outcomes for promotion of mistrust have been consistently undesirable. Promotion of mistrust was negatively associated with students' academic outcomes, self-esteem and prosocial behaviors (Huguley et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2020).

Egalitarianism and Silence about Race

Egalitarianism is teaching children to value individual qualities over racial group membership (Hughes et al., 2006). Silence about race is avoiding mention of race in discussion with their children (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents might say to their children, "It doesn't matter if your skin is black, white, or purple. We are all humans." Huguley and colleagues (2019) referred this dimension to strategies that emphasize mainstream cultural values and reduce the role of race in succeeding in mainstream society. Under this dimension, parents may adopt color-blind approach and/or avoid talking about race completely (Huguley et al., 2019).

Two-thirds of African American, White and Latino parents and 22% of Japanese Americans reported that they used egalitarian strategies before (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Hamm (2001) discovered that more White parents than African American parents tended to use a color-blind approach, suggesting to their children that they should not notice race.

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The frequency of parents using silence about race in the literature is inconsistent. It depends on how silence about race was operationalized in the studies (Hughes et al., 2006). If silence about race was measured as the absence of other ethnic-racial socialization strategies, the percentage of the parents in that category was small (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002; Frabutt et al., 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1999). However, if silence about race was asked as an independent strategy in open-ended questions, for example "When you were a child, were there things your parents, or the people who raised you, did or told you to help you know what it is to be black?" (Bowman & Howard, 1985), the frequency of using this strategy was 20% to 50% (Hughes et al., 2006).

Literature that assess youth outcomes of the egalitarianism and silence about race is scarce (Yasui, 2015). The existing literature have shown that for children of color, egalitarianism and silence about race was associated with suboptimal outcomes (Hughes et al., 2006; Huguley et al., 2019). It was negatively associated with area-specific school self-esteem and academic grades among Black youths (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002). One speculation (Spencer, 1983) underlying the negative association between egalitarianism and youths' academic and psychosocial outcomes is that students of color expect equal treatment in the society based on their parents' socialization but encounter a different reality in the real world. As a result, they might feel unprepared for the unequal treatment.

In summary, ethnic-racial socialization is a common approach used by families especially families of color to respond to racially diverse environments (Huguley et al., 2019). I reviewed four dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization—

Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, Promotion of Mistrust, and Egalitarianism and Silence about race. Cultural socialization was associated with positive academic, psychological and social outcomes for youths. Preparation for bias yielded mixed results and merited more research to examine how different amount of preparation for bias may result in different developmental outcomes. Promotion of mistrust was consistently associated with negative youth outcomes. Research about egalitarianism and silence about race was in its beginning stage and it was too early for me to conclude its impact on youths.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Family Socioeconomic Status

Family socioeconomic status is likely to impact parents' ethnic-racial socialization because parents from different socioeconomic backgrounds will think differently about race and ethnicity and further influence how they talk about these topics with their children. In the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children, García Coll et al. (1996) also emphasized that parents' socioeconomic resources and how they use these available resources would influence their child's development. Overall, research focusing on the socioeconomic context of ethnic-racial socialization is extremely limited. The research that I found were all conducted with African American or Black-White biracial families. Based on my search using keywords "ethnic racial socialization", "SES", and "Asian American" in APA PsycInfo database on September 16th 2022, there is no published research comparing parental ethnic-racial socialization from high-SES vs. low-SES Asian American families.

Cultural socialization and preparation for bias were more frequently used by parents holding professional jobs than their counterparts with less financial resources in a sample of 157 African American families with children 4 to 14 years old (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Caughy et al. (2002) also found that African American parents with higher income and higher levels of education reported more use of cultural socialization and preparation for bias. Additionally, African American parents with more financial resources were more likely to create an Afrocentric home environment with more household items made of African American cultural elements than their low-income counterparts (Caughy et al., 2002). In a sample of 293 Black-White biracial families, family SES predicted more frequent cultural socialization (Csizmadia et al., 2014). Researchers found that high-SES families were more likely to discuss cultural heritage with their children compared to low-SES families.

Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization with Young Children

It is well documented in the literature that children start to process information about race at a young age. As early as three months old, infants showed preference for their own-race faces (Bar-Haim et al., 2006). Nine-month-old infants were able to distinguish their own-race faces from other-race faces (Anzures et al., 2010). Two-year-old toddlers used race to reason about human behaviors (Hirschfeld, 2008). Three-to-five-year-old pre-schoolers used race to identify themselves and others (Feagin & Van Ausdale, 2001). By age five to six, children displayed racial stereotyping and social preferences for own-race people (Killen et al., 2002; Kinzler & Spelke, 2011; Olson et al., 2012).

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Despite increasing scientific evidence rejecting the myth that young children do not notice race, parents often underestimate their children's ability to process race. In a recent study (Sullivan et al., 2021), participants were asked to estimate on a slide scale (age in months) to indicate the age at which children first develop certain behaviors, traits, and abilities regarding their race-related development, non-race-related social development, and general development. In the domain of race-related development, participants were asked five questions: 1) At what age do you think that humans first can categorize faces based on race? The correct answer from the literature is 3 months (Bar-Haim et al., 2006; Kelly et al., 2005; Sangrigoli & de Schonen, 2004). 2) At what age do you think that humans can categorize faces based on race? The correct answer from the literature is 9 months (Anzures et al., 2010). 3) At what age do you think that humans first start associating low-status racial groups with negative traits? The correct answer from the literature is 36 months (Dunham et al., 2013; Newheiser et al., 2014). 4) At what age do you think humans first begin to think about people as being born as members of a particular race? The correct answer from the literature is 48 months (Hirschfeld, 1995). 5) At what age do you think humans first start associating particular racial groups with status (e.g., social status, wealth, power, etc…)? The correct answer from the literature is 47 months (Olson et al., 2012). The researchers then compared the participants' answers with the correct answers from the scientific literature. Results indicated that adults in the United States estimated children's capacities to notice and process race about 4 years and a half later than what the empirical evidence showed (Sullivan et al., 2021). This inaccuracy in adults' knowledge on children's race-related development predicted

their preference for delaying conversations about race with their child (Sullivan et al., 2021). The good news is that when adults were educated specifically on children's capabilities to process race, they expressed willingness to talk about race nearly one-year-and-a-half earlier than those who received intervention about general child development or adults' abilities to understand race (Sullivan et al., 2021).

As far as the author is concerned, there has been few published papers examining parental ethnic-racial socialization among Asian American families of young children (between four and seven years old). One quantitative study and one qualitative study were found and both of them examined preparation for bias in the context of heightened anti-Asian sentiment during the COVID-19 pandemic. In the quantitative study, Ren et al. (in press) found that Chinese American parents infrequently talked to their elementary school-aged children about COVID-19 racial discrimination between March and May 2020. The qualitative study (Wang et al., 2022) examined the complex reasons behind why Chinese American parents hesitated to talk to their elementary school-aged children about racial discrimination although most of them were concerned about racism in American society. Some Chinese American parents in the study believed that children were too young to understand race and racial discrimination. In addition, they worried that focusing on racial discrimination would contribute to their children's feelings of inferiority, which would create more psychological harm for their children.

Place Asian American Child Development in the Context of Asian American History and Contemporary Narratives

Asian American is a heterogenous entity (Lowe, 1991). Lowe (1991) described that Asian Americans may be born in Asia or America or in different parts of the world outside of Asia and America. They may be refugees and nonrefugees. They may be raised by parents who identify as Asian and of mixed race. They may live in urban or rural areas. They may have different political ideologies. They may have different levels of education and come from different social class. They may or may not be fluent in English. Hune and Takeuchi (2008) further argued that the interpretation of Asian American is fluid and depends on the individuals and contexts.

A close-up examination of Asian American history will reveal that different ethnic groups have their unique stories of becoming American as well as stories of being discriminated. A comprehensive history of the arriving of Asian Americans is beyond the scope of this paper, however a short immigration history of Chinese Americans is provided to lay a foundation for discussion on how history influences ethnic-racial socialization processes for Chinese American children.

Chinese immigrants were among the earliest Asian immigrants to America, arriving in the 1820s (Holland, 2007; Kiang et al., 2016). They came for the opportunities in the gold mining, railroad, and farming (Kiang et al., 2016). They worked hard and were exploited for their cheap labor by capitalists (Kim, 1999). As their presence increased, they were seen as economic threats by white laborers (Takaki, 1998). This led to a series of anti-Chinese policies. One of the most extreme ones was the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which banned all Chinese from immigrating to America (Takaki, 1998). The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act is the first federal law that excluded immigrants based on their ethnicity or race in the history of

United States (Kiang et al., 2016). The horrifying term "yellow peril" was used to attack the Asian American group starting in 1897 and pervaded through 1940s (Suzuki, 2002).

In the 1960s, the model minority stereotype towards Asian Americans arose when communities of color advocated for systemic changes during the Civil Rights Movement (Kiang et al., 2016). The model minority stereotype singled out Asian Americans as the academically and economically successful minority group (Juang et al., 2017). Asian Americans were portrayed as diligent people that achieved American Dream through hard work (Yoo et al., 2010). However, this narrative pit Asian American against other groups of color. It contributed to a broader narrative that the reason other communities of color did not accomplish the same level of economic success as Asians was because they did not work hard enough and they were too disruptive (Suzuki, 2002). It completely overlooked the systemic inequity that caused racial injustice and served to reinforce the unjust system (Kiang et al., 2016).

Despite evidence showing that the prevalence of physical and mental health issues among Asian Americans were not low (Gee, 2004; Sue et al., 1995; Sy et al., 1998), the model minority stereotype prevailed (Wong et al., 1998). To this day, Americans assumed that most Americans expected Asian Americans to demonstrate the model minority characteristics – hardworking, high-achieving, and quiet (Chao et al., 2013). A qualitative study interviewing 120 Chinese American adolescents showed that many Asian American youths felt harassed by their peers due to the

perception that Asian American students perform better academically than others (Qin et al., 2007).

Another prominent stereotype towards Asian Americans is the perpetual foreigner stereotype (Juang et al., 2017; Mistry & Kiyama, 2021). Asian Americans are constantly questioned to answer "Where are you *really* from?". They often have to justify their Americanness regardless of their citizenship status, generational and residential length in America (Wu, 2002), even though they feel as American as their peers (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). As a result of the perpetual foreigner stereotypes, Asian American youth felt othered and invisible in schools (Lee et al., 2017). In addition, researchers found that parents' stress over being perceived as perpetual foreigner was associated with their child's higher level of reported discrimination and poorer attitudes towards education (Benner & Kim, 2009a).

In the conceptual model of negotiating marginalization as racial ethnic minorities (Mistry & Kiyama, 2021), model minority and perceptual foreigner were identified as the prevalent master narratives to characterize Asian Americans. Perpetuated through individuals, institutions, policy and media, these stereotypes have contributed to the marginalization, discrimination and invisibility of Asian American children (Mistry & Kiyama, 2021). This marginalization process is also explained in the construct of adaptive culture in the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children (García Coll et al., 1996). Minority children and families are influenced by adaptive culture, which is derived from a combination of collective history and current demands. The collective history of being perceived as model minority and perpetual foreigner create current demands for

Asian American children to respond to these stereotypes and master narratives on a day-to-day basis.

A review of ethnic-racial socialization studies shows that most research on ethnic-racial socialization are conducted with African and Latino American families (Hughes et al., 2006). While ethnic minority groups share many similar developmental trajectories, Asian Americans face unique ecological challenges due to a different history of immigration to America (Juang et al., 2017). According to Pew Research Center (2021), 71% of Asian American adults were born in another country. Their experiences of racial discrimination would look very different from those of, for example African American parents who descended from ancestors that experienced slavery. However, studies that examined the historical influences on children of immigrant Asian American parents and its implications for parental ethnic-racial socialization were scarce (Juang et al., 2017; Kiang et al., 2016).

In summary, the unique immigration history of Chinese and Asian American creates different stereotypes and discrimination against Chinese Americans from other groups of color. The historical contexts and contemporary narratives of model minority myth and perceptual foreigner stereotype that Chinese American children live in impact the ethnic-racial socialization strategies of their parents. Yet, little is known about the ethnic-racial socialization processes of young children in immigrant Chinese American families.

Measures of Asian American Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization

According to a review study by Juang and colleagues (2017), the most common measure used in studies of Asian American ethnic-racial socialization is the

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale, which was developed with African American population by Hughes and Chen (1997). Hughes and Chen (1997) interviewed 157 African American parents with children 4 to 14 years old and explored three aspects of ethnic-racial socialization: cultural socialization (teaching culture and history, and instil racial pride), preparation for bias (preparing for racial discrimination and prejudices), and promotion of mistrust (promoting mistrust towards members of other races). The researchers generated 16 items based on focus group interviews to assess the three dimensions. Some examples were "Read to child Black history books" under the dimension cultural socialization, "Explained to child something child saw on TV that showed poor treatment of Blacks" under the dimension preparation for bias, "Told child to keep distance from Whites" under the dimension promotion of mistrust. Parents were asked to answer whether they engaged in each item and if yes, how often they engaged in the past year.

Hughes and Johnson (2001) added the fourth dimension pluralism in the measure of parents' racial socialization in their study examining the relationship between children's identity exploration process and parent-reported ethnic-racial socialization. They defined pluralism as promoting diversity and connection with other races. Parents filled out a survey of 15 items of parental behaviors and communication to their children about race, which were intended to assess the four dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization. For example, one cultural socialization item was "Talked to child about important people or events in your group's history". One pluralism item was "Talked to child about important people or events in history of different ethnic groups, other than own". For each item, parents were asked to

estimate how many times they engaged in the listed behavior during the past year. Hughes and Johnson (2001) examined the construct validity of the measure and found that cultural socialization and pluralism dimensions were empirically not distinct from each other.

Tran and Lee (2010) extended the Ethnic Racial Socialization model to a sample of Asian American adolescents. They adapted the 15-item perceived ethnic-racial socialization measure from the Hughes and Johnson study (2001) into a 16-item one. They added two items, one under preparation for bias scale ("Talked to you about expectations others might have about your abilities based on your race/ethnicity") and the other under promotion of mistrust ("Told you to avoid another racial/ ethnic group because of its members' prejudice against your racial/ ethnic group."). They deleted one item under preparation for bias ("Told child own ethnicity is an important part of self."). They also extended the assessment period from "assess perceived ethnic-racial socialization practices in the past year" to both over the past year and lifetime. This study was among the first few studies examining the multidimensional model of ethnic-racial socialization specifically with Asian American population.

Tran and Lee (2010) supported the three-factor structure of ethnic-racial socialization that involves cultural socialization-pluralism, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Same as previous results (Hughes & Johnson, 2001), Tran and Lee also found that cultural socialization and pluralism were empirically indistinguishable. Tran and Lee (2010) validated the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale with Asian American community, which resulted in a 16-item measure with 5

items on cultural socialization-pluralism, 8 items on preparation for bias, and 3 items on promotions of mistrust.

Juang and colleagues (2017) found in their review article that the second most common scale used in Asian American ethnic-racial socialization studies is Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). This measure was developed from Latino adolescents' self-reports (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). Different from Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997), the Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001) did not distinguish between different dimensions of the socialization practices. It focused on capturing the overt (intentional) and covert (not intentional, indirect) aspects of familial ethnic socialization. An example of overt ethnic socialization item was, "My family discusses the importance of knowing about my ethnic/ cultural background". An example of covert ethnic socialization was, "Our home is decorated with things that reflect my ethnic/ cultural background." It consisted of nine questions using a 1-to-5-point Likert scale from 1 representing not at all and 5 representing very much true. Higher scores indicated more familial ethnic socialization.

However, neither Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale nor Family Ethnic Socialization Measure was initially developed with Asian American community. Therefore, Juang and colleagues developed a new measure, the Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale (Juang et al., 2016). They interviewed 6 focus groups (33 Asian American college students in total) and asked them "Do you think most Asian-heritage parents teach their children how to deal with racial/ ethnic discrimination? If so, what things do they say/do? Have you ever asked your parents

about racial/ethnic discrimination and prejudice? What did you ask them and what did they say? ". Initially, 81 items of Asian American parental socialization emerged from the interviews. The researchers then dropped 16 unclear and poorly-worded items. Next, they sent the remaining 65 items to experts on this topic for review. Combining the experts' suggestions on adding and deleting certain items to capture the full construct of ethnic-racial socialization, they eventually concluded with 75 items (Juang et al., 2016).

The 75-item Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale measured seven dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization (Juang et al., 2016). They were maintenance of heritage culture ("Told you to speak in their heritage language"), becoming American ("Invited American people over to your house"), awareness of discrimination ("Talked to you about why some people will treat you unfairly because of your Asian background"), avoidance of outgroups ("Showed you that you should not be friends with people of certain racial/ ethnic backgrounds"), minimization of race ("Told you that racism doesn't exist"), promotion of equality ("Told you that all people are equal regardless of their racial or ethnic background"), and cultural pluralism ("Talked to you about important people or events in the history of racial/ ethnic groups other than your own"). These dimensions measured both racial socialization and ethnic socialization (Juang et al., 2017). It allowed participants to answer as members of both their racial and ethnic groups in mind. Participants were asked to indicate whether their parents have engaged in these behaviors. If yes, they were asked to rate how often on a Likert scale from 1 (never)

to 5 (very often) (Juang et al., 2016). Higher scores indicated more racial and ethnic socialization.

In summary, three existing measures (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Tran & Lee, 2010) were derived and adapted from the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997). These measures have evolved to support the three-factor structure of ethnic-racial socialization that includes cultural socialization-pluralism, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2001) developed the Family Ethnic Socialization Measure with Latino adolescents, which captures the overt and covert aspects of familial ethnic socialization. Juang and colleagues (2016) interviewed Asian American college students to develop a specific measure on ethnic-racial socialization processes among Asian Americans—the Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale. The 75-item measure involves seven dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization: maintenance of heritage culture, becoming American, awareness of discrimination, avoidance of outgroups, minimization of race, promotion of equality and cultural pluralism.

Asian American Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Although earlier research on ethnic-racial socialization focused on Black families, more research on Asian American have been published in the last decade, which suggests growing attention to this population (Juang et al., 2017). In this section, I will review the impact of each ethnic-racial socialization dimension on Asian American children and youths.

Overall, family ethnic socialization was positively associated with ethnic identity and psychological well-being in Asian American youths (Nguyen et al., 2015). Asian-heritage parents tended to transmit more positive messages, instilling cultural pride and emphasizing diversity (Juang et al., 2016). They were less likely to pass on messages about discrimination and mistrust than promoting messages about becoming American and showing appreciation for other races (Juang et al., 2016).

Cultural socialization has been consistently associated with positive outcomes for Asian American youths. High level of cultural socialization messages were positively related to stronger ethnic identity (Gartner et al., 2014; Tran & Lee, 2010) and higher self-esteem (Gartner et al., 2014). It was negatively associated with depression symptoms (Liu & Lau, 2013). Atkin et al. (2019) found that cultural socialization moderated the effect of racial discrimination on psychological distress. Specifically, for Asian American adolescents that received low level of cultural socialization, there was a positive association between discrimination and psychological distress. For Asian American adolescents that received high level of cultural socialization, this relation was not significant. In other words, when Asian American adolescents received racial discrimination, those that reported fewer cultural socialization were more likely to feel distressed. This suggested that cultural socialization may be a protective factor for Asian American youths from racial discrimination (Atkin et al., 2019). In the domain of academic outcomes, cultural socialization was associated with higher levels of academic motivation (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008) and more school engagement (Seol et al., 2016). In a qualitative study

interviewing second-generation Asian American parents (Juang et al., 2018), researchers found that second-generation parents wanted to pass on cultural heritage but noted barriers such as lack of cultural knowledge and language to do so.

Studies on preparation for bias have yielded mixed youth outcomes in Asian American families. Benner and Kim (2009a) found that more preparation for bias messages from parents were associated with more feelings of cultural misfit in Chinese American adolescents. Preparation for bias was also related to high level of pessimism and low level of optimism, which in turn were linked with more depressive symptoms (Liu & Lau, 2013). On the other hand, there were also some positive outcomes. Tran and Lee (2011) found that preparation for bias moderated the relation between cross-race friendships and social competition. Specifically, for Asian American youths that received high levels of preparation for bias, cross-race friendship was positively associated with social competence. However, this positive relation did not hold for Asian American adolescents that reported low level of preparation for bias. Seol and colleagues (2016) discovered that the amount of preparation for bias messages mattered in academic outcomes among a Korean American adolescent sample. They found that a moderate level of preparation for bias predicted positive school engagement whereas low level and high level of preparation for bias predicted negative school engagement (Seol et al., 2016). However, it needs to be noted that it is a cross-sectional study and the directionality of this relation should be interpreted with caution.

Promotion of mistrust is generally associated with negative academic achievement and psychosocial adjustment for Asian Americans. Huynh & Fuligni

(2008) reported that promotion of mistrust is negatively associated with academic achievement in Chinese American adolescents. Promotion of mistrust has also been found to be negatively related to ethnic identity for children born in foreign countries (Gartner et al., 2014) and social competence (Tran & Lee, 2010). Promotion of mistrust was positively associated with depression symptoms in Asian American young adults (Liu & Lau, 2013). Atkin et al. (2019) found that promotion of mistrust moderated the effect of racial discrimination on psychological distress. Specifically, for Asian American adolescents reporting high level of promotion of mistrust, there was a positive association between discrimination and psychological distress. The positive link between discrimination and psychological distress did not hold for Asian American youths who reported low level of promotion of mistrust, suggesting that promotion of mistrust may be a risk factor for Asian American adolescents' adjustment (Atkin et al., 2019). During the COVID-19 pandemic, Cheah et al. (2021) found that among Chinese American adolescents, parental promotion of mistrust messages were associated with more internalizing difficulties. The researchers further examined the moderating role of promotion of mistrust on the effect of COVID-19 related racial discrimination on adolescents' internalizing difficulties. They found that Chinese American adolescents who perceived high level of promotion of mistrust from parents were more likely to suffer from the effect of COVID-19 racial discrimination on their internalizing difficulties (Cheah et al., 2021).

Egalitarianism and silence about race is the least studied dimension in the Asian American community. A recent qualitative study investigating racial socialization in Asian American families during a time of racial tension in American

society (eg. increased protests regarding racial injustices experienced by people of color) showed that there were limited racial discussions in Asian American families (Young et al., 2020). Asian American young adults often had to educate their parents on issues about discrimination, racism, and social injustices (Young et al., 2020). As far as the author is concerned, researchers have not examined the specific effects of egalitarianism and silence about race on Asian Americans.

In summary, cultural socialization and promotion of mistrust are associated with more straightforward outcomes among Asian American youths than preparation for bias. Cultural socialization was associated with positive psychological and academic outcomes for Asian American children while promotion of mistrust was linked with more negative outcomes. Preparation for bias yielded mixed outcomes. Researchers found that preparation for bias was curvilinearly moderated the effect of discrimination on school adjustment for Asian American adolescents (Seol et al., 2016). It was unclear whether preparation for bias is a significant moderator between discrimination and other psychosocial outcomes. There was a lack of research on egalitarianism and silence about race in Asian American ethnic-racial socialization processes. In addition, our knowledge about the ethnic-racial socialization processes about Asian Americans derives from middle-class Asian Americans and we know little about how the ethnic-racial socialization processes look like in lower-income Asian American families.

Current Study

Ethnic-racial socialization is passing messages about race and ethnicity from parents to children and includes four dimensions—cultural socialization, preparation

for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race (Hughes et al., 2006). The most widely used measure in empirical studies on ethnic-racial socialization is the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Globally, the construct is associated with a wide range of positive academic and psychosocial outcomes (Huguley et al., 2019).

The majority of the ethnic-racial socialization literature focused on African American and Latino American youths. Ethnic-racial socialization studies with the Asian American community are lacking. In addition, most ethnic-racial socialization scholars conducted research with adolescents and their families and did not examine the socioeconomic context of the family. Therefore, our understanding of the ethnic-racial socialization processes among young children from diverse economic backgrounds is limited. To address these knowledge gaps in ethnic-racial socialization literature, the proposed qualitative study will examine parental ethnic-racial socialization processes among Chinese American middle-and-upper-income and low-income families with young children between 4-7 years old. I want to explore the following questions:

(a) How do Chinese American mothers pass messages about race and ethnicity to their young children? More specifically What ethnic-racial socialization strategies do they use? How often do they engage in these strategies? Because this is the first study examining this topic, the current study will take an exploratory approach and no hypothesis is proposed.

(b) How do Chinese American mothers from low-income and middle-and-upper-income backgrounds differ in the frequency and content of ethnic-racial

socialization practices? Because this is the first study examining the socioeconomic context of Asian American families' ethnic-racial socialization, the current study will take an exploratory approach and no hypothesis is proposed.

(c) How do Chinese American mothers perceive the effectiveness of their ethnic-racial socialization strategies, and whether they find specific strategies helpful or harmful? The current study will take an exploratory approach and no hypothesis is proposed.

Chapter 4: Method

<u>*Participants*</u>

Fifty-seven Chinese American mothers (Mage = 37.14, SD =4.99) of 4-to-7-year-old young children (Mage =5.63, SD =0.82, female n=33, 58%) participated in the study. Data were collected between October 2019 and January 2020 by two PhD-level researchers and me. Data included family demographic characteristics via a short survey and 45-minute-to-90-minute semi-structured mother interview on parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and beliefs. Family demographic data included child age and gender, mother age, mother marital status, mother education, and family annual income.

Demographic characteristics of the sample were shown in Table 1. A total of fifty-seven Chinese American mothers (Mage = 37.14, SD =4.99) of 4-to-7-year-old young children (Mage =5.63, SD =0.82, female n=33, 58%) from Maryland (n = 24) and New York (n = 33) participated in the study. Fifty-six of them are immigrants and one mother was born in America. The average years of stay in the U.S. among immigrant mothers were 15. Five percent of the participants' children were four years old (n=3), 42% five years old (n=24), 37% six years old (n=21), and 16% seven years old (n=9). Of the total fifty-seven Chinese American mothers, fifty were married (88%), three divorced (5%), two single (3.5%), one married and separated (1.8%), and one in a relationship (1.8%). With regard to mothers' highest education level, four finished primary school (7%), seven finished middle school (12%), ten finished high school (17.5%), six finished vocational school (11%), twenty-two obtained an undergraduate degree (38.5%), and eight obtained a graduate degree (14%).

The participants' family income levels vary. Two families (3.5%) had an annual income of under $4,000. One family (1.5%) had an annual income of $4,000 to $9,999. Thirty-two families (56%) had an annual income of $10,000 to $59,999. Four families (7%) had an annual income of $60,000 to $80,000. Eighteen families (32%) had an annual income of more than $100,000. According to National Center for Children in Poverty, a family of four with two children earning below $51,852 was considered low-income families in 2019. However, according to 2018 estimates released by the U.S. Department of Housing, an annual salary of $58,450 or less for a single resident living in New York metro area is considered low-income. Considering the location of the family, the family annual income, family size, and the low-income guideline set by National Center for Children in Poverty and U.S. Department of Housing, we used $60,000 as the cut-off of annual family income to distinguish groups of low-income mothers and middle-and-upper-income mothers. This resulted in 36 low-income mothers and 21 middle-and-upper-income mothers in our sample.

Procedures

This study is part of a larger study on parental ethnic-racial socialization in early childhood. It was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at University of Maryland, College Park. Participants were recruited through study flyers displayed in public spaces in Maryland, such as Chinese grocery stores, Chinese language schools, personal contact of the researchers, social media (e.g. Wechat, the most frequently used chat application by Chinese), and community organizations. The researchers also collaborated with a New York non-profit organization to recruit families from New York City.

Once the participants expressed their interest to participate, the researchers introduced the study to them, and scheduled a time to meet the mother. The participant could choose to meet at their home or a quiet public space in Maryland or in New York City, for example a study room at a public library. When the researcher and the mother met, the mother was first asked to fill out a demographic survey. The researcher then conducted a semi-structured interview with the mother about their family ethnic-racial socialization processes. The participant chose their preferred language (Chinese or English) to participate in the interview. Forty-four out of fifty-seven participants chose to conduct the interview in Chinese. In some situations, due to limited availability of the mother, the semi-structured interview was conducted through phone (n=34). The mother received a Target gift card of $40 for participating in this study. The data collection process was started in October 2019 and finished in January 2020.

Interview Questions

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Process

The interview questions were adapted from the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997). The researchers chose this measure over the Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale (Juang et al., 2016) because Juang et al.'s measure was developed through interviewing Asian American college students while the current study focused on young children of 4-to-7-year-old. The researchers compared both measures and decided that the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997) was more developmentally appropriate for the current study. The interviewers first introduced the concepts of ethnic-racial socialization.

They defined each ethnic-racial socialization dimension (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race) and asked the participant how often they engaged in each of these dimensions and what specific ethnic-racial socialization practices they engaged in. The participants were also asked whether they found these ethnic-racial socialization methods helpful and/or harmful, and why. The specific interview questions in both English and Chinese were attached in Appendices.

Data Analysis

Interview Transcription and Translation

Interviews were transcribed verbatim in its original language. The interviews conducted in Chinese were transcribed verbatim by a Chinese transcription service. The Chinese transcriptions were then translated to English by undergraduate and graduate research assistants before coding. Undergraduate research assistants transcribed the interviews conducted in English verbatim.

Coding Process

Three coders were involved in this study. One was a postdoctoral fellow with extensive experience in qualitative analysis, and two were graduate students (including myself) new to the process of qualitative analysis. The postdoctoral fellow provided 30 hours of training to the graduate students on the qualitative coding process. All of the transcripts were coded in the qualitative research analysis web application Dedoose (Version 9.0.54) using content analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). We used content analysis to code the data, which is a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context (Krippendorff, 1980). It is

suitable for describing, quantifying and analyzing multifaceted phenomena and qualitative data (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Krippendorff, 1980). Content analysis focuses on meanings, intentions, consequences and context (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). Content analysis may be used in an inductive way or deductive way (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Deductive content analysis is used when the structure of analysis is operationalized based on existing theories and literature review (Kyngas & Vanhanen, 1999). Researchers move from the general structure (e.g., an existing theory) to the specific observation in the deductive content analysis (Burns & Grove, 2005). Inductive content analysis is used when there is no previous knowledge about the phenomena (Lauri & Kyngas, 2005). Researchers move from the specific instances and combine the observation into a general structure in the inductive content analysis (Chinn & Kramer, 1983).

For the current study, we used a combination of deductive and inductive approach. Ethnic-racial socialization process in Chinese American families was operationalized based on the existing Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997) and the interview questions were structured in a deductive way. The participants were asked two sets of questions for each ethnic-racial socialization dimension (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism and silence about race). The first set of our research questions revolved around the frequency and content of each ethnic-racial socialization dimension, so we developed codes "frequency" and "current practices". The second set of our research questions asked the mothers whether they think the ethnic-racial socialization strategies were helpful or harmful, and why, so we developed codes

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"helpful/harmful", "helpful", "harmful". A categorization matrix (see Table 2) was developed to code data into the four dimensions of the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race). These four dimensions became the four categories of the deductive content analysis process. In addition to the deductive approach, we also adopted the inductive approach. There was no prior knowledge about the ethnic-racial socialization processes in Chinese American families with young children and in low-income Chinese American families. Therefore, the researchers remained an open mind to observe and capture the unique practices and the perception of the four dimensions in low-income Chinese American families' ethnic-racial socialization processes. The researchers synthesized their observation into a general structure in the inductive content analysis.

Three trained coders read and re-read all the transcripts to become familiar with the entire body of the interview data. We formed early impressions of the data and jot down notes to learn "what is going on" (Bengtsson, 2016). In Table 3, I used cultural socialization dimension as an example to illustrate the development of initial codes.

With this shared initial coding framework and the initial codes, the three coders then independently coded five randomly selected transcripts. Coders held weekly meetings to review our notes and discuss the codes. During this process, we continued to identify new codes from the interview data using an inductive approach. We met to compare the coding results and discussed our thinking process to resolve discrepancies. We refined our codes through continuous discussion as we reviewed

more transcripts. For example, we added more codes related to cultural socialization practices (e.g., visits to China, holiday celebrations, promotion of cultural values) in addition to the initial ones (e.g., Chinese language use/ teaching, eat Chinese food, discussion about history/ culture, exposure to Chinese books/ media). We color coded the structure of our codebook, with black being the first level parent codes followed by child codes in red. Table 4 demonstrated the final cultural socialization codes in the codebook. The complete codebook is shown in Table 5.

Next, the experienced coder set up a code application test on Dedoose with a random sample of 20% of the finalized codes. The two graduate student coders took the test and inter-rater reliability was calculated. Cohen's kappa was .82 for cultural socialization dimension, .79 for preparation for bias, .75 for promotion of mistrust, and .85 for egalitarianism and silence about race, which indicated strong agreement (McHugh, 2012). Then the two graduate student coders independently coded the remaining transcripts. The coders finished the coding process in November 2021.

After that, themes were identified using content analysis (Bengtsson, 2016). Theme is an overall concept of underlying meaning that answers the question "How?" (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Once the categories and themes were identified, I started the analysis and the write-up process. When performing a content analysis, researchers can choose between the manifest and latent level (Bengtsson, 2016). In a manifest analysis, the researcher stays close to the original text in the transcripts and its context (Burnard, 1991). In a latent analysis, the researcher aims to find hidden meanings in the text (Bengtsson, 2016). In the current study, I performed the content analysis in a combination of manifest and latent analysis. In the result section, I

analyzed the transcripts in a manifest level by staying close to the text and quoting the interviewees' original words. In the discussion section, I interpreted the data in a latent level, uncovering the hidden meaning beyond the original text. I was not only concerned with what the interviewees said, but also what they did not say, their tones of saying what they said, laughter and silence in between their words.

One unique characteristic of qualitative content analysis is that it allows quantification in which codes are counted (Bengtsson, 2016). Combining a qualitative approach with quantification helps the researchers see a pattern in their data and understand why a pattern exists in certain contexts (Morgan, 1993). In the current study, the frequency and practices of using each ethnic-racial socialization dimension were counted. The number of the participants evaluating whether each dimension was helpful or harmful was also counted. By counting these codes, I aimed to see patterns in how often Chinese American mothers used each dimension, what specific strategies they used, and whether they found these ethnic-racial socialization strategies helpful. I also used chi-square test to compare the use of ethnic-racial socialization strategies between low-income and middle-and-upper-income mothers. I wanted to understand whether socioeconomic context influenced how Chinese American mothers used ethnic-racial socialization strategies.

Chapter 5: Results

<u>*Cultural Socialization (CS)*</u>

Frequency

Of the 57 participants being interviewed, 29 mothers (51.9%) often used cultural socialization, 17 mothers (29.8%) sometimes used it, and 2 mothers (3.5%) rarely used it. None of the mothers never used cultural socialization.

The 57 participants consisted of 36 low-income mothers and 21 middle-and-upper-income mothers. The summary of the frequency of using each ethnic-racial socialization dimension among the participants was attached below (see Table 6). Almost 50% of the low-income mothers (n=16, 44.4%) and more than 60% of the middle-and-upper-income mothers (n=13, 61.9%) used cultural socialization often. Approximately 30% of both groups of mothers sometimes used cultural socialization. None of the middle-and-upper-income mother rarely or never used cultural socialization. Two low-income mothers (5.6%) rarely used cultural socialization and none of the low-income mothers never used cultural socialization. A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between income level and frequency of using cultural socialization. The relation between these variables was insignificant, x^2 (3, N=57) =2.412, p=0.491, indicating that these two variables were independent of each other.

Current Practices

CS practices as family routines. Eating Chinese food (n=26, 46%), celebrating holidays (n=21, 37%), discussing culture and history (n=15, 26%), using Chinese language (n=22, 39%), and exposing their child to Chinese books and media

(n=20, 35%) were the most frequently used practices of cultural socialization among Chinese American families. Frequency of each code was summarized in Table 7. Mothers reported these practices as their family lifestyles and routines. This supported previous literature on how cultural socialization was often the first thing that parents of color talked about when they were asked to share their ethnic-racial socialization practices (Hughes et al., 2006). All of the ethnic-racial socialization practices used by the participants were summarized in Figure 1.

Use multiple CS practices together. The mothers not only mentioned using cultural socialization practices, but they also mentioned using multiple practices together. For example, one mother shared how she used eating Chinese food (e.g., zongzi), celebrating holidays (e.g., Dragon Boat Festival) and discussing culture and history (e.g., the story of Qu Yuan, a Chinese poet and politician during the Warring States period, c. 340 BCE – 278 BCE) at the same time: "When we ate zongzi during the Dragon Boat Festival, I told him the story of Qu Yuan jumping into the river." Ling, a mother of a five-year-old son from a low-income family said.

Storytelling as a powerful tool in CS practices. Storytelling was a unifying theme for multiple cultural socialization practices. Parents thought it was a digestible, attractive, and developmentally appropriate form for their young children. Storytelling served as a good scaffold for deeper cultural learning. For example, the story of Sun Wu Kong [Monkey Sun], portrayed in the book Journey to the West, was a reading that Chinese American mothers in our sample liked to share with their children. Wendy, a 37-year-old mother of a 5-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income background, shared that she and her husband used Journey to the West

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to discuss culture and history with their daughter and further encourage the child to use Chinese at home.

Utilize different media to foster cultural learning naturally. Teaching culture, in Chinese American mothers' opinions should not be a lecturing process from parents to children. They preferred using different media to pique their children's curiosity so that cultural learning happens naturally and gradually (based on children's developmental levels). Bing, a 39-year-old mother of a 5-year-old daughter from a low-income background explained:

> I think it just happened. Don't talk about it deliberately. When you talk about it deliberately, the child will think you are passing something to her. Inadvertently, in daily life or watching TV or chatting, when it comes to this aspect, I will add my own things.

Helpful or Harmful

When the participants were asked whether they think cultural socialization is helpful or harmful, 44 mothers (77.2%) perceived cultural socialization as helpful, and only 1 mother (1.8%) perceived it as harmful. Five mothers (8.8%) regarded it as mixed and 1 mother (1.8%) regarded it as neutral. The rest of the mothers (n=6, 10.5%) either felt uncertain about the effect of cultural socialization or felt cultural socialization may have some harm but could not think of anything particular at the moment. Perception of the four ethnic-racial socialization dimensions among 57 Chinese American mothers was summarized in Table 8 and Figure 2.

CS strengthens family and community bonds. Mothers noted that cultural socialization practices can strengthen family and community bonds. Within the family, mothers mentioned dumpling night as a family activity, which brought joy to parent-child relationships. During holidays, eating Chinese food together with other

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Chinese American families provided an opportunity for fostering friendship and strengthening Chinese American community bonds.

CS promotes cultural understanding and positive Chinese identity. The participants shared that cultural socialization helps their child understand Chinese history, culture, and language. Learning more about their own heritage helped to promote connection to China, cultural pride, and positive Chinese identity. For example, Zhan, a 40-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a low-income family shared how learning about Chinese history and historical figures would create role models for her daughter and make her proud of being Chinese. Furthermore, cultural socialization promoted learning about other cultures. Vivian, a 33-year-old mother of a 7-year-old son from a low-income family, shared that learning Chinese extended curiosity for other cultures for her child. She wanted to enroll him in language courses in addition to Chinese when he grew up so that he could learn and understand other countries.

CS is fun and developmentally appropriate. Chinese American mothers regarded cultural socialization as fun and thus developmentally appropriate for young children. It came naturally for parents to use. Mothers mentioned that making Chinese food (e.g., dumplings) together, reading stories about Chinese history and watching cartoon about Chinese figures is fun for their children. It is easy to engage with their children when they use cultural socialization in a fun way!

Too much CS may hinder acculturation. Seven mothers shared the potential harm of using too much cultural socialization. One mother Pinlan (a 32-year-old mother of a 5-year-old son from the low-income group), talked about too much

cultural socialization may cause difficulties for children when they need to interact

with people from different cultures. Two mothers worried that too much cultural

socialization might cause bicultural identity conflict. For example, Cheng, a 30-year-

old mother of a 6-year-old son from a low-income family, worried that her child may

be confused about being Chinese or American in the future. In addition, two mothers

worried that learning two languages (English and Chinese) simultaneously at an early

age might impair language development in English. For example, Yusi, a 34-year-old

mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income background,

expressed the concern of their child spending too much energy learning Chinese,

which may influence their English language ability. She stressed to the interviewer

that, "They need English language. And they need to be able to interact with others in

English, and be very, very native.". Three mothers emphasized the importance of

striking a balance between Chinese culture and mainstream American culture. For

example, Gaoyue, a 29-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-

upper-income family believed that cultural socialization will have some harm only

when the balance is not handled well by the parents. She said:

> If we talk about harm, it's really a matter of balance. For anything, if you do it too
> much...for example, if you only let the child connect with Chinese culture, you only
> celebrate Chinese holidays, do not eat American food, do not celebrate American
> holidays, and...of course in school they teach American history. But if the parent said,
> no, this is not important, and only lets the child learn Chinese culture. If you
> purposefully shield some things, but then forcefully indoctrinate Chinese culture to
> the child, you will cause an imbalance. This will surely impact the child. But, as long
> as the balance is good, there will not be negative impacts.

Preparation for Bias (PB)

Frequency

In the interview, preparation for bias was defined as promoting children's awareness of discrimination and preparing them to cope with discrimination. More than half of the participants (n=31, 54.4%) reported that they have never used preparation for bias. Eleven mothers (19.3%) rarely used it. Eight mothers (14%) sometimes used it and 1 mother (1.8%) often used it.

More than 60% of the low-income mothers (n=23, 63.9%) never used it, yet only 38% of the middle-and-upper-income mothers (n=8) never used this strategy. Ten percent of low-income mothers (n=4, 11.1%) rarely used preparation for bias whereas a higher percentage of mothers from the higher income group rarely used this strategy (n=7, 33.3%). However, a chi-square test of independence showed that there was no significant association between income and frequency of using preparation for bias, x^2 (4, N=57) =6.764, p=0.149.

Current Practices

Compared to cultural socialization, Chinese American mothers showed more diversity and less consensus in how they would prepare their children for bias. Some mothers chose to prepare their children for bias proactively by sharing their own discrimination experiences, encouraging their children to work harder academically, and seeking expert knowledge on how to prepare children for bias. Some mothers chose to employ reactive strategies. They helped their children develop coping strategies after their children experience bias in life. One strategy Chinese American mothers liked to use to help their children cope with discrimination was promoting ethnic and racial pride. In their conversation with their children about preparing for

bias, 9 mothers deliberately minimized discussion about racial discrimination. One mother showed powerlessness in countering racial discrimination.

Some mothers talked about PB in the context of working extra hard in education. Seven mothers encouraged their children to work hard academically to prepare for high standards expected of Asian Americans. The interviewees recognized that societal expectations are higher for Asian American children possibly due to the model minority stereotypes. For example, Yusi, a 34-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income background, said, "because you're Asian, sometimes the bar is higher, and for you to be successful in the future, if you want more options, it sometimes, grades do matter. Like you need to try your best.". In the area of education, a topic that parents of Asian heritage pay close attention to, many Chinese American mothers mentioned the challenges of college admission processes facing Asian American applicants. Anna, a 35-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income level shared:

> Because we did talk about college admission bias that Asians need to score like at least 200 [points] more than a Caucasian peer, and maybe three, or more than 300 or 400 than the Hispanic or ah, African American applicants. Um, that's the truth. So, I don't think that will change very much. So… but we do need to work hard about discrimination.

Some mothers asked their children to work hard academically so that they would not be looked down upon by others. For example, Bing, a 39-year-old mother of a 5-year-old daughter from a low-income background said, "You belong to the weak, the weak group. The only thing you can do is talk less, do more things, and do what you should do." "Talk Less, Do More" is a colloquial Chinese idiom. It reflects that in Chinese culture, action and hard work is highly valued. It is more valued than speaking up. Some Chinese American mothers brought these traditional Chinese

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values to America and chose to raise their children to think like that. This parenting

goal differs from the mainstream American culture that emphasizes speaking up. It is

a reflection of some Chinese American mothers' traditions and cultural legacies in

their child-rearing practices (García Coll et al., 1996). One low-income mother Ms.

Liang, 32-year-old with a 6-year-old daughter, mentioned taking pride in doubling

your efforts for academic success, "It is good to redouble your efforts. Show them.

You should be proud at least once".

Some mothers employed proactive strategies. Fourteen mothers prepared

their children proactively for biases and discrimination. Two mothers prepared

proactively to make their children understand what unfair treatment or discrimination

look like in the society. One mother used proactive preparation for bias as a good

opportunity to build trust with the child. She wanted to provide a safe space for her

child so that they can share anything with her. One mother talked about reaching out

to therapists and seeking expert knowledge on how to prepare child for bias.

Seven mothers shared their own discrimination experiences with their children

to prepare them for potential bias. For example, one of them, Francesco, a 37-year-

old mother of a 7-year-old son from low-income background, shared that she was

treated unfairly at workplace. She was treated as a model minority and was demanded

to work harder than her "American" colleagues. She was not trusted when she asked

for sick leave:

> For example, I would explain things to him, when he doesn't believe he's a Chinese
> or why are Chinese being looked down upon by others, then I said to him, for
> example in my work place, even if I do a lot, but if someone else who is American
> takes day off every day, they will not be fired, but if I ask for a sick leave, they will
> say why do you want to call in sick, and then they ask you to bring some documents
> to prove myself sick. If others were not Chinese, they did not ask these things,
> because they think that Chinese people must work hard, you can't ask for leave, you

can't do this or that. So when I go to explain to them that we, Chinese work in places where there are mainly Americans, there will be some different treatment. They (the children) sometimes don't believe what I said, I would tell them this example, this is what I experienced. So sometimes you shouldn't let people think you are easily being bullied.

Furthermore, all of the seven mothers were from low-income backgrounds. Although there is a possibility that mothers experienced discrimination but did not share that with their children and thus not captured by this theme, the existing ratio of low-income mothers to middle-and-upper-income mothers who experienced discrimination was alarming. These data showed that low-income families were more vulnerable to social stratification mechanisms, namely racism, prejudice, discrimination and oppression outlined in García Coll et al.'s model (1996).

Some of these Chinese American mothers hoped that by sharing their own experiences, they can help their children develop coping strategies. "I shared my experience with him about what I encountered. He will definitely have his own ideas. If he encounters this situation himself, he will do something. After considering this problem, if he encounters it again, he will know what to do." Dalia, a 35-year-old mother of a 7-year-old daughter from a low-income background said. Other mothers shared with their child the experience of being discriminated but decided not to advise on how to cope with it because they wanted to respect their child's unique life experiences. For example, Monica, a 34-year-old mother of a 5-year-old daughter from a low-income background shared:

> At most I just tell him, "I used to be like this", but I won't discuss with him what you should do in the future, or what you should learn from me. … My experience is different from what he experiences. My age, what I experienced at that time, is so different from what he has now. Even if I told him, he... everyone experiences different things.

Some mothers employed reactive strategies. Five mothers shared that they

helped children develop strategies to cope with racial discrimination after the child

shared experiences of ethnic or racial victimization. For example, Tan, a 43-year-old

mother from a middle-and-upper-income background taught her 5-year-old son how

to defend himself when other people laughed at his food:

> I can immediately say that he laughed at your meal because he didn't know what
> your meal was, he didn't understand how to respect it [food and culture]. To take
> advantage of this opportunity, I will give him some mental preparations, and next
> time, if there are similar situations, he will naturally use this method to defend
> himself, knowing this happened because the other person did not understand [culture]
> and so he might not see it as discrimination. In turn, he will just think that that kid is
> ridiculous, because he is ignorant.

A strategy that two mothers used to prepare their child for bias reactively and

help their children cope with racial discrimination was to promote ethnic-racial pride.

For example, Bing, a 39-year-old mother with a 5-year-old daughter from low-

income background, believed that promoting ethnic-racial pride can protect the

child's mental health after she was discriminated. This is an example of mothers

combining cultural socialization and preparation for bias to mitigate the negative

effect of racial discrimination on child mental health.

Mothers minimize discussion about racial discrimination. During the

interviews, 9 Chinese mothers (16%) tried to reduce the amount of talking about race

or racial discrimination when they used preparation for bias. One low-income mother

Ning (38-year-old with a 7-year-old daughter) emphasized the need to study well as a

minority in this society, but deliberately not want to talk about the potential

discrimination a racial minority might face. "You just have to do what you should do,

what you shouldn't have, just don't do it. I didn't communicate with children

deliberately that we are a minority. I just emphasized to them that you need to study

well. It is good for you to study well. You study for yourself, not for me." While the
mothers often recognized the existence of racial discrimination towards Chinese
Americans, they did not want to pass this impression to their children. They did not
want their children to feel inferior as a Chinese American. They also did not want
children to associate all difficulties or challenges they encounter in life with being a
minority. Liping, a 40-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a low-income
background shared:

> Mother: When we (the parents), or other Chinese American people were
> discriminated against outside [of home], I have shared how they responded. But I did
> not say to my kids that you are a racial minority, so there is a possibility of being
> discriminated. I didn't say things like that.
> Interviewer: Why didn't you share these with your kids?
> Mother: I'm afraid when he encounters a little thing, he would think about this
aspect.

Low-income parents lack social capital to counter racial discrimination.

Although only one low-income mother explicitly talked about her feelings of
powerlessness if her child experiences racial discrimination, the compelling story and
honest revelation the mother shared was worth our attention. Maria, a low-income
mother of a 5-year-old son compared the available resources in her family with those
in a middle-class Chinese American family that she knew if they both had to deal
with racial discrimination. She was happy for that Chinese American family, who
fought for their child. Yet, she did not know what to do if similar incident happened
to her child.

> Because if you are really discriminated against, if you give him some preparations at
> home, then he may be better able to survive it. We've heard about another child's
> experience. The boy was racially discriminated. If we were his parents, we would not
> know what to do. But fortunately, his parents are actually not marginalized in the
> United States. They work in American companies. They are still Chinese immigrants,
> also immigrants, first-generation immigrants, not second-generation immigrants. His
> parents worked in American companies, and they were also exposed to the

mainstream American life and society. In the end, they were able to help their children very well. In fact, I have thought that if my child encounters such a thing, how can we help our children with our disadvantaged position? We don't have excellent backgrounds like the parents of that child, working in large companies, or with a high-level education. At least they encountered this problem, a circle of American friends around them also supported them. The problem is obvious. The child thinks he has been wronged, and the school principal sent a letter, [implying] that the child's performance was not good. This is a big blow to the child. Then the parents' went back to the school. They fought hard for it. They got a lawyer and fought until the end. If my child experienced such a big thing, like other people wronged him, he may be able to get through it, but he would feel very struggling in his heart for a long time. We are ordinary people, what should we do when we encounter something like this, I don't know. I am also very worried about this kind of thing, and I don't know what to do.

Maria's voice needs to be heard. She demonstrates that low-income families are not only more vulnerable to racial discrimination, but they also need more resources to respond to discriminatory experiences. Anti-discrimination resources need to be especially delivered to low-income families because they do not have the social capital as their higher-income counterparts. Knowing that they have agency to combat racial discrimination will also help them reduce fear and stress of living as a minority with few resources.

Mothers tell their child not to treat others unfairly. While Chinese American parents worried that their own child might experience prejudice and discrimination in the society, they transformed their understanding of the negative impact of racial discrimination into instilling radical empathy to their child. Two mothers mentioned teaching their children not to be mean to others. For example, Cathy, a 32-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income family taught her child not to say mean words or hurtful words to others. Another mother Meining, a 35-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a low-income family educated her child to develop an anti-bully mindset:

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Because I haven't really thought that the kids in America would encounter these situations. But previously I have seen some people post videos...because there were some Asian kids in America who encountered this [discrimination]. So I would show my kids separately, and tell them not to be like that--not to bully those weaker than you. But I haven't thought about how to prevent them.

Helpful or Harmful

Nineteen mothers (33.3%) perceived preparation for bias as helpful and eleven mothers (19.3%) perceived it as harmful. Eighteen mothers (31.6%) had mixed feelings about this method. The rest of the mothers (n=9, 15.8%) either felt unsure about the effect of preparation for bias or did not answer this question directly.

PB paints a realistic picture and teaches coping strategies for ethnic-racial bullying and discrimination. Eight mothers (14%) in our sample recognized that preparation for bias paints a realistic picture of the existence of bias and discrimination in American society. Twenty-five mothers (43.9%) believed that preparation for bias is helpful in teaching coping strategies for ethnic-racial bullying and discrimination. Children would be more ready to face bias if their parents prepare them for it in advance. They thought that the child would not be as scared if they were informed of the potential bias. The awareness of bias could help children cope with discrimination when they encounter it. Changyin, a 33-year-old mother of a 5-year-old son from a middle-and-upper-income family mentioned the benefit of attributing ethnic-racial bullying to external factors so that the child would not blame themselves:

> A benefit lies in a child's attribution. For example, if he is bullied, he will not attribute it to himself because he is not doing well, instead it is the other's problem. The other party has prejudice and discrimination. I can't change it. I can't change his discrimination against Asians, so I don't blame myself.

PB encourages child to work harder. Five mothers (8.8%) mentioned that

preparation for bias had the benefit of encouraging their child to work harder. All of

the five mothers were from the low-income group. They recognized that minority

children may need to put in more effort to receive the same result, and therefore they

would encourage their child to redouble their efforts. They believed that working

extra hard would make the child a better and stronger person, and possibly less likely

to be negatively impacted by bias. On the contrary, two mothers from the middle-and-

upper-income group believed that preparation for bias forced their children to work

harder, and it was seen as harmful to the child. These two mothers did not want their

child to feel that they had to work extra hard because of their racial background. One

45-year-old mother Lan from a middle-and-upper-income family felt hesitant to share

the worry with her 6-year-old son and to demand him to work harder in fear of

hurting his racial identity.

> (talking about the Harvard Admissions Lawsuit) Um, I did not want it to go as far as
> telling him as an Asian, you have to work harder, because that's very much against
> my belief. Why should you work harder because of your racial background? …But
> the truth is, in reality, you probably have to. But I haven't touched that yet. Um, I
> don't want him to feel that because of my racial background. I need to do something
> else.

From the interview transcripts, it was clear that Chinese American mothers'

ethnic-racial socialization was influenced by the historical narrative of model

minority stereotypes, which caused current pressure for their children. While many

mothers worry about the high expectation the society has for their children, low-

income mothers and middle-and-upper-income mothers had different attitudes and

responses to their observation. Low-income mothers channelled this worry to

encourage their children to work harder and found this strategy helpful. Mothers from

the higher-income group questioned the fairness of the system and believed that asking their child to work harder due to high societal expectations for Asian Americans was harmful to their child's racial identity development.

PB overemphasizes the role of race and negatively affects children's mental health. Contemplating the effect of preparation for bias, some Chinese immigrant mothers (n=14, 24.6%) from both income groups worried that it overemphasized the role of race and instilled negative thoughts in their child's mind. These mothers were afraid that preparing for bias would make their child overly sensitive to race and race related topics. In addition, the child would feel stressed out or upset without even having experienced racism. Children may anticipate possible bias and have a negative outlook into their future in the U.S. Twenty-five mothers (43.9%) expressed the concern of preparation for bias casting negative psychological shadow on children's minds and negatively affect children's mental health. In these mothers' opinions, telling children that they will encounter bias due to their minority identity would create unnecessary fear, lower self-esteem, and decrease sense of pride in their Chinese ethnicity. For example, Gaoyue, a 29-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income family said:

> Because you are actually instilling in her these negative thoughts. Let's say, both Americans and Chinese people put in the same amount of work. If the person is American, he will achieve better success under the same circumstances, or at least they have a higher probability of achieving success. You (the Chinese person) will instead have to put in more work to get the same result as the American. This will make (my daughter) think...basically I would be telling her that society is not equal for her. Although she hasn't experienced the inequality, you are already telling her. This will make her think that as a Chinese person...she will feel disgusted that she is Chinese. Because this was not her choice-- "You gave birth to me, but I do not want to become this way; I don't want to experience different treatment. But I cannot choose, because you made the choice for me." She will come to dislike herself. I think the negative impact is greater than the positive impact.

Promotion of Mistrust

Frequency

During the interviews, the participants were told that using promotion of mistrust referred to emphasizing the need for wariness and distrust in interracial interactions. Parents may caution their children to avoid others of a certain race or to be extra careful when interacting with people from a certain racial group. The majority of the participants (n=38, 66.7%) expressed that they never used promotion of mistrust. Approximately one-fifth of the mothers rarely used it (n=10, 17.5%) and one-tenth of the mothers sometimes used it (n=5, 8.8%). None of the mothers often used it.

The frequency breakdown of promotion of mistrust across low-income and middle-and-upper-income groups showed a similar pattern – 63.9% vs. 71.4% mothers never used it, 19.4% vs. 14.3% mothers rarely used it, 8.3% vs. 9.5% mothers sometimes used it, 0% vs. 0% mothers often used it. A chi-square test of independence was then performed to examine the relation between income level and frequency of using promotion of mistrust. The relation between these variables was insignificant, x^2 (3, N=57) =0.577, p=0.902, indicating that these two variables were independent of each other.

Current Practices

Among the mothers that used promotion of mistrust in their life, 7 mothers encouraged avoidance of certain ethnic and racial groups and 1 mother talked about using this dimension only when the child is bullied.

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Encourage avoidance of certain ethnic or racial group. Less than 15% of the mothers (n=7, 12.3%) mentioned reminding their child to be cautious about certain ethnic or racial group. Of the seven mothers, six of them were from the low-income group. They mentioned negative stereotypes of Black children and Mexican children and warned their children to be extra careful of these groups. These mothers assumed that children from a certain racial or ethnic background were the same and generalized the qualities they observed from these children to be applied to all Black children or Mexican children (e.g., "How do you say it, but most of the children from Mexico I have contact with are relatively bad." said Fang, a 39-year-old mother of a 5-year-old daughter from a low-income family). The mothers that used promotion of mistrust worried about the negative environment that children from certain racial backgrounds are in. For example, Ling, a mother of a five-year-old son from a low-income family said, "If you have a lot of dark skin around you, you can make friends. But, how to say it, you must pay attention, because after all, their environment is not very good."

Use PM reactively. One mother Yusi (34-year-old, with a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income background) stated that she would not use this dimension "unless something happens". This mother was not using it currently but planned to use it in the future if her child reports negative race related experiences. She would rather take a reactive approach in using promotion of mistrust instead of a proactive approach.

Helpful or Harmful

Ten mothers (17.5%) perceived promotion of mistrust as helpful and twenty-six mothers (45.6%) perceived it as harmful. Ten mothers (17.5%) perceived it as mixed and the rest of the mothers (n=11, 19.3%) were unsure of the effect of it or did not answer directly

When asked about the use of promotion of mistrust, 16 mothers (28.1%) mentioned that promotion of mistrust had some help in protecting children from future danger. In the meantime, mothers also mentioned multiple harmful aspects of using promotion of mistrust. Twenty mothers (35.1%) believed that promotion of mistrust was not conducive to fostering positive intergroup relations. Eighteen mothers (31.6%) thought that promotion of mistrust introduced and reinforced prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination and racism. Nine mothers (15.8%) pointed out that the danger of promotion of mistrust was overemphasizing race and underemphasizing individual contribution.

PM protects and prepares children from possible or future danger. Sixteen Mothers (28.1%) recognized that promotion of mistrust can help prepare their children for potential danger on an individual level. Promotion of mistrust serves as a reminder that there are bad people out there and it is helpful to be mindful. "It's a useful conversation to have. It's not about the person at all. The use is that he is less likely to get hurt" Candy, a 46-year-old mother of a 6-year-old son from a low-income family said. Most mothers described using promotion of mistrust as a general careful attitude towards strangers and did not specify which ethnic or racial group their child should be careful with. Few mothers explicitly mentioned to their child about being careful when interacting with Black and Latino people.

PM is not conducive to fostering positive intergroup relations. Twenty

mothers (35.1%) mentioned the detrimental effect of not promoting positive inter-

racial relationships through promotion of mistrust. The mothers did not want to teach

children to not trust others. As a minority themselves, they did not want to be treated

differently, so they thought it was unfair to treat people of other races differently.

Lan, a middle-and upper-income 45-year-old mother of a 6-year-old son said, "I

always teach my kids that if you don't want A to happen to you, you can't do A to

others." Mothers worried that planting the idea of mistrusting certain groups of

people in children's minds would discourage them from getting along with others,

especially in children this young. Dalia, a low-income 35-year-old mother of a 7-

year-old daughter said, "He [The child] just plays with others. He doesn't think you

are a person from another country. He thinks we are all the same.… After you tell

him this, he will instead create the gap, not getting along well with others." Six

mothers talked about the importance of interacting with other races to assimilate to

the American society. Promotion of mistrust did not foster good relationships with

people from other racial backgrounds and was therefore harmful to the assimilation

process.

PM introduces and reinforces prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination, and

racism. Eighteen mothers (31.6%) pointed out that promotion of mistrust was a form

of prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination, and racism. Mistrusting a group based on

their skin color was wrong and unfair. Based on their personal experiences as a

people of color, the mothers understood how harmful it was to form stereotypes about

other groups. To them, passing these harmful ideas to their children was not

acceptable. They wanted to pass values of equality rather than to reinforce stereotypes and discrimination. At one point, Angela, a 50-year-old mother of a 5-year-old son from a middle-and-upper-income background, expressed that, "It was fundamentally un-American". Three mothers mentioned that using this method was incongruent with American values.

PM overemphasizes race and underemphasizes individuals' contributions.
Nine Chinese mothers (15.8%) emphasized the importance of paying attention to individuals (e.g., their behaviors, characters). It was unfair to generalize one person's bad behavior to the entire race. Therefore, mistrusting one group based on some members' negative contributions in the group was unnecessary and harmful. They admitted that even within their own Chinese American community, there were good and bad people. Similarly, each ethnic and racial group has all kinds of different people behaving in different ways. "We cannot knock down the entire race in one shot", Musheng, a 34-year-old mother of a 5-year-old daughter from a low-income background said.

Egalitarianism and Silence about Race

Frequency

During the interviews, egalitarianism and silence about race was introduced as practices that encourage their children to value individual qualities over racial group membership or avoid any mention of race in discussions with their children. Mothers showed more diversity in how frequently they used egalitarianism and silence about race compared with how often they used cultural socialization and promotion of mistrust. Specifically, 11 mothers respectively never (19.3%) or rarely (19.3%) used

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this dimension. One-third of the mothers (n=18, 31.6%) sometimes used it and 14% of the mothers often used it (n=8).

Higher percentage of middle-and-upper-income mothers (n=5, 23.8%) used egalitarianism and silence about race often than low-income mothers (n=3, 8.3%) whereas lower percentage of middle-and-upper-income mothers (n=2, 9.5%) used this dimension rarely than low-income families (n=9, 25%). The percentages of never or sometimes using egalitarianism and silence about race were similar across two groups. Eleven low-income mothers (30.6%) sometimes used it and seven middle-and-upper-income mothers (33.3%) sometimes used it. Eight low-income mothers (22.2%) never used it and three middle-and-upper income mothers (14.3%) never used it. A chi-square test of independence showed that there was no significant association between income and frequency of using egalitarianism and silence about race, x^2(4, N=57) =4.598, p=0.331.

Current Practices

Hughes et al. (2006) defined egalitarianism and silence about race as emphasizing individual qualities over racial group membership and avoiding mentioning race. This dimension was the most difficult dimension for the mothers to understand. Several mothers asked the interviewer to repeat the definition and clarify what it meant. They also expressed the confusion that egalitarianism and silence about race was put under the same dimension because they found it different. In the interview, 19 mothers (33%) neglected or underemphasized the role of racial differences. Seventeen mothers (30%) discussed equality, unity, and shared humanity with their children. There was a significant overlap of the mothers that used these two

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strategies together to make their point. Egalitarianism and silence about race was

regarded as an age-appropriate strategy for children between 4 to 7 years old by

Chinese American mothers. Children asked questions about their observations of

different skin color among people and their mothers often discussed equality, unity,

and shared humanity and deemphasized the role of racial differences to respond to

children's curiosity.

      Mothers neglect or underemphasize the role of racial differences. One-third

of the mothers (n=19) neglected or underemphasized the role of racial differences.

They encouraged their children to focus on individual qualities over group

membership. They suggested to their children that there were no racial differences –

"I don't want to tell children like this, yellow skin or other skin. Classmates are

classmates, there is nothing more. I have never talked to children [about racial

differences], unless there is something happening in the class, there is no specific

time when I will talk to my children about this." Ning, a 38-year-old low-income

mother of a 7-year-old daughter said. Some mothers also suggested that racial

differences were not important. For example Summer, a 40-year-old middle-and-

upper-income mother of a 5-year-old daughter said, "Sometimes she will say that

there are classmates with dark hair or skin on the outside. Then I will say that these

things are not important." Mothers did not want racial differences to create conflicts

among their child and other children. Bing, a 39-year-old low-income mother of a 7-

year-old daughter said, "…black, white or blonde, yellow hair, black hair…I will not

say this to her to create such a contrast." Mothers were afraid that discussions of

racial differences may lead to racial discrimination. They feared that such racial

discussions will highlight racial differences between groups and reduce their child's interaction with children of other races. In addition, parents did not want to provide pre-conceived notions about race to children. For example, Yangshi, a 32-year-old low-income mother of a 6-year-old son said, "If we talk about the race blindly, of course, their communication [with people of other races] will definitely decrease, so I haven't told the children because this will distract them, and I will let her analyse these things herself."

Mothers discuss equality, unity and shared humanity. Seventeen mothers (30%) discussed equality, unity and shared humanity among people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds with their children. Some of these mothers de-emphasized the importance of racial differences but focused on individual characters as they thought this would protect her child from racial bullying in school settings, especially in a predominantly white school. Zhan, a 40-year-old low-income mother of a 6-year-old daughter shared, "when we go to school, people there are all white, and rarely are there yellow-skinned people. I am afraid that my child will be bullied and will say why they are like this and we are like this. Tell the kid that everyone is equal, only that they come from different countries, but the main thing is that everyone's heart is different. If you have a good attitude, everything is the same." They also emphasized that in the U.S., everyone has the basic right to be treated equally, and use this to booster their child's confidence about their rights. Francesco, a low-income 37-year-old mother of a 7-year-old son, said, "Basically when they feel like they're Chinese, they have this confusion. I tell them, no matter what your race is, you are in America, you are in an American school. What's different between you and others?" The

implied message is that: You are in the U.S. now. You deserve to be treated with respect and equally as your other classmates.

Mothers underemphasize racial differences and emphasize equality simultaneously. Eight low-income mothers and one middle-and-upper-income mother used underemphasizing race and emphasizing equality together. One mother, Tan, a 43-year-old mother of a 5-year-old son from a middle-and-upper-income family suggested that children in America should become indifferent to race to "establish a principle of equality":

> I think we should establish a principle of equality, and it's best if they don't even have a concept of race. [I think] This is correct. Sometimes I say things like we Chinese are good at table tennis, and Indians are strong in computer science. But these are all positive attributes. For an ethnic group, there are a lot of people who do [excel at] these things, but I don't say what Muslims are like, nor do I talk about their negative attributes. I might say things like how they are all great, and how they might be particularly good in a field, or even better than us in every aspect. But I don't say they are like this, or they are like that (the negative attributes). I think the concept of race itself should be eliminated, and I think our children who grew up in the United States should be very indifferent to this concept of race.

Mothers use ES to answer children's curiosity in racial differences. "When we walk on the road, she asks why is his skin dark? I said that we are human beings from different countries, from various countries, white and black." Chun, a 37-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a low-income background, said. Similarly, Jinxi, a middle-and-upper-income mother of a 5-year-old daughter shared, "especially when she asks the question 'Why, uh, somebody is Black or something,' it's when you talk, and when I couldn't find an easy answer that she can understand. And then I'll say, no matter what, we're all humans." Mothers shared anecdotes of their child asking about skin color in daily life as they interact with different people in the real world and read storybooks. This showed that children between age 4 and 7 are

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observant of these racial differences and are curious to ask questions about their observations. This finding is consistent with the literature that children start to process information about race at a young age. Some Chinese American mothers in our sample responded to their children's curiosity about race by giving them a quick egalitarian answer.

Mother uses ES to break stereotypes. In our sample, one low-income mother of a 5-year-old son, Maria, used egalitarianism and silence about race to break stereotypes. She gave a specific example of how she taught the child that we are all humans, and we should accept each other when the child started forming stereotypes about his Black swimming teacher:

> He (her son) told us that he didn't like the Black swimming teacher. I told him that this was not important. You couldn't choose. You could generate another feeling for Black people. I let him accept him. Don't be subjective. It's his instinct that he may not like some color, right, everyone does this, then I used this method, I will tell him that it's the same. You can accept what you don't like in another way.

Helpful or Harmful

Twenty-seven mothers (47.4%) perceived egalitarianism and silence about race as helpful and four mothers (7%) perceived it as harmful. One mother (1.8%) perceived it as neutral and nine mothers (15.8%) had mixed feelings about it. The rest of the mothers (n=16, 28.1%) were unsure about whether it was helpful or harmful or did not answer the question directly.

ES messages are consistent with values of equality and shared humanity. Thirteen mothers (22.8%) believed that egalitarian and silence about race messages were consistent with values of equality and regarded these messages as "correct", "true" and "fair". They believed that we are all human beings, and we are equal. What Yanjin, a 45-year-old middle-and-upper-income mother of a 5-year-old daughter, said

was echoed in other mothers' interviews: "People have different colors. They can have different hair color, different eye color, different skin color. But inside we are the same. We're all human beings." The mothers wanted to convey to their child that despite differences in appearance, all of us share the identity of human being.

ES promotes an open mind and multiculturalism. Eighteen mothers (31.6%) used egalitarianism and silence about race to encourage their children to cultivate an open mind and cooperate with people from different backgrounds. For example, Wendy, a 37-year-old mother of a 5-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income background, said, "I think this is helpful because it gives them an open mind. Having preconceived notion is very harmful because you are already blocking yourself from understanding other groups." The mother emphasized the importance of understanding groups other than themselves. "It's more helpful for the melting pot to work… to help different races get along." Anna, a 35-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income background, laughed when she said "melting pot". To her, America is a melting pot, and she wanted her child to contribute to the success of it. Changyin, a 33-year-old mother of a 5-year-old son from a middle-and-upper-income background, specifically used the term multiculturalism to indicate her appreciation for cultural diversity: "The benefit is giving children a more inclusive motivation and courage to reach out and try multiculturalism."

ES is easy to use for young children now and yet may be harmful in the long run. Four mothers (7%) noted that the dimension of egalitarianism and silence about race was developmentally appropriate for their child's current age and thus easy

to use. One mother told the interviewer that she was responsible for introducing shared humanity to their child and it was up to their child to develop analyses of race and racial issues. Mothers expressed the convenient use of this dimension because it was easy for the parents to explain that we are equal, and it was easy for their child to understand the idea. Yet, some mothers mentioned that it may be harmful for their children in the long run. For example, Yusi, a 34-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income background, said, "At first, if you want a quick and easy way, it might be helpful. You might see it's working, but they need to face it eventually. So, in the long run, I think it's not as helpful. It might even be harmful." Cheng, a 30-year-old mother of a 6-year-old son from a low-income background, explained that egalitarianism and silence about race messages were too general and could not truly help the child when they encountered difficulties. She said, "If the child is still young, you can use this kind of words to comfort him. Maybe a little older, he will think you do not know my real pains."

ES neglects reality of prejudice, discrimination, and racism. Nine mothers (15.8%) from both the low-income group and the middle-and-upper-income group mentioned the reality of racism when they were asked to elaborate on the harm of egalitarianism and silence about race. They argued that egalitarian messages painted a beautiful image of an equal world, but it failed to highlight the reality of prejudice, discrimination, and racism that people of color face. Mothers recognized that avoiding talking about the existing racism cannot protect their children from not experiencing it. Yusi, a 34-year-old mother of a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income background, said, "The reality is there. If you just keep hiding it

from them (children), they will figure it out eventually". Moge, a 43-year-old mother

of a 6-year-old son from a middle-and-upper-income background, talked about the

danger of not discussing discrimination experiences. "When he really meets

[discrimination and racism], he does not know how to deal with it." This mother thus

pointed out that it was wrong to use ES messages and it was very important to tell

children that racial discrimination exist.

   ES neglects minorities' identities and cultures. While acknowledging all the

human beings belong to the same human race, mothers also expressed concerns of

saying the differences don't matter. Nine mothers (15.8%) shared that egalitarianism

and silence about race neglected minorities' unique cultural identity and experiences.

The mothers wanted their child to accept and appreciate their Chinese culture and

identity. For example, Bing, a low-income 39-year-old mother of a 7-year-old

daughter, said, "You have the face of Chinese and the origin of Chinese. You can

have the culture of the whole world. But first, you must have your own culture."

Another mother Cathy, 32-year-old with a 6-year-old daughter from a middle-and-

upper-income background, pointed out that "ignoring is not a solution…. We are

different and that's part of what makes it wonderful, and how you can stretch yourself

and learn." She implied that egalitarian messages ignored racial and cultural

differences. The egalitarian approach missed opportunities to teach children how to

learn from differences and embraces the beauty of differences. Dayu, a 41-year-old

mother of a 5-year-old daughter from a middle-and-upper-income background, shared

that her child would challenge her if she used a blanket statement to say we are all the

same because from their observation, we are not all the same. She introduced her

approach of helping her child understand the differences rather than saying the differences don't matter:

> I don't like the way that we simply just ignore the differences…We are all humans. It is true. But we are also different. We have our own identity and culture, and that's something to be proud of. And it's also something to celebrate….If I told my kids that you are all the same, he was gonna say our skin colors are different. The shape of our eyes is different. It's better to help them understand why we're different and why it's okay to be different, and then accept it compared to just say no, ignore all that. It doesn't matter.

ES may cause bicultural identity conflict. One mother, Francesco, a 37-year-old mother of a 7-year-old son from a low-income background, analyzed the harm of not mentioning their own culture and identity with children in America. She worried that her child would suffer from bicultural identity conflict and could not feel a sense of belonging in either of the cultural groups. She insisted that parents should not avoid discussing cultural and racial issues with their child especially as they grow older and can understand more. She said:

> Children don't feel like they have their own identity. He doesn't know how he came here and where his cultural background came from. He can't get close to Americans because he doesn't look like Americans. But parents didn't tell me about China, then he doesn't feel that way on either side…. So these topics can't be avoided, especially as they age. They learned a lot in school, like China and the Chinese history and geography. They can realize more. They might think why their parents are avoiding the subject, so you still need to talk to them.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Research on ethnic-racial socialization has been mostly conducted with African and Latino American adolescents and young adults using quantitative methods. Our understanding of the dynamic ethnic-racial socialization processes among Asian American families with young children is very limited. There is also a lack of attention to the socioeconomic contexts where ethnic-racial socialization occurs. The present study contributes to the current literature by examining the ethnic-racial socialization processes among Chinese American families with young children (ages 4-7) from both low-income and middle-and-upper-income backgrounds using qualitative methods.

Chinese American Mothers' Use of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Dimensions

Among the four different ethnic-racial socialization strategies studied in this study, Chinese American mothers used cultural socialization strategy most frequently, followed by egalitarianism and silence about race and preparation for bias. Chinese American mothers used promotion of mistrust the least. Chinese American mothers showed more consensus in how they used cultural socialization and promotion of mistrust and more diversity in how they used preparation for bias and egalitarianism and silence about race.

Cultural socialization is consistently part of the family routine in Chinese American's everyday life and an indispensable part of Chinese American mothers' child-rearing practices. Chinese American mothers wished to pass on cultural traditions, such as Chinese food, language and history to their offspring. They perceived cultural socialization as helpful in understanding familial roots,

strengthening parent-child bonds, and developing positive Chinese identity. Our data showed that culture was experienced up close every day among Chinese American families, which is consistent with Hill (2006)'s finding that culture is experienced as personal and proximal rather than distal among families of color. Specifically, culture was shared proximally between Chinese American parents and children through an emphasis on language learning and storytelling. Almost all the Chinese American mothers wanted their children to be bilingual and emphasized the importance of learning Chinese language to their children. Language learning and storytelling are interconnected with each other. Chinese American parents liked to cite stories from Chinese history and literature when they introduced a holiday or a unique ethnic food to their children. They also liked to read classic Chinese novel to their children. One example that was repeatedly mentioned by Chinese American mothers in our data was Journey to the West, a Chinese fantasy novel published in the 16th century and an arguably most popular literary work in East Asia. It tells the story of Tang Xuanzang, a Buddhist monk, along with his disciples Sun Wukong (Monkey King), Zhu Bajie, and Sha Wujing journeying towards truth and enlightenment through cooperation.

Our understanding of the most salient cultural socialization aspects among Chinese American families—language and storytelling—has implications for educators and mental health providers. Educators and school psychologists, who work with Chinese American families, are encouraged to explore the linguistic and storytelling strengths Chinese American children bring to the school. Educators are also encouraged to include Chinese literature and stories like Journey to the West in the classrooms so that Chinese American children can feel a sense of belonging and

have a space to develop positive ethnic identity in the school, where they often are the minority and do not have the opportunity to nurture their minority identity. In addition, all children can benefit from learning classic stories that travel from different cultural roots.

Chinese American mothers acknowledged that preparation for bias paints a realistic picture of children's encounter with ethnic-racial bullying and teaches coping strategies for bullying and discrimination. However, they were cautious not to overemphasize the role of race in peer interactions. The caution around talking about race was also reflected in their use of egalitarianism and silence about race strategy. While Chinese American mothers emphasized the shared humanity (For example, a mother said, "If you have a good attitude, everything is the same."), they often underemphasized racial differences in America. These results are consistent with previous literature that immigrant Chinese Americans minimized discussion about racial discrimination (Hwang et al., 2010; Qin et al., 2007). The current study extended prior studies by unpacking the Chinese mothers' rationales behind it. It is twofold. First, the mothers do not want their children to feel inferior due to their minority identity. Second, the mothers worry that talking about bias and their minority identity will further negatively affect children's mental health and self-esteem. As a result, Chinese American mothers face a dilemma of using preparation for bias: they know the importance of raising awareness of racial discrimination but hesitate to explicitly name the stereotypes, bias and discrimination that their children may face in their life. To address this hesitation, educators can encourage Chinese American parents to combine acknowledging the reality of racial discrimination with

instilling cultural pride and coping strategies. Researchers have found that high levels

of cultural socialization and a moderate level of preparation for bias mitigated the

negative association between racial discrimination and self-esteem (Harris-Britt et al.,

2007). Educators and Chinese American parents also need to empower their children

to feel that they have control over racial discrimination, promote youth's agency, and

encourage youth to seek social support for racial discrimination. Research has shown

that youth's sense of control over discriminatory experiences were related to greater

use of seeking social support and problem-solving coping strategies (Scott & House,

2005). Chinese American parents are also encouraged to share stories of Asian

American social justice advocates (e.g., Yuri Kochiyama) so that their child knows

that Asian Americans have a long history of fighting against racial discrimination.

Many Chinese American mothers in this study never used promotion of

mistrust and none of them often used this dimension. Some mothers used this method

as a reactive strategy when their child was bullied. Our data showed that Chinese

American mothers believed that promotion of mistrust introduced and reinforced

prejudice, stereotype, discrimination, and racism. Of the mothers that did use

promotion of mistrust in their ethnic-racial socialization process, low-income mothers

in the sample were more likely to use this dimension and form negative stereotypes of

other racial groups than their higher-income counterparts. Bobo and Hutchings (1996)

found that individuals who perceive members of their own group as facing unfair

treatment in the larger social order tend to be more likely to regard members of other

groups as competitive threats. This may explain our results because low-income

Chinese American mothers are more likely to face unfair treatment than their higher-

income counterparts in current American society, and thus they are more likely to perceive other groups as competitive threats and form negative stereotypes of them.

It is surprising that when Chinese American mothers in our sample used promotion of mistrust, they only promoted mistrust towards Black and Latino groups, not White people even though empirical data showed that in occurrences of anti-Asian hate crimes and incidents, the offenders are more likely to be White than non-White (Powers et al., 2022; Zhang et al., 2022). The reasons behind the mistrust towards Black and Latino groups are beyond the scope of this thesis, but several points need to be made to situate the racial tension experienced between Asian American and other communities of color in a larger context. First, Black and Latino groups are historically overrepresented as criminals compared to their White counterparts on television news (Dixon & Linz, 2000). Influenced by the unjust media portrayal of violence and crimes, the Chinese American mothers being interviewed may have formed the wrong impression of Black and Latino people. They may have attributed their sense of feeling unsafe in their neighborhood to the wrong cause. Second, viral videos that showed the violence targeted towards Asian people initiated by Black people on social media may have occupied much of the attention and misguided the public. Wong and Liu (2022) analyzed the disconnection between the empirical data and the Black-Asian conflict narratives of anti-Asian hate crimes. They found that regardless of the empirical data showing that offenders were more likely to be White than non-White in anti-Asian hate crimes, the narrative that reinforces stereotypes of Black criminality (e.g., a video on social media that portrays a Black person hitting an Asian elderly) was more likely to be launched to public

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discourse, and thus more easily to be exposed to the mothers in our study. Third, Yellow Horse et al., (2021) found that foreign-born Asian Americans were more likely to report indifference to Black Lives Matter movement compared to their U.S.-born Asian American counterparts. Seventy percent of the Asian American adults are foreign-born (Pew Research Center, 2021). It is likely that immigrant Chinese American mothers lack the knowledge of racial injustices in the history of America, and therefore do not have the language to talk about structural racism in their ethnic-racial socialization processes. Instead, they may have developed negative stereotypes towards Black and Latino groups based on the limited and oftentimes misleading information on traditional media outlets and social media. Little research has been conducted to examine the distinction between promotion of mistrust towards white people and towards other people of color in Asian American communities. This nuanced aspect of promotion of mistrust in the ethnic-racial socialization processes in Chinese American families requires further research.

Egalitarianism and silence about race strategies were seen as age-appropriate and easy to use by Chinese American mothers. Multiple mothers mentioned that they used this method when their child was curious about differences in skin color and initiated questions about these differences. Regarding the use of this method, the mothers perceived egalitarianism and silence about race as helpful because egalitarianism and silence about race messages were consistent with values of equality and promoted an open mind and multiculturalism. While they recognized the helpfulness of this dimension, Chinese American mothers also pointed out the potential harm of neglecting minorities' unique identities and cultures, realities of

racism, prejudice, and discrimination. Chinese American mothers' perception of the benefits and potential harm of this method has implications for mental heal providers and educators. Psychologists and educators working with Chinese American children and families need to be aware of the potential harm of just mentioning shared humanity when they discuss diversity issues with their clients. It is important to also celebrate the clients' unique cultural identities and to explore the realities of prejudice and racism the clients may face.

Results from the use of four ethnic-racial socialization dimensions indicated that Chinese American mothers use preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race both proactively and reactively. For example, Chinese American mothers shared their own discrimination experiences with their children to proactively prepare their children for bias. They helped their child develop coping strategies after their child experienced bias, which is a reactive approach. Similarly for promotion of mistrust, some Chinese American mothers encouraged their child to proactively avoid certain ethnic or racial groups in their daily interaction. They also used it reactively. When their child shared with their mother that they are bullied, Chinese American mothers would ask them to avoid the ethnic or racial group that the bully is a member of. Similar themes emerged in the usage of egalitarianism and silence about race. Chinese American mothers discussed equality, unity, and shared humanity proactively with their child. They also responded reactively when their child asked questions about their observations of differences in skin color. Different from the proactive and reactive uses of preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race, Chinese American

mothers almost always employed cultural socialization proactively. It felt natural to them to actively share ethnic food, holidays, language, books, media, and history and integrate these aspects in their everyday life. These results are consistent with Juang (2018)'s findings that Asian American parents are proactive and reactive in the racial socialization of their children and they pass on their heritage culture predominantly proactive.

Family Income and Ethnic-Racial Socialization Processes

Few studies have examined the influence of socioeconomic status on families' ethnic-racial socialization processes within a certain ethnic minority group (Hughes et al., 2006). Studies investigating ethnic-racial socialization processes among Asian American families are predominantly conducted with middle-class Asian Americans. Little is known about what ethnic-racial socialization processes look like in Asian American families from lower-income backgrounds. The present study is the first study to examine and compare how Chinese American mothers from low-income and middle-and-upper-income backgrounds differ in the frequency and content of their ethnic-racial socialization practices. Our analyses revealed that low-income and middle-and-upper-income Chinese American mothers did not differ in their frequency of using each ethnic-racial socialization dimension. Results coming from studies conducted with African American families (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997) indicated that families with more financial resources used more cultural socialization and preparation for bias than their lower-income counterparts, which is not the case in our Chinese American sample. The majority of the Chinese American mothers from both groups often or sometimes used cultural socialization practices,

never or seldom used preparation for bias practices, never or seldom used promotion of mistrust practices, and seldom or sometimes used egalitarianism and silence about race. Yet, several themes emerged from the results, showing nuances in how the two income groups used the specific ethnic-racial socialization strategies. First, discrimination was much more pervasive in lived experiences of low-income Chinese American mothers. It is striking that when talking about preparation for bias, all the Chinese American mothers that mentioned being treated unfairly at workplaces or in life (n=7) were from the low-income group. As such, they were more likely to use their own discrimination experiences to prepare their children proactively for bias. In addition, low-income mothers expressed concerns of not having socioeconomic resources and social capital to counter racial discrimination if that happens to their children. Consistent with the intersectionality framework, our findings provided empirical evidence that holding multiple marginalized identities (being a minority with low income) act as a risk factor and contribute to negative life outcomes and psychological distress (Crenshaw, 2013; Shin et al., 2017).

Both low-income and middle-and-upper-income Chinese American mothers, in the context of preparation for bias discussion, shared that in American society, their Asian American child have to work harder than other groups to achieve the same rewards (e.g., college admission). This finding is consistent with the result of earlier quantitative studies (e.g., Benner & Kim, 2009a) that Chinese American parents believed that their children needed to perform better in school in order to succeed in the American society. This finding suggests that model minority stereotype is a pervasive narrative negatively impacting Chinese American children regardless of

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income status. It has become a master narrative that dominates the lives of Asian Americans (Kiang et al., 2017; Mistry & Kiyama, 2021). This observation in our data can be understood in the framework of navigating marginalization and invisibility proposed by Mistry and Kiyama (2021). Chinese American mothers navigated and negotiated the ethnicity-related experiences through the societal master narrative of model minority stereotype in their ethnic-racial socialization processes. Yet, Chinese American mothers from different income groups held different attitudes towards this stereotype. In our analyses, low-income mothers regarded encouraging their children to work hard as an effective coping mechanism to counter discrimination and believed that doubling hard work would eventually pay off as a function of adaptive culture (García Coll et al., 1996). On the contrary, middle-and-upper-income mothers questioned the fairness of asking their children to work harder than others. Hill (2006) found that low-income Asian American, African American and Latino American parents all focus on conformity and maintaining order in their parenting practices. Such similarities may be due to similarities in being discriminated and being oppressed in American society (Hill, 2006), which is disproportionally experienced by low-income population within ethnic minority communities. The different attitudes towards model minority stereotypes revealed diversity among Chinese Americans from different income levels and these different attitudes are shaped by their different lived experiences in America. It is critical for future researchers and policy makers to understand Chinese and Asian Americans with the lens of socioeconomic diversity within an ethnic or racial group and make educational policies according to the needs of the minorities' lived experiences.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite its many contributions, several limitations need to be noted. First, our study consisted of interviews with Chinese American mothers in Maryland and New York City. Further work is needed to understand the extent to which the processes and patterns in the current study generalize to the broader population of Chinese American mothers. Our study focused on mothers. However, mothers and fathers may play different ethnic-racial socializing roles and have different effects on their children (e.g., McHale et al., 2006; Park et al., 2020). Chinese American fathers were found to have more adaptation difficulties than mothers after immigrating to the U.S. and were more likely to transfer stress and dissatisfaction to their children (Qin, 2009). Future research is needed to study the ethnic-racial socialization differences between Chinese American fathers and mothers. Third, we imposed the definition of ethnic-racial socialization and the four dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization based on literature review. This may have restricted the interviewees to conceptualize ethnic-racial socialization in a specific way and may have prevented them from freely generating their own definition of ethnic-racial socialization. Future researchers may want to ask open-ended questions at the beginning of the interview what each participant thinks of when they hear ethnic-racial socialization (e.g., how do you talk to your child about race and ethnicity?) before sharing the definition in the literature.

Looking forward, the current study points to important avenues for future research. This study highlights the value of examining the socioeconomic context in which ethnic-racial socialization takes place. Future studies, both quantitative and qualitative, will benefit from inclusion of socioeconomic context when examining the

complex dynamics of parental ethnic-racial socialization. More studies are also needed to examine the dimension of egalitarianism and silence about race. This dimension created some confusion among the participants regarding grouping egalitarianism and silence about race together, which calls for a clearer definition of this dimension. Egalitarianism and silence about race was found to be associated with low self-esteem and lower grades among African American youth (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002), but we do not know the consequences of parental use of egalitarianism and silence about race in Asian American youth. In our current study, we found that some children initiated ethnic-racial conversations. The conceptual framing of this study focused on parent-directed ethnic-racial socialization, and thus our analysis cannot speak to how children's observation and awareness of ethnicity and race also shape their socializing agents' ethnic-racial socialization processes. It will be exciting if future researchers examine bi-directional ethnic-racial socialization dynamics. Finally, ethnic-racial socialization takes place outside family through interactions between peer, school, community-based, and media settings (Sladek et al., 2022). Future work is needed to study how parental ethnic-racial socialization intersects with peer, school, community, and media socialization.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the present study aims to examine the unique ways in which Chinese American mothers from both the low-income group and the middle-and-upper-income group ethnically and racially socialize their 4-to-7-year-old young children. Complex ethnic-racial socialization patterns were revealed when we asked

mothers to describe their use of ethnic-racial socialization dimension using their own words, tapping directly into the frequency and content of their usage of cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race. The majority of the Chinese American mothers from both income groups often or sometimes used cultural socialization practices, never or seldom used preparation for bias practices, never or seldom used promotion of mistrust practices, and seldom or sometimes used egalitarianism and silence about race. Chinese American mothers used cultural socialization predominantly proactively as part of their family routines, and used preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race both proactively and reactively. Across multiple dimensions, Chinese American mothers tended to minimize the role of race in their ethnic-racial socialization because they worry that talking about race, discrimination and minority identity will negatively impact their children's mental health and self-esteem. Interestingly, on the other side, young children themselves actively observed people around them and initiated questions about their observations of different skin colors. They curiously wanted to know why people have different skin colors and seek answers from their socializing agents.

The study design including mothers from both low-income and middle-and-upper income groups afforded the opportunity for us to hear the perspectives of Chinese American mothers from diverse income backgrounds in their ethnic-racial socialization processes. Low-income and middle-and-upper-income Chinese American mothers reported same frequency of using each ethnic-racial socialization dimension. Different patterns across both groups emerged in their use of the specific

strategies of preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. Compared to their middle-and-upper-income counterparts, low-income Chinese American mothers were much more likely to mention experiencing racial discrimination and share their own discrimination experiences with their child. In their discussion of preparation for bias, Chinese American mothers from both income groups mentioned higher societal demands towards Asian Americans compared to other racial groups, yet they held different attitudes towards this demand. Low-income Chinese American mothers used this demand to encourage their children to work harder while middle-and-upper-income mothers questioned the fairness of the treatment towards Asian Americans. When the Chinese American mothers chose to use promotion of mistrust with their child, low-income mothers were more likely to form negative stereotypes of other racial groups than the middle-and-upper-income mothers.

These findings shed light on the nuances of how Chinese American families engage in ethnic-racial socialization. Even when the frequency of using each dimension seems the same, the specific practices and rationales behind these practices for mothers from different income groups paint a more in-depth picture of the ethnic-racial socialization dynamics. These nuanced understanding will support mental health providers and educators to better serve Chinese American families from different socioeconomic backgrounds.

Appendices

Table 1: Sample Demographics

	Total Sample	
Demographic Variables	N	*%*
Child Sex		
Female	33	58
Male	24	42
Child Age		
4 years	3	5
5 years	24	42
6 years	21	37
7 years	9	16
Generational Status		
First-generation	56	98%
Second-generation	1	2%
Mother Marital Status		
Married	50	88
Married and separated	1	1.75
Single	2	3.5
Divorced	3	5
In a relationship	1	1.75
Widowed	0	0
Mother Educational Level		
Less than primary school	0	0
Primary school	4	7
Middle school	7	12
High school	10	17.5
Vocational school	6	11
Undergraduate degree	22	38.5
Graduate degree	8	14
Family Annual Income (dollars)		
Under 4,000	2	3.5
4,000-9,999	1	1.5
10,000-59,999	32	56
60,000-99,999	4	7
100,000 and over	18	32

Note: Total N = 57

Table 2: The categorization matrix for coding

	Cultural Socialization	Preparation for Bias	Promotion of Mistrust	Egalitarianism and Silence about Race
Frequency (Never, Rarely/Seldom, Sometimes, Often)				
Current Practices				
Helpful or Harmful?				
Reasons for Helpful				
Reasons for Harmful				

Table 3: Initial codes under cultural socialization dimension

Codes
Cultural Socialization (CS)
CS Frequency
CS Current Practices Chinese language use / teaching Eat Chinese food Discussion about culture/history Exposure to Chinese books/media
CS Helpful/ Harmful CS is helpful CS is harmful
Reasons for CS Helpful Understand cultural differences/ diversity Promote connection to China, cultural pride or/and positive Chinese identity (e.g. helps child feel comfortable with their ethnic/racial identity) Understand familial roots/history (e.g. to allow child to know about family's heritage or to be able to pass onto future generations) Understand Chinese history/culture/language (e.g. NOT family history)
Reasons for CS Harmful Too much CS may hinder acculturation (e.g. too much Chinese socialization may make it difficult for child to adapt to American mainstream society) Too much CS may hinder diversity in friendships

Table 4: Final codes under cultural socialization dimension

Codes
Cultural Socialization (CS)
CS Frequency
CS Current Practices   Chinese language use / teaching   Eat Chinese food   Discussion about culture/history   Exposure to Chinese books/media   Visits to China   Holiday celebrations (e.g. New Year's celebration, making dumplings, red lucky envelopes)   Promotion of cultural values (e.g. diligence, hard work)
CS Helpful/ Harmful   CS is helpful   CS is harmful   CS is neutral (e.g. neither good or bad)   CS is mixed (e.g. some good, some bad)   CS unsure (parent is unsure if CS is helpful or harmful)   CS No Effect
Reasons for CS Helpful   Understand cultural differences/ diversity   Promote connection to China, cultural pride or/and positive Chinese identity (e.g. helps child feel comfortable with their ethnic/racial identity)   Understand familial roots/history (e.g. to allow child to know about family's heritage or to be able to pass onto future generations)   Understand Chinese history/culture/language (e.g. NOT family history)   Promote interest for other aspects of Chinese culture (e.g. cultural celebrations, trips to China provides the opportunity for children to enjoy/use the language)   Strengthen parent-child/family bond   CS comes naturally for parents (e.g. it's easy for parents to enact in daily life)

	CS is child-directed, developmentally appropriate (e.g. child can determine pace at which s/he learns about Chinese culture/language/history)
Reasons for CS Harmful	
harm)	No harm with CS (e.g. includes anticipated
	Uncertain about CS harm
	Too much CS may hinder acculturation (e.g. too much Chinese socialization may make it difficult for child to adapt to American mainstream society)
	Too much CS may hinder diversity in friendships
	Cultural/ethnic/racial identity should not be the defining feature
	Bilingualism impairs language development (e.g. child does not pick up English as quickly)
	CS may cause bicultural identity conflict (e.g. child may face conflict assimilating into both Chinese/American cultures or finding a balance between both)

Table 5: Codebook

<u>Cultural Socialization</u>
CS Frequency
> CS Never
> CS Rarely/seldom
> CS Sometimes (e.g. occasionally)
> CS Often
> CS Unsure/don't know
> CS Incongruent response (e.g. parent gives one answer but her examples are contradictory)
> CS Did not answer/ unclear answer
> CS frequency determined by child

CS Current Practices
> Chinese language use / teaching
> Eat Chinese food
> Discussion about culture/history
> Exposure to Chinese books/media
> Visits to China
> Holiday celebrations (e.g. New Year's celebration, making dumplings, red lucky envelopes)
> Promotion of cultural values (e.g. diligence, hard work)

CS Helpful/Harmful
> CS is helpful
> CS is harmful
> CS is neutral (e.g. neither good or bad)
> CS is mixed (e.g. some good, some bad)
> CS unsure (parent is unsure if CS is helpful or harmful)
> CS No Effect

CS Helpful
> Understand cultural differences/ diversity
> Promote connection to China, cultural pride or/and positive Chinese identity (e.g. helps child feel comfortable with their ethnic/racial identity)
> Understand familial roots/history (e.g. to allow child to know about family's heritage or to be able to pass onto future generations)
> Understand Chinese history/culture/language (e.g. NOT family history)
> Promote interest for other aspects of Chinese culture (e.g. cultural celebrations, trips to China provides the opportunity for children to enjoy/use the language)
> Strengthen parent-child/family bond
> CS comes naturally for parents (e.g. it's easy for parents to enact in daily life)
> CS is child-directed, developmentally appropriate (e.g. child can determine pace at which s/he learns about Chinese culture/language/history)

CS Harmful
> No harm with CS (e.g. includes anticipated harm)
> Uncertain about CS harm

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Too much CS may hinder acculturation (e.g. too much Chinese socialization may make it difficult for child to adapt to American mainstream society)
Too much CS may hinder diversity in friendships
Cultural/ethnic/racial identity should not be the defining feature
Bilingualism impairs language development (e.g. child does not pick up English as quickly)
CS may cause bicultural identity conflict (e.g. child may face conflict assimilating into both Chinese/American cultures or finding a balance between both)

Preparation for Bias
PB Current Frequency
PB Never
PB Rarely /seldom
PB Sometimes (e.g. occasionally)
PB Often
PB Unsure/don't know
PB Incongruent response (e.g. parent gives one answer but her examples are contradictory)
PB Did not answer/ unclear answer
PB frequency determined by child
PB Current Practices
Parent employs reactive strategies (e.g. will use PB if/when child experiences discrimination, when/if its necessary)
Parent prepares proactively
Parent minimizes the role of race in discrimination
Parent shares their own ethnic-racial discrimination experiences
Parent avoids initiating PB discussions – child discovers on his own (e.g. parent will not impose thoughts on child; child will recognize discrimination/biases on his/her own)
Parent tells child not to bully/ treat others unfairly
Parent encourages child to work harder (e.g. to offset limitations caused by race/ethnicity)
Parent promotes ethnic-racial pride
PB Helpful/Harmful
PB is helpful
PB is harmful
PB is neutral (e.g. neither good or bad)
PB is mixed (e.g. there are pros and cons with PB)
PB unsure (parent is unsure if PB is helpful or harmful)
PB No Effect
PB Helpful
PB Teaches coping strategies for ethnic-racial bullying/discrimination/biases (e.g. in schools, community etc.)

Child is not at fault for victimization (e.g. parent tells child that their discrimination/bullying experience is not through their own fault but others)

PB Paints a realistic picture (e.g. of Asian Americans' status as a minority group in society; discrimination is inevitable)

PB Encourages child to work harder (e.g. double up on their efforts)

PB Harmful

PB Overemphasizes the role of race (e.g. neglects individual responsibilities, contributions, merits)

AA children are disadvantaged due to overemphasis on race (e.g. Asian American children could be limited by society's overemphasis on ethnic-racial identity)

PB sets pre-conceived notions about race and discrimination (e.g. it introduces the topic of race and discrimination prematurely; may scare children before they are ready to tackle these topics; negates individual agency to make self-improvements)

PB Negatively affects children's self-esteem/self-concept/mental health

PB Forces Asian Americans to work harder (e.g. compared to others)

PB Limitations (e.g. no matter the amount of PB messages, it may not be enough to offset disadvantages that Asian Americans have in society)

Promotion of Mistrust
PM Frequency

PM Never

PM Rarely /seldom

PM Sometimes (e.g. occasionally)

PM Often

PM Unsure/don't know

PM Incongruent response (e.g. parent gives one answer but her examples are contradictory)

PM Did not answer/ unclear answer

PM frequency determined by child

PM Current Practices

Discussions about inequality and/or structural racism in society (e.g. talk to the child about racial trends s/he noticed and how they've come to be)

Encourage avoidance of certain ethnic/racial groups (e.g. parent tells child to actively avoid certain ethnic/racial groups)

Use of PM only when child is bullied (e.g. or discriminated against)

Gender differences in use (e.g. use more with daughters)

PM Helpful/Harmful

PM is helpful

PM is harmful

PM is neutral (e.g. neither good or bad)

PM is mixed (e.g. some good, some bad)

PM unsure (parent is unsure if PM is helpful or harmful)

PM No Effect

PM Helpful
     No benefits for PM
     PM protects/prepares from possible or future danger (e.g. PM is a self-defense
strategy)
PM Harmful
     PM no harm (e.g. includes anticipated harm)
     PM is not conducive to fostering positive intergroup relations (e.g. it is
important for foreigners to get along with other ethnic/racial groups and PM
does not help; "don't treat others the way you don't want to be treated"; PM
creates distance from successful integration with others)
     PM introduces/reinforces prejudice, stereotypes (e.g. pre-conceived notions or
blanket statements about race)
     PM does not promote assimilation, integration (PM does not help with
integrating into American society)
     PM introduces/reinforces discrimination, racism, segregation
     PM overemphasizes race, underemphasizes individuals' contributions (e.g.
individuals' behaviors/context have to be considered beyond race)
     PM incongruent with American values (e.g. equality, meritocracy, diversity –
do not infer, parents have to explicitly mention the "American" piece)
     PM incongruent with Chinese values (e.g. collectivism, parents have to
explicitly mention the "Chinese" piece)
     Child is too young for PM (e.g. to understand or receive PM messages)

<u>Egalitarianism – Silence about Race</u>
ES Frequency
     ES Never
     ES Rarely /seldom
     ES Sometimes (e.g. occasionally)
     ES Often
     ES Unsure/don't know
     ES Incongruent response (e.g. parent gives one answer but her examples are
contradictory)
     ES Did not answer/ unclear answer
     ES frequency determined by child
ES Current Practices
     Discussions about equality/unity/shared humanity
     Parent neglects/ underemphasizes role of racial/ethnic differences
     Discussions about race, inequality, and racism/discrimination
     Tailor ES messages to child's developmental level
     Parent employs reactive strategies
ES Helpful/Harmful
     ES is helpful
     ES is harmful
     ES no harm
     ES is neutral (e.g. neither good or bad)
     ES unsure (parent is unsure if ES is helpful or harmful)

ES is mixed (e.g. some good, some bad)

ES No Effect

ES Helpful

ES is developmentally appropriate (e.g. child can comprehend ES messages easily)

ES ease of use (e.g. quick and easy for parents to explain; helps delay a difficult topic for later)

ES promotes mutual understanding and diversity (e.g. open-mindedness between racial/ethnic groups; ES combats pre-conceived notions and stereotypes; ES promotes multiculturalism)

ES messages are consistent with values of equality and/or shared humanity (e.g. race becomes a less salient factor compared to individual contributions; "we are all human")

ES messages promotes pro-sociality, civic engagement (e.g. community volunteerism for children[P][SEP])

ES promotes positive mental health/ identity

ES Harmful

ES neglects reality of racism, prejudice, discrimination (e.g. silence about race messages neglects reality of racism, prejudice, discrimination)

ES negates diversity, minorities' experiences (e.g. diversity is something to celebrate; neglects individuals' unique backgrounds)

ES does not promote (positive) ethnic-racial identity/ self-worth (e.g. children should be proud of their race, ES causes resentment/blame for own ethnicity)

ES may cause bicultural identity conflict

ES draws attention to race/ethnicity e.g. by saying that races/ethnicities don't matter, you are drawing attention to differences

Table 6: Frequency of using each ethnic-racial socialization dimension among 36 low-income vs. 21 middle-and-upper-income Chinese American mothers

Frequency of using each ethnic-racial socialization dimension		Total mothers (count)	Total mothers (percentage, N=57)	Low-income mothers (count)	Low-income mothers (percentage, N=36)	Middle-and-upper-income mothers (count)	Middle-and-upper-income mothers (percentage, N=21)
Cultural Socialization	Often	29	50.9%	16	44.4%	13	61.9%
	Sometimes	17	29.8%	12	33.3%	5	23.8%
	Rarely	2	3.5%	2	5.6%	0	0%
	Never	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Other (unsure/ unclear/ incongruent/ did not answer)	9	15.8%	6	16.7%	3	14.3%
Preparation for Bias	Often	1	1.8%	0	0%	1	4.8%
	Sometimes	8	14%	5	13.9%	3	14.3%
	Rarely	11	19.3%	4	11.1%	7	33.3%
	Never	31	54.4%	23	63.9%	8	38.1%
	Other (unsure/ unclear/	6	10.5%	4	11.1%	2	9.5%

	incongruent/ did not answer)					
Promotion of Mistrust	Often	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Sometimes	5	8.8%	3	8.3%	2	9.5%
	Rarely	10	17.5%	7	19.4%	3	14.3%
	Never	38	66.7%	23	63.9%	15	71.4%
	Other (unsure/ unclear/ incongruent/ did not answer)	4	7%	3	8.3%	1	4.8%
Egalitarianism and Silence about Race	Often	8	14%	3	8.3%	5	23.8%
	Sometimes	18	31.6%	11	30.6%	7	33.3%
	Rarely	11	19.3%	9	25%	2	9.5%
	Never	11	19.3%	8	22.2%	3	14.3%
	Other (unsure/ unclear/ incongruent/ did not answer)	9	15.8%	5	13.9%	4	19.1%

Table 7: Frequency of each code in the codebook

Codes	Total mothers (count)	Total mothers (percentage, N=57)
CS Current Practices		
Chinese language use/ teaching	22	38.6%
Eat Chinese food	26	45.6%
Discussion about culture/history	15	26.3%
Visits to China	1	1.8%
Holiday celebrations	21	36.8%
Promotion of cultural values	1	1.8%
CS Helpful		
Understand cultural differences/ diversity	6	10.5%
Promote connection to China, cultural pride or/and positive Chinese identity	17	29.8%
Understand familial roots/history	3	5.3%
Understand Chinese history/culture/language	30	52.6%
Promote interest for other aspects of Chinese culture	5	8.8%
Strengthen parent-child/family bond	4	7.0%
CS is child-directed, developmentally appropriate	3	5.3%
CS Harmful		
Too much CS may hinder acculturation	5	8.8%
Too much CS may hinder diversity in friendships	0	0%
Cultural/ethnic/racial identity should not be the defining feature	2	3.5%
Bilingualism impairs language development	2	3.5%
CS may cause bicultural identity conflict	1	1.8%
PB Current Practices		
PB employs reactive strategies	5	8.8%
Parent prepares proactively	14	24.6%
Parent minimizes the role of race in discrimination	9	15.8%
Parent shares their own ethnic-racial discrimination experiences	7	12.3%
Parent avoids initiating PB discussions – child discovers on his own	2	3.5%
Parent tells child not to bully/ treat others unfairly	3	5.3%
Parent encourages child to work harder	5	8.8%
Parent promotes ethnic-racial pride	2	3.5%
PB Helpful		

PB teaches coping strategies for ethnic-racial bullying	25	43.9%
PB paints a realistic picture	8	14.0%
PB encourages child to work harder	5	8.8%
PB Harmful		
PB overemphasizes the role of race	14	24.6%
PB negatively affects children's self-esteem/ self-concept/ mental health	25	43.9%
PB forces Asian Americans to work harder	2	3.5%
PB limitations	2	3.5%
PM Current Practices		
Discussion about inequality and/ or structural racism in society	0	0%
Encourage avoidance of certain ethnic/ racial groups	7	12.3%
Use of PM only when child is bullied	1	1.8%
Gender differences in use	0	0%
PM Helpful		
PM protects/ prepares from possible or future danger	16	28.1%
PM Harmful		
PM is not conducive to fostering positive intergroup relations	20	35.1%
PM introduces/reinforces prejudice, stereotypes	12	21.2%
PM does not promote assimilation, integration	6	10.5%
PM introduces/reinforces discrimination, racism, segregation	12	21.1%
PM overemphasizes race, underemphasizes individuals' contributions	9	15.8%
PM incongruent with American values	3	5.3%
PM incongruent with Chinese values	0	0%
Child is too young for PM	3	5.3%
ES Current Practices		
Parent employs reactive strategies	5	8.8%
Discussions about equality/unity/shared humanity	17	29.8%
Parent neglects/ underemphasizes role of racial/ethnic differences	19	33.3%
Discussions about race, inequality, and racism/discrimination	1	1.8%
Tailor ES messages to child's developmental level	3	5.3%
ES Helpful		

ES is developmentally appropriate	3	5.3%
ES ease of use	1	1.8%
ES promotes mutual understanding and diversity	16	28.1%
ES messages are consistent with values of equality and/or shared humanity	13	22.8%
ES messages promotes pro-sociality, civic engagement	4	7.0%
ES promotes positive mental health/ identity	3	5.3%
ES Harmful		
ES neglects reality of racism, prejudice, discrimination	9	15.8%
ES negates diversity, minorities' experiences	9	15.8%
ES does not promote (positive) ethnic-racial identity/ self-worth	3	5.3%
ES may cause bicultural identity conflict	1	1.8%
ES draws attention to race/ethnicity	2	3.5%

Table 8: Perception of the four ethnic-racial socialization dimensions among 57 Chinese American mothers

Perception of each ethnic-racial socialization dimension		Number of mothers (count)	Percentage of mothers (N=57)
Cultural Socialization	Helpful	44	77.2%
	Harmful	1	1.8%
	Neutral	1	1.8%
	Mixed	5	8.8%
	Other (unsure/ unclear/ did not answer)	6	10.5%
Preparation for Bias	Helpful	19	33.3%
	Harmful	11	19.3%
	Neutral	0	0%
	Mixed	18	31.6%
	Other (unsure/ unclear/ did not answer)	9	15.8%
Promotion of Mistrust	Helpful	10	17.5%
	Harmful	26	45.6%
	Neutral	0	0%
	Mixed	10	17.5%
	Other (unsure/ unclear/ did not answer)	11	19.3%
Egalitarianism and Silence about Race	Helpful	27	47.4%

	Harmful	4	7%
	Neutral	1	1.8%
	Mixed	9	15.8%
	Other (unsure/ unclear/ did not answer)	16	28.1%

Interview questions in English

There are several ways that parents teach their children about their ethnic and racial identity. I will give you some examples and I would like you to respond to the following questions.

a. **Cultural socialization** is teaching children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history and promoting cultural, racial, and ethnic pride. Some examples may be talking about important historical or cultural figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books, music, and stories; celebrating cultural holidays; eating ethnic foods; and encouraging children to use their family's native language.

   a. Do you **Often, Sometimes, Seldom, or Never** use these methods?
   b. How are these methods helpful and/or potentially harmful?

b. **Preparation for bias** is promoting children's awareness of discrimination and preparing them to cope. Parents who use this method may tell their children they have to work extra hard because of their minority status, share stories of their own discrimination experiences, and teach them how to cope.

   a. Do you **Often, Sometimes, Seldom, or Never** use these methods?
   b. How are these methods helpful and/or potentially harmful?

c. **Promotion of mistrust** refers to practices that emphasize the need for wariness and distrust in interracial interactions. Parents may caution their children to avoid others of a certain race or to be extra careful or skeptical in these interactions.

   a. Do you **Often, Sometimes, Seldom, or Never** use these methods?
   b. How are these methods helpful and/or potentially harmful?

d. Parents who use **egalitarianism and silence about race** messages encourage their children to value individual qualities over racial group membership or avoid any mention of race in discussions with their children. Parents may say, "It doesn't matter if your skin is black, white, or purple. We are all humans."

   a. Do you **Often, Sometimes, Seldom, or Never** use these methods?
   b. How are these methods helpful and/or potentially harmful?

Interview questions in Chinese

通常父母有这几种方式教孩子他们的民族和种族身份。 我会举几个例子，我希望你回答以下几个问题。

a. 文化社会化是教孩子他们的种族或民族遗产和历史，让他们对自己的文化，种族和民族感到自豪。 比如说，谈论重要的历史或文化人物; 让孩子接触与自己文化相关的书籍，音乐和故事; 庆祝文化节日; 吃民族食品; 并鼓励孩子使用家里的母语。

   a. 你经常，有时，很少或从不使用这些方法吗?
   b. 这些方法如何有用和/或有潜在危害?

b. 为偏见做准备是促进儿童对歧视的认知并使他们做好应对准备。使用这种方法的父母可能会告诉他们的孩子，由于他们是少数族裔，他们可能会遭遇歧视，所以他们必须加倍努力。父母也可能分享他们自己遭遇的歧视经历，并教孩子如何应对。

   a. 你经常，有时，很少或从不使用这些方法吗?
   b. 这些方法如何有用和/或有潜在危害?

c. 促进不信任是指强调跨种族沟通时需要谨慎和不信任的做法。 父母可能会提醒他们的孩子避免和某些种族的人沟通，或者在这些互动中要特别小心或持怀疑态度。

   a. 你经常，有时，很少或从不使用这些方法吗?
   b. 这些方法如何有用和/或有潜在危害?

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d. 使用平等主义和对种族信息保持沉默的父母鼓励他们的孩子重视个人品质而不是种族群体成员，或者避免在与孩子讨论时提及种族。 父母可能会说，"无论你的皮肤是黑色，白色或紫色，这并不重要。 我们都是人类。"

    a. 你经常，有时，很少或从不使用这些方法吗？
    b. 这些方法如何有用和/或有潜在危害？
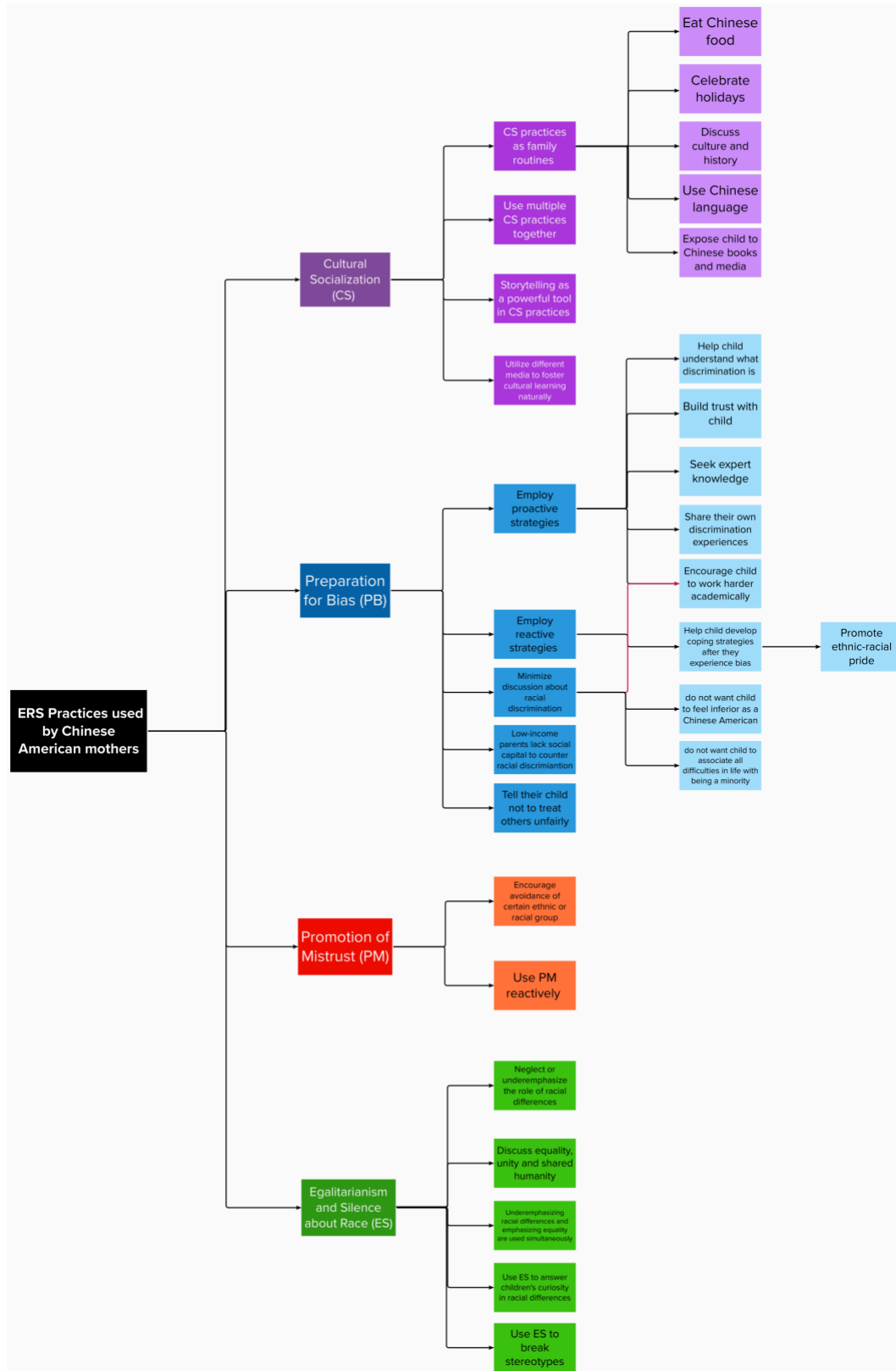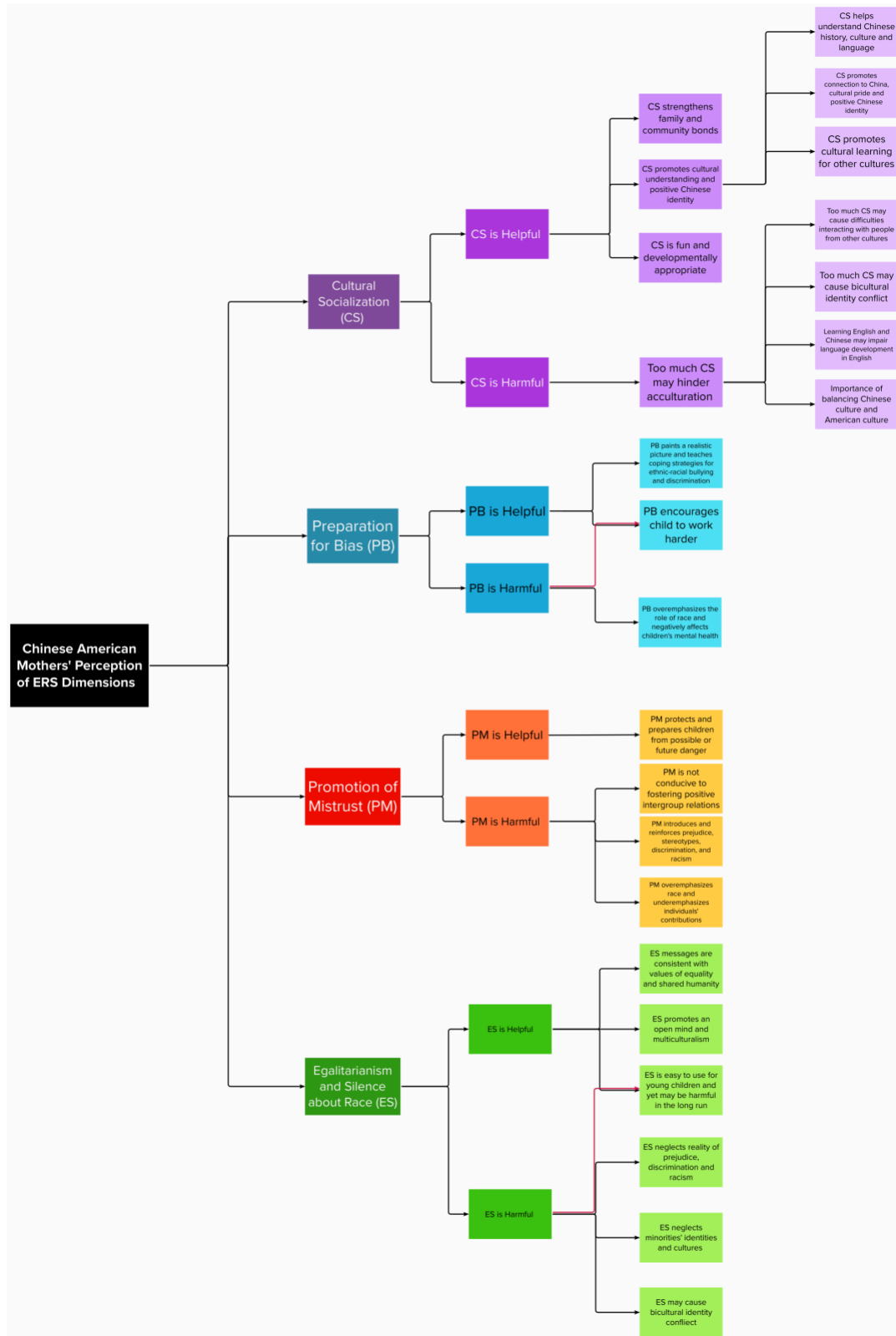
Figure 1: ERS Practices used by Chinese American mothers

Figure 2: Chinese American mothers' Perception of ERS Dimensions

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