ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE ROLE OF SIBLINGS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARENTAL RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND OUTCOMES IN TRANSRACIAL ADOLESCENT ADOPTEES

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Siblings are the longest relationship many people have in their lives, yet are often overlooked in research. Transracial adoptees, who may struggle with forming a sense of racial identity and experiencing low self-esteem, may benefit from the presence of a sibling of color. The research questions posed by this study are 1) What is the independent effect of having a sibling of color for transracial adolescent adoptees' racial identity and self-esteem? 2) Does having a sibling of color moderate the well-established relationship between parental racial socialization and outcomes of racial identity and self-esteem in transracial adoptees? Results of the present study indicated that having a sibling of color was negatively associated with a transracial adolescent adoptees' self-esteem and having a sibling of color moderated the relationship between racial socialization and self-esteem. Higher racial socialization was associated with lower self-esteem for adoptees with no sibling of color.

THE ROLE OF SIBLINGS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARENTAL

RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND OUTCOMES IN TRANSRACIAL ADOLESCENT

ADOPTEES

By

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Chapter 1: Statement of the Problem

Adoption has played an important role in shaping and creating families. The practice of adoption can be traced back to ancient times, where the transfer of non-biological children was strategic in either maintaining or gaining familial wealth (Lindsay, 2009). Adoption has thus transformed over the course of history to be more child centered, focusing on the best interest of the child who cannot be supported or who is unwanted by their biological family. In modern society, adoption has become a common practice and a valuable option for those who choose to enrich their lives with a child. More specifically, in the United States, the practice of adoption has grown since the first act of legislature pertaining to adoption, the Adoption of Children Act, passed in Massachusetts in 1851. Today, it is common for people to know a number of families who have adopted in their social circles. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Adoption and Foster Care Analysis Reporting System (AFCARS) 2018 report, the number of children adopted with public child welfare agency involvement has steadily increased every year from 50,668 children in 2014 to 63,123 children in 2018.

Although adoption allows for families to be created, the experiences for children who become adopted are varied and unique to the circumstances of the families which they enter. For example, children are sometimes paired with parents who represent different racial backgrounds. Transracial adoption happens when parents from one race adopt a child of another race. Research has shown that White parents are more likely to adopt transracially than any other racial group. Transracial adoption started in earnest in the 1940s and 1950s, with the adoption of war orphans in World War II and then later during the Korean and Vietnam wars (Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2008). This

practice became controversial during the time of the Civil Rights Movement when White parents were adopting Black children. White parents adopting Black and biracial children was heavily debated during this era with some arguing that allowing Black children to be adopted by non-Black parents stripped them of their culture and did not give them the skills and background they needed to successfully navigate being a minority in American society (National Association of Black Social Workers, 1991). The opposing side countered that many Black children were stranded in the foster care system and needed homes regardless of race. Although opinions on transracial adoption were varied, the Federal Government enacted the Multiethnic Placement Act (MEPA) in 1994. This act made it illegal to prevent children in foster care from being placed with families based on race alone (Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2008).

Transracial adoptions represent a significant proportion of adoptions in the United States today. The 2007 National Survey of Adoptive Parents (NSAP) estimates that 5 million Americans are adopted and that of those 5 million, 40% of them were of a different race, culture, or ethnicity than both adoptive parents. The survey also finds that most international adoptions occur transracially, with 84% of children being of another race than their adoptive parents. Pertaining to domestic adoptions within the U.S., 28% of foster care adoptions are transracial and 21% of private domestic adoptions are transracial. Consistent with past research, NSAP data shows the majority of couples who choose to adopt transracially are White (Vandivere, 2009).

Researchers have begun to explore the unique experiences, challenges, and circumstances transracial adoptees and their families may face. Literature on transracial adoption has focused on the well-being of the child and how they might navigate their

racial and cultural identities as a transracial adoptee. Transracial adoptees face unique

identity challenges related to not having a parent of the same race and ethnicity, which

include having to straddle two cultures while not fully being in one or the other, and

having to navigate questions and situations where their family membership is questioned.

Research has shown that transracial adoptees may struggle with racial identity formation

and issues around self-esteem for these reasons and others (Hollingsworth, 1997) and

there is agreement between researchers and clinicians that strong identification with one's

racial group is important to the adjustment of transracial adoptees (Leslie, Hrapczynski &

Young, 2019).

To date research has focused primarily on examining the role parents may play in

helping form their adopted child's sense of identity. Studies typically involve measuring

and exploring cultural socialization, the process in which parents communicate certain

messages, ideas, and beliefs about race and ethnicity to their children. For example,

Ferrari, Ranieri, Barni, and Rosnati (2015) looked at how transracial adoptees may cope

with constructing their identity by looking at the degree of mothers' cultural socialization

and transracial adoptees' levels of self-esteem. The results indicated that mothers' level

of cultural socialization supported adoptees' ethnic identity exploration, which in turn

was positively associated with ethnic identity affirmation. Additionally, Smith, Juarez,

and Jacobson (2011) examined strategies that White parents used to teach their adoptive

Black children about issues of race and racism while working toward helping them build

a positive racial identity. After researchers thematically coded the interviews, lessons

such as celebrating diversity and encouraging children to get along with Whites emerged

as the lessons that White parents believed were imparting positive cultural and racial messages to their children.

Although parental influence through cultural socialization plays a role in how transracial adoptees conceptualize their identities, additional factors both within families and the larger environment merit more attention. One of those factors that has yet to be explored is the role of siblings in transracial adoptive families and how they may impact the psychosocial outcomes of transracial adoptees.

Despite the importance of looking at the relationships between transracial adoptees and their siblings, little research has been done in this area. Given the dearth of scholarship in this area, it is helpful to look at the existing articles and studies on sibling relationships in families, more generally Early research on siblings has focused on the negative impact siblings have on the development of one another because of the idea that parents have less and less time to dedicate to each child with the addition of each new sibling (Blake, 1981). However, research has gone on to highlight the benefits siblings can have on each other and how sibling relationships can lead to positive social outcomes (Feinberg, Solmeyer & McHale, 2012). By looking at siblings and increased number of siblings as resources for children, researchers have discovered areas where children with siblings may fare better than their only child counterparts. Studies have shown that having one or more siblings can positively impact children's social and interpersonal skills through understanding of societal roles, practice of negotiating, and conveying emotions through interactions between siblings (Brody, 1998; Downey & Condron, 2004). Summaries of the literature on sibling relationships show that siblings have direct and indirect influence on adjustment problems and risky behaviors, especially in early

adolescent and adolescent years. Sibling conflicts in childhood can be predictive of bullying, school problems, substance use, and concurrent and future deviance (Stocker, Burwell, & Briggs, 2002). Older siblings can also act as models for younger siblings if they are exposed to or learn about sibling substance use and risky sexual behaviors (McHale, Updegraff, & Whiteman, 2012). Thus, sibling relationships and interactions have been shown to significantly influence the formation of the individual.

Research exists on biological sibling relationships, there is a significantly smaller body of research that explores what sibling relationships may mean or look like to adoptive siblings or siblings in families where there is at least one adopted child. Farr, Flood, and Grotevant's (2016) manuscript presented three studies on the role of siblings in adoption outcomes and experiences. One study was of particular importance to the proposed study: They found that siblings who were adopted along with their own biological sibling had fewer externalizing behaviors (aggression, anger, substance use, and antisocial behaviors) when their adopted biological sibling reported positive adoption affect. That is, adoptees felt more positive about their own adoption experience and had less negative behaviors when their adopted sibling reported similar positive feelings about their own adoption experience.

Although research on siblings and their significance is limited, research done on siblings in families with a transracially adopted child is even more limited. Understanding the impact of siblings and sibling relationships on individuals is needed, but especially so for siblings where racial and cultural boundaries are crossed. Siblings are particularly important to look at because of the amount of time they spend with each other growing up and the influence they can have on one another. This is especially

important for siblings in transracial adoptee households because those relationships may be more nuanced and have more meaning or different meanings for the children involved. While the degree to which adoptive parents engage in racial socialization has been proven to be beneficial to transracial adoptees' well-being (Leslie, 2013; Hrapczynski, 2018), less is known about the degree to which siblings can interfere with or promote this relationship. Transracial adoptees can enter different types of families when they are adopted- families who already have biological children, families who have already adopted minority race children, and families who have adopted White children. These different types of siblings can be called sibling constellations. Similarly, these different siblings can enter the home after the transracial adoptee joins the family.

To date, no quantitative research has been done on the role of siblings in the adjustment of transracial adoptees, making the proposed study on transracial adoption even more necessary. Research on this topic has been limited to narrative, qualitative interviews with adults who retrospectively recounted their experiences with siblings either as a transracial adoptee or as a biological child with a transracially adopted sibling. The results of these studies were created through deductive analysis of themes and findings indicate that siblings play an important role in the development of their transracially adopted sibling, and vice versa. Ribner (2012) found seven themes among his 16 interviews; two themes being that adoptive siblings felt their non-adoptive siblings helped them "fit in" to the culture and "fit in" to the family. These themes highlight the power a sibling may have in helping create a sense of belonging for the transracial adoptee. Although these studies are important contributions to the field, more research

needs to be conducted to fully understand the role siblings play in relation to transracial adoptees.

Although little research exists on siblings in transracial adoptee families, general research on siblings would suggest that the presence of a sibling of color might impact transracial adoptees in two ways. First, there may be a direct effect on transracially adopted children's outcomes of racial identity and self-esteem. Siblings of color may offer each other outlets to express feelings and process race-related experiences. In addition, they may also impart ways to cope, view, or make meaning of their similar situations. Above all, the existence of a minority-adopted siblings' presence may be enough to evoke comfort and act as a signal to the adoptee that they are not alone in their experience. Their coexistence in a family together may create a sense of belonging for both of them, creating a mutually beneficial relationship. These factors may in turn lead to more positive levels of self-esteem and racial identity in transracial adoptees. Second, it is also possible that the presence of a sibling of color may impact or strengthen the well established relationship between parental racial socialization and adoptee outcomes such as racial identity and self-esteem, possibly acting as a moderator on this relationship. For example, siblings may reiterate the messages they receive from parental racial socialization to their siblings and may also encourage certain behaviors pertaining to race and ethnicity. Siblings of color may also serve as models for their other minority sibling in how to translate what is communicated to them through racial socialization into reality.

Understanding the role siblings play in transracial adoptee families is valuable information to have not only for researchers, but also for those who may directly benefit, transracial adoptees and their families. With this knowledge, parents of transracial

adoptees may be informed on how to practice racial socialization more effectively, thus better preparing their minority race child to successfully navigate the world biased against them. In turn, transracial adoptees may be better equipped to make sense of the prejudice against them and be less likely to internalize their experiences, possibly leading to better psychological outcomes. Depending on the results of this study, parents may also be able to recognize the benefit in their child having a sibling of color and how they might use their presence to interpret messages about race and ethnicity. This study is needed, not only to close the gap in literature, but also to benefit transracial adoptees lives' and their families.

Therefor the purpose of this study is to investigate the role of siblings in the adjustment of transracial adoptees. Two specific questions will be explored. First, what is the independent effect of having another sibling of color on the outcomes of racial identity and self-esteem for transracial adoptees? Specifically the study will compare transracial adoptees who are only children, to those who have White siblings, and to those who have a sibling of color. The second question this study aims to answer is whether or not having a sibling of color moderates the well-established relationship between parental racial socialization and adjustment outcomes of self-esteem and racial identity in transracial adoptees.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Theoretical Approaches to understanding the Influence of Siblings on Transracial Adoptees

Social Learning Theory

      Social learning theory is essential to understanding sibling relationships, and will serve as a framework for this study. Social learning theory, created by Albert Bandura in 1977, posits that children learn behavior through two key mechanisms, reinforcement and observations of others' behaviors (Bandura, 1977). The theory highlights the process of modeling and introduces the idea that children learn behavior through the modeling process, either deliberately or inadvertently. Children are able to observe, imitate, and code information for later use and through this, a new behavior is learned (Bandura, 1997). Although social learning theory has been applied to the parent-child relationships, it is one of the most commonly applied theories to understanding sibling relationships dynamics, especially in the adolescent stage of life (Whiteman, McHale & Soli, 2011). Since siblings are often a fixture in everyday family life, they can provide many opportunities for modeling and behavioral learning to take place. The behaviors modeled and learned can be both positive and negative and can have various impacts on development and adjustment in siblings (McHale, Updegraff & Whiteman, 2012). For example, it has been shown that having siblings in general aids in development of children's social and interpersonal skills (Brody, 1998; Downey & Condron, 2004).

      The principles of social learning theory imply that modeling processes in sibling relationships may vary due to sibling constellation and that older and same-gender siblings are likely to serve as the models (Whiteman, McHale & Soli, 2011). Although

this does not rule out the possibility of the sibling relationship being a reciprocal one,
Whiteman, McHale, and Soli (2011) consider reciprocity more common when similarity
exists between siblings. For example, years between ages is an important factor in
whether or not the modeling relationship can be reciprocal. Closely aged siblings benefit
from similarity to self, so there is a greater chance for the modeling relationship to be
reciprocal and bidirectional (Whiteman, McHale & Soli, 2011).

This theory is most relevant to the proposed study as it accounts for an
explanation in how siblings are influenced and impacted by sibling behavior in the home.
Although age and gender similarity have been studied, race similarity has not, in part
because there has typically been an assumption of racial similarity among siblings. What
is unknown is the extent to which a sibling sees siblings who do not look like them
racially as models or the role these different siblings play in each other's development.
The aim of the current study is to understand the impact of siblings of color on racial
identity and self-esteem of transracial adolescent adoptees. Transracial adoptees may
experience life differently than their non-adopted siblings or White adopted siblings due
to a variety of factors, the first being that they look different from their adoptive parents
and their siblings. It can be theorized that if there were another transracial adoptee sibling
in the home, their sheer presence could be both a literal model and a behavioral model,
possibly leading to higher levels of racial identity and self-esteem.

Ethnic Identity Development Theory

In addition to social learning theory, ethnic identity development theory will act
as a framework for the proposed study. Acceptance and development of one's personal
identity can lead to many positive outcomes in terms of psychological well-being and

adjustment for an individual. Erikson (1968) asserts that identity development is a task for all adolescents that calls for completion. Although this period is complex and complicated for all adolescents, it is particularly complex for minority adolescents. Minority adolescents must develop their identity through exploration and commitment to different life domains such as religion, politics, relationships, sexual orientation, etc., and this is further complicated when the additional domains of race, culture, and ethnicity have to be considered as well (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) write about the identity processes for ethnic and racial minorities in America and define ethnic and racial identity as "a consciousness of self within a particular group" (p. 292). Smith (1991) contributes to the proposed theory contending that the ethnic identity process is influenced by whether or not the adolescent has majority status or minority status. Adolescents with majority status are individuals who have membership in society's majority group- either by numbers or by power. These individuals experience constant validation and approval for their ethnic identity development by other members of the majority group and by society's institutions, which are set up to benefit the majority group. Adolescents with minority status often have the opposite experience with their ethnic identity development and are made aware of their difference from the majority group much earlier on in life than their majority group peers (Smith, 1991).

Another tenet of the ethnic identity process is the idea that both minority and majority status adolescents have a reference group that they commit their identity to in varying degrees. In addition to how much they commit their identity to the reference group, one's ethnic identity development can change in relation to how much they want

to be counted as a member of the reference group and the extent to which they use the group as a self-anchoring point to guide their beliefs, morals, and values (Smith, 1989; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Smith (1991) writes that ethnic identity can be measured by observing whether or not the ethnic membership group is an important reference group and by observing the degree to which the individual adopts signs, symbols, and language of the culture in reference.

While Smith (1991) and Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) do not mention transracial adoption in their explanations of the ethnic identity process, the proposed theory accounts for the many complications transracial adoptees face. Transracial adoptees have minority status in society as well as in their homes and thus, it can be assumed that the ethnic identity process for them is more difficult than a minority adolescent who belongs to a minority status family. Most racial minority adolescents are born into families whose members resemble them physically and who have similar lived experience based on their race or ethnicity. These families may socialize their children differently according the race-based experiences they both share and they may also serve as a reference group for the minority child.

Transracial adoptees must navigate life domains of race, culture, and ethnicity in different ways than the rest of their families, unless there is another member of a racial minority group in the home. If a transracially adopted adolescent has a sibling who is also of color, their ethnic identity development may benefit. The siblings may have similar experiences and be able to relate and provide support for each other. Although not a reference group, the adolescent has a sibling who may act as a reference individual, perhaps creating a sense of belonging for each sibling.

A Brief History of Adoption

Adoption has made it possible for families to be created in non-traditional ways. Historically, adoption happened through informal social, cultural or religious practices, or formally through established laws and codes. The practice of adoption has existed for centuries and can be traced back to early history when the transfer of teenage or adult males was valuable for acquiring or maintaining land or wealth in ancient Rome. This practice worked to economically benefit either the family who gave up the individual or for the family who received the individual (Herman, 2008).

Adoption was recognized legally in the U.S. after the state of Massachusetts passed the Adoption of Children Act in 1851, which made the private practice of adoption public and provided judicial supervision over the adoption process (Howe, 1983). This event is typically cited as the beginning of the modern adoption era (Herman, 2008). Far from the bargaining tool adoption once was, modern adoption has become a practice that is intended to consider the child's best interest.

Although it is probable that the number of adopted children has increased since its' legality was established, the records are scarce and too incomplete to draw data from. Even though records and numbers from the past are largely unreliable, an effort to give this institution proper documentation began in the year 2000. As recently as 2000, the Census Bureau first included a category for adopted children on the U.S. Census. The census results indicated there were an estimated 2.1 million adopted children in the U.S. in 2000, with 1.6 million of them under the age of 18. This meant approximately 2.5% of the children in the U.S. were adopted (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). Although the U.S. population increased by 9.7% between 2000 and 2010, surprisingly the adoption numbers

from the 2010 census show almost identical numbers to the 2000 census, with estimates of 2.1 million adopted children in the U.S. and 1.5 million being under the age of 18, accounting for 2.4% of children in the U.S. (Ewert, 2015; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

History of Transracial Adoption

Through adoption, children are sometimes paired with parents who represent different racial backgrounds. Transracial adoption happens when parents from one race adopt a child of another race. This practice began in the U.S. in the 1940's and 1950's, with the adoption of war orphans during World War II and then later, during the Korean and Vietnam Wars. Americans adopted these orphans through voluntary organizations who found placements for the displaced children. (Howe, 1983; Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2008).

The rates of transracial adoption increased substantially during the 1960s and 70s. With the introduction of contraceptive pills in the 1960s and the legalization of abortion in 1969-73, the number of unwanted children by single women was greatly reduced (Goldin & Katz, 2002). This meant that the supply of domestic White children to adopt was lower than it once was and consequently adoption rates dropped. At the same time, the Civil Rights Movement was occurring in America. Changing attitudes on race and race mixing, coupled with the fact that there were fewer White babies to adopt, led to increasing transracial placements of Black children in White homes (Javier, 2007). Reliable statistics are unknown, however, it is estimated that between the 1960s and through the early 1970s, 15,000 transracial adoptions occurred (Day, 1979). Between the years of 1969 and 1971, it is reported that the number of transracial adoptions increased by 40 percent (Sorosky, Baran & Pannor, 1978). Although the number of transracial

adoptions increased, not all of them were Black children being placed in White homes. It is believed that a number of these transracial adoptions described in these statistics were also international adoptions, with Asian, Latino and African children being adopted into White homes. Although international adoption statistics before 1971 are rare to come across, it can be said that between 1971 and 2001, U.S. citizens adopted 265,677 children from other countries (Choy, 2013).

The increasing numbers of Black children being placed in White homes in the early 1970s gained the attention of the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) who argued that Black children would not be able to acquire the skills necessary to navigating life as a racial minority in a White home and who referred to this practice as "cultural genocide" (National Association of Black Social Workers, 1991). In 1972, NABSW passed a resolution calling for an end to the transracial adoption of Black children. This outrage and controversy led the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA) to revise their adoption policies to a preference for same-race families, which led to a steep decrease in the number of Black-White adoptions (Lee, 2003). The counterargument, comprised largely of White social workers, made the claim that Black and other racial minority children were left to suffer in the foster care system and that adequate research had not been done to prove the negative effects of transracial placements (Feigelman & Silverman, 1983).

Growing out of concern for the number of children languishing in foster care, the Federal Government enacted the Multiethnic Placement Act (MEPA) in 1994, declaring it illegal to prevent children from being placed with families based on race alone (Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2008). This Act provided guidelines on how to proceed

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with transracial adoptions for federally funded adoption agencies (Lee, 2003). Since MEPA was passed, the number of transracial adoptions has again increased in the country and today both domestic and international adoptions are options for families to consider. Although the opinions and attitudes on transracial adoption continue to differ, many individuals and families believe it is the right choice as transracial adoptions represent a significant proportion of adoptions in the United States today.

Transracial adoption can occur either through domestic adoption or through intercountry adoption. The number of intercountry adoptions in the U.S. has been steadily decreasing in the last couple of years. The number of immigrant visas granted to children who were adopted abroad dropped from 6,441 in 2014 to 4,059 in 2018 (U.S. Department of State, 2018). The decline in intercountry adoptions can be explained by a number of factors including better economic conditions in countries where children are usually adopted from and stricter adoption regulations and bans on U.S. adoptions enacted by foreign governments (U.S. Department of State, 2018). Additionally, the U.S. began enforcing the Hague Adoption Convention in 2008, which helped to limit child trafficking from certain countries, contributing to the decline in intercountry adoptions. With the passage and international attention given to same-sex marriage, many countries with children to adopt enacted or already had explicit laws and policies as well as sociocultural "codes" that were against LGBTQ adoption (Human Rights Campaign, n.d.). These laws and codes against the LGBTQ community may also account for the decline in intercountry adoptions. Although not all intercountry adoptions can be classified as a transracial adoptions, data from 2009 shows that the top 5 countries Americans adopted from (in order from greatest to least) were China, Ethiopia, Russia,

Korea, and Guatemala (Selman, 2009). Since research has shown that White parents overwhelmingly represent the population of people who decide to adopt transracially, the children adopted from the aforementioned countries (excluding Russia) would be considered as transracial adoptions.

The 2007 National Survey of Adoptive Parents (NSAP) estimates that 5 million Americans alive today are adopted and of those 5 million, 40% of them were of a different race, culture, or ethnicity than both adoptive parents. The survey also finds that most international adoptions occur transracially, with 84% of children being of another race than their adoptive parents. Pertaining to domestic adoptions within the U.S., 28% of foster care adoptions are transracial and 21% of private domestic adoptions are transracial (Vandivere, 2009). Consistent with past research, NSAP data shows the majority of couples who choose to adopt transracially are White (Vandivere, 2009). Data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study of the Kindergarten Class of 2010-2011 show that "White children made up the largest segment of adoptees; but, at 39%, they were far from a majority. Hispanic children were the next largest group, representing nearly 23% of all adoptees, followed by Asian children (17%), and multiracial children (11%). Black students represented only 9% of adoptees" (Zill, 2017).   Given the significant number of children growing up in transracial homes and the unique challenges these children may face, it is important that research continue in order to benefit them and their families.

Racial Socialization and Transracial Adoption

Racial socialization refers to the ways in which parents communicate certain attitudes, perspectives, or beliefs around the constructs of race to their children (Hughes et al., 2006). While racial socialization occurs for all children, most research has focused

on racial socialization of minority children. Racial socialization of minority children

consists of two categories: (1) cultural socialization/pluralism and (2) preparation for

bias. Cultural socialization/ pluralism refers to the messages parents transmit to their

children around ethnic pride, heritage, and diversity, whereas preparation for bias

concerns the parent's ability to inform the child about discrimination they may

experience and how to handle it (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Transracial adoption inherently

concerns racial socialization because of the unique problems that are presented when a

parent is tasked with transmitting messages about a culture and race to their child in

which they have no prior experience. Early studies on transracial adoptees and their

families found that parents tended to downplay the impact of race and ethnicity on

children by adopting a "colorblind" orientation (Lee, 2003). This colorblind orientation

ignored the child's differences and parents who adopted this view had the goal for the

child to achieve assimilation into mainstream society through intentionally denying their

race and culture (Lee, 2003).

More recent research has shown continued variation, yet increasing recognition,

among parents of transracial adoptees of the importance of racial socialization. Although

preparation for bias can inform transracial adoptees about the biases they may encounter

in society and possibly provide ideas on how they might cope emotionally and

understand intellectually, the vast majority of the research on racial socialization to date

has been on cultural socialization.

Johnston and her colleagues (2007) aimed to investigate the ways in which White

American adoptive mothers socialize their Asian adoptive children around issues of

culture, race, and ethnicity through their quantitative study. White American adoptive

mothers were given measures related to racial, ethnic, and cultural socialization, their own identification with Whites, connection to Asian Americans, and ratings of their child's internalizing and externalizing behaviors. Internalizing behaviors were defined as symptoms that underlie behaviors and physical problems such as depression, anxiety, and withdrawn nature, while externalizing behaviors consisted of displays of aggressive and delinquent behavior. Results showed mother's connection to Asian Americans was associated with more frequent cultural socialization/pluralism and preparation for bias. Results also indicated that higher levels of cultural socialization/pluralism in mothers were related to fewer externalizing problems in their children, displaying the psychological value of mother's cultural socialization/pluralism in the transracially adopted children (Johnston et al., 2007).

Yoon (2001) also sought to understand the relationship between parental racial socialization and psychological outcomes and self-esteem levels in transracially adopted children. Although Yoon (2001) does not mention the concept of racial socialization explicitly, his quantitative study examined parents' levels of support for their minority child's race and ethnicity, which overlaps with the cultural socialization aspect of racial socialization. Participants of this study were 800 Korean adolescent adoptees aged 12 to 19 and their parents. The parents were given questionnaires to fill out which included two measures, one on parents' support of child's ethnic background and the other on the parent-child relationship. The children were given measures on collective self-esteem (ethnic pride), personal self-esteem, and psychological adjustment (anxiety, depression, everyday well-being, and life satisfaction).

Results indicated that a positive relationship exists between parent-child relationship and psychological adjustment in adolescent adoptees. The findings also demonstrate that parental support of ethnic socialization was associated with a positive sense of ethnic identity in adoptees. Finally, Yoon (2001) was able to find support for his hypothesis that collective self-esteem (ethnic pride) had direct effects on psychological adjustment, including mental health and self-esteem. Yoon's (2001) findings suggest transracially adopted adolescents' own ethnic identity benefits from parents' direct and indirect support of their ethnic background, which in turn, positively effects their own psychological adjustment.

Although research shows that parents' support of their child's ethnic background leads to positive effects in their transracial adoptee children, Lee and Quintana (2005) wanted answers as to how transracial adoptees ethnic identity formation may differ from non-adopted native children. Specifically, the researchers wanted to understand whether Quintana's model of perspective taking ability (PTA), a model concerned with ethnic identity formation, could be reliably applied to transracial adoptee children. Another question their study aimed to answer was whether or not transracial adoptees progressed through the same developmental PTA levels, achieved the same levels of development, and developed through levels at rates equivalent to those in non-adopted children.

The researchers recruited 50 Korean-American transracial adoptees from a Korean culture camp on the East coast and performed qualitative interviews with each participant. The interviewers asked questions assessing for perspective taking ability (PTA) for being Korean and cultural exposure in an open ended way. The questions regarding the child's PTA were split into three sections: individual, friendship, and

family. Examples of the questions in the different domains are: "Do you like being Korean? Why?" (Individual domain), "Do you notice differences between friends who are Korean from those who are not?" (Friendship domain), and "How are Korean families different from Caucasian families?" (Family domain) (Lee & Quintana, 2005). Cultural knowledge and self-esteem were also assessed for, but these measures were given to participants to complete on their own.

Results from this study indicate that the amount of cultural exposure and chronological age were significant predictors of transracially adopted children's PTA for being Korean. When compared to the sample of non-adopted native Korean children, results showed that the non-adopted children reached higher levels of PTA at earlier ages than did transracial adoptee children, although this relationship was mediated by cultural exposure. It can be inferred from these findings that the parents of the transracial adoptees in this sample needed to have created more exposure to the child's culture of origin when they were younger to see similar levels of PTA to non-adopted Korean children.

Although research has found that children who are adopted transracially benefit from their parents engaging in cultural socialization (McHale et al., 2006), research has also found that preparation for bias is critical to transracial adoptees' psychological outcomes. Mohanty and Newhill (2011) showcase how important preparation for bias is to psychological outcomes in their study consisting of 100 internationally adopted Asian adolescents and young adults. Parental behaviors that promoted racial awareness, educated about racism, and taught adolescents how they might cope with it were associated with lower feelings of marginality and higher self-esteem for participants. On

the other hand, cultural socialization behaviors from parents such as being taught about their culture of origin, heritage, values, practices, and traditions of their native country were not associated with feelings of marginality or self-esteem for participants. Participants completed measures on the degree to which they were exposed to racial and ethnic socialization, marginality, and self-esteem. Marginality in this study was described as feeling isolated or not quite belonging. Racial socialization was looked at in terms of the types of behaviors participants were exposed to that promoted racial awareness and pride about their race, typically referred to as cultural socialization. It also encompassed how participants were exposed to preparation for bias behaviors such as being educated about racism and taught about how they might cope. Cultural socialization was defined by the ways in which participants were taught about their culture of origin, heritage, values, practices, and traditions of their native country.

Results indicated that racial socialization was significantly related to low marginality and in turn, higher self-esteem. In line with the researchers expectations, racial socialization had a beneficial effect on adoptees' self-esteem and this appears to be because of its' alleviating effect on marginality. Participants who were communicated to about preparation for bias had more positive levels of psychological well-being.

Hrapczynski and Leslie (2019) found similar results on the role of preparation for bias. Sixty-six transracial adoptive parent-adolescent dyads were studied. Parents reported on their racial socialization behaviors and children reported on their level of discrimination related stress. Results indicated that parents engaging in cultural socialization, or teaching them about and instilling pride in their culture of origin, did nothing to reduce the stressful effects of discrimination. However, White adoptive

parents talking to their minority children about how racism may affect their lives and how to navigate it did seem to serve a protective function. Discrimination related stress was lower for adolescents who had received more preparation for bias from their parents, and the relationship was strongest for adolescents experiencing the highest levels of discrimination.

Mohanty and Newhill's (2011) and Hrapczynski and Leslie's (2019) findings emphasize the importance of engaging in preparation for bias for transracially adopted children, Berbery and O'Brien (2011) sought to understand predictors in the likelihood for White parents to engage in both cultural socialization and preparation for bias behaviors with their transracially adopted children through their study. Participants consisted of 200 White parents of adopted Asian children. Participants completed measures on White racial identity, cultural and racial socialization beliefs, cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy, cultural and racial socialization behaviors, and personal demographics.

The researchers found that cultural and racial socialization beliefs held by parents were the biggest predictor of cultural socialization and preparation for bias behaviors, far above other factors (White racial identity, cultural socialization self-efficacy and racial socialization self-efficacy, and cultural and racial socialization behaviors). Another finding indicated that parents reported low frequencies of engaging in both cultural socialization and preparation for bias behaviors. Further, parents reported engaging in cultural socialization a few to several times a year and engaging in racial socialization only once or twice a year. These results meant that parents rarely engaged their children in preparation for bias behaviors. Although the reports for how often parents engaged

their children in both cultural and racial socialization behaviors were both low and surprising to the researchers, the finding that parents only engage their children in preparation for bias once or twice a year may be of concern to transracially adopted children and their outcomes such as racial identity and self-esteem.

Killian and Khanna (2019) aimed to understand the approaches to racial socialization by parents of transracially adopted children in their qualitative study. The researchers interviewed 34 parents who had adopted at least one non-White child. The interview consisted of open-ended questions and direct questions on parents' efforts to racial and ethnic socialization if the interviewees did not already discuss it spontaneously. The interviews were then transcribed and coded according to categories.

The transcripts revealed six parenting orientations regarding race and socialization including: parents who generally deemphasized race and ethnicity, arguing that it does not matter; parents who deemphasized race and ethnicity because they ideologically believe that it *should* not matter; parents who downplayed race because they did not have the time or inclination to participate in racial–ethnic socialization (sometimes because other socialization concerns were perceived as preeminent); parents who attempted cultural socialization primarily in symbolic or fun ways without addressing race specifically; parents who participated in extensive and multifaceted attempts at deeper cultural and racial socialization; and parents whose awareness of the importance of race and ethnic socialization shifted markedly post adoption (Killian and Khanna, 2019). Of particular importance to the proposed study are the last three orientations, parents who attempted cultural socialization primarily in symbolic or fun ways without addressing race specifically; parents who participated in extensive and

multifaceted attempts at deeper cultural and racial socialization; and parents whose awareness of the importance of race and ethnic socialization shifted markedly post adoption.

Parents who belonged to these categories engaged in preparation for bias with their children, teaching them about how to handle discrimination in their lives. Interestingly, all of the parents (except one) of Black children mentioned preparing their child for biases they would face in life, whereas only 3 of the 23 parents of Asian or Latino children mentioned doing the same. Those three parents and one parent of a Black child described realizing the importance of engaging in preparation for bias only after they had adopted. They reported having a shift in awareness of the importance of preparation for bias from the time before they adopted their child to after they had adopted the child. The findings are important to the field of literature because they provide insights into who of transracially adopted children may be more likely to receive preparation for bias and how decisions to engage in preparation for bias may change over time for parents.

Although the aforementioned study alludes to the idea that the transracially adopted child's race may be a predictor for whether or not their parent engage in preparation for bias, Hrapczynski and Leslie (2018) explicitly sought to identify predictors of White transracial adoptive parents' engagement in racial socialization with their minority-adopted adolescents through their quantitative study. In addition to collecting demographic information, 80 parents were surveyed on measures for parental color-blind attitudes, parental multicultural experiences, and parental racial socialization practices. Hrapczynski and Leslie (2018) found that parents who interacted more

frequently with ethnic minorities and endorsed less color-blind attitudes were more likely to expose their child to their cultural heritage. Findings from the initial analyses found that only past multicultural experiences was associated with engaging transracially adopted children in preparation for bias but not the other factors of parents interacting more frequently with ethnic minorities or endorsing less color-blind attitudes. Researchers performed a follow-up analysis that looked at parental engagement in preparation for bias in relation to the three types of color-blind attitudes: awareness of racial privilege, awareness of institutional discrimination, and awareness of blatant issues. The authors' second analysis revealed that transracial adoptive parents with a greater awareness of institutional discrimination were more likely to engage in preparation for bias. These findings suggest that parental experiences with minorities and awareness of the negative societal impacts of being a racial minority predict the likelihood that a parent of a transracially adopted child will engage in practices that will prepare them to navigate discrimination in their lives.

Findings from these studies on preparation for bias in transracial adoptee families suggest that the level of preparation for bias the transracially adopted child is exposed to depends largely on the attitudes, experiences, motivations, and knowledge of their parents. The race of the transracially adopted child may also be an indicator as to whether or not the parent will engage in preparation for bias. Ultimately, the experiences of transracially adopted children and their preparation for encountering discrimination in the world may be unique and varied given the understanding and willingness to engage in this by their parents.

Ethnic and Racial Identity and Self-esteem in Transracial adoptees

Ethnic and racial identity, often used synonymously in the literature, are important aspects of transracial adoptee's development to study because of the likelihood of its ability to influence and predict outcomes such as self-esteem in the adoptee. Rotheram and Phinney (1987) define ethnic identity as "one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership" (p. 13). The authors go on to decipher between ethnic identity and personal identity and make the statement that they are conceptually and functionally different although they may reciprocally influence each other (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Ethnic identity and psychological well-being, including self-esteem, have been linked in many studies for racial minority youth. While some studies find a positive link (Basow et al. 2008; Lee et al., 2010; Tan & Jordan Arthur, 2012) other studies have found no link (Sarubbi, Block-Lerner, Moon, & Williams, 2012) or a weak link (Adoption Institute, 2009).

Mohanty (2015) recognized the literature was inconsistent in terms of the link between ethnic identity and psychological well-being so she proposed a curvilinear relationship. Specifically, Mohanty (2015) hypothesized that psychological well-being would be high when ethnic identity is moderate instead of either low or high. The data Mohanty (2015) used was from another study that collected information on identity development and psychological well-being in 100 Asian American adolescent and young adult international adoptees that were placed with White parents in the United States. Results provided support for the researcher's hypothesis, as the information from the polynomial regression analysis suggested that a moderate level of ethnic identity is

associated with positive esteem, whereas low and high levels of ethnic identity are related to low self-esteem. Mohanty (2015) explains that transracial adoptees who have high levels of ethnic identities may be embracing their native culture, but also denying their adoptive ethnicity and membership within that group. While exploration and commitment to their native ethnicity and culture is a positive thing, too much identification with it, plus rejection of the adoptive culture, can lead to negative outcomes such as low levels of self-esteem (Mohanty, 2015).

Manzie, Ferrari, Rosnati and Benet-Martinez (2014) summarize this unique experience by stating "Transracial adoptees experience a peculiar condition of dual connection to two cultural backgrounds: The heritage culture, on one hand, and the national culture on the other hand" (p. 894). Mohanty (2015) shows, there is a delicate balance of both cultures to acquire beneficial outcomes in terms of the psychological adjustment. Ferrari, Ranieri, Barni and Rosnati (2015) contribute to the literature on ethnic identity and self-esteem in transracial adoptees in their quantitative study of 127 Italian transracial adoptees and their White mothers, Mothers completed a measure assessing their levels of cultural socialization. This measure had two subscales, one assessing for enculturation, or the parents' messages and behaviors towards their adopted child's ethnic group, and the second, assessing for preparation bias, or how well the parents' promoted adopted children's discrimination awareness. The transracial adoptees in this study completed measures related to ethnic identity, national identity, and self-esteem. Ethnic identity consisted of two subscales- one subscale for ethnic exploration (i.e. "In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group") and another for ethnic affirmation (i.e. "I have a strong

sense of belonging with this ethnic group"). The measure on national identity was an adaptation of Phinney's 7-item ethnic affirmation subscale (Phinney, 1992) and replaced "ethnic group" with "Italian people". An example from the measure being "I have a strong sense of belonging with the Italian people."

Results showed that maternal enculturation was positively associated with adoptee's ethnic identity exploration, although the preparation for bias was not. The researchers hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between ethnic identity affirmation and self-esteem which results from data demonstrated to be true, but only at higher levels of national identity formation. National identity was found to be a key moderator. This meant that transracial adoptees that identified with their Italian nationality at higher levels displayed a positive relationship between their ethnic identity affirmation and self-esteem levels and the same relationship was not seen in transracial adoptees who did not have high levels of national identity formation. This finding introduces the idea that national identity may play a role in the ethnic identity process and that transracial adoptees may benefit on a psychosocial level from embracing their national identity as well as their native ethnic identity.

Sibling Relationships and Self-esteem

When considering how children develop along the life course, it is important to look at the types of relationships they have, including sibling relationships. One must consider the roles siblings play in each other's lives, in order to understand how sibling relationships may interact with outcomes such as self-esteem, Children in families have influence in each other's lives through everyday activities, interactions, and experiences. In addition, children can fill many roles in the eyes of their siblings including companion,

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confidante, combatant, and the focus of social comparisons (McHale, Updegraff & Whiteman, 2012). Siblings also serve a much different function from parents within the family context. Lempers & Clarke-Lempers (1992) looked at the functional importance of adolescents' relationships with their mothers, fathers, closest sibling, best same-sex friend, and most important teachers. This was measured through the uses of the Network of Relationships Inventory (NRI), which specifies 11 emotional attributes: admiration, affection, companionship, conflict, instrumental aid, intimacy, nurturance, relative power, reliable alliance, punishment, and satisfaction. Results of the study showed that adolescents' ranked their closest sibling higher than their parents for the attributes of companionship, intimacy, and nurture.

Outcomes such as self-esteem and adjustment have long been of importance to researchers who study children and adolescents as self-esteem can be a critical element in positive social engagement, motivation in educational pursuits, financial success, and personal success (Ferkany, 2008; Mecca, Smelser & Vasconcellos, 1989). Yeh and Lempers (2004) sought to find the connection among how adolescents' perceptions of their sibling relationships, their level of self-esteem, and overall adjustment. Longitudinal data, collected from 374 adolescents over three time periods suggested that there was a positive relationship between positive sibling relationships at Time 1 and both positive friendships and self-esteem one year later (Time 2). Although there was not a direct link between the quality of sibling relationships at Time 1 and adjustment two years later (Time 3), there was an indirect relationship through friendships and self-esteem, In other words, individuals with close sibling relationships (T1) seem to develop closer

friendships and better self-esteem (T2), which then in turn led to better adjustment as indicated by lower depression and loneliness (T3).

Oliva and Arranz (2005) found a similar positive relationship between positive sibling relationships and self-esteem. Positive sibling relationships were also linked to increased life satisfaction and positive relationships with both parents and peers. However, in their study of 513 adolescents aged between 13 and 19 the association between positive sibling relationships and self-esteem only held for female, but not for the male adolescents. Gender-based differences also arose in a study by Milevsky and Levit (2005). The researchers investigated how support from siblings related to psychological adjustment and academic competence in a sample of 695 students in grades 5 through 8. The researchers noted that the difference in their study vs. other studies that also looked at sibling support was that they assessed brother support and sister support separately, which yielded different results; adolescents with higher levels of brother support exhibited more positive school attitudes and had higher overall self-esteem, but the same conclusions could not be drawn about sister support (Milevsky & Levitt, 2005). Milevsky (2005) ran a related study that looked at sibling support related to psychological adjustment and academic competence in young adults (between the ages of 19-33) and found similar results. The researchers did not assess sibling support separately in this study, but results found that young adults who received high sibling support reported significantly lower scores on the loneliness and depression measure, and significantly higher scores on self-esteem and life satisfaction measures, than young adults who reported low sibling support conditions.

Sibling Relationships and Identity

Adolescence is a developmental period in a child's life marked with new challenges, changing circumstances, increased decision-making, and figuring out one's place in the world. In this stage of life, it is not uncommon for individuals to create and recreate their identities, explore different parts of their identities, and decide what aligns most with their identities. Just as siblings and sibling relationships can impact adolescent well-being, so too can they influence their counterparts' identity formation process. Wong, Branje, VanderValk, Hawk and Meeus (2010) contributed to the small body of research on siblings in identity development in adolescents and emerging adulthood through their longitudinal study. Participants of this study included 498 sibling dyads, who completed measures on identity, commitment, and exploration, all factors pertaining to identity formation. After controlling for age, results from this study conclude that older siblings reported the most advanced levels of identity formation, and later-born siblings reported the lowest. Researchers also found that the identity of earlier-born same-sex siblings contributes to the identity formation in their later-born sibling. This finding seems to indicate that older, same-sex siblings are especially important for the identity development of their later-born counterparts (Wong, Branje, VanderValk, Hawk & Meeus, 2010).

The mere existence of siblings can shape the way individuals view and conceptualize their identities. Davies (2015) constructed a qualitative study in which she interviewed 42 adolescents aged 11-15. The researcher sought out to explore how adolescents' understand their sense of self and identity through asking questions on who they are and who they think they can become. Through narrative retellings of their

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subjectivities and experiences, Davies (2015) found that siblings had an integral role in

how the participants conceptualized their identity. In many interviews participants'

focused on ways they were similar to or different from their sibling in terms of

personality, appearance, and education without being prompted to do so. Participants also

referred to ways other people compare them to their siblings and how these perceptions

influenced how they constructed their own identity. While the researcher did not expect

siblings to have as large of a role as they did in these interviews, the prevalence in which

they came up showed how siblings are fundamental to the formation of adolescents'

sense of self and identity (Davies, 2015).

Sibling Relationships in Adoptive Families

Research shows that associations exist between sibling relationships and impact

children's self-esteem and identity formation within the biological family. Less is known

about roles siblings play in non-biological families or families who have adopted

children. Farr, Flood, and Grotevant (2016)'s study aimed to answer this question: How

is the behavioral adjustment of target adoptees in adolescence and emerging adulthood

associated with their adopted siblings' feelings about their own adoption? Participants for

this study were drawn from the Minnesota-Texas Adoption Research Project (MTARP)

and consisted of 51 pairs of adoptees, a "target" adoptee and their adopted siblings. The

target adoptees completed two measures on behavioral adjustment and the adopted

siblings completed the Adoption Dynamics Questionnaire to measure for their

perceptions of adoption.

The results from the bivariate correlational tests indicated that when adopted

siblings reported positive adoption affect, target adolescent adoptees had fewer negative

adoption experiences and fewer externalizing behaviors such as aggression, anger, substance use, and antisocial behaviors pertaining to behavioral adjustment. These findings meant that target adoptees felt more positively about their own adoption and demonstrated better behavioral adjustment in adolescence when their adopted sibling had a positive outlook of their own adoption experience. For the participants in this study, having another adopted sibling in the home had impacts on their own perceptions and behaviors. This information further adds to the need for research on the impacts of having another adoptee, specifically another transracial adoptee, on the outcomes of transracially adopted children.

Meakings, Coffey, and Shelton (2017) explore the various sibling relationship types and how they are affected by adoption through examining case file records of 374 Welsh children recently placed for adoption. Forty-five adoptive parents of these children also filled out questionnaires, which asked about sibling relationships and adjustment of the adopted children. Of the 374 children adopted, they belonged to three different sibling groups: children who were adopted along with their biological sibling, adopted children who gained a sibling who belonged biologically to their adoptive parents, and adopted children who had a known biological sibling elsewhere.

The researchers present the unique experiences to each sibling relationship group. Of particular importance to the present study is the siblings placed together for adoption group. Within the siblings placed together for adoption group (n=10), questionnaires and case records revealed many positive elements for these sibling relationships including: companionship, reassurance, and comforts. Parents noted the importance of these relationships in unfamiliar and anxiety-provoking situations. Of the positive elements

described, some parents also believed the children looked to each other as models of how to settle into their adoptive families and noted how proud and protective siblings were of each other.

Sibling Relationships in Transracial Adoptee Families

The literature that exists on sibling relationships in families with a transracial adoptee is very limited and those interested in the topic have only two primary works to draw from. Ribner (2012) completed his dissertation on the topic of siblings in families who adopted internationally and transracially, as two of the adopted participants were born in Vietnam, two in South Korea, and one each from the Philippines, Tonga, Guatemala, and Brazil and all of the adoptees were adopted by White parents. His study explored the experiences of eight sibling pairs who grew up in a family with an internationally adopted child through semi-structured interviews. The sibling pairs consisted of one Caucasian sibling and their internationally adopted sibling. At the time of the study, participants were all adults between the ages of 18 and 30.

Participants were interviewed in pairs (with their sibling) and asked open-ended questions to prompt a narrative account of their experiences growing up and to elicit their perceptions about their current sibling relationship. Participants were also given an instrument on demographics and the Adult Sibling Relationship Questionnaire (ASRQ). Once interviews were completed, the researcher coded the transcribed sibling interviews, compiling the data into themes. Data from the ASRQ revealed that internationally adopted siblings perceived their relationships with their siblings as somewhat warmer and somewhat less conflictual than non-adopted siblings' perceptions of the relationship. Other findings revealed siblings who were closer in age reported more conflictual sibling

relationships, siblings of the same gender reported more conflict in their relationships than siblings of different genders, and male participants reported more rivalry in their sibling relationships than female participants. These findings are interesting to note and of importance, the sample size was too small for it considered and examined statistically.

After a deductive data analysis, Ribner (2012) split the results into categories, themes, and repeating ideas. The seven themes that emerged were: biological siblings experienced a warm and positive relationship, biological siblings experienced negative feelings with their sibling, adopted participants felt their non-adopted sibling helped them "fit in" to the culture, adopted participants felt jealous of their sibling, adopted participants felt their non-adopted sibling helped them "fit in" to the family, non-adopted children who had biological siblings felt closer to these biological siblings after their adopted sibling joined the family, and emotional valence of interviews. These themes highlight the complicated and nuanced yet rewarding and ultimately positive nature of sibling relationships in transracial adoptee families.

Raible (2005) conducted his dissertation on transracial adoptee families with a specific focus on White, biological children of adoptive parents. As a transracial adoptee, he wondered what childhood experiences were like for his brother, a biological child of his adoptive parents, and other siblings who had a transracially adopted sibling. Raible's (2005) dissertation aimed to understand the experiences and perspectives on the meaning of transracial adoption of the typically overlooked, White siblings of transracial adoptees. The researcher interviewed a geographically diverse pool of twelve non-adopted, White adults who grew up in transracial families with adopted siblings.

Analysis of the autobiographical vignettes revealed 27 "kinds of selves" in the

interviewees that were then grouped into five composite narrative identities. The five narrative identities were: The Aware Sibling, the Safe Sibling, the Responsible Sibling, the Moral Sibling, and the Transracialized Sibling. Raible's (2005) findings contribute to the literature on transracial families formed through adoption by bringing attention to the complex and sophisticated identities formed by non-adoptive siblings. The researcher's findings on participants' "kinds of selves" and narrative identities are not comprehensive and appropriate to apply to all populations of non-adopted siblings in transracial homes, his study provides some answers and a glimpse into the incredibly varied and unique experiences of this small yet growing population.

Case for the Proposed Study

Based on the literature indicating the importance of siblings on identity development and self-esteem, this study will attempt to fill that gap by asking the following questions: Does the type of sibling constellation of a transracial adoptee impact their well-being? Specifically the study will compare three groups: transracial adoptees who are only children, those who have White siblings, and those who have a sibling of color relative to their racial identity and self-esteem. The second question this study aims to answer is whether or not the sibling constellation moderates the well-established relationship between parental racial socialization and adjustment outcomes of self-esteem and racial identity in transracial adoptees. Based on the theories utilized in this study and the small amount of literature, it is predicted that transracial adoptees who have a sibling of color will have higher self-esteem and stronger racial identity than will transracial adoptees who have White siblings or who are only children. Likewise, it is predicted that the presence of a sibling of color will strengthen the well-established relationship between racial socialization and the outcomes of self-esteem and racial identity.

Chapter 3: Methods

Participants

Participants for **t**he present study were part of a larger research study on

transracial adolescent adoptees and their families conducted by the Department of Family

Science at the University of Maryland, College Park. The initial study sought to

understand the impact of family characteristics on the overall adjustment and racial

identity of transracially adopted adolescents who were adopted by White parents. Both

the adoptee and one of their White parents responded to the measures and are included in

the dataset. The inclusion criteria for participation required families to have lived in the

U.S. for the majority of the child's life. Additionally, the child had to have been in the

adoptive home by the age of three, be any race other than White, and be between the ages

of 13-18 at the time of the survey.

Participants were 52 parent-child dyads. Although the original study consisted of

the 72 parent-child dyads, only 52 had complete data on all the variables of interest,

primarily data on siblings.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through advertisements on adoption related websites,

emails sent to list serves of adoption agencies and support services, and through adoption

group newsletters. Interested families were instructed to contact the Principal Investigator

who decided on their eligibility based off the inclusion criteria. If families met the

inclusion criteria, they were invited to be in the study. Parents filled out consent forms for

themselves and their adolescent children and provided the child's email address so they

could be contacted directly and invited to participate. The surveys were sent out

separately to parents and adolescents. Parent and adolescent participation was not contingent on the other participating. Adolescent participants received a $10 iTunes gift card upon their completion of the survey.

Measures

      Demographic Information. Parents reported demographic data for themselves and for their families. Data was collected on parents' sex, age, relationship status, education level, and household income. Additionally, adolescents reported their own demographic data such as their age, sex, and race.

      Independent Variable. The independent variable in this study is racial socialization. Racial socialization was assessed using a modified version of the Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997). This inventory measures how often parents engage in racial socialization behaviors, using items that represented the components of racial socialization; specifically cultural socialization and preparation for bias. Cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and mistrust of Whites were the three subscales in the original measure.

      Although the original scale was used for African American populations, the scale was modified in a number of ways for this study to use with White parents and their racial minority children. In this study, the wording was changed from "African Americans" to "race or ethnicity" to be applicable to all racial minorities. Also, four items were added to the original scale to assess for parental engagement, specifically with their adolescent aged children. Example items include "Have you ever talked about how race may affect his/her dating experiences" and "Have you ever talked to you child about issues of race in his/her school?" (Hrapczynski & Leslie, 2019). Additionally, the

mistrust of Whites subscale included in the original inventory was omitted, as researchers

believed White parents were unlikely to teach their children to mistrust other White

individuals. Sample items from the Racial Socialization Scale include: "Have you ever

talked to your child about racism?" and "Have you ever taken your child to events about

his/her culture?" Parents respond with a number from 1-5 indicating how often they

engage in the behavior, with 1 being "Never" and 5 being "Very Often." Mean scores are

calculated for both cultural socialization and preparation for bias subscale and can range

from 1 to 5, with higher scores indicating more parental engagement in those behaviors.

Both cultural socialization and preparation for bias subscales have internal reliability as

found within a sample of mothers of transracially adopted Asian children (Johnston,

Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Deakard, & Petrill, 2007). In the present study, cultural

socialization has an internal consistency of $\alpha = .79$ and preparation for bias is $\alpha = .88$. See

Appendix A for final scale used in the current study.

Dependent Variables. The dependent variables in this study are racial identity

and self-esteem. Racial identity will be measured using the abridged version of the

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney & Ong, 2007) (see Appendix B).

The abridged version is adapted from the original 14-item Multigroup Ethnic Identity

Measure and contains 6-items (Phinney, 1992). Both the original and abridged version of

the MEIM measure adolescents' level of ethnic identity through two components:

exploration and commitment. Example items from this measure include: "I have a strong

sense of belonging to own ethnic group." and "I have often talked to other people in order

to learn more about my ethnic group." Users respond to items using a 5-point Likert scale

ranging from 1 ("Strongly Agree") to 5 ("Strongly Disagree"). Phinney and Ong (2007) found an overall reliability of .81 for the abridged MEIM.

Self-esteem is measured using the Rosenberg's 10-item Self-Esteem Scale (1965) (see Appendix C). This scale measures adolescent adoptees' level of self-esteem through items related to both positive and negative feelings about the self. Examples of items include: "I feel I do not have much to be proud of." and "I feel that I have a number of good qualities." Users than rate the item using a 4-point Likert scale format ranging from 1 ("Strongly Agree) to 5 ("Strongly Disagree"). To score, all item responses are added up and totaled. Higher scores indicate higher levels of self-esteem. Westhues and Cohen (1997) used the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale in their study on transracial adoptee outcomes and found it was reliable and showed a construct validity of α = .56-.83 when compared to other self-esteem measures. Another study of 468 transracially adopted adults showed the scale had high internal reliability of α =.90 (Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2009). The current study found the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale to have good internal consistency with α = .84.

Moderator Variable. The moderating variable in this study is siblings. The initial intent of the study was to look at the different sibling constellation groups of transracial adolescent adoptees. Specifically, the study would look at transracial adoptees who had a sibling of color, transracial adoptees who had a white sibling(s), and transracial adoptees who were only children. However, upon closer examination of the data, it was found that there were only seven respondents in the White sibling group for whom complete measures were available. A decision was made to instead examine the impact of having a sibling of color compared to all other sibling groups. In other words,

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those with no sibling and those with a white sibling were combined into one group. New categories were created, with one category being everyone else and another being those respondents who had a sibling of color. There were 24 parent-child dyads in the transracial adoptee with a sibling of color category and 28 parent-child dyads being everyone else.

  Proposed Analysis. This study aims to answer two major questions: First, does having a sibling of color for a transracial adoptee impact their wellbeing, specifically the outcomes of racial identity and self-esteem? Second, does having a sibling of color moderate the well-established relationship between parental racial socialization and adjustment outcomes of racial identity and self-esteem in transracial adoptees? To test the first question, two linear regressions will be run to test the impact of having a sibling of color on each of the dependent variables of racial identity and self-esteem. To test the second question of whether or not having a sibling of color moderates parental racial socialization and adjustment outcomes, two linear regression analyses will be run, one for each dependent variable. The independent variables will be multiplied to create an interaction term to test for moderation and a follow up test will be performed if any significance is found.

Chapter 4: Results

This study sought to answer two major questions: First, does having a sibling of color for a transracial adoptee impact their wellbeing, specifically the outcomes of racial identity and self-esteem? Second, does having a sibling of color moderate the well-established relationship between parental racial socialization and adjustment outcomes of racial identity and self-esteem in transracial adoptees?

Preliminary analysis. To begin the analyses, correlations were conducted to examine the relationship between the two dependent variables of racial identity and self-esteem to test for collinearity. No significance was found $r(69) = .19$, $p = .116$, indicating no multicolinearity. Thus neither variable was controlled for in subsequent analyses.

Primary Analysis. To test the first question of whether or not having a sibling of color impacts outcomes of racial identity and self-esteem in transracial adolescent adoptees, two linear regressions were performed for each of the dependent variables. The independent variables of sibling group and racial socialization were entered into both equations. Results indicated that while the regression equation was not significant for racial identity $F(2,44)= 1.063$; $p = .354$, with an R^2 of .046, it was significant for self-esteem $F(2,42)= 3.631$; $p =.035$, with an R^2 of .147. These results indicate that self-esteem was higher for transracial adoptees who did not have a sibling of color ($\beta = -.36$).

To test the second question regarding the moderating effect of having a sibling of color, two linear regressions were performed, one for the outcome of racial identity and one for the outcome of self-esteem. First, the two independent variables of racial socialization and sibling group were entered into the equation. The independent variables were then multiplied to create an interaction term to test for moderation. Results of the

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regression analysis indicated that while the regression equation for racial identity was not

significant F(3,43)=.69; p= .561; adjusted R squared= -.020; self-esteem was significant

F(3,41)=5.2; p=.004; adjusted R squared=.224. Examination of table shows the

moderator variable accounted for 28% of the variance in self-esteem (See Table 1 and 2

below).

Table 1
Racial Identity Variable Test for Moderation

	Standardized Coefficient Beta	R squared	P-value
Racial Socialization	-.034	N/A	.872
Sibling Group	-.251	N/A	.770
Racial Socialization x Sibling Group	.041	.046	.963

   a.   Dependent Variable: Racial Identity

Table 2
Self-Esteem Variable Test for Moderation

	Standardized Coefficient Beta	R squared	P-value
Racial Socialization	-.467	N/A	.016
Sibling Group	-3.143	N/A	.003
Racial Socialization x Sibling Group	2.091	.277	.010

   a.   Dependent Variable: Self-Esteem

Plotting the Interaction. To understand the nature of the interaction in the linear regression equation for self-esteem, the estimated mean values of self-esteem were plotted for those with and without a sibling of color at each value of racial socialization. Results can be seen in Figure 1. Results indicated a significant crossover effect. For respondents without siblings of color, racial socialization was inversely associated with self-esteem (see Figure 1); whereas among adoptees with siblings of color, this effect appeared to trend towards a positive association. Simple slopes analysis, however, revealed that the association between racial ethnic socialization and self-esteem was significant only among adoptees without siblings of color t=-2.52; P= .016; the slope for adoptees with siblings of color was not statistically significant t=1.33; P=.191.

Figure 1
Plotting the Racial Socialization by Sibling Group Interaction
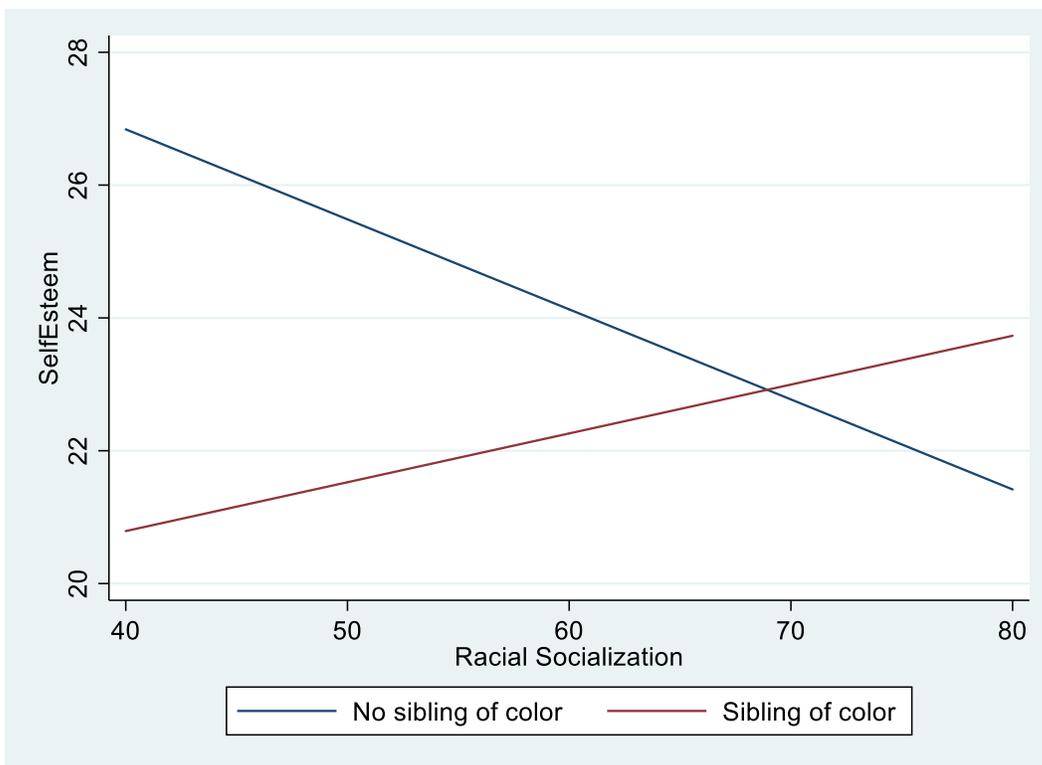
Chapter 5: Discussion

While there are studies on siblings in families and sibling relationships in the literature, the number of studies pale in comparison to other familial relationships such as mother-child, father-child, or the marital relationship. Despite the fact that for many, siblings are the longest lasting relationship some have in their lives, current research on siblings in the field of Family Science is woefully lacking. An even smaller body of research exists on siblings in racial minority families and families who have adopted, an area that may give researchers more insight on marginalized individuals and their communities. This study was based on the premise that siblings of color are important to the experiences of transracial adoptees. It may be that having another sibling that looks like you or who is also phenotypically different from your adoptive parents helps in not feeling like an "only" or creating a sense of belonging. To our knowledge, this is the first quantitative study to explore the interplay between siblings and the well-being of transracial adoptees by focusing on variables of racial socialization, racial identity, and self-esteem.

The goal of this study was to add to the existing literature on siblings in families, more specifically, to the almost non-existent literature on siblings in families who have adopted transracially. The goal also aimed to share insights on how the presence of a sibling of color may contribute to overall well-being of transracial adolescent adoptees. The specific purpose of this study was twofold; first to examine the independent effects of having of a sibling of color on the dependent variables of racial identity and self-esteem in transracial adolescent adoptees, and second, to test the moderating effect of

having a sibling of color on the established relationship between racial socialization and transracial adolescent adoptees' racial identity and self-esteem.

In general, the study suggests, contrary to the hypothesis, that whether or not a transracial adoptee has a sibling of color has no impact on their racial identity. However, having a sibling of color is negatively related to self-esteem and moderates the relationship between parents' level of racial socialization and the adoptees self esteem. More specifically, racial socialization was inversely associated with self-esteem for adoptees without a sibling of color; as racial socialization increased, self-esteem decreased. Although racial socialization and self-esteem appeared to trend towards a positive association in adoptees with a sibling of color, the slope was not statistically significant.

Looking first at the unexpected findings for racial identity, it was postulated that having a sibling of color would heighten racial identity in a transracial adolescent adoptee, perhaps through mutual support of each other's ethnic differences. However, this does not seem apparent through the findings. It is unclear as to why having a sibling of color or not did not have an effect on racial identity. One possibility may have to do with the measurement of racial identity. The abridged Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) used in this study, had six questions that asked about the respondents' commitment to and exploration of their ethnic group. It is possible that with the presence of a racial minority sibling may minimize one's tendency or need to explore their ethnic heritage. If that is the case, a measure that puts so much emphasis on exploration or efforts learn about ones ethnic group might account for the findings. Although this is a possible explanation for the finding, this reliable measure has been used in many studies

of minority families where having other same race family members has not been found to inhibit or discourage exploration. It is not clear if it would operate differently in transracial adoptive families. A more recent measure called the Cross Ethnic-Racial Identity Scale- Adult (CERIS-A) created in 2017 might have provided a more complete picture of racial identity as it measures seven ethnic-racial identity attitudes—assimilation, miseducation, self-hatred, anti-dominant, ethnocentricity, multiculturalist inclusive, and ethnic-racial salience (Worrell, Mendoza-Denton, & Wang, 2019). Had this measure been available at the time of data collection, the variable of racial identity may have been more varied and not confined to two constructs.

Another way in which measurement may have contributed to this finding is that although the dataset identifies adoptees who have a sibling of color, it does not include information on if that sibling of color belongs to or identifies with the same ethnic group as the target adoptee. It is possible that simply having another racial minority sibling does little for one's own racial identity if they are not the same race or ethnicity. Unfortunately, the sample was too small to allow consideration of whether siblings were of the same race or ethnicity, instead of both simply being a racial minority. Future research may benefit from ensuring that sibling race and ethnicity of the sibling is documented alongside the race and ethnicity of the target adoptee. With this information, researchers may be able to compare outcomes of adoptees who have a sibling from their own racial or ethnic group to adoptees who do not.

Having a sibling of color did not have a significant moderating effect on the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity in transracial adolescent adoptees. Albeit surprising, this falls in line with the finding that having a sibling of color

did not have a significant independent effect on racial identify. Although it would make sense to assume that having a sibling of color would strengthen the established relationship between racial socialization and racial identity, this was not found in the analysis. It is unclear as to why this finding was not significant, but it is entirely possible that again, measurement issues played a part.

In contrast, having a sibling of color did have an independent effect on self-esteem and results indicated that transracial adolescent adoptees who did not have a sibling of color had higher self-esteem than those who did have a sibling of color. Although this finding is surprising and not what was predicted, it may be explained in part by how the lone transracial adoptee is treated by the rest of their family. It is possible that because they are the only non-White member of the family, there may be more of an effort made by family members to make them feel special or provide a sense of belonging. Parents and other siblings might do more in the way of building their confidence, providing emotional support and availability, and reassuring them that they are wanted, perhaps increasing the adoptee's self-esteem. Although this is not to say that parents and family members with more than one transracial adoptee do not provide similar treatment, but arguably the dynamic may be different.

Another possibility that may account for this finding is that upon further review of the participants who did not have a sibling of color, it was found that this group was overwhelmingly made up of only children. Only seven of the 28 participants in this group had White siblings. Scholars (e.g., Blake, 1981; Falbo and Polit, 1986) have long pointed out that only children tend to have higher self-esteem and fare better socially than their

multi-sibling counterparts. It is possible that this finding is less about race and more about the presence or absence of a sibling.

Turning now to the moderating effects of having a sibling of color, there was a significant moderating effect on the relationship between racial socialization and self-esteem for transracial adolescent adoptees who did not have a sibling of color. An inverse relationship was found, such that as racial socialization increases, self-esteem decreases. These findings make sense when re-visiting ethnic identity development theory and extending the idea of a reference group to a sibling. A sibling of color may help in translating and making sense of the messages about race and ethnicity that are being communicated to adoptees through racial socialization. Adoptees without siblings of color do not have reference individuals who may help them to make sense of the messages they are receiving about race and ethnicity and any possible differential treatment they will receive in the world. If an adoptee does not have a sibling of color, increased racial socialization may make their difference more apparent to themselves or to other members of the family, further "othering" them from the majority race group. Increased cultural socialization highlights their difference in aspects including cultural origin, what they should value, and how they should engage or embrace traditions different from the majority group. Increased preparation for bias may focus on ways in which society will not accept them on a societal level, but also through structural and institutional discrimination. Although intended to be protective, this increased awareness could create anxiety and self-doubt. Increased racial socialization may mean transracial adolescent adoptees may feel further isolated and alone in their experiences and without

another sibling there to help make sense of it or to reference, their self-esteem may be negatively affected.

On the other hand, for transracial adoptees with a sibling of color, there is a suggestion that increased racial socialization is associated with higher self-esteem. While the trend did not reach significance, possibly due to sample size, the trend line was clearly in the opposite direction than for adoptees with no sibling of color. As more messages and ideas about race and ethnicity are communicated from parents, it seems the adoptee with a sibling of color's self-esteem positively benefits. The adoptee is both learning about their culture and how to prepare for biases in the world while having another sibling to reference as a possible model. A principle of social learning theory, a guiding framework for this study, is that siblings serve as models to each other and can provide opportunities for behavioral learning through observation and reinforcement (Bandura, 1977; McHale, Updegraff & Whiteman, 2012). This research, along with previous work (Hu, Zhou, & Lee, 2017; Killian & Khanna, 2019; Lee, Vonk, & Crolley-Simic, 2015; Leslie, Smith, & Hrapczynski, 2013) suggests that racial socialization may function differently in different family contexts and environments. More research needs to be performed to better understand how racial socialization operates and how it may be more beneficial and necessary in some environments than others.

Limitations

There are some limitations to consider when interpreting and reflecting on these results. This study was a secondary analysis and used a preexisting dataset. Because it is a secondary analysis, the study is limited to using measures originally chosen by the researchers. Likewise, each variable is represented with one measure. This may also be a

limitation in that one measure may not fully capture a complete understanding of the variable.

The time frame in which the data was collected was from 2007-2012. It is possible that these data do not reflect current dynamics in transracial adoptive families. Parents' views of racial socialization may have changed over the years as many publications highlighting the importance of racial socialization on the well-being of transracial adoptees have been published (Hu, Zhou, & Lee, 2017; Killian & Khanna, 2019; Lee, Vonk, & Crolley-Simic, 2015; Leslie, Smith, & Hrapczynski, 2013; Montgomery & Jordan, 2018; Seol, Yoo, Lee, Park, & Kyeong, 2016; Rosnati & Ferrari, 2014; Schires et al., 2020).

It should also be noted that the sample size was small for both the parent and adolescent respondents, possibly limiting the power of the analyses. Although one the results from this study was trending in a positive direction, it is probable that the lack of power due to a small sample size contributed to the lack of statistical significance. Additionally, the study utilized non-probability sampling to recruit families, possibly making the findings less representative of the national population of families who have adopted transracially.

Although limitations for this study exist, a major strength of this study is the data collected from both parent and adolescent respondents. A transracial adolescent adoptee completed a self-reported survey, including measures on racial identity and self-esteem, while one of their parents completed their own independent survey, which included a racial socialization measure. The data was then collapsed to form parent-child dyads.

This is a strength of the study because it eliminates shared method variance (LaGrange and Cole, 2008), or covariance due to the same person reporting on each variable.

Clinical Implications

The results of the present study offer insight on how clinicians might work with transracial adoptee families to enhance parents' ability to promote their child's overall well-being. One of the major takeaways from the results is that parents' attempts to racially socialize their child and perhaps protect and prepare them for how they may be treated as a racial minority may be harder for the children without a minority sibling. While such efforts on the part of parents are well-intentioned, adolescents may need someone in their life that can help them make sense of this reality without internalizing that there is something wrong or inadequate about them   While it is not always possible to adopt another transracial adoptee, this speaks to the importance of parents facilitating ways for their child to maintain their race and culture as well as make sense of their experiences as a minority through the environment and community.

Clinically, individuals working with transracial adoptee families, especially families with one transracial adoptee, should consider working with parents to identify ways they can surround their child with opportunities to learn about and process what it means to be a person of color and connect with others who have similar experiences. One possible way is to find an adult role model or mentor for their child who shares the same race or culture. These figures can impart further messages on race and ethnicity and knowledge from their own experience, as well as model to the child what it means to be resilient as a minority race individual. Clinicians can encourage parents to choose, if possible, racially diverse schools where their child can see representation among the

students and faculty, or encourage parents to sign their child up for a culture or heritage camp, where their child can meet other children who share their culture and who have also been transracially adopted. By doing these things, they are providing opportunities for their child to make meaning of the messages they hear through racial socialization and through their experience living as a racial minority in a racial majority family. Although it is not the same as having another sibling of color, it can create similar experiences and opportunities for them that may benefit outcomes like self-esteem and overall well-being.

Recommendations for Future Research

It is apparent that siblings are an under researched and yet, very important part of the family system. This study aimed to fill the gap in literature on the role of siblings in families who have transracially adopted. Although this study had significant findings, many more questions on siblings and sibling relationships in transracial families remain.

This study originally intended to compare the different sibling constellation groups, but it was not possible due to the small sample size. Granted a large enough sample size, future research could look at the difference in findings by comparing transracial adoptees who have a sibling of color, those who have no siblings, and those who have White siblings. Further, data on how the sibling of color identifies in terms of race and ethnicity in addition to the target adoptee's race and ethnicity would also be beneficial information to gather. With a diverse and large enough sample based on different sibling characteristics such as having a sibling of the same race or gender, and sibling position, researchers could explore a number of different outcomes and be able to see differences between sibling constellation groups.

It would also be prudent for researchers to gather data on biological transracial siblings who have been adopted together, often called coplacements, or on transracial adoptees who still have contact with their sibling despite living apart. Studies have shown the positive outcomes of coplaced siblings and siblings who remain in contact after their adoption, such as improved school performance, less externalizing behaviors like anxiety and depression, and better adjustment in adoptive homes (Gass, Jenkins, & Dunn, 2007; Hegar & Rosenthal, 2011; Wojciak, McWey, & Helfrich, 2013); these topics would be valuable to explore within the context of transracial adoption.

Birth order and gender are two more aspects of sibling constellation that deserve inquiry in relation to transracial adoption. The principles of social learning theory imply that sibling modeling varies by sibling constellation. Although older and same-sex siblings are more likely to be the model figures, there is a small amount of evidence to suggest that siblings who are close in age can have a mutual and reciprocal modeling relationship (Whiteman, McHale & Soli, 2011). The literature on siblings shows that sibling relationships vary by gender. A study on adolescence and their perceptions of relationships with their siblings found that positive sibling relationships were linked to higher self-esteem and life satisfaction for females, but had no relation for males (Oliva and Arranz, 2005). However, another study on adolescent sibling relationships revealed adolescents with higher levels of brother support displayed more positive school attitudes and higher self-esteem, but the same was not found for sister support (Milevsky and Levit, 2005).

When thinking of the current study, more could be gained had the age and gender of the siblings in relation to the target transracial adoptee been known. More complicated

questions could be asked to determine if their dynamic falls in line with social learning theory and research. Examples of questions that could be explored are: do adoptees who have older minority race siblings have higher levels of racial identity and self-esteem than adoptees who do not? Are racial identity and self-esteem different in same sex versus different sex minority sibling dyads? Future research on siblings in transracial families will benefit from considering these different sibling constellation variables.

A closer look at the quality of the relationship between siblings of transracial adoptees is another possibility researchers should consider. This research would add to what is believed to be one of the only qualitative research studied on siblings in transracial adoptee families conducted by Ribner in 2012. While this study highlighted important themes through deductive data analysis of siblings' interviews, a limitation exists in adult participants retrospectively recounting their experiences with their siblings. Recruiting school-aged and adolescent transracial adoptees and their siblings for qualitative interviews would be an extremely valuable addition to the very limited, existing research performed on siblings in transracial adoptee families. Researchers could discover a more accurate account of what the quality of sibling relationships is like for children and adolescents in transracial adoptee families through interviewing them during their respective life stages.

Conclusion

This study aimed to better understand the role that siblings serve in families with transracial adolescent adoptees. More specifically, this study investigated the independent affect of having a sibling of color on transracial adolescent adoptee's outcomes of racial

identity and self-esteem and the moderating effect of having a sibling of color on the relationship between racial socialization and adoptees' racial identity and self-esteem.

This study yielded two significant results; having a sibling of color had an effect on transracial adolescent adoptees' self-esteem and moderated the relationship between racial socialization and self-esteem. These findings shed light on the important, but understudied role of siblings in families with transracial adoptees. Whether a transracial adoptee had a sibling of color or not meant something for their self-esteem independently and impacted how their self-esteem was affected by racial socialization.

Equally important to the specific findings in this study is the fact that this research reinforced the need to examine the value of siblings in the family system and how their relationships may affect different aspects of development. The findings from this study show that siblings do have an impact on important factors in life such as self-esteem. Through ignoring siblings and sibling relationships in the broad study of transracial adoption creates a huge gap in literature. While many different avenues of research could be pursued in this area, the most important take away is that promoting the well-being of transracial adoptees includes giving serious empirical attention to the role of siblings in their lives. This knowledge could help create change for parents of transracial adoptees, policy makers, adoption agencies, clinicians, and transracial adoptees themselves.

Directions. Listed below are questions about how you have addressed issues of race with the child participating in this study. First, please indicate the frequency with which you have engaged in each behavior using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

1. Have you ever talked to your child about racism?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

2. Have you ever told your child people might treat him/her badly because of his/her race?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

3. Have you ever explained to your child something he/she saw on TV that showed poor treatment of minorities?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

4. Have you ever told your child that people might try to limit him/her because of race?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

5. Have you ever talked to your child about the fight for equality among people of his/her race?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

6. Have you ever talked to your child about something they mislearned concerning race or race relations in school?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

7. Have you ever told your child that he/she must be better than White kids to get the same rewards?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

8. Have you ever talked about race with someone else when the child could hear?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

9. Have you ever talked to your child about racial differences in physical features?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

10. Have you ever talked to your child about issues of race in his/her school?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

11. Have you ever talked about how race may affect his/her dating experiences?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

Have you encouraged your child to read books about his/her racial history or people of

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

12. Have you ever taken your child to events about his/her culture?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

13. Have you ever done things to celebrate your child's cultural heritage?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

14. Have you ever taken your child to get clothes or hairstyles worn by his/her racial group?

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

15. I encourage my child to participate in activities or organizations geared toward youth of his/her racial group.

1	2	3	4	5
Never				Very Often

I am comfortable when my child explores the youth culture of his/her racial group (e.g.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all comfortable				Very comfortable

Appendix B – Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

Directions. In the United States, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of ethnic groups are Latino, African American, Mexican American, Asian American, Chinese American, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____.

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(5) Strongly agree   (4) Agree   (3) Neutral   (2) Disagree   (1) Strongly disagree

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

    _____

2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

    _____

3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

    _____

4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.

    _____

5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.

    _____

6. I feel a strong attachment towards my ethnic group.

    _____

Appendix C – Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale

Directions. Indicate the extent to which you agreed or disagree with the following statements about yourself using the following scale:

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

2. At times I think I am no good at all.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

6. I certainly feel useless at times.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Agree			Strongly
Disagree			

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