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*Loyola University Chicago*

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

FACTORS RELATED TO THE RACIAL SOCIALIZATION OF  
ASIAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

International adoption has become increasingly visible in the US, garnering media attention through celebrity adoptions and public events involving adopted children and their families. Despite this surge of attention, the practice of international adoption is not new to many countries including the US. Documented in 1946, the first legal adoption took place in the US (The Evan B Donald Institute [EBDI], 2005) enabling American families to adopt children from Asia, Europe, and Latin America (Hellerstedt, Madsen, Gunner, Grotevant, Lee, & Johnson, 2008). Considered a global practice, international, intercountry, or foreign adoption is the adoption of infants or young children from countries different from that of the adoptive parents (Baden, 2002), which can be both same-race (i.e., European children adopted into White-American homes) or transracial (i.e., non-European children adopted into White American homes). American families have adopted an estimated 700,000 children from foreign countries (US Department of State [USDS], 2009) which has raised concerns regarding the cultural and racial dynamics for these families. To fully understand the historical context of international adoption, I begin with a brief discussion that summarizes the social political history of racial issues and transracial adoption in the US.

#### *Transracial Adoption*

Practiced both domestically (within the US) as well as internationally, transracial adoption is the most distinct and visibly apparent form of adoption (Grotevant, Dunbar,



Kohler, & Esau, 2000) which involves families adopting children of a different racial group than their own (R. M. Lee, 2003). In 1972, the Indian Child Welfare Act initiated domestic transracial adoptions that placed American Indian children in White American families for the purposes of assimilation into mainstream culture (Fanshel, 1972). As the civil rights movement emerged, White families began to adopt African American children (Simon & Altstein, 1977); however, as the numbers grew, opposition by the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) and other organizations soon followed. The NABSW contended that White families are inherently unable to provide African American children with the adequate ethnic and racial socialization experiences necessary to prepare them as people of color in the US (Brooks, Barth, Bussiere, & Patterson, 1999; Simon, Alstein, & Melli, 1994). The NABSW advocated for same - race placements, emphasizing the essential nature of cultural preservation and racial identity development for African American children. Counter-arguments involved accusations of discrimination against White families, contending that compared to institutionalization, transracial adoption is in the best interest of children (McRoy, 1984); however, the NABSW and other advocacy groups argued that transracial adoption represented a contemporary form of colonialism and cultural genocide (Tizzard, 1991). In response, the Child Welfare League of America modified federal adoption guidelines to support same-race adoptions which resulted in the decline in domestic transracial adoptions by 39% from 1972 to 1975 (EBDI, 2010). In 1987, the Child Welfare League reiterated their preference for same-race adoptions, but noted that children should not wait unduly when transracial placements are available.

In 1994, the Multiethnic Placement Act overturned these guidelines set by the Child Welfare League which limited the degree to which race, ethnicity, and national origin could

be considered in placement decisions (Brooks et al., 1999). Additionally, new policy requirements introduced more rigorous justification for racially - matched adoptions. Furthermore, Euro-Caucasian infants remained in high demand, given that many White American families desired same-race adoptions (Baden, 2002). Overall, domestic adoptions decreased as international adoption adoptions became more prevalent (EBDI, 2005).

### *Transnational Adoption*

Although the American family is traditionally comprised of same-race individuals, the racial mismatch between transracially adopted children and their families can be easily recognized by the American public (R. M. Lee, 2010). To distinguish domestic and international transracial adoptions from same - race adoptions, the term *transnational adoption* has also emerged, representing loosened boundaries between countries, culture, and race (J. W. Kim, & Henderson, 2008). For the purposes of this study, the term transnational adoption or transnational adoptee (TNA) will include domestic and international adoptees that are a different race from their adoptive family.

As the 1980s approached, international adoption rapidly increased and domestic adoptions continued declined (Simon & Alstein, 1987). Given the dynamics of race and race-relations in the US, international and domestic adoption practices began to reciprocally affect the other (Freundlich & Lieberthal, 2000). Overall, it has been hypothesized that the rates of international adoption in the US rose due to a combination of the following factors: (a) use of contraceptives, legalized abortion, and reduced stigma toward unwed mothers, (b) international adoption was often more expeditious, given the surplus of abandoned children in countries suffering economic hardships and/or where cultural tradition vehemently opposed the idea of unmarried mothers (J. W. Kim, & Henderson, 2008), (c) the perception

that international adoption avoided racial tensions and controversy surrounding the adoption of African American children by White Americans, (d) beliefs that international adoption would decrease the likelihood for contact or interference by biological families, and (e) adoption of children from European and Asian Countries appeared to elicit less debate and opposition concerning issues of race (R. M. Lee, 2003). Interestingly, as organizations such as the NABSW voiced concerns about the adoption of African American children, international adoption agencies encouraged TNA families of AA children to de-emphasize issues regarding racial and cultural difference. Particularly, White adoptive parents were advised to socialize Asian children “as if they were White”, treating them no differently than their White siblings or peers (R. M. Lee, 2003), based on the belief that emphasizing birth culture and difference would negatively affect their development.

#### *Prevalence of Asian Adoptees in the US*

Through the mid-1950s to mid 1960s, South Korea, Greece, and Germany were the main source of internationally adopted children for American families. By 1990, however, these countries ended or significantly decreased their international adoption programs with the exception of South Korea (Selman, 2006; USDS, 2009). For thirty years, South Korea remained the primary source of international adoptions not only for the US but also for Eastern Europe, Scandinavian countries, and Australia (J. W. Kim, & Henderson, 2008). Global events, however, soon followed that initiated significant changes for South Korea’s child welfare system. In 1988, South Korea’s international adoption practices were publicly criticized at the Seoul International Olympics, followed by disapproving public critiques by the New York Times and the North Korean government. In response, South Korea significantly decreased the numbers of inter-country adoptions and began efforts to promote

domestic adoption (J. W. Kim & Henderson, 2008). South Korea's numbers have continued to decline and in 2006, accounted for only 6% of the international adoptions in the US (USDS, 2009). Overall, it is difficult to estimate the total number of Korean children adopted into American families. Unsuccessful attempts to implement child welfare acts (Simon, Alstein, Melli, 1994), dubious adoption practices, and failure to adhere to the naturalization process have led to distorted estimates ranging from 160,000 (EBDI, 2005; USDS, 2009) to 300,000 (National Association for Korean Americans, 2006).

As Korea decreased their involvement in the adoption industry, Russia, Romania, and China became the primary contributors of adopted children for US families. Countries such as Vietnam, the Philippines, Cambodia, and India have also maintained contracts with the US providing a substantial number of children for American families; however, Vietnam terminated their contract in 2007 due to corruptive industry practices (J. W. Kim, & Henderson, 2008). From 1985 to 2009, China has provided over 72,000 children for American families becoming the primary source for internationally adopted children; however, similar to Korean adoption, the early numbers of children adopted from China are difficult to gauge. Based on federal statistics, individuals from Asian countries represented nearly 60% of all international adoptions by White American families (USDS, 2009).

#### *Current Status on Transnational Adoption*

The US accounts for over 50% of all inter-country adoptions in the world and remains connected to over 40 sending countries (USDS, 2009). In addition to providing an alternative option for traditional conception, TNA has been a conduit in helping to accommodate the changing dynamics of the American family (Goldberg, 2009). As opposed to earlier adoption practices, unmarried individuals can adopt children both internationally

from certain countries and domestically in certain states. Similarly, same - sex couples have also been afforded the opportunity to adopt from certain countries, and are beginning to garner more attention toward their rights to domestic adoption (Goldberg, 2009).

### *Early Research*

Early TNA research was primarily descriptive and outcome-focused intended to represent indicators of well - being, adjustment, and self - esteem (Fanshel, 1972; Feigelman & Silverman, 1984; D. S. Kim, 1977; S.P. Kim, Hong, & Kim, 1979; McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, & Anderson, 1982). Particularly, several between - group studies have compared adoptees of color to non - adoptees of color and TNA versus domestic adoptees (Bagley & Young, 1981; Brooks & Barth, 1999; DeBerry, Scarr, & Weinberg, 1996; Juffer & van Ijzendoorn, 2007; D. S. Kim, 1977; Levy-Shiff, Zoran, & Shulman, 1997; Ruston & Minnis, 1997). Initially, benchmark outcomes were based on non - adopted children of color and same - race adoptees. Findings of early research found similarities between TNA and same - race adopted children (Simon et al., 1994; Vroegh, 1997); however other studies suggested that non - adoptees demonstrated higher rates of positive adjustment than TNA children (Bagley & Young, 1981). A recent meta-analysis of 88 studies that compared international adoptees and non-adopted individuals found that international adoptees demonstrated similar if not higher levels of self-esteem than non-adoptees (Juffer & van Ijzendoorn, 2007). Compared to non-adoptees, research also suggests that adult Asian adoptees demonstrate significantly higher levels of self-esteem that is unrelated or explained by their ethnic identity status (Baden, 2002; Mohanty et al., 2006).

In terms of factors that account for adjustment outcomes among TNA, one of the strongest predictors has been that older age at the time of adoption often accounts for

negative behaviors later in development (Bimmel, Juffer, van Ijzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2003; Feigelman & Silverman, 1984; Hellerstedt et al., 2007; D. S. Kim, 1977; R. M. Lee, Seol, Sung, & Miller, 2010; Lindblad, Hjern, & Vinnerljung, 2003; Verhulst, Althaus & Verluis-den Bieman, 1990). Studies, however, that account for adoptee self-reports have found that age at adoption is not strongly associated with adult adjustment and cannot be considered a causal factor alone (Bieman & Verhulst, 1995; Brooks & Barth, 1999; Cederblad, Hook, Irhammar, Mercke, 1999), given that pre and post-adoptive factors have also accounted for adjustment outcomes (Hollingsworth 1997). Compared to European adoptees, children from South Korea and China are considered to receive adequate to high levels of pre-adoptive care, particularly before the age of one (Gunnar, Van Dulmen, & the International Adoption Project Team [IAPT], 2007), increasing the likelihood for positive child and adolescent adjustment. Additionally, several studies have found that families who adopt Asian children, tend to have higher economical security (R.M. Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt, & IAPT, 2006) and more stable home environments (Feigelman, 2000).

Despite that research suggests that international adoptees are relatively well adjusted, the results of these studies are difficult to generalize based on methodological flaws. Among early studies, the capacity to detect true group differences has been criticized given the use of small sample sizes and inappropriate comparison groups (R.M. Lee, 2003). In addition, most research involving adjustment outcomes and self-esteem have been based on self-reports of TNA parents as opposed to examining more objective outcomes (Brooks & Barth, 1999). It is also likely that TNA parents with encouraging experiences may be more likely to participate in research or outcome studies, as opposed to parents with less affirming experiences (Brooks et al., 1999).

*The Case for Race and Culture in Transnational Adoption*

Another criticism of early TNA research is that most studies have focused on childhood outcomes which, limits the degree that findings can be generalized to adolescents or adults (R. M. Lee, 2003; Ruston & Minnis, 1997). To address these issues, longitudinal and group comparisons studies have also been initiated, using strength of ethnic identity as a positive outcome that TNA may or may not achieve. Studies have found that over the course of childhood and adolescence, TNA often report stressors relating to discomfort with their racial appearance as they approached adolescence (DeBerry et al., 1996; Vroegh, 1997; Westhues, & Cohen, 1998). Racial stress has been found to positively correlate with indicators of maladjustment; however, no single variable has accounted for adjustment outcomes, having differential effects for both “adjusted” and “maladjusted” adoptees (Wickes & Slate, 1997). Overall, results from these studies suggest that adjustment and self-esteem of TNA are associated with a higher degree of assimilation into White American culture (D. S. Kim, 1977). As TNA age, their assimilation levels have appeared to increase along with levels of positive adjustment and self-esteem (McRoy et al., 1982); however, similar to earlier research, these studies have also depended on parental reports as opposed to self-reports or more objective measures.

Additionally, some TNA have described experiencing increased psycho-social struggles as they experienced the need to fit in and feel accepted by their peers and majority culture (Hollingsworth, 1997; G.K. Kim, Suyemoto, & Turner, 2010; McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, & Anderson, 1984; Westhues, & Cohen, 1998). Research also suggests that the physical and hypervisible nature of racial difference may negatively affect TNA children depending on their age, race, and parents’ tendency to perceive racism. In a study

comparing internalizing and externalizing behaviors among children adopted from Asian, Latin American, and European countries, R.M. Lee et al. (2010) found significant interactions between perceived discrimination and age, but only among parents with Latino children. The authors proposed that parents with Latino children may experience more discrimination based on the racial hierarchy in the US that minimizes the racial issues of Asian Americans (AA). Although AA do not belong to the White majority, they are not always viewed as racial minorities, given their socially perceived status as model minorities (D.W. Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007).

In the last decade, research on racial awareness, ethnic identity, and racial socialization has started to reflect the changing racial and cultural dynamics within American families. Particularly, recent studies have examined parental practices that teach TNA children about their ethnic heritage, cultural customs, and historical traditions (R.M. Lee, et al., 2006; Friedlander, 1999; Massatti, Vonk, & Gregoire, 2004; Scroggs, & Heitfield, 2001). Often termed *cultural socialization*, these practices are intended to promote children's cultural, racial, and ethnic pride, in either a deliberate or implicit fashion (Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). However, these types of experiences are often criticized as being culturally generic and appropriated when practiced by TNA families (Samuels, 2009); however, research looking at the effects of cultural socialization practices suggests that incorporating aspects of birth culture into the lives of TNA strengthens their likelihood for developing increased self – esteem (Feigelman & Silverman, 1984; Mohanty et al., 2006), subjective well - being (Yoon, 2001, 2004), and perspective - taking ability (D.C. Lee & Quintana, 2005).

Similar to early research on AA adoptees, these studies have predominantly focused on child samples, restricting the range of cultural experiences to early developmental



encounters (Tessler, Han, & Hong, 2004). Additionally, such practices have been primarily reported by White adoptive parents of Asian children (Cheng, 2004) that tend to make active efforts to provide culturally - relevant experiences (No, Hong, Liao, Lee, Wood, & Chao, 2008). Despite the focus on cultural socialization, the implications of racial difference within TNA families with AA children have not been emphasized as a separate concept within academic research. Although attention to culture is a positive step, research has not fully addressed issues regarding race and racism specific to AA adoptees, despite the prevalence of AA adoptions in the US. Similarly, a challenge has been the inability to maintain a consistent distinction in terminology, particularly between the concepts of ethnicity and race (Cokley, 2007) as well as ethnic, cultural, and racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). According to Okazaki and Sue (1995), the tendency to interchange racial and cultural terminology is understandable to a certain degree; however, continued use of undifferentiated terminology limits the distinction on a conceptual level and simply contributes to the conflated view of race and culture in American society.

### *Study Purpose*

Despite the recent surveys, institutes, and research centers dedicated to issues related to international adoption, little is known about the race-specific consciousness of TNA families with children of color (Hellerstedt et al., 2008). Furthermore, studies concerned with socialization practices among TNA families have focused on socialization practices related to cultural exposure, as opposed to parental attitudes and behaviors related to racial difference and racism. For White adoptive parents with children of color, understanding how parents conceptualize race and racial issues is particularly important. In general, racial attitudes are considered internalized beliefs that underscore feelings toward racial minorities

(Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Brown, 2000). In contemporary society, racial attitudes manifest differently compared to the overt history of discrimination behaviors in the US. Although severe forms of racism are not as common in present day, the history of racial and nationalistic oppression continues to shape the stereotypical views toward racial and ethnic minorities. More recently, a common attitudinal phenomenon has been the promotion of colorblind racial attitudes which refers to the belief that race should not and does not matter (Neville et al., 2000). Based on the ideology that “all men are created equal”, the underlying message suggests that the significance of race, racism, and racial experiences are irrelevant. Studies have found that colorblind racial attitudes are commonly endorsed by Whites (Carr, 1997) and many well-intentioned individuals, yet the ideology minimizes differences, preserves privilege, and contributes to racial oppression.

Despite welcoming a child of color into their lives, White TNA parents are not immune to endorsing such beliefs and may not recognize the reality of race and racism in the lives of their children. For TNA parents with AA children, this may be particularly difficult given the misleading nature of racial stereotypes surrounding AA. In addition to being subtle in nature, traits associated with AA have been erroneously connected to positive characteristics that perpetuate AA as model minorities (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; D.W. Sue et al., 2007). As majority group members, TNA parents may struggle to fully conceptualize the racial complexities faced by AA having internalized positive messages consistent with AA racial stereotypes.

For TNA families with children of color, understanding the realities of race and racism is particularly important, given their role in facilitating socialization experiences for their children. According to Hughes and Chen (1997), the way in which parents socialize

their children about racism often depends on their own worldview about the prevalence of racism. Parents with colorblind attitudes may promote messages that encourage traits deemed helpful for mainstream homogenous culture (Boykins & Toms, 1995); whereas others may value racial bias preparation based on their own personal experiences with racial injustice (Hughes & Johnson, 1997). Therefore, this may be particularly difficult for TNA parents to conceptualize given that most are members of the White majority. Considering that TNA parents lack personalized experiences with racism and discrimination as racial minorities, they may struggle to recognize the importance of socializing their children of color about racial differences and racism. In particular, TNA parents that believe that race does not and should not matter may view their AA children as racial minorities, making it difficult for them to recognize the importance of racial bias preparation in order to help their children cope and deal effectively with racism (R.M. Lee, 2003). Studies suggest that TNA families tend to acknowledge the importance racial socialization (Thomas & Tessler, 2007), yet little is known about the efforts of TNA parents to prepare their children about race and racism (Johnston, Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Teckard, & Petrill, 2007).

In order to help children effectively manage these experiences, TNA parents must first be able to acknowledge their AA children as racial beings in order to recognize the implications of their visible minority group status. In order to gain knowledge of the AA racial experience, TNA parents of AA children may benefit from engaging in interracial contact on a personalized level. According to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, individuals must engage in meaningful intergroup relations in order to gain a greater understanding of the experiences of out-group members. The contact hypothesis proposes that prejudice stems from a lack of exposure to different groups but that increased

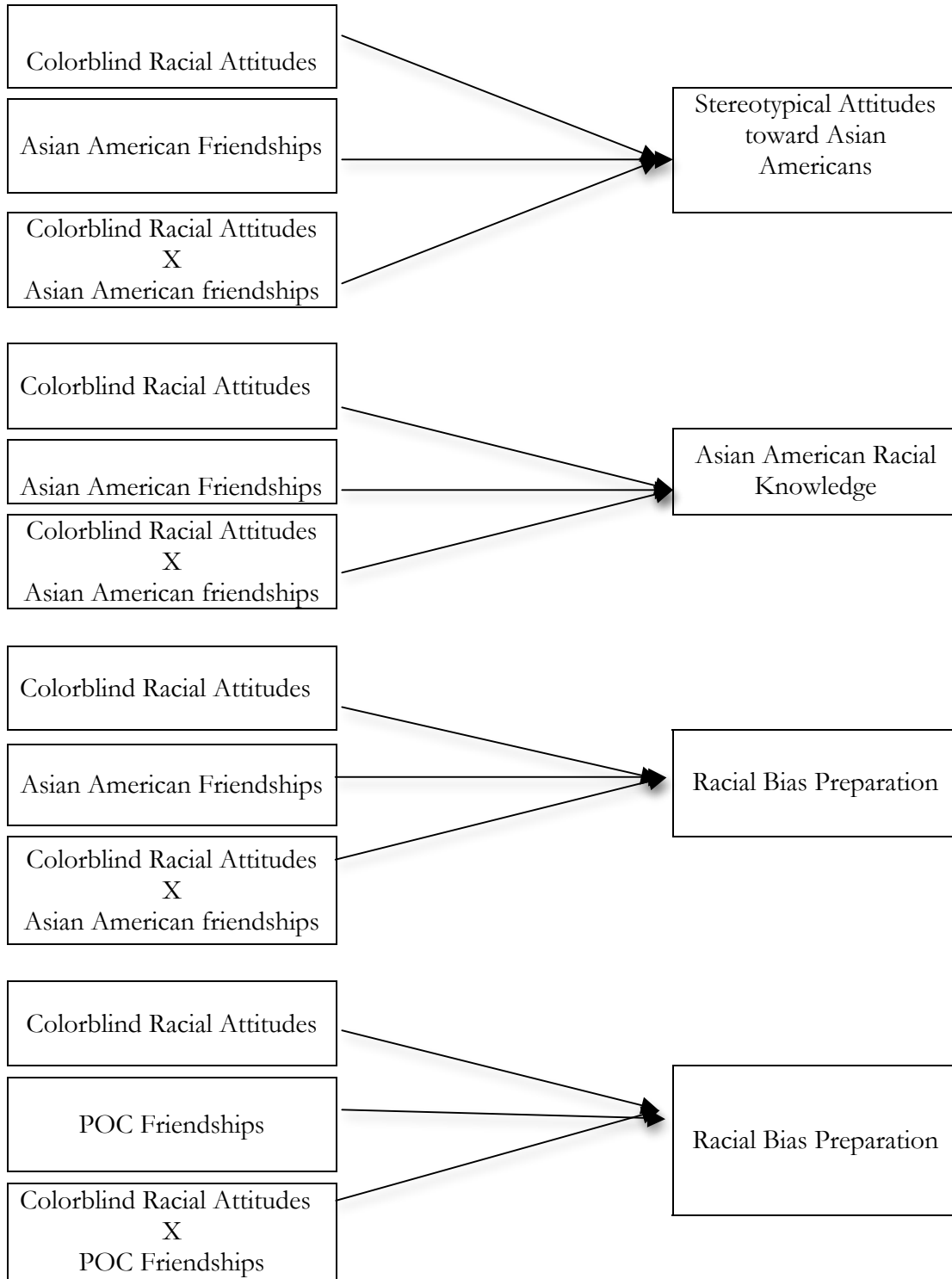
intergroup contact can lead to a greater understanding of an out-group's experience. As one of the primary theories guiding the study of reducing prejudicial attitudes, intergroup contact has been recognized as one of the most effective strategies for improving interracial relations (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002), particularly when the following conditions are present (a) equal social status between groups in the contact situation (b) similar group goals, (c) willingness to cooperate, (d) and support from authorities. For decades, studies have tested these conditions across various groups and societies, resulting in consistent evidence for the effectiveness of intergroup contact in reducing prejudicial attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Additionally, studies have found an enhancing effect under the condition of personal acquaintance (Cook, 1978) and development of strong intergroup friendships (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998). In other words, contact in the form of friendships is especially effective in decreasing prejudicial attitudes and increasing positive views toward different groups such that personal and intimate interaction promotes the likelihood for self-disclosure and social comparison (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Miller, 2002). Based on these shared interactions, trust and familiarity are encouraged, allowing individuals to become increasingly cognizant of similarities between groups. Additionally, formation of friendships is suggested to be critical in contributing to positive change in prejudicial attitudes that would emerge from intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 1997). For example, in a cross-sectional study using structural equation modeling, Pettigrew (1997) found the path from friendship to reduced prejudice was stronger than the reverse (i.e., that from prejudice to fewer intergroup friends). Therefore, situations that promote intimacy and friendships should help increase the effectiveness of intergroup contact in reducing prejudicial attitudes

According to Caughy, O'Campo, Nettles, and Lohrfink (2002), it is important to understand how parents tend to communicate racialized messages to their children through their life choices and more implicit behaviors. Based on intergroup contact theory, TNA parents that maintain personal relationships with AA and other people of color will be more likely to invest in understanding the experiences of their friends. Parents may be more likely to experience racially salient situations that push them to acknowledge racial difference, that carries over to life choices indicative of racial socialization opportunities in both explicit and implicit ways. In particular, the racial makeup of TNA parents' close friendships may provide implicit messages to their children about socially acceptable dynamics of race, friendships, and proximal relationships (Fletcher, Bridges, & Hunger, 2007). Furthermore, parents' interracial friendships provide their children with a good look into their interpersonal feelings, experiences, and knowledge of other racial groups (Adams, Tessler, & Gamache, 2008).

Overall, the purpose of this study is to contribute to the TNA literature by focusing on the racial attitudes and socialization strategies of TNA families with children of color in the US based on the underpinnings of intergroup contact theory. Given the prevalence of AA children adopted into primarily White American families, this study focuses on the racial attitudes, knowledge, and racial socialization practices of TNA parents of AA children. Specifically, based on the following questions, the purpose of this study is to explore the role of TNA parents' interracial friendships in the relationship between their colorblind racial attitudes and their stereotypical attitudes, racial knowledge, and practices intended to prepare their children for racism.

1. To what degree do colorblind racial attitudes and close personal friendships with AA individually and collectively contribute to TNA parents' stereotypical attitudes toward AA, knowledge of AA racial reality, and racial bias preparation?
2. To what degree do TNA parents' close friendships with AA moderate the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and their stereotypical attitudes toward AA and knowledge of AA racial experiences?
3. To what degree do close friendships with AA and friendships with people of color moderate the relationship between TNA parents' colorblind racial attitudes and the degree to which they report making explicit statements intended to prepare their children for racial bias?

Figure 1. Hypothesized Moderation Effects



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The following chapter will provide a literature review starting with a brief summary regarding the socio-political history of AA racial issues in the US. Research regarding TNA concerns will also be discussed with emphasis on identity development, cultural and racial socialization, and racial attitudes of TNA parents. Lastly, a discussion that supports the significance of interracial relationships as it relates to social modeling, prejudicial attitudes, and stereotypical beliefs among families with children adopted from Asia will be presented. In addition to establishing the background and support for the purpose of the current study, this review also touches on the potential implications for research, clinical practice, and policy associated with racial consciousness among TNA families with children of color.

#### *History and Research on Asian American Racial Issues*

Although the current nature of AA racial reality stems from a history of discrimination and oppression in the US, the presence of AA in the history of America has been traditionally under-emphasized (Liu, Murakami, Eap, & Nagayama Hall, 2009; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Asians in the history of America often begins with Chinese immigration and Chinese Americans as contributing to the creation of the transcontinental railroad. Despite this recognition, Chinese and other AA faced a range of sociopolitical struggles that are not included as part of American history. In particular, AA history includes a number of exclusionary acts, barring individuals from Asian countries from entering the US and



becoming US citizens (Liu et al., 2009). As Chinese immigrants began to settle in the US, Americans expressed discomfort with the unfamiliar customs and language of the Chinese, proposing that the presence of Chinese culture threatened the well - being of mining districts. While the country experienced various hardships, AA served as scapegoats for various economic struggles and educational conflicts. Additionally, the environment during World War II elicited erroneous fears of anti – American loyalties among Asians, which facilitated the immobilization and internment of Japanese Americans (Liu et al.), most of whom were American citizens. Although the last Asian exclusionary act was eradicated in 1943, anti - Asian attitudes remain to this day. Reflective of Japanese internment, AA are often judged based on ancestry alone, and are automatically perceived as “non – American”. The term *Asian American* itself has been assigned to over 60 ethnic groups with varying languages and cultural traditions (Takaki, 1988).

Although AA represent one of the largest growing racial minority groups in the US (Alvarez et al., 2006; Gee, Spencer, Chen, & Takeuchi, 2007), issues regarding race and discrimination have often been dichotomized, focusing only on White and African Americans (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005; D.W. Sue et al. 2007). Historically, AA are often disregarded as having unauthentic racial experiences when compared to other ethnic minority groups (Delucchi & Do, 2006; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Social psychology has conceptualized racial attitudes toward AA using the Stereotype Content Model (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Lin et al. 2005), which suggests that racial stereotypes derive from insufficient or inappropriate group interactions that foster polarized views of dis(like) and (dis)respect for AA (Fiske, Guddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Specifically, mixed stereotypes include both positive and negative aspects related to traits of competence (reflecting respect) and warmth

(reflecting likeability). To be viewed in a warm and positive manner on one dimension does not automatically suggest one will also be viewed as competent and respectable. Although perceived as highly competent (Wong & Halgin, 2006), AA tend to be viewed with low likeability (Fiske et al. 2002; Ho & Jackson, 2001; Lin et al.). In a well - known study, Katz and Braly (1931) explored this phenomenon, by asking college students to ascribe personality traits to different ethnic groups. For individuals of Asian descent, participants chose terms associated with competence, such as “intelligent” and “industrious”, but also chose the descriptions of “quiet” and “sly”, reflecting less desirable characteristics.

Although intragroup differences are vast, positive characteristics are a contemporary perception often attributed across AA ethnic groups. Studies have found that non-AA often rely on positive ascriptions and racial stereotypes in recognizing and interpreting their interactions with AA (Delucchi & Do, 2006; Fiske et al., 2002; Ho & Jackson, 2001; Katz & Braly, 1931; Lin, et al., 2005; Wong & Halgin, 2006). Studies, however, examining the racial experiences of AA have found that AA tend to view assumptions based solely on their phenotype as being subtle forms of racism, regardless of positive intentions (Cheryan & Monin 2005; Liang, Li, & Kim, 2004; Operario & Fiske, 2001; D.W. Sue et al. 2007).

#### *Racial Microaggressions*

In present society, traditional or overt racism may appear to be less common; however, people of color often face contemporary or micro - forms of racism. According to D.W. Sue et al. (2007), these subtleties are considered racial microaggressions, or innocuous forms of racism, commonly masked in well - intentioned assumptions. Research suggests that AA experience a variety of microaggressions and can easily decipher racial messages within their everyday experiences (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Gee et al. 2007; Liang et al.,

2004). Studies have also found that in ambiguous situations, particularly with Whites, AA tend to attribute more negative interactions to their race.

Highlighted by the studies of D. W., Sue and colleagues, research on racial microaggressions that specifically examines the experiences of different racial groups is on the rise. In a qualitative study specific to AA, D. W. Sue et al. found several themes among AA participants that were consistent with the empirical work previously described. Below, racial microaggressions specific to AA will be discussed, starting with the themes similar to the previous findings on the racial experiences of AA.

Model minority. In 1985, David Bell (1985) published the article “America’s Greatest Success Story: The Triumph of Asian Americans”. Bell cites selective statistics on the successes of AA in the realms of education and economics, perpetuating the common view of AA as model minorities. Particularly when compared to other minority groups, AA are often considered to be hard working, respectful, individuals that cause minimal trouble for White Americans (Alvarez et al., 2006; Delucchi & Do, 1996). Similarly, D.W. Sue et al found that participants described experiences of being automatically ascribed to characteristics of intelligence. This “positive” view has affected the racial perceptions of American society and tends to minimize the racial challenges experienced by AA (Takaki, 1988; Wong & Halgin, 2006).

Foreigner status. As reflected in AA history with Japanese internment, D. W. Sue et al. also found that AA participants described the common experience of being viewed as a foreigner or non - American, despite being born in the US and/or holding American citizenship. In a four - part study on the racial experiences of AA, Cheryan and Monin (2005) examined whether AA were perceived as “less American” than other racial groups.

When presented with pictures of individuals from different ethnic group, White and AA college students were asked to rate the degree that the faces depicted appeared “American”. Both White and AA students rated pictures of AA individuals as less American than the faces of White Americans. Additionally, pictures of AA were considered less American than pictures depicting the faces of African and Latino/a Americans, although both groups were considered less American than Whites (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). In the second part of the study, AA participants were asked whether or not they felt like they belonged in the US. Results indicated that participants reported feeling as though they belonged, but also acknowledged the non-AA would disagree. Additionally, when asked to identify ways in which they are commonly misperceived, AA students were five times more likely to report being mistaken for a resident from another country, than White Americans (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

Minimized racial experiences. Given the limited presence of ethnic minorities in the history of the US, D.W. Sue found that participants described their racial experiences were often minimized or easily disregarded by others. AA are often assumed to be unaffected by racism, or that their experiences of racism are not as noteworthy as other ethnic minority groups (Alvarez et al., 2006; D.W. Sue et al., 2007). Studies have found counter evidence suggesting that AA are indeed affected by racism, and make efforts to modify their behaviors to avoid stereotype threat, or situations where racial stereotypes are likely to become salient (Cuddy, Fiske, Kwan, et al., 2009; Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy, Polifroni, 2008). When confronted with the suggestion that they are less American by non - AA, Cheryan and Monin (2005) found that AA college students asserted their behavior to clearly demonstrate their American identity. When asked the question of “do you speak English?” before

completing a task requiring knowledge of American culture, AA participants demonstrated increased effort and yielded a greater performance when compared to White students in the experimental group. Asian and White participants whose language status was not questioned, yielded results significantly lower than AA students in the experimental group (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

Other microaggressive themes. Additional themes, identified in Sue's study have not been formally investigated in empirical research, but have been identified and thoroughly discussed in commentaries, narratives, and other literature on the racial experiences of AA (Takaki, 1988; Wu, 2002). For example, Sue's participants talked about their frequent experiences of being mistaken as a member of a different Asian ethnic group, expressing frustration over the disregard for interethnic differences. Often portrayed in the media, this assumption contributes to the public perception that any representation associated with Asian culture can be considered a universal phenomenon for all Asian ethnic groups (Wu, 2002). Participants also identified a theme that represented gender stereotypes among of AA. In the media, AA women have been traditionally depicted in an exotified and oversexualized manner, while AA males are often presented as weak and emasculated. Participants also expressed their frustration with the inaccurate representations intended to reflect Asian culture, and the weird or inferior manner in which they are depicted, such as mocking figural depictions of AA or overemphasizing lingual accents.

Despite the recent evidence on AA specific racism, similar arguments were proposed over 30 years ago calling attention to AA racial issues (S. Sue, Sue, & Sue, 1975). In general, however, AA experiences with racism (Alvarez et al., 2006), identity development, and family socialization (Nagata & Cheng, 2003) from a psychological perspective has remained limited.

Overall, these studies demonstrate that although their racial experiences may appear different than what can be considered traditional, overt incidents of racism, AA racial reality tends to be plagued with microaggressive themes and stereotypes that can negatively affect AA (Wong & Halgin, 2006). Although limited in number, empirical evidence has indicated that the majority (98%) of AA report experiencing at least one encounter with racial microaggressions in the past year (Alvarez et al.) and are adversely affected by racism (Liang et al., 2004; R.M. Lee, 2003).

#### *Transnational Adoption Research*

One of the core areas of interest in TNA research has been racial and ethnic identity development as it relates to adjustment and self-esteem outcomes (Huh & Reid, 2000). Consistent with the general assumption in contemporary westernized societies individuals need to know “who they are” and that such understanding is necessary for positive well-being (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). According to Erikson (1968), identity development is central through all stages of psychosocial development and becomes particularly salient in stage five when individuals begin to ask the question: "Who am I?" and "Who am I in this context?" Erickson acknowledged that the challenges of identity development are likely to be exacerbated for individuals belonging to socially marginalized groups, especially as they learn and understand the social messages associated with their group. Among TNA children, studies have found that children become aware of racial differences within their family as well as their adoptive status, as early as 4 to 5 years of age (Brodzinsky, Lang, & Smith, 1995; Huh & Reid, 2000). Given the salience of race and racial difference within TNA adoptive families, identity development tends to be particularly arduous for AA and other TNA

individuals given their socialization has occurred outside an environment that naturally fosters their racial heritage (Grotevant et al., 2000; Tessler et al., 2004; Wickes & Slate, 1997).

For AA adoptees, one challenge is that empirical research on traditional identity development among AA cannot be easily generalized to their experiences considering that racial and ethnic identity models are based on the assumption that individuals develop within same-race families (Langrehr, 2008). As one of the only empirically tested models on transracial adoption and TNA specific identity development, the Cultural-Racial Identity Model (Baden & Steward, 2000), posits that TNA experience race and culture as separate components based on their TNA parents and their individual background. Specifically, adoptees must negotiate how they relate to their parents' dimensions of race (i.e., White) and culture (i.e., American), while also navigating their feelings toward their dimensions of race (i.e., Asian) and culture (e.g., Korean) as a TNA.

Considering that their Asian appearance may often conflict with their White, American environment, TNA often face paradoxical experiences. Given their socialization, TNA may not necessarily self-identify with their respective ethnic group or as a person of color. Similarly, family members or close friends may even consider TNA to be White or simply "American" without acknowledging racial difference (Freundlich & Lieberthal, 2000; R. M. Lee, 2003). However, considering that race in American society tends to equate phenotype (D.W. Sue et al., 2007), TNA are likely to experience the realities of racism commonly experienced by people color, despite their adoption into White American families (Langrehr, 2008). R. M. Lee (2003) has described the complexity of these experiences as the *transracial adoption paradox*, based on the multiple and often conflicting messages that TNA tend to face about race, ethnicity, and adoption. This paradox often involves experiences of

varying degrees of identity denial, feeling as though their identity is challenged by others. For TNA, many face identity denial on multiple levels given their various associations with both White Americans and AA.

Despite the paradoxical nature of these experiences, theory suggests that constant exclusion tends to actually strengthen one's desire to fit in, and increases the need to emotionally attach and identify with a group (Tajfel, 1978). Results from multiple TNA studies and surveys, have found evidence indicative of this paradox particularly involving racial and ethnic dissonance. Early research examining identity development among TNA has suggested that many TNA raised within White American families tend to view themselves differently compared to non - adopted children of color (Baden, 2002; Grotevant et al., 2000; R.M. Lee, 2003; Freudlich & Lieberthal, 2000; Shiao & Tuan, 2008). Early TNA studies found that area of residence, such as living in racially diverse neighborhoods were strongly associated with the frequency and type of racially - based interactions, suggested to facilitate healthy adjustment (Feigelman, 2006; Feigelman & Silverman, 1984; Wierzbicki, 1993) and positive racial identity development (McRoy et al., 1982) among adoptees. According to Phinney and Chavira (1995), same-race exposure is essential to help children develop positive feelings of group belonging and pride. According to Brodzinsky et al. (1995), the social development process for TNA tends to be less arduous when adoptive parents expose their children to individuals of their same racial background in order to actively foster a sense of racial pride. Among non-adopted children of color, positive relationships have been found between ethnic identity, family involvement in cultural practices, and ethnic neighborhood composition (Caughy et al., 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Additionally, strong ethnic identity for racial minority children has been found to



moderate their ability to cope with daily stress even when stress is not associated with race or ethnicity (Kiang, Yip, Fuligni, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, 2006).

Similar to most research on TNA, many of these studies have focused on child populations with little attention to the various challenges of progressive identity development for adolescents of color. Additionally, it is common to interchange terminology related to race, culture, and ethnicity. In particular, studies on cultural socialization have often interchanged the terminology of cultural and racial experiences. Certainly, cultural and ethnic experiences are often related to racial identity; however, the underlying constructs are different, posing challenges for accurate interpretation (Quintana, Aboud, Chao, Contreas-Grau, Cross, Hudley, et al., 2006). According to Helms and Cook (1999), racial identity is considered the quality and strength of one's identification with one's racial group, that reflects the process that individuals come to recognize and overcome the psychological and internalized effects of racial oppression. In contrast, ethnic identity refers to one's sense of identification with one's culture of origin based on a shared sense of cultural markers, such as history, traditions, language, etc (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Despite the common use of current ethnic identity models, the concept of identity does not fully address the implications of racism and oppression on identity development, but focuses on how individuals see themselves relative to their cultural beliefs, values, and behaviors. According to Cokley (2007), when focusing on development in the context of a highly radicalized society, racial identity is a more appropriate construct to study than ethnic identity. Combining a sense of connection to one's stigmatized group, while at the same time possessing critical racial awareness, can eventually contribute to improved personal adjustment (Quintana et al., 2006). However, studies that have examined the role of ethnic identity among TNA adults

have found that ethnic identity in any form was unassociated with positive or negative psychological adjustment (Baden, 2002).

### *Cultural Socialization and Racial Socialization*

Socialization is considered the process of learning dominant attitudes, values, and behavior of a culture in order to develop the competencies needed to function in that culture (Ogbu, 1981). As the nucleus of their child's socialization experiences, parents are responsible for transmitting their own cultural-specific awareness and knowledge to their children throughout their development (Hughes et al., 2006). For most TNA parents, the foundation of their own socialization derives from American culture and values (e.g., individualism, desire for socioeconomic security, etc), yet their socialization experiences are specific to their racial majority status (e.g., White racial dominance). Children of color raised in TNA families may struggle to understand their racial minority status in relation to their adoptive parents' race (Baden, 2002). Furthermore, as children of color become aware of the marginalized status associated with their racial group, they must also negotiate their feelings toward the dominant culture of their adoptive parents. Although membership as part of racial group does not necessarily equate ascribing to all of the respective cultural beliefs and practices, certain behaviors and values are common among particular ethnic groups in the US (Baden, 2002). According to Baden and Steward (2000), culture and race are best conceptualized as related, yet ultimately separate dimensions that allow TNA to experience appropriate identity development in light of their families White American background. Their model suggests at least two different racial groups as well as two different cultures are represented within TNA families that can potentially comprise 16 different identity combinations (Baden, 2002). The authors found some evidence supporting

the model, suggesting that all 16 different dimensions of identity were represented and did not cluster around a few identity status areas.

Most recently, TNA studies have begun to emphasize the importance of cultural preservation for TNA, yet have continued to make little distinction between the concept of culture and race. Research that examines the socialization practices of TNA families have been primarily concerned with the degree that families promote cultural heritage (Rojewski, 2005) and bi-cultural competence (Friedlander, Larney, Skau, Hotaling, Cottling, & Schwan, 2000; Thomas & Tessler, 2007). Results suggest that TNA parents' attitudes about race are often related to their beliefs toward cultural socialization practices (R.M. Lee et al. 2006). Despite the recognition of racial attitudes, the concepts are primarily associated with cultural constructs as opposed to racial competence or racial inoculation. According to Quintana et al. (2006), racial socialization and cultural socialization are related, yet separate constructs. Racial socialization has been strongly related to negative outcomes (e.g., external locus of control) compared to cultural socialization which has been associated with more positive outcomes (e.g., cognitive development) (Caughy et al., 2006). For TNA families, ability to distinguish these concepts may be essential in helping them recognize the implications of racial difference that cannot be fully addressed through cultural socialization.

#### *Racial Bias Preparation*

An on-going concern for AA and other TNA is that adoptees will incorporate negative self-views based on their racial minority status as they become more aware of the racial dynamics in the US. One way to help TNA combat internalized racial beliefs is to help prepare TNA children for racial bias. Preparation for racial bias is a specific form of racial socialization which refers to the extent to which parents make efforts to promote their

child's awareness of racism in order to prepare them to cope effectively with experiences with marginalization (Hughes et al., 2006). Research examining effects of racism among children and adolescents suggests that a strong racial identity and racial socialization serve to protect racial minorities against the potential adverse effects of discrimination (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Current knowledge regarding the effectiveness of racial bias preparation comes from studies on same race, non-adoptive families primarily among African Americans. Research suggests that discussing racial discrimination with children of color is often linked to positive results regarding support seeking, problem-solving skills, and better mental health (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). It appears that same-race families use a range of socialization strategies including a healthy mistrust of Whites (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 1997; Thomas & Speight, 1999), which is suggested to racially *inoculate* Black children against internalizing the harmful effects of discrimination (Neblett et al., 2008; Thomas & Speight, 1999).

In contrast, AA and immigrant parents have been found to help to transmit aspects of their culture in socializing their children (Phinney, 1989). The few socialization studies that have included AA families have primarily focused on aspects related to culture and have found that AA parents tend to convey messages of pride as opposed to providing direct preparation for racism (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). This style of socialization has been suggested to emphasize Asian cultural tendencies of suppressed emotion, self-restraint, and maintenance of harmony (Nagata & Cheng, 2003).

A common theme in racial socialization literature is that preparation for racial bias often depends on a child's age, cognitive ability, and their experiences with racism (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 1997). As children reach adolescence, experience with

racial bias tends to increase as well as their tendency to explore and reflect upon their identities (Aboud et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2006). At these ages, increased racial socialization has been associated with mixed results that can affect achievement rates (Caughy et al., 2002; Marshall, 1995) and academic outcomes (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999). In terms of the few studies that touch on racial bias preparation among TNA families, only one study has examined the behavioral outcomes of TNA children. In a study on single mothers of Chinese adopted children, Johnston et al., (2007) found that preparation for bias related to increased externalizing behaviors in older children compared to younger children.

Another challenge for TNA families is that children and parents may conceptualize race and racial bias preparation in different ways. Although parents may report that they engage in racial bias preparation, their children may indicate otherwise (see Marshall, 1995). In contrast to same-race families, TNA families do not share racial and physical similarities (Hughes & Chen, 1997). One of the benefits of same-race families is that parents are likely to have personal knowledge regarding discrimination and prejudice common to their racial group (Hughes, 2003). White adoptive parents do not have first - hand experience with racism as people of color (R. M. Lee, 2003; Vonk & Angaran, 2003), which may limit their ability to prepare their children for experiences as racial minorities in American society (R. M. Lee et al., 2006). Given the cultural discrepancies as well as the undeniable racial differences of TNA, it is difficult to apply racial bias preparation strategies effective for same-race families to that of TNA families. Particularly, promoting a healthy mistrust against Whites can be a complicated process (Samuels, 2009), considering that TNA parents are members of the racial dominant group. Parents may avoid discussing racial bias, finding topics of race and discrimination uncomfortable or unnecessary in the overall scope of

important parenting strategies (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Studies have suggested that few parents, regardless of racial background are comfortable with discussions involving racism (Demo & Hughes, 1990). However, families that deemphasize the implications of race and only concentrate on cultural ties are likely to perpetuate negative racial stereotypes about people of color (Feigelman, 2000) and unknowingly devalue their child's racial identity (McCroy et al., 1982). For TNA parents that want to help their child effectively deal with racism, parents must recognize that their own racial attitudes can manifest as behaviors that devalue their child's experiences as a racial minority.

### *Racial Attitudes*

Racial awareness for parents is vital in helping children of color to develop increasingly more sophisticated and adaptive responses to their emerging identities and experiences with race and racism (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1989). Recent research has addressed the concern that White adoptive parents unable to recognize the benefits afforded to them as part of the racial majority; struggle to understand the realities of racism. Particularly, multiple studies have investigated the role of TNA parents' racial attitudes in affecting their behaviors and actions (Johnston, et al., 2007). Recent studies have focused on TNA parents' attitudes and beliefs that relate to their child's race and culture. Results support findings of earlier research that suggests racial attitudes may explain why some TNA parents engage in cultural socialization practices and others do not (DeBerry et al., 1996; McRoy et al., 1984). Particularly, studies that suggest that increased racial awareness helps parents examine their own beliefs about the value and importance of culture and race can affect their engagement in cultural socialization practices (R. M. Lee, et al.). In particular, TNA who endorsed color-blind racial attitudes have been found to demonstrate stronger beliefs and

practices related to cultural and racial socialization. According to Neville and colleagues (2000; 2001) colorblind racial attitudes consist of three parts: (a) denial of White privilege, (b) denial of institutional racism, and (c) denial of discrimination. As opposed to traditional views of racism often represented as racial superiority and overt acts of denigration (D.W. Sue et al., 2007), color-blind racial attitudes are considered a form of contemporary or subtle racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Neville et al), which denies the individual, institutional and cultural manifestations of racism. Particularly, individuals that endorse color-blind racial attitudes often hold distorted or inaccurate views of race and racism, seeing only a historical concept that has little meaning in their lives (Neville et al). Additionally, strong colorblind beliefs have been found to relate to increased racial and gender intolerance, denial of White privilege, and higher anxiety and fear toward racial minorities (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Although these attitudes are not limited to members of any particular group, White individuals have been found to adhere to color-blind racial attitudes more often than African-American and Hispanic individuals (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Carr, 1997; Neville et al).

The ability to recognize the realities of racial discrimination has been found to be particularly helpful among TNA families. Results of a recent study found that TNA that reported higher awareness of perceived discrimination toward their child, also reported an increased tendency to talk with their children about racial discrimination compared to parents that did not talk to their children. (R. M. Lee, 2010).

### *Interracial Friendships*

According to Bronfenbrenner's model of ecology, child development occurs in the center of multiple, interrelated levels of social systems (1979). In order to disentangle sociocultural factors associated with race and culture, it is necessary to understand how

context influences the development of TNA particularly within White American families. Context, such as environmental setting, family, and peers in particular have been found to be strong factors in the development of racial minority children (Garcia-Coll, Jenkins, Pipes, McAdoo, Crnic, Wasik, et al., 1996). In addition to parents, the main agents of socialization include extended family, school, and the community (Ogbu, 1981). Through these various agents, parents have the opportunity to help shape how their children conceptualize race. Particularly, as children become aware of their race, they develop schemas to process their racial experiences in relation to their identity. These schemas are also used to filter the multitude of racial messages transmitted through day-to-day interactions and experiences (Helms, 1990).

Studies suggest that parents' social networks can also be considered a social resource that can affect children's developmental outcomes and strengthen their ties with communities of their birth culture (Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003; Sheldon, 2002). In particular, parents who engage in positive interracial relationships have been found more likely to have a general sense of racial awareness, which is often directly or indirectly demonstrated through subtle messages emitted to their children on a daily basis (Ogbu, 1981; Thomas & Tessler, 2007). Particularly, the racial makeup of parents' friendships is fundamental in how their children conceptualize acceptable proximal racial relationships (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). Indirectly, family friends can model behaviors and influence the socialization techniques of the parents (Cochran & Brassard, 1979). Research suggests that minority families may be more involved in their respective ethnic and racial communities, and therefore develop strong relationships within these networks (Burton & Jarrett, 2000). Additionally, minority families have been found to describe kin-based relationships as being



their main source of social activity for themselves and their children. Research on interparental relationships suggest that White parents are more likely to encourage children's friendships with peers whose parents are known to them (Fletcher et al., 2007).

Based on the underpinnings of contact theory, the importance of interracial friendships for transracially – adoptive parents is essential. Interracial contact is more likely to result in positive outcomes when the interaction takes place within an equalized context, with mutual respect, and when common goals are present (Aboud et al., 2006; Allport & Kramer, 1946; Tajfel, 1982), within settings that promote intimacy (Cook, 1978). A recent meta-analysis of 515 studies found that intergroup contact typically reduces prejudicial attitudes, but was particularly beneficial when the optimal conditions of equity and friendship were present (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Contact should not reinforce the power and privilege of majority group members, but should demonstrate a mutual respectful relationship with no traditional distinction in hierarchy (Hunter & Elias, 1999). In contrast, interactions that include equity of power or social status, intimacy, and egalitarian respect, represent optimal conditions which are often found within close interpersonal relationships. For young children, their natural day-to-day exposure outside the home often depends on that of their parents. Early studies have suggested that most White TNA parents made minimal effort or were limited demographically with respect to opportunities to associate with individuals of the same race of their adopted children (Brooks & Barth, 1999; D. S. Kim, 1977). If exposed only to White Americans, adoptees are likely to conceptualize their knowledge of AA and AA racial issues based on the attitudes and knowledge of the majority population. Retrospective studies involving in depth interviews with adult AA adoptees have found that many attributed their experiences with racism to the environment in which they

were raised. Specifically, adoptees raised in areas with larger Asian populations were less likely to recall intrusive racial experiences (Docan-Morgan, 2010) whereas adoptees raised in predominantly White monocultural area have described experiences with more severe forms of discrimination (Fiegleman & Silverman, 1984). Identity research suggests that as people of color experience discriminating attitudes, they are inclined to retreat into their ethnic identity for protection and collective sense of belonging making interactions with their racial group necessary to reinforce a collective sense of identity (Allport, 1957). Increased opportunities for interaction provide more chances for support, interactions with positive role models, and strengthen the likelihood of developing a positive sense of self and identity (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Trolley & Walling, 1995; Westhues & Cohen, 1998).

In terms of socialization, TNA parents that make efforts to create a multiracial social network will increase the likelihood that their TNA children will grow into adulthood feeling good about themselves and their adoptive parents (R. M. Lee, 2003; Rojewski, 2005). In a study examining the practices of single mothers with children adopted from China, mothers reported making deliberate efforts to ensure neighborhood and school interaction with Chinese individuals; however, their degree of effort depended on their individual psychological connectedness to AA (Johnston et al., 2007). In addition, compared to working-class and poor children, middle- and upper-class children tend to have significantly more interaction with adults (Lareau, 2002). Rowjeski (2005) found that Chinese adopted were more likely to have on-going contact with adults as opposed to children in their racially integrated neighborhoods. Additionally, TNA parents who engage in interpersonal relationships that include individuals from their children's birth culture have been found to positively influence their development in direct and indirect ways (McLoyd, Cauce,

Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000; Thomas & Tessler, 2007) and may be more successful at keeping lines of communication open within the parent-child relationship.

According to Smith and Zarate (1992), the racial makeup of an individual's particular social network will depend on their associations with race, which is often based on their previous experiences and exposure with people of color. Individuals having had minimal interracial contact will often have an increased number of stored associations based on their knowledge, which is often based on racial stereotypes. However, individuals with an intimate knowledge of individuals of different races, are more likely to hold counter-stereotypic attitudes. In absence of close, personal relationships with AA, adoptive parents of AA children may be unaware of the racial experiences often experienced by AA considering the understated racial history of AA.

Compared to 30 years ago, TNA parents of Asian children have become more invested in helping their child preserve their heritage by engaging in socialization activities intended to promote knowledge and pride of their birth culture. Although a significant step toward helping children feel connected to their culture, less attention has been dedicated to understanding how TNA parents view the implications of race and racial difference in the lives of their children. Of the studies that examine TNA parents racial attitudes, almost all have used mixed-race samples and have focused on general racial attitudes. Additionally, among the studies that have focused only on families of Asian adoptees, none have assessed TNA parents' attitudes and knowledge that deal specifically with AA racial reality. Although a plethora of studies have examined the conditions in which intergroup contact has the greatest effect on reducing prejudicial attitudes, few studies concerned with racial attitudes among TNA parents have investigated factors that may alter or reduce negative racial

attitudes. Overall, studies on TNA have underscored the significance of racial attitudes in accounting for TNA parents' beliefs and cultural socialization practices, yet there is a limited understanding as to what accounts for TNA parents' racial attitudes and what can be done to potentially modify negative beliefs. Additionally, effects of intergroup contact on prejudice reduction has often focused on explicit measures, which may provide more exaggerated results due to motivational factors rather than reduction in prejudice at a more implicit level.

This study is unique in that it focuses on the conditions of TNA parents outside of deliberate cultural socialization practices, examining both implicit and explicit ways that they may view and address issues of race and racism. In particular, this study focuses on the interracial friendships of TNA parents and how these friendships may affect their knowledge about AA racism, their attitudes are toward AA, and their behaviors related to socializing their AA about racism. The racial makeup of TNA parents' close personal friendships may indirectly affect their AA children through their racial socialization strategies and social modeling behaviors. As majority group individuals, White TNA parents that engage in positive interracial friendships may be less likely to endorse stereotypical racial attitudes and as a result, act in accordance with their beliefs (Aberson & Hong, 2007).

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODS

Chapter three describes the approach and methodology used to conduct this study. Descriptions of the procedure, participants, instruments, and research questions are included.

#### *Recruitment*

Participant recruitment began with the Principal Investigator (PI) making contact with organized, adoptive parent groups of AA children. To facilitate participant recruitment, the PI identified two local groups (i.e., one adoption-related and one non-adopted AA) through the PI's own knowledge of the AA and international adoptive community in the Chicagoland area. The PI then conducted an Internet search for additional organized groups of adoptive families of AA children. Groups with active Internet websites (updated information) that listed non-profit status according to Federal standard 501(c)3 were considered for recruitment. Based on these requirements, the PI identified three organizations for a total of five groups for potential recruitment. Using the contact information provided on each group's website, the PI contacted the president (if listed), director, and/or an executive board member via e-mail and provided a general overview of the request for participation, informing them of the on-line participation. The PI also informed them that approval from Loyola's Institutional Review Board must first be attained to assure that the proposed study met ethical requirements which included their full understanding of the request for participation. Once approval to conduct Internet research

by Loyola's Institutional Review Board was attained, the PI contacted the president of each group via e-mail, and requested that they e-mail the survey domain link to members of their electronic listserv. The contact person was informed that by following the link, their members would be directed to a new window that requested their participation and included a brief description of the study (Appendix A), informed consent (Appendix B), and five surveys (described below). The contact person was also informed that participation was voluntary and that no incentive would be offered for participation. Of the five groups contacted for the study, all five agreed to participate. Two groups were located in the Midwest, two on the East Coast, and one on the West Coast. Based on the number of active members in each group, it is estimated that approximately 500 individuals were eligible to participate (100 members per organization), indicating a 40.8% response rate.

#### *Participant Sample*

A total of 204 individuals participated in the study and ranged from 32 to 67 years old ( $M = 46.26$ ,  $SD = 7.12$ ). The majority (86.8%) of the sample identified as White American ( $n = 167$ ), while 13.2% identified as AA ( $n = 27$ ). Education levels were high with participants averaging 4.96 years ( $SD = 1.88$ ) of secondary education, ranging from 0 to 10 years. Only 13.2% ( $n = 26$ ) reported being single parents, compared to 92.6% ( $n = 189$ ) who reported having a parenting counterpart. Participants' adopted children were primarily female (68.9%), compared to males (31.1%) with South Korea (51.4%) and China (44.4%) as the primary adoptive countries. All sample participants reported having at least one child adopted from an Asian country, while about half of the sample (51%) reported having at least two children. The average percent of racial makeup of participants' neighborhoods

consisted of 71.86% White, 8.43% Black, 8.02% Latina/o, 6.45% Asian, 6.04% other racial groups, and 5.31% Multiracial individuals. Out of the 204 participants, 106 reported having at least two adopted children of color and 19 families reported having at least three adopted children. For families with more than one TNA child, the mean age was calculated and recorded. Average age of adopted child was 10.42 years ( $SD = 5.45$ ) and ranged from one to 30 years of age.

### *Power Analysis*

In order to achieve a sufficient degree of power to determine true effects, a power analysis was conducted to determine the minimum number of subjects required for multiple regression analyses to achieve the desired level of statistical power (Aiken & West, 1991). In order to determine the strength of the main effects as well as the interaction effects between continuous variables, the desired degree of power was set to .80 and the alpha level (Type 1 error rate) was set at  $p < .05$  (See Cohen, 1988). In terms of estimating the population squared multiple correlations, previous studies have used large national samples and included multiple waves of data collection. Three most recent studies used national or longitudinal data (Johnston, et al., 2007; R. M. Lee et al., 2006; Thomas & Tessler, 2007) with sample sizes ranging from 327 to 1,477 TNA parents; however, none of these studies conducted an a priori or ad hoc power analyses. Despite the concern regarding the power of moderation studies using multiple regression to achieve significant effects, the continuous nature of both the predictor and moderator variables in the current study will help maximize the effects on the outcome variable of adoptive parents' cultural and/or racial socialization practices.

Prior research focusing on the variables representing the current study's main effects (i.e., parents beliefs and/or attitudes relating to practices of cultural and/or racial

socialization effect) effect size estimates have ranged from  $R^2 = .13$  to  $R^2 = .35$ ; whereas studies examining parents' racial friendships on cultural and/or racial socialization strategies have estimated ranges from  $R^2 = .15$  to  $R^2 = .25$ . However, no studies to date have examined the interacting nature of TNA parents' racial attitudes and/or beliefs with interracial friendships, on the outcome of socialization practices among TNA families. Additionally, no studies have specifically examined the degree to which any of these variables relate to understanding the racial reality of AA among non-AA populations. Therefore, a moderately conservative estimate of .20 was used to estimate the squared multiple correlation for the full models. Using the software *g\*power*, 115 participants were identified as the least number of participants needed to achieve power at .80 for testing the interaction effect based on a .05 alpha level.

Table 1. Participant Characteristics

	<u>Age</u>			<u>Years of Education</u>		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Gender						
Female <i>n</i> = 169	46.26	6.89	32 - 62	4.96	1.90	0 - 8
Male <i>n</i> = 35	46.71	7.87	35 - 67	4.94	1.80	2 - 8
Racial Background						
White <i>n</i> = 177	47.01	7.04	32 - 67	4.90	1.92	0 - 8
Asian <i>n</i> = 27	41.96	5.49	34 - 54	5.30	1.59	2 - 8
Total <i>N</i> = 204	46.49	7.08	32 - 67	4.95	1.85	0 - 8

### *Procedure*

Having received approval from Loyola University Chicago's Institutional Review Board to conduct Internet research, *Opinio* software was made available for use in this study through Loyola's Office of Research Services. *Opinio* software version 6.0.8 was created by Object Planet Incorporated, allowing users to enter and organize all items according to the



different measures. Opinio software also serves as on-line database, simultaneously collecting and recording the data as participants enter their responses. All data in Opinio can be uploaded into spreadsheet applications, such as SPSS or Microsoft Excel.

The PI manually entered each survey item and arranged for responses to be rated on the intended point scale of each measure. Additionally, responses for the demographic form were presented in a scroll – down, multiple choice, or open – ended format which allowed participants to enter their responses. Additionally, Cookies software was utilized to ensure that participants completed the on-line questionnaire on no more than on one occasion. Using Opinio, email invitations were sent to the contact person for each group, which requested participation and provided the Internet domain link. In order to restrict study participation to the identified population only, participants were also provided a password to access the study. The contact person forwarded the e-mail invitation to group members through electronic listserves or newsletters. Once participants followed the domain link, a window appeared requesting the password to access the study. After the password was entered, participants were presented with a description of the study as well as the following information regarding informed consent: (a) that participation in the study was completely voluntarily, (b) they may terminate participation at any time by closing the survey window or Internet browser, (c) they could complete their survey on multiple occasions, if they chose to, and (d) that all information would be kept confidentially stored by the PI. At the end of the page, participants were asked if they wished to participate in the study by checking “No” or if they wished to continue to the survey by marking “Yes”. If participants declined, a second window appeared thanking them for their consideration. Because data collection involved the use of a new measure, Asian American Racial Reality Scale (AARRS), it was the

first survey presented, followed by the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale, a modified version of the Racial Bias Preparation Scale, and lastly the demographic form.

The timeframe of on-line data collection was intended to reflect the number of participants needed (i.e., at least 200) for the initial validation study of the AARRS. The link remained active for approximately two months before a desired number was achieved ( $N = 204$ ). At the time of deactivation, the survey had not been completed or viewed by any potential participant for a two-week period.

### *Measures*

Asian American Racial Reality Scale. At the time of data collection most published measures about AA were constructed to assess racial stress or acculturation issues among AA populations. Based on an extensive literature review, no measures were found for non-AA populations about AA racial issues. Therefore, this writer created the AARRS intended to assess non-AA social attitudes and knowledge about the racial reality experienced by AA in the US (See appendix C).

The AARRS was developed according to the recommendations of Worthington and Whitaker (2004). First, research team members independently reviewed social science literature (mostly psychological research) that addressed AA issues and racial stereotypes. Team members then collectively discussed their findings to identify and reach consensus on the most prominent themes to serve as the basis for item generation. The following six themes and definitions were identified: (a) *Model minority*: the concept that AA possess positive qualities stereotypically assumed as lacking among other racial minorities such as academic competence, work ethic, and obedience (b) *Foreigner status*: the assumption that AA are non-American, despite that many are born in the US and/or hold American citizenship.

(c) *Marginalized interethnic differences*: The perception that AA represent one or highly similar homogeneous groups. Intragroup differences among AA are minimized, rarely acknowledged, or misunderstood (d) *Minimized racism*: the concept that AA are not considered *real minorities* such that their racial experiences remain underacknowledged and are assumed to rarely experience or be affected by racism particularly when compared to other minority groups (e) *Pathologized culture*: gross (mis)representations and appropriated interpretations of aspects commonly associated with Asian culture or Asian individuals (f) *Media stereotypes*: in American culture, the selective yet public representations of AA portrayed and often promoted in the media

Consistent with other measures of racial perceptions (Neville et al., 2000; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) a 6-point, as opposed to a 5-point scale was used to avoid neutral responses, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Participants were instructed to rate how much they agreed with each statement with higher scores indicating more knowledge of AA racial issues and lower scores indicating less knowledge. To minimize potential response bias, half of the items were reverse-worded and were presented in random order. Prior to administration, three individuals considered to have expert knowledge in race, racial issues, and/or measurement, individually reviewed items to ensure the items met the following criteria: (a) accurate representation of construct, (b) clearly written and unambiguous, (c) high degree of producing maximum variance, and (d) small chance for systemic response error (Crocker & Algina, 1986). Based on their recommendations, 20 items were re-worded and six items were eliminated, resulting in a total of 104 items.

Initial recruitment procedures involved a conference specifically for Asian adopted families; however, results achieved a sample size ( $N = 42$ ), that did not meet minimum requirements to undergo exploratory factor analysis (Reise et al., 2000, Thompson, 2004). However, AARRS items were analyzed to identify early concerns with low reliability estimates ( $< .50$ ) and range restriction ( $< 3$ ). From this initial review, 59 items were marked for potential modification and/or elimination and reviewed by a second team of experts (two AA females, both faculty members in psychology programs at the time of the study), considered to have expert knowledge in race, racial issues, and/or measurement. Reviewers were provided all 104 items and were asked to indicate whether items should be discarded, reworded, or kept. Based on this feedback, 13 items were reworded and 48 items were discarded resulting in a 60 - item measure (appendix D). Using a computer software program, items were assessed for a reading level no higher than seventh grade.

Results of Exploratory Factor Analysis. This study represents the second attempt at data collection which was analyzed using exploratory factor analysis to assess for the overall factor structure of the AARRS. Although oblique and orthogonal rotations were tested, the results from the oblique rotation provided better results by allowing factors to intercorrelate. Several criteria were used to determine the number of factors retained (i.e., scree plot, Kaiser criterion [1958], parallel analysis). Items were inspected for sufficient loading values ( $.40 <$ ) and cross-loading values ( $.40 <$  on one factor only [Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007]). Based on these criteria combined with item interpretation, four items were eliminated and two items were discarded, resulting in a three-factor solution. A third team of experts (one female AA faculty member and one male AA faculty member, both in psychology programs) reviewed the items for interpretability and overall suggested factor structure. Based on their

recommendations, two items were eliminated from factor one, as well as the four items that made up factor three, resulting in a 60-item, two-factor model. With the reviewers' feedback, the two factors were best described as stereotypical attitudes about AA ( $n = 30$ ) and knowledge of AA racial reality ( $n = 30$ ). Based on these results, 19 of the 60 items were reverse scored. As opposed to obtaining a total score of the AARRS, it was decided that the factor scores would be analyzed and interpreted as separate sub-constructs of AA racial reality (i.e., stereotypical attitudes toward AA and AA racial knowledge) in order to gain a more accurate assessment of the factors that might separately contribute to participants' stereotypical attitudes and beliefs. The internal consistency was assessed using Chronbach's alpha, and demonstrated moderately reliable scores for attitude  $\alpha = .86$  and knowledge factors ( $\alpha = .74$ ).

Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale – Blatant. The Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al., 2000) is a 20-item self-report instrument intended to measure colorblind racial attitudes, defined as the degree to which individuals believe that race should not and does not matter in society. Color-blind racial attitudes are traditionally assessed according to three factors: (a) *Racial Privilege* reflecting blindness of the existence of White privilege (e.g. "race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not"), (b) *Institutional Discrimination* representing limited awareness of the implications of institutional forms of racial discrimination (e.g. "social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people"), and (c) *Blatant Racial Issues* referring to unawareness to general, pervasive racism (e.g. "racial problems in the US are rare, isolated situations"). For the purposes of this study, colorblind racial attitudes were assessed according to the Blatant Racial Issues subscale to represent participants' general understanding of blatant racial issues.

Items were rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Two items from the Blatant Racial Issues subscale were reverse scored and calculated by totaling the ratings for each item. Scores for the Blatant Racial Issues subscale range from 6 to 36 with higher scores indicating higher color-blind racial attitudes and lower scores indicating lower color-blind attitudes. Calculated from study samples of White, Black, Latino, and AA college students, estimates of reliability ( $\alpha = .76$ ) (Neville et al., 2000) for the Blatant Racial Issues subscale have been similar to the four-item version of the Blatant Racial Issues subscale used among samples of internationally adoptive parents ( $\alpha = .77$ ) (R.M. Lee et al., 2006). The reliability coefficient was estimated to be  $\alpha = .89$ .

Racial Bias Preparation Scale. A modified version of the Ethnic Prejudice Awareness subscale from the Racial Bias Preparation scale (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000) was utilized to assess participants' self-reported explicit racial socialization strategies based on direct statements made to their adopted Asian children about race and racism. The original measure consists of three subscales (i.e., Ethnic Prejudice Awareness, Ethnic Pride Reinforcement, and Contrast), at 10 items each, assessing the degree that children report their parents make statements to them about racism and discrimination. Because the original intent of the racial bias preparation scale was based on adolescent self-reports, the directions were re-worded, asking participants to respond to how many times they have said the following to their children or how likely they could see themselves saying the statement to their child (if child was infant or very young). Participants responded to each item on a 3-point scale (1 = *not at all* to 3 = *frequently*). The reliability estimate for the current study was  $\alpha = .86$  and have previously ranged from  $\alpha = .86$  and  $\alpha = .91$  (Chávez & French, 2007).

Demographic form. Lastly, participants were asked to provide demographic information (appendix E), such as gender, ethnic background, age, marital status, level of education, and area of residence. Participants were asked to indicate the country or countries they adopted from, as well as their adopted child or children's gender. To assess interracial friendships, a modified version of the network approach (Smith, 2002) was used, which asks participants to identify their close friends followed by questions about the characteristics of each listed friend. Seven different racial groups (i.e., White, Black, Asian, Latino/a, Native American, Multiracial, and other) were presented to participants who were asked to indicate the number of their close friendships according to each racial group. The seven groups combined provided the total number of close friends for each participant, which was compared to the number of close friendships with AA and also to the number of racial minority friendships combined, which consisted of Black, Latina/o, Native American, Multiracial, and Other. From this, two percentages were calculated, representing the percentage of AA and percentage of people of color that participants indicated as close friends. For neighborhood racial makeup, participants were instructed to provide percentages next to the racial groups that comprised their current neighborhood. The percentages of each racial minority group (with the exception of AA) were combined, representing the percentage of racial minorities that comprised each neighborhood.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS

Chapter four first presents the descriptive statistics for the sample data followed by the results of the analysis that addresses each research question.

Descriptive analyses regarding the current study's variables of interest were calculated which included data screening and transformations to ensure that the assumptions of linear regression were fulfilled. Next, the primary analyses was conducted using Baron and Kenny's (1986) approach to moderation analysis by use of multiple regression. The first order effects of colorblind racial attitudes were tested on the three outcome variables of racial bias preparation and the two factor scores (i.e., stereotypical attitudes toward AA and AA racial knowledge) obtained from the EFA of the AARRS. Hierarchical multiple regressions were used to test the full model for the significance of the interaction effects of colorblind racial attitudes with the moderator variable, parents' friendships with AA on the outcome variables of stereotypical attitudes toward AA and knowledge of AA racial experience. Two separate hierarchical multiple regressions were also used to test the full model for the significance of the interaction effect of colorblind racial attitudes with the moderator variables, friendships with AA and POC, on racial bias preparation.

#### *Descriptive Statistics*

Means, standard deviations, and normality statistics of study variables are presented in Table 2. Prior to hypothesis testing, data was screened to ensure fulfillment of linear



regression assumptions. Based on Tabachnick and Fidell's (2001) recommendations for skewness and kurtosis (indices between -1 to 1), all scores were normally distributed with the exception of three variables: neighborhood makeup – Asian, neighborhood makeup POC, and parents' Asian friends. As presented in Table 2, transformations were calculated by modifying the first three variables using square root transformation (the best value). Standardized residuals for each calculated regressions fell within acceptable ranges (-3 to 3), indicating the absence of outliers. The Durbin Watson statistic was calculated to determine independence of variables, resulting in acceptable values ranging from 1.28 to 1.95. Values for tolerance and variance inflation factors fell within acceptable range (tolerance 0.97 to 0.98; VIF = 1.02) for each analysis, indicating multicollinearity was not a concern. Based on a .05 alpha level, variability of the scores on the stereotypical attitudes toward AA ( $p < .84$ ), AA racial knowledge, and racial bias preparation scores ( $p < .21$ ) did not differ.

Table 2. Skewness, Kurtosis, and Transformations of Variables of Interest

	Skewness	Transformed	Kurtosis	Transformed	$\alpha$
Age	0.12		- 0.75		
Years Education	- 0.24		- 0.19		
Child Age	0.64		0.35		
% Neighborhood Asian	0.81	0.09 (Sqrt)	1.01	- 0.07 (Sqrt)	
% Neighborhood POC	1.04	0.36 (Sqrt)	1.38	0.03 (Sqrt)	
% Close Asian Friends	1.12	- 0.18 (Sqrt)	3.4	1.59 (Sqrt)	
% Close POC Friends	0.16		- 0.11		
Stereotypical Attitudes toward AA	0.53		0.19		0.74
AA Racial Knowledge	- 0.38		0.21		0.86
Racial Bias Preparation	0.44		0.53		0.86
Colorblind Racial Attitudes	- 0.11		- 0.55		0.89

Table 3 presents the correlations, means, standard deviations and reliability statistics for the variables of interest. Years of education was significantly and positively related to living in neighborhoods with more AA ( $r = .21$ ) and other POC ( $r = .26$ ); however, neighborhood racial makeup was negatively correlated with participant age ( $r = -.19$ ) indicating that younger participants were more likely to live in racially integrated neighborhoods. Friendships with AA and POC were both related to lower colorblind racial attitudes and lower stereotypical attitudes of AA. Similarly, friendships with AA and POC were positively related to AA racial knowledge (AA,  $r = .43$ ; POC,  $r = .31$ , respectively) and degree of racial bias preparation (AA  $r = .27$ ; POC,  $r = .36$ ). As expected, colorblind racial attitudes were positively related to stereotypical attitudes of AA ( $r = .75$ ) and negatively related to racial bias preparation ( $r = -.66$ ) and AA racial knowledge ( $r = -.50$ ). This suggests that participants with higher colorblind racial attitudes reported having stronger stereotypical attitudes toward AA and less knowledge of AA racial issues. As anticipated, a significant and negative relationship between stereotypical attitudes with AA racial knowledge ( $r = -.52$ ) and racial bias preparation ( $r = -.48$ ). On average, participants reported that AA comprised about 15.26% ( $SD = 7.53$ ) of their close personal friendships and that other POC comprised 7.66% ( $SD = 5.19$ ). Given the large observed difference, an independent samples  $t$ -test was calculated and found a significant difference between the rate of friendships ( $t = 8.31, p < .001$ ) based on race. A large effect size difference was also found (Cohen's  $d = 1.18$ ) indicating that AA friendships comprised a sizeable amount of participants' friendships compared to friendships with other POC.

Table 3. Intercorrelations of Variables of Interest

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Parent Age	1	.01	-.02	-.19**	.07	.01	.04	-.08	.05	-.01	-.08
2. Years Ed		1	.21**	.07	.26**	.06	.13	-.11	.08	.21**	-.22**
3. TNA Child Age			1	.00	.14*	.01	.00	-.05	-.06	.03	-.10
4. Neighborhood -AA				1	.43**	.32**	.36**	-.39**	.26**	.23**	-.30**
5. Neighborhood-POC					1	.01	.00	-.57**	.46**	.55**	-.74**
6. Close AA Friends						1	.36**	-.49**	.43**	.27**	-.38**
7. Close POC Friends							1	-.51**	.31**	.36**	-.52**
8. Stereotypical Attitudes								1	-.52**	-.48**	.75**
9. AA Racial Knowledge									1	.39**	-.50**
10. Racial Bias Preparation										1	-.66**
11. Colorblind Racial Attitudes											1
<i>M%</i>	46.49	4.96	10.42	10.47	8.21	15.26	7.66	3.34	3.49	1.81	3.3
<i>SD</i>	7.12	1.88	5.45	5.50	4.60	7.53	5.19	0.53	0.51	0.34	1.01

Note: \* significant at  $p < .05$  level, \*\*  $p < .01$  level, \*\*\* $p < .001$  level  $N = 204$

*Research question 1: To what degree do colorblind racial attitudes and friendships with AA individually and collectively contribute to adoptive parents' stereotypical attitudes toward AA, knowledge of AA racial reality, and racial bias preparation?*

In order to determine the individual and collective variance accounted for by colorblind racial attitudes and the two indices of interracial friendships on stereotypical attitude scores, knowledge scores, and racial bias preparation scores, three regression analyses were conducted. For each regression, the set of independent variables significantly related to each criterion were entered simultaneously as predictors in step one. Table 4 displays the unstandardized regression coefficients, standardized regression coefficients,  $R^2$ , and significance levels according to the scores of each measure. For the three parts of research question 1, results include the collective and unique variance that each significantly-related variable contributed to the criterion variables of stereotypical attitudes toward AA, knowledge or AA racial reality, and racial bias preparation.

Stereotypical Attitudes Toward AA. Results of the simultaneous multiple regression indicated the five independent variables, neighborhood makeup of AA, neighborhood makeup of POC, friendships with AA, friendships with POC, and colorblind racial attitudes were significantly related to stereotypical attitudes of AA. Together, the five variables provided a significant contribution  $F(5, 198) = 66.65, p < .001$ , accounting for 63% of the variance ( $R^2 = .63$ ) in participants' stereotypical attitudes toward AA. When looking at the specific contributions of each predictor, three variables significantly contributed to AA stereotypical attitudes: AA in neighborhoods ( $b = -.07, p < .04$ ), friendships with AA ( $b = -.10, p < .001$ ) and colorblind racial attitudes ( $b = .30, p < .001$ ). The negative beta coefficient for friendships with AA indicates that having fewer AA friendships accounted for higher

stereotypical attitudes toward AA. The positive beta coefficient for colorblind racial attitudes suggests that higher colorblind racial attitudes individually accounted for higher stereotypical attitudes toward AA.

AA Racial Knowledge. For knowledge of AA racial reality, the variables of neighborhood makeup of AA, neighborhood makeup of POC, friendships with AA, friendships with POC, and colorblind racial attitudes were entered simultaneously to assess the collective and unique contributions on AA racial knowledge. Together the predictors were significant in accounting for AA racial knowledge ( $F(5, 198) = 20.60, p < .001$ ) and accounted for 34.2% of the variance ( $R^2 = .342$ ). Friendships with AA ( $b = .30, p < .001$ ) and colorblind racial attitudes ( $b = -.27, p < .004$ ) provided a significant degree of unique variance to racial knowledge scores.

Racial Bias Preparation. The five predictor variables of neighborhood makeup of AA, neighborhood makeup of POC, AA friendships, POC friendships, and colorblind racial attitudes were simultaneously entered in the first step of the regression. Together the independent variables accounted for 42.5% of the variance ( $R^2 = .425$ ) in racial bias preparation scores  $F(5, 198) = 29.22, p < .001$ . Only one variable, colorblind racial attitudes contributed a significant degree of unique variance in racial bias preparation scores ( $b = -.51, p < .001$ ).

Table 4. Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses Testing Neighborhood Racial Makeup, Interracial Friendships, and Colorblind Racial Attitudes on Stereotypical Attitudes, Racial Knowledge, and Racial Bias Preparation

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>F</i>
Stereotypical Attitudes						
Constant	3.14	0.27				
Neighborhood Asian	-0.07	0.03	-0.11*	-2.13		
Neighborhood POC	-0.03	0.05	-0.04	-0.63		
Friends – Asian	-0.10	0.03	-0.17***	-3.35		
Friends – POC	-0.01	0.01	-0.09	-1.64		
Colorblind Racial Attitudes	0.30	0.04	-0.57***	8.34	.627	66.65***
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>F</i>
Racial Knowledge						
Constant	2.97					
Neighborhood Asian	0.04	.07	0.04	0.59		
Neighborhood POC	0.17	.09	0.17	1.91		
Friends – Asian	0.30	.07	0.30***	4.39		
Friends – POC	0.05	.07	0.05	-0.70		
Colorblind Racial Attitudes	-0.27	.09	-0.27**	-2.95	.342	20.60***
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>F</i>
Racial Bias Preparation						
Constant	-1.02	.05				
Neighborhood Asian	0.01	.06	0.01	0.02		
Neighborhood POC	0.05	.08	0.05	0.77		
Friends – Asian	0.14	.06	0.14	1.76		
Friends – POC	0.05	.07	0.05	0.70		
Colorblind Racial Attitudes	-0.51	.08	-0.51***	-6.63	.425	29.22***

Note: \* significant at  $p < .05$  level, \*\*  $p < .01$  level, \*\*\* $p < .001$  level  $N = 204$

*Research Question 2. To what degree do TNA parents' friendships with AA moderate the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and their stereotypical attitudes toward AA and knowledge of AA racial experiences?*

Using the guidelines of Aiken and West (1991), research question 2 used hierarchical multiple regression to test the first order effects of colorblind racial attitudes on both

stereotypical attitudes toward AA and AA racial knowledge, with AA friendships as a moderator. To minimize the likelihood for multicollinearity among variables, scores representing the variables of interests were centered and standardized (i.e.,  $M = 0$  and  $SD = 1$ ). According to Chronbach (1987), standardizing allows for first-order effects of one variable to represent the effect of the variable at the average level of another. Effect size and squared semi partial correlations were examined to determine the significance and unique contribution of each first-order and interaction effect. For significant interaction effects, simple slope tests were conducted to plot the effect based on scores one standard deviation below and above the mean. In order to minimize the likelihood of false-positive results (Holmbeck, 2002), confidence bands and regions of significance were also plotted to confirm the area of accuracy of the interaction effects.

Stereotypical Attitudes Toward AA. To determine whether AA friendships moderated the relationship when controlling for AA in neighborhood residence, hierarchical multiple regression was conducted. Neighborhood makeup of AA was included as a covariate given the significant individual contribution to stereotypical attitudes. As presented in Table 5, significant moderator effects were found for stereotypical attitudes toward AA based on the degree of additional variance accounted for by the interaction between colorblind racial attitudes and friendships with AA ( $\Delta R^2 = .02$ ). In the second step, the predictors of friendships with AA and colorblind racial attitudes were simultaneously entered into the equation. For the third step, the interaction effect between friends with AA and colorblind racial attitudes was entered. Based on the significant amount of incremental variance accounted for by the final step ( $R^2 = .016$ ), results support the hypothesis that the number of AA friendships moderated the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes

and stereotypical attitudes when controlling for AA neighborhood residence. Based on the continuous nature of the predictor and moderator variable, the single degree of freedom  $F$  test, representing the stepwise change was examined to determine the significance of the moderator effect (Aiken & West, 1991; Jaccard et al., 1990). The stepwise change based on the addition of the interaction effect was significant  $F(1,199) = 8.01, p < .005$ , indicating the association between colorblind racial attitudes and stereotypical attitudes was significantly different across levels of AA friendships. In order to determine whether the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and stereotypical attitudes was significant for participants with few AA friends, many AA friends, or both, post-hoc probing tests were conducted. Specifically,  $t$ -values were calculated for both regression equations to determine whether the slopes significantly differed from zero. The regression line of stereotypical attitudes on colorblind racial attitudes is depicted in Figure 2 with rates of friendship at one standard deviation below the mean (i.e., few AA friendships) and one standard deviation above the mean (i.e., many AA friendships).

Results indicate that the slope of the regression for participants with many AA friends was significantly different from zero ( $t = 11.68, p < .001$ ), whereas the  $t$  value for participants with few AA friends was not significant ( $t = 1.76, p < .08$ ). The direction of the former relationship suggests that stereotypical attitudes are stronger at higher levels of colorblind racial attitudes for participants with many AA friendships; however this relationship was not present for participants with few AA friends. In order to identify the actual value of AA friendships for the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and stereotypical attitudes to be significant, the Johnson-Neyman technique was employed using R-Web (Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2010), an on-line open-source statistical computing



environment. The Johnson-Neyman technique provides confidence bands that graphically depicts the value across AA friendships where it is most likely that the conditional effect of colorblind racial attitudes on stereotypical attitudes occurred. The region of non-significance on the moderator ranged from -9.92 to -0.90, indicating the effect of colorblind racial attitudes on stereotypical attitudes is significant and negative for values less than -9.92, non-significant for values between -9.92 and -0.90, and positive and significant for values above -0.90. Based on the range of observed values of AA friendships (-2.03 to 4.63), there is a significant positive relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and stereotypical attitudes across higher observed rates of AA friendships (See Figure 2). The mean centered values representing the regions of significance were converted into observed scores which suggested that AA needed to comprise at least 8.48% of their good friends for higher colorblind racial attitudes to account for stronger stereotypical attitudes toward AA.

Table 5. Summary of Moderation Analyses Testing Colorblind Racial Attitudes and AA Friendships on Stereotypical Attitudes when Controlling for Neighborhood Makeup of AA.

	<i>B</i>	SE <i>B</i>	$\beta$	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	<i>F</i>
Stereotypical Attitudes						
Step 1				.15		36.85***
Constant	-2.56	.07				
Neighborhood-AA	-0.39***	.06	- 0.39			
Step 2				.54		81.55***
Constant	-1.80	.05				
Colorblind Racial Attitudes	0.55***	.05	0.66			
Friends – AA	-0.27***	.05	- 0.23			
Step 3				.56	.02**	65.31***
Constant	0.04	.05				
Colorblind Racial Attitudes x Friends –AA	0.09	.03	- 0.74			

Note: \* significant at  $p < .05$  level, \*\*  $p < .01$  level, \*\*\* $p < .001$  level  $N = 204$

Figure 2. Moderation Effect of AA friendships on the Link Between Colorblind Racial Attitudes and Stereotypical Attitudes toward AA

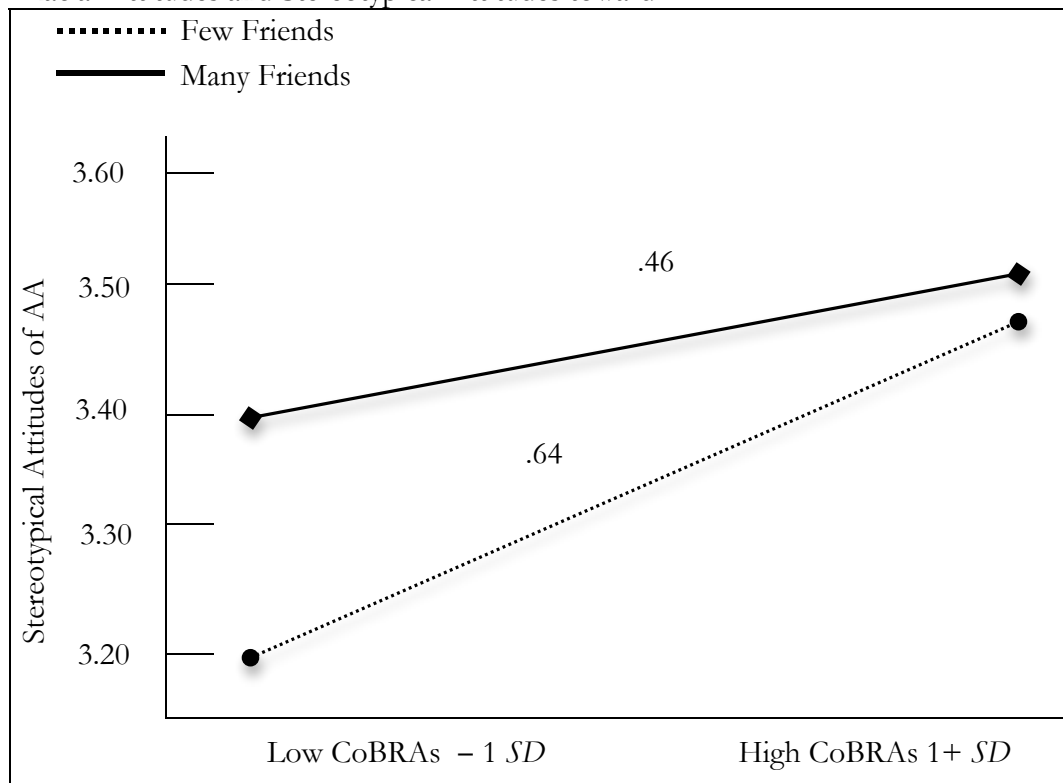
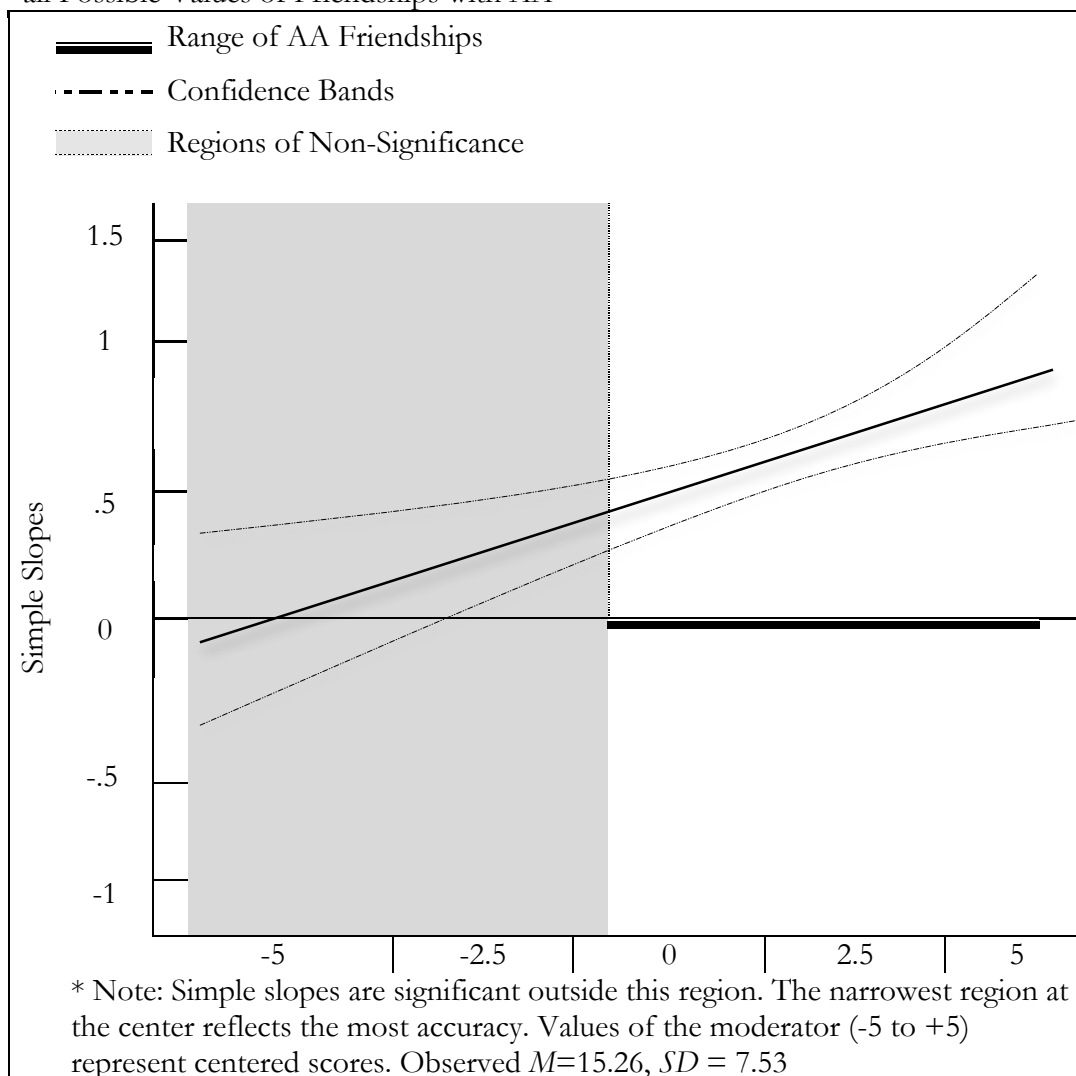


Figure 3. Regions of Significance and Confidence Bands for the Conditional Relationship Between Colorblind Racial Attitudes and Stereotypical Attitudes Across all Possible Values of Friendships with AA



AA Racial Knowledge. The second research question examined whether AA friendships moderated the relationship between participants' colorblind racial attitudes and their racial knowledge of AA. As shown in Table 6, the result of the interaction effect was significant ( $F(1, 200) = 13.05, p < .001$ ) and provided a significant degree of incremental variance ( $\Delta R^2 = .044$ ). Results of the simple slope analysis suggests that the slope of the

regression equation for participants with fewer AA friends significantly differed from zero ( $t = 2.15, p < 0.03$ ); however, this difference was not significant for participants with many friends ( $t = 0.75, p < 0.46$ ). To further examine these results, confidence bands surrounding the effect and the region of non-significance of AA friendships were calculated and plotted in Figure 4. The region of non-significance on the moderator (-0.65 to 3.58) indicates that the effect of colorblind racial attitudes on AA racial knowledge is significant and negative for values less than -0.65, non-significant for values between -0.65 and 3.58, and positive and significant for values higher than 3.58. The range of the mean centered scores of AA friendships (i.e., -2.03 to 4.63) fell outside the lower and upper bounds of non-significance, indicating that the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and AA racial knowledge was significant and negative for participants with fewer than 10.37% AA friendships and positive and significant for participants with more than 42.44% of AA friendships.

Table 6. Summary of Moderation Analyses Testing Colorblind Racial Attitudes and AA Friendships on AA Racial Knowledge

	<i>B</i>	SE <i>B</i>	$\beta$	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	<i>F</i>
AA Racial Knowledge						
Step 1				.28***		38.81***
Constant	2.67					
Colorblind Racial Attitudes	-0.15	.03	-0.28			
Friends - AA	0.21	.04	0.37			
Step 2						
Constant						
Colorblind Racial Attitudes	-0.08	.02	0.36	.32***	.044**	51.88**
x Friends - AA						

Note: \* significant at  $p < .05$  level, \*\*  $p < .01$  level, \*\*\* $p < .001$  level  $N = 204$

Figure 4. Moderation Effect of AA friendships on the Link between Colorblind Racial Attitudes and AA Racial Knowledge

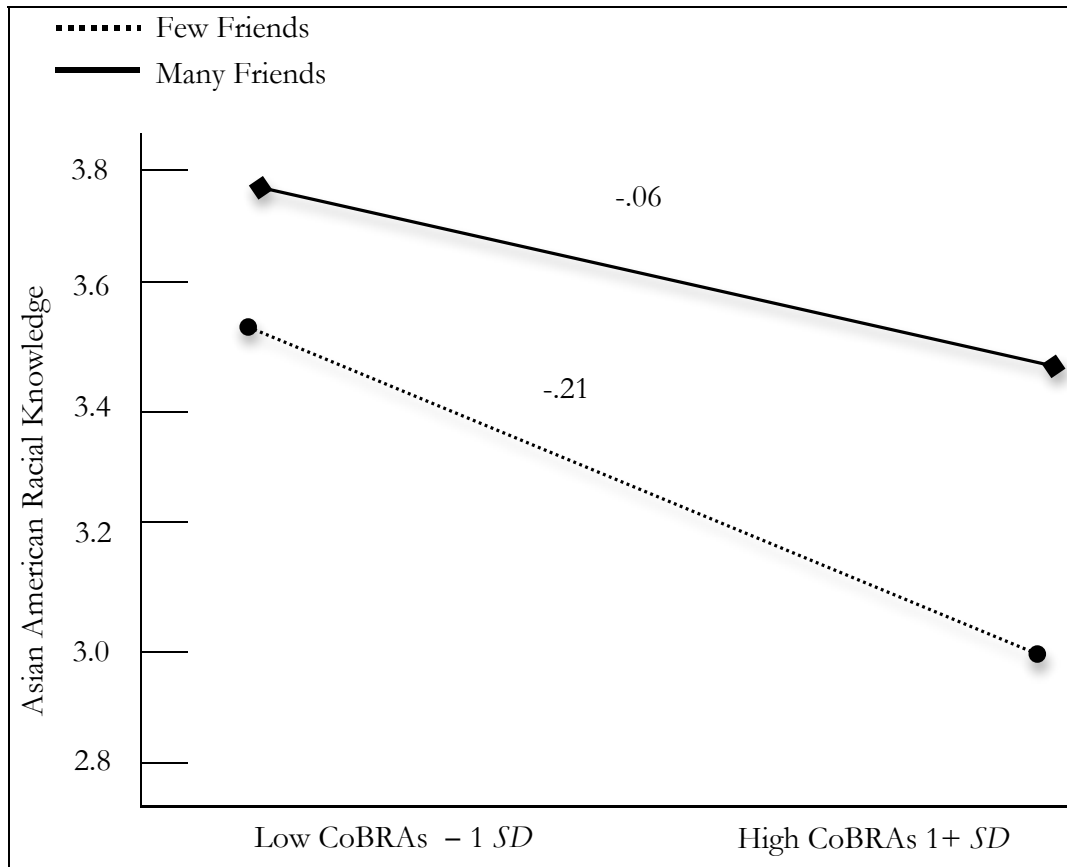
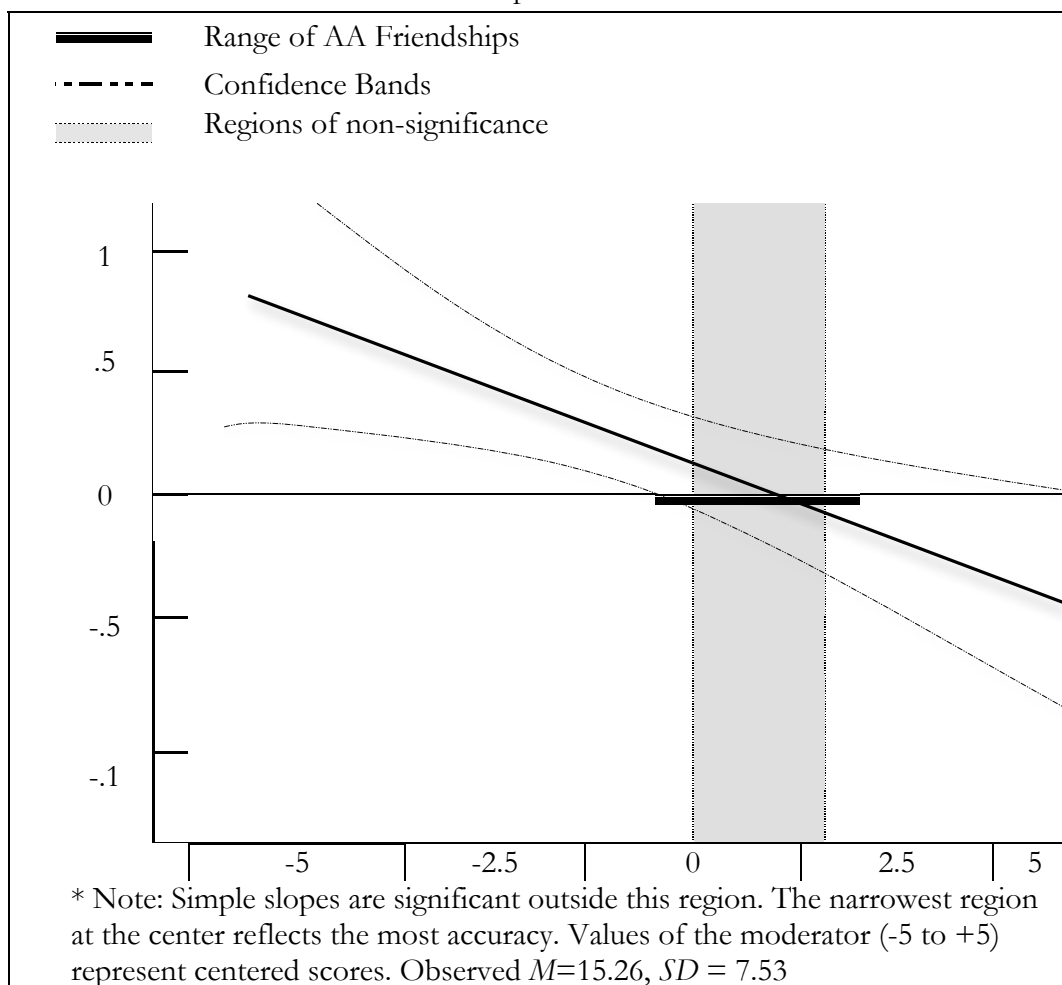


Figure 5. Regions of Significance and Confidence Bands for the Conditional Relationship Between Colorblind Racial Attitudes and AA Racial Knowledge Across All Possible Values of Friendships with AA



*Research Question 3. To what degree do friendships with AA and friendships with POC moderate the relationship between adoptive parents' colorblind racial attitudes and the degree to which they report making explicit statements intended to prepare their children for racial bias?*

Friendships with AA. The first part of research question 3 examined whether AA friendships moderated the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and racial bias preparation. The significant interaction effect  $F(1, 200) = 81.57, p < .001$  provided a

significant degree of incremental variance ( $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ), which suggests the slopes of the two regression equations were significantly different from the other. Post-hoc tests were calculated to determine whether the slopes at both levels of colorblind racial attitudes were significantly different from zero and where the effect significance occurred. Regression lines representing the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and racial bias preparation for participants with few AA friends (i.e.,  $1 SD < M$ ) and many AA friends (i.e.,  $1 SD > M$ ) are presented in Figure 6. Post-hoc tests indicated when the value of friendships equaled one standard deviation above and below the mean, the slope did not significantly differ from zero for participants with few AA friends ( $t = -0.40, p < .69$ ) or many AA friends ( $t = -1.90, p < .06$ ). The region of non-significance on the moderator, ranged from - 4.80 to 1.12, indicating the effect of colorblind racial attitudes on racial bias preparation is significant and positive for values less than - 4.80, non-significant for values between - 4.80 and 1.12, and negatively significant for values higher than 1.12. Given the higher mean centered value (4.61) exceeded the upper region of non-significance, the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and racial bias preparation was significant and negative for participants that indicated AA comprised 23.77% or more of their close friends.

Table 7. Summary of Moderation Analyses Testing Colorblind Racial Attitudes and AA Friendships on Racial Bias Preparation

	B	SE B	$\beta$	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	F
Racial Bias Preparation						
Step 1				.41***		70.64***
Constant	-1.24	.05				
Colorblind Racial Attitudes	-0.62	.14	-0.62***			
Friends - AA	0.08	.06	0.08			
Step 2						
Constant	-0.05					
Colorblind Racial Attitudes x AA Friends	-0.12	.04	0.48	.44***	.03	81.57**

Note: \* significant at  $p < .05$  level, \*\*  $p < .01$  level, \*\*\* $p < .001$  level  $N = 204$

Figure 6. Moderation Effect of AA Friendships on the Link between CoBRAs and Racial Bias Preparation

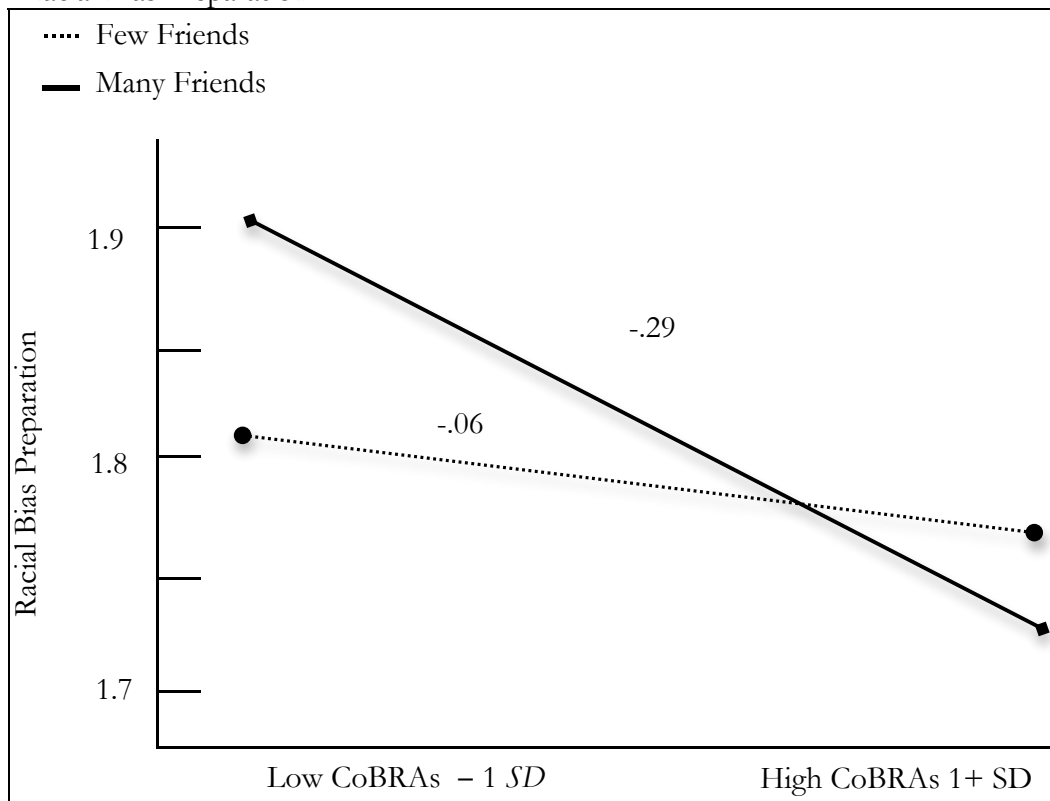
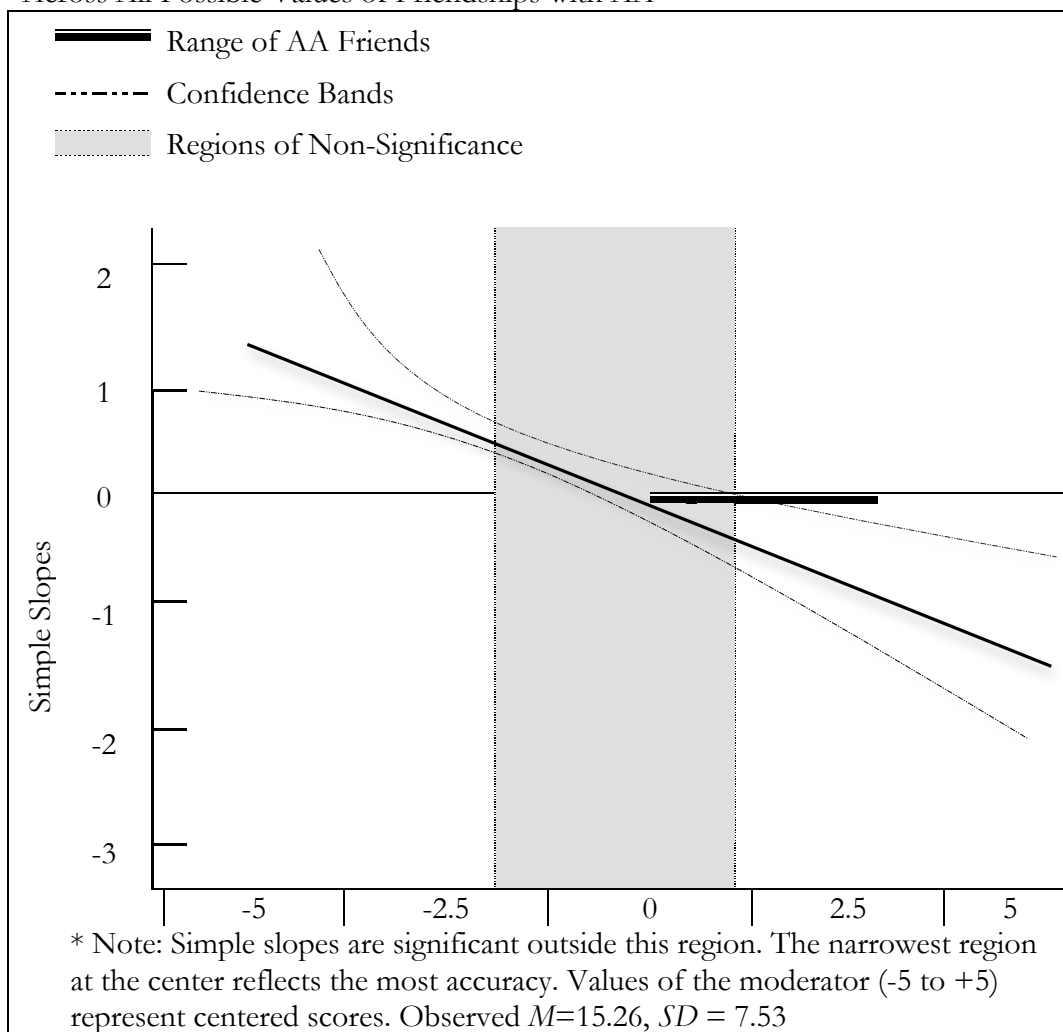




Figure 7. Regions of Significance and Confidence Bands for the Conditional Relationship Between Colorblind Racial Attitudes and Racial Bias Preparation Across All Possible Values of Friendships with AA



Friendships with POC. The second part of research question 3 examined whether participants' friendships with people of color moderated the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and racial bias preparation. The interaction effect between colorblind racial attitudes and friendships with POC was not significantly related to racial bias preparation ( $\Delta F = .21, p < .15$ ) and provided a minimal degree of incremental variance ( $\Delta R^2 = .001$ ), indicating the moderating effect on racial bias preparation was not significant. Individually,

colorblind racial attitudes were significantly related to racial bias preparation ( $b = -.66, p < .001$ ) however, the relationship between friendships with people of color and racial bias preparation ( $b = .03, p < .62$ ) was not significant indicating that the interaction would also not be significant.

Table 8. Summary of Moderation Analyses Testing Colorblind Racial Attitudes and POC Friendships on Racial Bias Preparation

	<i>B</i>	SE <i>B</i>	$\beta$	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	<i>F</i>
Racial Bias Preparation						
Step 1				.41		69.25***
Constant	-0.16					
Colorblind Racial Attitudes	-0.64	.05	-0.64***			
Friends - POC	0.03	.05	0.03			
Step 2						
Constant						
Colorblind Racial Attitudes x Friends - POC	-0.02	.05	-0.03	.41	.00	69.46

Note: \* significant at  $p < .05$  level, \*\*  $p < .01$  level, \*\*\* $p < .001$  level  $N = 204$

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION**

Chapter five provides an overview of the findings of the current study which explored the role of interracial friendships in the relationship between TNA parents' colorblind racial attitudes with their stereotypical attitudes, knowledge, and practices related to the racial socialization of their AA children. This chapter also includes a description of the study limitations as well as implications for future research, clinical practice, and policy-related issues concerning the dynamics of race and racial difference for TNA families. Theoretically, the foundation of the current study is based on intergroup contact as being an essential component in reducing prejudice and increasing favorable attitudes between members of different racial groups. Effects of intergroup contact have been found to be particularly effective under the conditions of mutual respect (Allport & Kramer, 1946; Tajfel, 1982), intimacy, and shared goals (Cook, 1978; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). As an indicator of intergroup relations, the current study examined whether participants' interracial friendships made a difference in how their tendency to deny the existence of racism affected their stereotypical attitudes, knowledge, and practices related to the racial socialization of their AA children. The purpose was to gain a better idea of whether interracial friendships of TNA parents would benefit their race-specific awareness and how they approached racial bias preparation issues with their AA children. Although few TNA studies have underscored interracial friendships as a particular benefit for TNA families, this study propose that TNA

parents' interracial friendships would play a significant role in how they conceptualize and approach racial issues specific to AA.

Overall, close personal friendships with AA appeared to have different yet important functions in the relationship between participants' colorblind racial attitudes and their stereotypical attitudes toward AA, racial knowledge of AA experiences, as well as the degree to which they prepare their children for racial bias. The results provide a unique contribution to TNA research in several ways. First, as opposed to only focusing on parenting practices that promote the birth culture of TNA children, this study emphasizes the importance of race and race-specific issues exclusive to families with children adopted from Asian countries. Second, this study calls attention to the more implicit role of racial difference in the TNA family dynamic, highlighting the importance of interracial friendships, observational learning, and social modeling. And third, the results of this study provide actual estimates of the amount of friendships potentially needed to make a difference in the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and participants' understanding of AA racial reality and racial bias preparation practices.

*Research Question 1. To what degree do colorblind racial attitudes and friendships with AA individually and collectively contribute to adoptive parents' stereotypical attitudes toward AA, knowledge of AA racial reality, and racial bias preparation?*

The first research question was comprised of three parts that explored the relationships between friendships with AA, friendships with POC, neighborhood makeup – AA, neighborhood makeup - POC, and colorblind racial attitudes and one of three criterion variables (i.e., stereotypical attitudes toward AA, AA racial knowledge, and racial bias preparation).

Results from the first part of research question 1, suggested that together, friendships with AA, friendships with POC, neighborhood makeup – AA, neighborhood makeup - POC, and colorblind racial attitudes explained 62.7% of participants' endorsement of AA stereotypes. Of the five predictor variables, friendships with AA, neighborhood makeup of AA, and colorblind racial attitudes accounted for a significant degree of unique variance in participants' stereotypical attitudes. Not surprisingly, colorblind racial attitudes appeared to be particularly relevant in explaining stereotypical attitudes toward AA, indicating that participants that tended to strongly deny the existence of racism also endorsed higher stereotypical attitudes toward AA. Historically, the study of contemporary racism has been primarily concerned with views of African Americans (Jones, 1997). Although AA have not been typically viewed having racial experiences, recent research has examined covert racial attitudes toward AA. Colorblind racial attitudes can be considered a particular form of racial microaggression and can manifest as the endorsement of stereotypes associated with AA. As a more contemporary form of racism considered to be covert or subtle in nature, colorblind racial attitudes typically represent a way in which the existence of racism is denied (Neville et al., 2000). In present society, individuals are less likely to overtly express negative racial attitudes; however, negative racial attitudes are often transmitted through subtle actions, considered innocuous or even well – intentioned (Sue et al., 2007) such as a positive stereotypes.

Results also suggest that participant friendships specifically with AA appeared to play an important role in their endorsement of AA stereotypes. Specifically living in neighborhoods with fewer AA and having fewer friendships with AA contributed to stronger endorsements of AA stereotypes. Interestingly, participants described living in

neighborhoods with similar rates of AA (10.42%) and other POC (10.47%), yet living in areas with POC did not significantly relate to endorsement of AA stereotypes. Living in neighborhoods with AA and being friends with AA is likely to provide increased opportunities to interact on an interpersonal level, and thus may reduce stereotypical views toward AA. However, this would also suggest that despite having comparable opportunities to interact with other POC and AA, neighborhood presence of other racial minorities did not affect participants' stereotypical views toward AA stereotypes. Additionally, residing in neighborhoods with AA appeared to be negatively associated with participants' stereotypical attitudes toward AA; yet did not impact their knowledge of AA racism.

Overall, participants resided in neighborhoods that were predominantly White (79.11%) compared to all other racial minority groups including AA (20.89%). Additionally, AA comprised about half of all racial minorities in participant neighborhoods which could potentially explain the higher rates of friendships with AA. Among TNA families, living in areas with AA has been associated with positive views toward AA culture (Tessler & Thomas, 2008), yet results of the current study suggest that neighborhood racial makeup had no impact on helping individuals understand or recognize racism common to AA. Conversely, this could also suggest that individuals who hold less stereotypical views of AA may be more comfortable living in areas with AA but that in order to gain some knowledge of AA racial reality, they must also have opportunities to develop friendships. Frequent exposure such as neighborhood interactions may help produce favorable-type feelings; however, developing intimate relationships may help induce feelings of mutual respect and perspective taking between groups (Blair, et al., 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

For the second part of research question 1, the five predictor variables accounted for 34.2% of the total variance in participants' AA racial knowledge scores. Only colorblind racial attitudes and friendships with AA were individually and significantly related to racial knowledge suggesting that participants that were less likely to deny the existence of racism and had more AA friends and were more knowledgeable of racism specific to AA. As would be expected, individuals that acknowledge racism in contemporary society are likely to have a more realistic understanding and awareness of racial issues. To have a specific understanding of racial issues specific to AA, however, developing and maintaining meaningful relationships with AA may be necessary.

Together with the findings from the first part of research question 1, these results support the existence of race-specific dynamics for AA and that friendships with AA may be essential in helping non-AA recognize and conceptualize these issues. In particular, general awareness of racism, neighborhood residence, and friendships with AA are likely to play an important role in shaping the stereotypical views toward AA, whereas general racial awareness and friendships with AA provide some function in understanding racial issues specific to AA. Compared to stereotypical attitudes toward AA, there appears to be a large amount of unexplained variance in understanding racism specific to AA. This suggests that although colorblind racial attitudes and friendships with AA are important in recognizing and understanding the racial experiences of AA, there is a substantial degree of additional phenomena that accounts for racial knowledge that does not include neighborhood racial makeup and friendships with other POC.

For the last part of research question one, friendships with AA, friendships with POC, neighborhood makeup – AA, neighborhood makeup - POC, and colorblind racial

attitudes together accounted for a total of 42.5% of the variance in participants' racial bias preparation scores; however, colorblind racial attitudes was the only factor that contributed to a significant degree of individual variance. As expected, lower colorblind attitudes accounted for higher reports of racial bias preparation such that participants who acknowledged the prevalence of racism were more likely to make statements to their children about race. Combined with the previous findings, these results speak to the importance of acknowledging the existence and prevalence of racism in contemporary society. Individuals that have the ability to recognize the existence and prevalence of racism, are more likely to resist race-specific stereotypes, and to engage in socializing their children about race. In terms of preparation for racial bias, denial of racism also implies that racial socialization is unnecessary given the non-existence and significance of racism.

*Research Question 2. To what degree do TNA parents' friendships with AA, moderate the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and their stereotypical attitudes toward AA and knowledge of AA racial experiences?*

Research question 2 examined whether friendships with AA moderated the relationships between colorblind racial attitudes and the two components of AA racial reality. Specifically, the first part examined whether friendships with AA made a difference in participants' stereotypical views toward AA based on their colorblind racial attitudes. The significance of the interaction effect between colorblind racial attitudes and AA friendships indicated that when comparing participants with several AA friendships versus participants with very few AA friendships, the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and stereotypical attitudes was significantly different. This suggests that if a strong denial of racism exists, the likelihood is much higher for individuals with many AA friendships to



endorse stereotypes of AA compared to individuals with fewer AA friendships. Despite the mutual increase in stereotype endorsement, results of the simple slope analysis indicated that for participants with several AA friends, their stereotypical attitudes toward AA did not exceed the overall level of participants with few AA friends (3.38 vs. 3.56, respectively). In other words, although stronger endorsement of AA stereotypes appeared to be inevitable as colorblind racial attitudes grew stronger (especially for participants with several AA friends), the overall endorsement of AA stereotypes was still stronger for participants with fewer AA friendships. This suggests that although the “likelihood” is higher for individuals with many AA friends to strongly endorse AA stereotypes especially when they also deny the existence of racism, their overall levels of endorsing stereotypical attitudes remain lower than participants with very few AA friendships (See Figure 2). This suggests that if a strong denial of racism exists, maintaining a substantial amount of AA friendships may still help individuals resist stereotypical views toward AA but only relative to individuals with few AA friendships. Calculating the regions of significance provided additional context, suggesting that sustaining multiple friendships with AA friends does not decrease the likelihood of developing stereotypical attitudes toward AA when a strong denial of racism exists, even if AA comprise up to 100% of an individual’s close friendships. These results speak to the impact that denial of racism may have in shaping an individual’s race-specific attitudes despite having several interracial friendships. Instead of acknowledging the complexities of racism and the implications of racial difference within relationships, it may be easier for individuals to refuse the existence of racism. Denial of racism may be considered a way to overcome or prevail over racial prejudice; however, this tendency may simply increase the likelihood for unconscious racism and stereotypical beliefs (Gushue & Constantine, 2007).

The second part of research question 2, examined whether close friendships with AA moderated the relationship between participants' colorblind racial attitudes and their self-reported knowledge of AA specific – racism. The significant interaction effect between colorblind racial attitudes and AA friendships on AA racial knowledge indicated the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and AA racial knowledge was significantly different for participants with several AA friendships compared to those with very few friends. Results of the simple slope analyses indicated that in the presence of strong colorblind racial attitudes, individuals with very few AA friends would have very little knowledge of AA specific racism. As depicted in Figure 5, the regions of significance suggested that AA needed to comprise about 11% or less of participant friendships for a significant drop in racial knowledge to occur in the presence of a strong denial of racism. In contrast, the non-significance of the slope for participants with many AA friendships indicated that even in the face of strong colorblind racial attitudes, maintaining a substantial amount of AA friendships may still help individuals maintain their knowledge of AA – specific racism. As depicted in Figure 4, there was a minimal decrease in racial knowledge for participants with many AA friendships but remained at a relatively high level (3.61 from 3.79). By computing the regions of significance, it was determined that in order to maintain this level of racial knowledge in the presence of high colorblind racial attitudes, AA needed to comprise at least 42 % of participant friendships.

These results highlight the potential significance that race-specific friendships may have in the consciousness of an individual's awareness of racism, such that even in the face of colorblind racial attitudes, sustaining at least 2 out of 5 close friendships with AA may help maintain the ability to recognize the racial experiences common to AA. These results

speak to the positive implications that close interracial friendships can have for individuals regardless of their tendency to deny the existence of racism. Consistent with intergroup contact theory, maintaining close intergroup friendships provides more opportunities to engage in intimate and shared experiences that would not be available otherwise (Allport, 1954). As opposed to superficial contact, personalized relationships promote individual perspective taking abilities that facilitate increased awareness and dismantle prejudicial attitudes. Whether an individual strongly endorses a colorblind ideology may depend on the quality and nature of their prior interracial experiences. Frequent, superficial interactions allow individuals to remain unconsciously at-risk to notice and interpret stereotypical behaviors (Sue et al., 2007) that reinforces their inability to recognize the oppressive realities common to racial minorities.

*Research Question 3. To what degree do friendships with AA and friendships with POC moderate the relationship between adoptive parents' colorblind racial attitudes and the degree to which they report making explicit statements intended to prepare their children for racial bias?*

Also comprised of two parts, the third research question examined whether interracial friendships, both with AA and POC, moderated the relationship between participants' colorblind racial attitudes and the degree to which they reported making racial bias preparation statements to their children. The interaction between colorblind racial attitudes and AA friendships had a significant effect on racial bias preparation levels, suggesting that the relationship between colorblind racial attitudes and racial bias preparation levels was significantly different when comparing participants with many AA friends and those with few AA friends. As shown in Figure 6, levels of racial bias preparation declined for both groups as colorblind racial attitudes increased but the drop for participants with

many AA friendships was more dramatic. This suggests that having multiple AA friendships significantly decreased the likelihood that participants would engage in racial bias preparation strategies, as their denial of racism increased; however, having few AA friends made no positive or negative impact in this relationship. As depicted in figure 6, the overall level of racial bias preparation for participants with many friends actually declined to rates lower than individuals with very few AA friends as colorblind racial attitudes increased. Having several close friendships with AA did not sustain high rates of racial bias preparation and appeared to have more negative effects as individuals increasingly denied the existence of racism.

The second part of research question 3 examined whether friendships with POC (not including AA) moderated the relationship between participants' self-reported colorblind racial attitudes and the degree to which they reported preparing their children for racial bias. The interaction between colorblind racial attitudes and friendships with POC did not have a significant effect on racial bias preparation scores, indicating there was no difference in the relationship based on amount of friends with POC. Given that the overall rates of friendships with POC were low, the non-significance at the two levels is not overly surprising. These results are consistent with the findings of Rojewski (2005) who found that that overall neighborhood racial diversity did not relate to TNA ethnic socialization practices of TNA parents and that it is the close presence of one's own ethnic group that tends to be more crucial to ethnic socialization.

Additionally, racial bias preparation rates could have affected the non-significance of these results, due to age of adopted child. At younger ages, children are less likely to experience and/or report instances of racism or discrimination; however, this tends to

change as they reach adolescence (Hughes et al., 2006). Different stages of social development tend to require a shift in parenting strategies, often aligning with the child's ongoing needs (Rojewski, 2005). Previous studies have found that preparation for bias tends to steadily increase across age-groups that tends to peak around age 14 (Johnston et al., 2007). For the current study, the average age of adopted children was 10.42 ( $SD = 5.45$ ) which may suggest that most children had yet to develop an individual sense of racial consciousness. Parents may not have engaged in racial bias preparation strategies especially if their children were young and had yet to voice any concerns or experiences with racism. When children are young, most parents tend to engage in fewer discussions regarding racism and often demonstrate parenting practices consistent with colorblind perspectives (Boykins & Toms, 1985).

The purpose of the study, however, was to examine racial *preparation* statements as opposed to *reactionary* strategies to their child's experiences with racism. In order to prepare a child for racism, TNA parents must first be conscious of their child's race and recognize the implications of racial difference. Parents could surround themselves with various racial minorities, yet if they deny the existence of racism, they are also likely to deny the need for racial bias preparation. These findings also underscore the need to further examine the significance of racially integrated neighborhood for TNA families, with particular attention to TNA parent's ability to recognize racialized experiences. In a positive light, more studies suggest that that TNA parents are making efforts to facilitate cultural socialization opportunities for their children (R. M. Lee, 2003; Rojewski, 2005), choosing to live in racially-integrated neighborhoods to help promote aspects of their child's culture (Tessler & Thomas, 2008). In order to make these choices, TNA parents must typically demonstrate

positive attitudes toward individuals associated with their child's birth culture and find value in certain bi-cultural competencies, such as learning the language (Rojewski, 2005). Residing in racially-integrated areas may provide TNA parents with increased opportunities to promote positive racial socialization, yet they must also recognize the necessity of race-based experiences.

### *Limitations*

The findings of this study should be interpreted in the context of several limitations. First, as a cross-sectional study, the relationship between attitudes, interracial friendships, and outcome variables cannot be definitively viewed as having causal influences. As with most cross-sectional research on intergroup contact, this study relied on self-report data as opposed to manipulating contact between groups. Although friendships with AA appeared to account for various racial phenomena, it is also possible that people with a more realistic view of contemporary racism are also more likely to involve themselves in social networks or activities that provide multiple opportunities to foster relationships with AA and other racial minorities.

Additionally, threats to external validity based on sampling techniques remain a challenge in studies involving the TNA community, given the likelihood for selective participation. As in previous studies on TNA, this study used a non-probability convenience sample of TNA parents that gained access to the study based on their membership as part of a listserv targeting the needs of TNA families. The estimated response rate of 40.8% is particularly high and if accurate, could suggest a likelihood for selective participation. As suggested by previous researchers (Rojewski & Rojewski, 2000), it is possible that TNA parents with positive adoptive experiences are more inclined to participate in research based

on their activity or interest in the TNA community. Their involvement with adoption-specific organizations may also reflect an increased awareness concerning racial issues for AA adoptees given the potential for interacting with a range of families and adoption professionals as part of these organized groups. Parents with stronger prejudicial attitudes may simply avoid interracial situations and therefore the effects of intergroup contact for those whom interracial friendships would ideally benefit are potentially unknown. It is also possible that the targeted population did not have equal access to participate in the study based on Internet use. Specifically, participants must have had access to a computer and were knowledgeable to navigate the Internet web-based survey. It is possible that some adoptive parents do not frequently use Internet-based technology or that some families do not have access to technological resources.

Additionally, there was a strong likelihood for measurement error, considering the lack of psychometric support for the two subscales of the AARRS and modifications made to items on the racial bias preparation scale. The measure's original intention was to assess the degree to which children self-report the frequency of racial bias preparation statements made by same-race parents, as opposed to a parental self-report measure (Fisher, et al., 2000). A factor analysis of racial bias preparation scores may have provided additional evidence regarding its psychometric properties to assess the construct of racial bias preparation, as reported by this particular sample of TNA parents. Furthermore, measurement of AA friendships may have also provided additional measurement error. Inadequate moderator variables can pose further difficulties given that measurement error dramatically reduces the reliability of the interaction term and overall power of the test (Aiken & West, 1991; Jaccard et al., 1990).

Considering that no measure of social desirability was used, it is also possible that participants provided responses that they felt were more consistent with lower stereotypical attitudes toward AA and higher knowledge of AA-specific racism. Similarly, rates of friendships with AA and POC may have been inflated given that no specific definition of “good friend” was provided, such as frequency of interactions or feelings of connectedness. Therefore, using more precise indices to represent Allport’s (1954) optimal conditions may have increased the likelihood for detecting significant results. Although this study took a more detailed approach by asking participants to provide itemized responses based on race, they were not asked to disclose any personal details of their AA friends which could have increased the likelihood to count acquaintances as close personal friends.

Similarly, the construct of racial bias preparation has only recently started to undergo psychometric examination in psychological research now among same-race families (Quintana et al., 2006). Racial socialization as a construct has been conceptually defined in a same-race context, often representing practices that promote racial inoculation (Hughes, 2003). Although evidence is pointing to the separation of racial socialization from cultural socialization in same-race families, more research that examines racial socialization in TNA families is needed.

### *Implications*

Future research. Study results point to multiple directions for future research involving race and the race-specific consciousness of TNA families with AA children. Despite the progress of addressing the need for cultural preservation for TNA children, cultural socialization practices do not attend to the implications of race and racial difference within TNA families. This study underscores the need to examine more naturally occurring



socio-environmental factors in the lives of TNA families that are not directly associated with activities exclusively designed for TNA children. In particular, research that focuses on more implicit manifestations of racial attitudes may provide a more genuine understanding of racial consciousness in the lives of TNA families. Together with the results of previous research, the implications of the current study point to a need to address the effects of neighborhood racial makeup in the lives of TNA families, examining both the racial and cultural impact on TNA children and their parents. Furthermore, studies that also gain a better understanding of the causal relationship between intergroup contact, prejudicial attitudes, and racial socialization behaviors are needed among TNA families. Research that focuses not only on racial attitudes, but also on a more detailed understanding of parents' own racial socialization history and the various factors that may account for their attitudes about race as an adult would be helpful. In particular, examining interracial contact throughout TNA parents' own development may provide some insight into their current racial networks and how this carries over to socializing their adopted children of color. To address the real-life effects of intergroup contact, future studies that employ longitudinal techniques combined with path modeling could provide more insight into the nature of these relationships. Qualitative research may also help delineate the influence of racial socialization practices from cultural socialization practices, and speak to distinct behaviors that represent explicit and implicit socialization.

Additionally, studies that incorporate effects of multiple racial socialization practices among TNA families are needed. Recent studies have focused on the relationship between racial bias preparation with externalizing and internalizing behaviors of TNA children, yet few studies have incorporated other interracial interactions along with racial bias preparation

when examining outcomes. Furthermore studies that focus on TNA parents of older children may provide a more applied understanding of the efficacy of racial bias preparation, given the likelihood for increased racialized experiences as children reach adolescence (Hughes & Johnson, 1997).

Furthermore, although White participants comprised the majority of the current study's sample, 13.2% of the participants identified as AA, which is substantially higher than other TNA studies involving adopted AA children (R. M. Lee et al.; Rojewski, 2005; Yoon, 2001, 2004). Studies that specifically address individuals of Asian descent that choose to adopt children from Asian countries are likely to provide important information regarding different racial socialization strategies based on their own experiences as AA. The socialization process is likely to be very different and thus have different implications for racial socialization practices.

Counseling and policy implications. The results of this study point to unique counseling and policy issues related to TNA adoption and the family dynamics of TNA with AA children. In particular, the findings are relevant for psychoeducational programming and counseling that deals with the implications of interracial friendships, racial difference, and interracial families. Results could help inform psychoeducational training intended to help parents with AA children recognize how implicit life choices can directly and indirectly impact their children. In particular, results underscore a need for adoption agencies and post-adoption services to encourage TNA parents with AA children to identify and understand the racial complexity of their social networks. Assessments that include a more thorough look at pre-adoptive families own racial socialization history may help them gain insight regarding the presence of interracial contact in their own development and how they

conceptualize the value of interracial friendships. Additionally, post-adoption services designed to facilitate prosocial and interpersonal relationships with other ethnic and racial groups may help encourage TNA children as well as their parents to interact and communicate outside of their racial group. Combined with psychoeducational activities, TNA families may also benefit from post-adoption services that provide on-going education regarding racial issues specific to their child's respective racial group. Psychoeducational tools that are intended to help TNA parents understand the various ways in which racism currently manifests in society may help facilitate life choices that will provide appropriate racial socialization opportunities for their children.

In terms of counseling services, mental health professionals that are well-versed in discussing critical issues concerning race, discrimination, and privilege may be helpful in supporting TNA parents. Furthermore, counseling services that help TNA families understand the connection and difference between their attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors related to race and racism may help them conceptualize their role in their child's racial socialization experiences. Additionally, practitioners that use a combined developmental, cultural, and systems-related approach to mental health may be particularly suitable for working with TNA and their families to help them identify the intersecting factors in their family life that can affect their racial attitudes, racial knowledge, and racial socialization behaviors.

Although it is now common practice for adoption agencies to encourage TNA parents to affirm their adopted child's birth culture throughout their development, promotion of racial awareness or race-specific issues has yet to become a standard practice or deemed an essential part of a TNA development. Results of the current study also call

attention to accreditation standards and the need to incorporate provisions that address the developmental implications of race and culture for internationally adopted children as part of the pre-adoptive process for parents adopting children of color. Similarly, study implications should also relate to training requirements of adoption professionals who work with TNA families in order to become well-versed with racial issues relevant to TNA.

### *Conclusion*

In summary, the expansion of cultural and racial heterogeneity of the US necessitates multicultural awareness and positive attitudes towards persons of different races and ethnicities. However, given the historical presence of racial dominance and oppression in the US, there remains a basis of concern regarding the implications of racial difference for the increasing number of children of color adopted by White American families. Although families of color may be able to easily establish same-race networks, it is likely that TNA parents must put forth additional effort to develop interracial friendships and gain a true understanding of their child's racial reality. Study implications point to future research that considers multiple racial socialization experiences for TNA children and the need for TNA families to recognize the significance of race in their life choices.

APPENDIX A  
RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

In this study you will be asked to complete a packet of surveys relating to attitudes about the world, racism, and racial socialization practices. Your responses will remain anonymous and the surveys will take about 15 to 25 minutes to complete. Some questions may seem sensitive or personal, if so, you may choose to skip

APPENDIX B  
INFORMED CONSENT

## CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

**Project Title: Factors Relating to Adoptive Parents' Racial Socialization Practices of Asian Adopted Children**

**Researcher:** Kimberly Langrehr

**Faculty Sponsor:** Dr. Suzette Speight and Dr. Anita Jones-Thomas

**Introduction:**

You are being asked to participate in a study being conducted by Kimberly Langrehr, for a graduate assistantship project under the supervision of Dr. Suzette Speight and Dr. Anita Jones-Thomas in the School of Education at Loyola University of Chicago.

You are being asked to participate because our research team is interested in factors that might relate to adoptive parents beliefs about the world, racism, ethnic identity, and racial socialization practices. We are hoping to survey around 100 adoptive parents of Asian adopted children. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before deciding whether to participate in the study.

**Purpose:**

The purpose of this study is to explore how adoptive parents' beliefs about the world, racism, are related to racial socialization practices. The study will involve recruiting approximately 100 adoptive parents of Asian adopted children to complete anonymous surveys.

**Procedures:**

If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to complete a survey packet of 5 questionnaires. The survey packet should take you about 15 to 25 minutes to complete. The questionnaires will ask about your beliefs about the world, racism, ethnic identity, and racial socialization practices.

**Risks/Benefits:**

- There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life.
- Some of the questions asked present sensitive issues such as racism. You are not required to share any information that you are not comfortable reporting. There will be no penalty should you decide to withdraw or not finish the survey packet. If you are having some uncomfortable thoughts and/or feelings, research assistants will be available to answer questions or concerns.
- There are no direct benefits to you from participation, but the results of this study will be used to gain a better understanding of how factors related to beliefs about the world and racism connect with healthy racial socialization practices of Asian adopted children.



**Confidentiality:**

- We will not be asking your name on the survey packet. There will be no way to connect you with your survey responses.
- Only the research team will have access to the surveys.

**Voluntary Participation:**

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, you do not have to participate. Even if you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any questions or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

**Contacts and Questions:**

If you have questions about this research study, please feel free to call Kimberly Langrehr (414) 719 -2441 or the faculty sponsors, Suzette Speight at (312) 915-6937 or Anita Jones-Thomas (312) 915-7403.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Compliance Manager in Loyola's Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

**By continuing on to the surveys, you are consenting to participate**

APPENDIX C  
INITIAL ITEMS OF THE AARRS

Directions: Below are statements about Asian Americans in the United States. Using a 6-point scale, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. There are no right or wrong answers. Record your response to the left of each statement.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

1	AA are loyal to countries others than the US
2	AA are soft and polite
3	Asian languages sound funny or strange
4	Regardless of specific ethnic heritage, AA subgroups get along well
5	AA are excellent students
6	Few people make racist comments about RR
7	AA are non-threatening
8	AA are bilingual
9	AA experience discrimination
10	AA are not opinionated
11	AA are often asked if they know martial arts
12	AA are very well accepted in American society
13	AA have slanted eyes
14	AA are hardworking people
15	Racial issues among AA are as important as issues of other ethnic minority groups
16	Asian language sound very similar to one another
17	AA are teased because of their physical characteristics
18	AA are citizens of the US
19	AA females are viewed as sexual objects
20	AA have "made it" in American society
21	AA families encourage their children to hold onto their values and beliefs
22	If confronted with racism, AA will become angry
23	People take differences between AA groups seriously
24	AA do not have large families
25	AA overcome challenges easily
26	AA are obsessed with electronics
27	AA are rarely asked to explain their ethnic heritage
28	AA are "next best" after White Americans
29	Asian accents are often overemphasized for comedic value
30	AA men are socially awkward
31	AA are complimented on their ability to speak English well
32	AA experience minimal inequalities
33	AA are part of a connected community
34	AA are not very short in height

35	AA should learn English
36	Jokes about AA are less harmful compared to jokes about ethnic minority groups
37	AA come from under-achieving families
38	AA will understand and appreciate greetings such as “konichiwa” regardless of ethnic heritage
39	AA all look alike
40	AA males are undesirable romantic partners
41	AA do not associate with other AA
42	Asian family names are not American
43	AA are resilient, overcoming hardships with ease
44	AA practice the custom of “bowing” instead of shaking hands
45	AA are spiritual and calm
46	AA are often asked “where are you really from?”
47	AA experience racial stress
48	AA are competitive students
49	In media commercials, aspects of Asian culture are used as promotional techniques
50	AA are “bothered” by positive racial stereotypes
51	When thinking about American society, AA are typically included
52	AA “fit in” with American culture without difficulty
53	AA are born in a country other than the US
54	AA will not argue back in confronted
55	AA are often mistaken for other AA
56	AA females are exotic
57	AA perform very well on aptitude/intelligence tests
58	AA know each other through their families or communities
59	AA have assertive personalities
60	AA celebrate traditional Asian ethnic holidays such as Chinese New Year
61	AA work in the fields of medicine or engineering
62	AA are friends with other AA
63	In the media, AA are rarely targeted for comedic value
64	AA encounter fewer barriers than other minority groups
65	AA like the food of all Asian cultures
66	AA are not expected to adapt to American culture
67	AA are comfortable around White Americans
68	AA are often told to go back to where they came from
69	Regardless of ethnic heritage, AA share similar values and beliefs
70	AA are taking away jobs from other Americans
71	AA are overlooked in the dialogue about race in the US
72	AA are more similar than different, regardless of specific ethnic heritage
73	AA are highly successful at work
74	AA do not experience racism like other ethnic minority groups
75	In popular adventure movies, Asian men are depicted as evil and greedy gangsters

76	AA are immune to racism
77	AA excel in academics
78	AA are quiet and respectful
79	As opposed to “street smart”, AA are “book smart”
80	AA are alike
81	AA families are strict and cold
82	AA do not get angry
83	AA are musically inclined
84	AA find racial jokes about ethnic minorities funny
85	AA females are promiscuous or “easy”
86	AA are not diligent in the work they do
87	AA are similar to White Americans
88	Asian languages are desirable in America
89	AA males are masculine
90	AA men are unable to please women
91	AA are often compared to AA celebrities
92	AA have the right to be in America
93	AA females are submissive and inhibited
94	AA easily understand and work with technology
95	Historical events of racism against AA are important in the US
96	AA use chopsticks to eat their food
97	AA are un-athletic
98	AA are spiritual people who share the same faith
99	AA meditate
100	AA engage in risky behaviors
101	AA enjoy anime (Japanese animation)
102	AA can translate and explain Asian words and ideas easily
103	AA challenge authority
104	The association between AA and martial arts is rarely exaggerated

APPENDIX D  
REVISED AARRS

Directions: Below are statements about Asian Americans in the United States. Using a 6-point scale, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. There are no right or wrong answers. Record your response to the left of each statement.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

1	AA are loyal to the US
2	AA are teased about their physical appearances
3	AA are opinionated
4	Few people make racist comments about AA
5	AA languages sound funny
6	AA are bilingual
7	AA experience discrimination
9	AA are often asked if they know martial arts
10	Racial issues among AA are as important as issues of other ethnic minority groups
11	AA are citizens of the US
12	There is an overemphasis on the sexuality of AA women
13	AA are easily angered
14	Differences between AA are taken seriously
15	AA have small families
16	AA are rarely asked about their ethnic heritage
17	AA are often complimented on their ability to speak English well
18	AA experience minimal inequalities
19	AA should learn English
20	Jokes about AA are just as harmful as jokes about other ethnic minorities
21	AA are often asked "where are you from"?
22	AA experience racial stress
23	AA accurately represent American citizens
24	AA are offended at positive stereotypes
25	AA are born in the US
26	AA are often mistaken for other AA
27	AA women are exotic
28	AA are similar to White Americans
29	AA primarily associate with other AA
30	In the media, AA are rarely targeted for comedic value
31	AA are comfortable around White Americans
32	AA are taking jobs away from US citizens
33	AA are basically the same
37	AA are masculine

35	Compared to other ethnic minority groups, AA experience less racism
36	AA find racial jokes about other ethnic minorities funny
37	AA are naturally smart
38	AA are affected by racism
39	AA names are humorous
40	AA are poor
41	Historical events of racism against AA are as important in the US
42	AA are unable to please women
43	AA encounter as many barriers as other ethnic minority groups
44	AA are successful at work
45	AA ethnic subgroups do not get along
46	AA men are socially awkward
47	AA do not have the right to be in the US
48	AA are lazy
59	AA are “next best” after White Americans
50	AA are unfamiliar with the practices of other AA
51	AA will argue back
52	Asian accents are overemphasized to be funny
53	AA use chopsticks to eat their food
54	AA are musically inclined
55	AA are athletic
56	AA are often told that they resemble other AA
57	The association between AA and martial arts is rarely exaggerated
58	Asian languages sound similar to one another
59	AA females are obedient
60	AA are racially stereotyped in American movies



APPENDIX E  
DEMOGRAPHIC FORM

Please answer what best describes you

1. What is your age \_\_\_\_\_

2. What is your gender: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Are you a single parent: \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No

4. Are you adopted: \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No

5. What is your race		
____ Asian American	____ Caucasian/Euro-American	____ Multiracial
____ Chinese American	____ Black/African-American	____ Other
____ Other Asian Descent	____ Latino/a/Hispanic-American	

6. How many years of post-secondary education have you attained \_\_\_\_\_

7. What best describes the area in which you currently live in: \_\_\_\_ Rural \_\_\_\_  
Suburban \_\_\_\_ Urban

8. Please list the following information for each of your adopted children:

____ Gender	_____ Country adopted	_____ Age at adoption
____ Gender	_____ Country adopted	_____ Age at adoption
____ Gender	_____ Country adopted	_____ Age at adoption

~ For parents whose adopted children are now adults, please answer question 9 based on the high school they attended

~ For parents whose adopted children are currently school - age, please answer question 9 based on their current school placement

~ For parents whose adopted children have yet to start school, please skip to question 10

9. The ethnic/racial makeup at your adopted child/children's school is:

*(additional lines provided for children at separate schools)*

____%	____%	____%	____%	____%	____% Other
Asian American	White-American	African American	Latino/a American	Multiracial American	
____%	____%	____%	____%	____%	____% Other
Asian American	White-American	African American	Latino/a American	Multiracial American	
____%	____%	____%	____%	____%	____% Other
Asian American	White-American	African American	Latino/a American	Multiracial American	

10. The ethnic/racial makeup of families that reside in your neighborhood is:

____ % Asian American	____ % African-American	____ % Multiracial
____ % White- American	____ % Latino/a American	____ % Other

11. Currently, how many of your close friends are:

____ Asian American	____ African-American	____ Multiracial
____ White American	____ Latino/a American	____ Other

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## VITA

Kim received her undergraduate degree in Psychology and Sociology from the University Wisconsin – Milwaukee in 2001. For the next six years, Kim worked in several capacities within the child and juvenile justice system and returned to UWM in 2003 to earn a Masters degree in educational psychology with a concentration in rehabilitation counseling. Based on her academic training, work with stigmatized populations, and her own identity development experiences, Kim became interested in social justice and pursued doctoral studies in counseling psychology at Loyola University Chicago. During her training, Kim completed her clinical training at Advocate Illinois Masonic and the University Counseling Center at DePaul and taught courses related to identity and pluralism, multicultural counseling, and child development. Furthermore, she has remained actively involved in the international Korean adoptee community and helped incorporate the organization of Korean Adoptees of Chicago (KatCH) in 2008. In the fall of 2012, Kim will be starting her academic career as an assistant professor at the University of Missouri Kansas City in the Counseling and Educational Psychology Program.

