4-23-2020

Korean Adoptees as Parents: Intergenerationality of Ethnic, Racial, and Adoption Socialization

Xiang Zhou
Purdue University, xiangzhou@purdue.edu

JaeRan Kim
University of Washington Tacoma

Heewon Lee
University of Minnesota - Twin Cities

Richard M. Lee
University of Minnesota - Twin Cities

Korean adoptees as parents: Intergenerationality of ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization

Xiang Zhou   *Purdue University*

JaeRan Kim   *University of Washington, Tacoma*

Heewon Lee and Richard M. Lee   *University of Minnesota–Twin Cities*

Correspondence: xiangzhou@purdue.edu

Objective: Using a socialization framework, this study aimed to understand the intergenerational patterns of ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices.

Background: Understanding the impact of ethnicity, race, and adoption is a lifelong process for transracially, transnationally adopted individuals. Few studies, however, have explored how adult adoptees socialize their children on ethnicity, race, and adoption and to what extent this socialization is informed by their own transracial, transnational adoption experiences.

Method: On the basis of 51 interviews, we investigated adopted Korean Americans' reappraisal of their ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization experiences growing up transracially and transnationally, as well as their current ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices with their children.

Results: Despite the generally limited ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization from White adoptive parents, we found via thematic analysis that Korean adoptee parents used strategies such as reculturation with their children, birth family involvement, and emphasis in multiculturalism in response to the need for ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization in the next generation.

Conclusion: These themes reflect the unique intergenerational transmission of ethnic heritage, racial experiences, and adoption history based on having grown up in transracial and transnational families of their own.

Implications: Findings can inform evidence-based practice in working with adopted individuals and their families, particularly in addressing ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices.

Korean adoptees as parents: Intergenerationality of ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization

Adoption presents unique and complex psychological challenges to adopted individuals throughout their lifespan as children, adolescents, and adults (Baden & O'Leary Wiley, 2007; Greco, Rosnati, & Ferrari, 2015; Samuels, 2009). Past research has highlighted the vital role that adoptive parents play in the socialization of adoptees during childhood and adolescence (e.g., Baden, 2015; Hu, Zhou, & Lee, 2017; Yoon, 2004). Research on transnational adoption in particular has focused on the health and psychosocial adjustment of adoptees during early childhood and adolescence (Askeland et al., 2017). Concurrently, research on parenting in the context of adoption has prioritized the perspective of White, adoptive parents with younger-aged children (Goldberg & Smith, 2016). Given the public tendency to infantilize adoptees (e.g., adopted adults are mistakenly referred to as "adopted children" throughout their lives) and to privilege the voice of adoptive parents (Baden, 2016; Park Nelson, 2016), attention is needed to address the context of adoptees during adulthood. Indeed, many adoptees are now parents with children of their own (Day, Godon-Decoteau, & Suyemoto, 2015), but little is known about this family group.

In this study, we sought to address this research gap by exploring the parenting experiences of adult Korean transnational adoptees using a qualitative approach. Our primary objective was to understand the ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices of Korean adoptee parents. We examined parents' reflections on their own childhood socialization experiences growing up in a transracial, transnational family, and the extent to which these transracial, transnational experiences informed their own parenting practices.

Korean transracial, transitional adoptees constitute one of the largest and earliest transracial, transnational adoption groups in the United States (Raleigh, 2013). An estimated

1 million children have been adopted worldwide since the 1940s, with South Korea sending the largest number of children, accounting for more than 20% of transnational adoptions (Selman, 2012). More than 125,000 Korean children have been adopted to the United States, with the majority being transracially adopted and raised in White American families (Raleigh, 2013). Given the number of Korean transnational adoptions rose to its peak in the 1980s, the majority of Korean adoptee populations, who represent an estimated 5% to 10% of the total Korean American population (E. J. Kim, 2010), are now adults (Côté, 2010).

One of the major developmental tasks of adulthood is an exploration of intimate relationships that leads to long-term commitments, as well as family and career establishments (Erikson, 1968). For Korean adoptees, this normative developmental task may be complicated by the paradoxical experiences of transracial, transnational adoption (Lee, 2003; Lee & Miller, 2009). In this context, Korean adoptees may experience racism (i.e., a system of advantage based on race) as ethnic-racial minorities in society while simultaneously being perceived and treated by others, especially White adoptive family members, as if they are members of the majority culture (i.e., racially White and ethnically European). Concurrently, adoptees experience the transnational loss of their birth families and culture while gaining new adopted families and assimilating into a new culture. Compelling narratives from Korean American adult adoptees suggest they continue to face the ramifications of these transracial, transnational adoption paradoxical experiences throughout adulthood (Chang, Feldman, & Easley, 2017; O. M. Kim, Hynes, & Lee, 2017; Langrehr, Yoon, Hacker, & Caudill, 2015; Park Nelson, 2016).

Parenthood may trigger further identity development and relationship challenges for adoptees. Day et al. (2015), for instance, found that becoming a parent affected Korean adoptees' perceptions of their own ethnic and racial identity development. They reported an ethnic and

racial identity status shift whereby some adoptees developed feelings of pride in being Korean after becoming a parent. In another qualitative study with 34 adoptees and their partners, adoptees reinterpreted their adoption through discussions with their partners (Greco et al., 2015). These accounts of adoptees as adults have focused primarily on adoptees' own identity development and relationships during adulthood. They have not addressed the important ramifications of transracial, transnational adoption on the next generation—that is, children of adoptees.

Socialization broadly refers to the process in which "individuals are taught the skills, behavioral patterns, values, and motivations needed for competent functioning in the culture where the child is growing up" (Maccoby, 2007, p. 3). Within this framework, ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization are distinct but interrelated approaches to healthy, normative development for transracial, transnational adoptees (Baden, 2015; Goldberg & Smith, 2016; Hu et al., 2017; O. M. Kim, Reichwald, & Lee, 2013; Song & Lee, 2009; Yoon, 2004). Although the terms *ethnic socialization* and *racial socialization* are sometimes used interchangeably, most researchers view them as two distinct constructs (Banerjee, Harrell, & Johnson, 2011; Hughes, Bachman, & Fuligni, 2006). *Ethnic socialization* refers to the sharing of cultural practices, traditions, and histories and promotion of pride and commitment to one's ethnic-racial identity (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006). *Racial socialization* refers to the sharing of social structures, understanding intergroup relationships as well as how to cope with discrimination with regard to one's race or ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Adoption socialization, compared with ethnic and racial socialization, is an understudied construct (Baden, 2015), which is not surprising given its exclusive context. *Adoption socialization* can be defined as the sharing of children's adoption history and process so adoptees can understand and gain a

sense of comfort around their adoption (Baden, 2015). For this study, we extended this construct to incorporate the sharing of adoptee parents' own adoption history and process with their children. Although there is burgeoning research on the socialization experiences of adopted children and adolescents, to the authors' knowledge, no research to date has examined how adult adoptees as parents themselves value and incorporate ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization in their own parenting practices.

We propose examining the intergenerationality of ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization—that is, the parenting experiences of adult Korean transracial adoptees. Intergenerationality of parenting captures "the influence of parents' own experiences as a child on their childrearing practices and attitudes" (van IJzendoorn, 1992, p. 76), which has important implications for understanding familial and developmental processes in socialization practices. Although the intergenerational transmission of parenting or domain-general socialization (e.g., concordance of parenting styles or parent–child attachment styles across generations) has been well-documented (e.g., Chen & Kaplan, 2004; van IJzendoorn, 1992), little is known about the intergenerational patterns in domain-specific socialization practices (e.g., ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization). Our research fills this gap in the socialization literature and provides new insight to understand ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization from an intergenerational perspective. Moreover, the intergenerational transmission of ethnic, racial, and adoption socializations may present unique patterns for transracial, transnational adoptees' families compared with nonadopted, ethnic-racial minority families due to the change of their genetic and contextual continuity from White adoptive parents to adoptees as parents. Some adoptees as parents may devalue ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization due to limited socialization from their adoptive parents; other adoptees may prioritize their parenting concerns around ethnicity,

race, and adoption because of their personal, paradoxical experiences with ethnic-racial discrimination and adoption-related stigma (Baden, 2016; Lee, 2003; Lee & Miller, 2009).

For the current study, we interviewed transracially, transnationally adopted Korean Americans to understand their perspectives and experiences during parenthood. The objective of the current research was to explore the ways Korean American adoptees were raised and the ways they raised their children, specifically with regard to ethnicity, race, and adoption. We investigated the themes in intergenerational transmissions of ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices in adult adoptees using a thematic analysis approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Given the lack of research on this topic, we wanted to capture the wide range of experiences of Korean adoptee parents (regardless of partner status, child age, etc.) in this first explorative analysis.

<div align="center">METHOD</div>

<div align="center">*Participants*</div>

Interviews were completed with 52 transracially, transnationally adopted Korean American parents. Participating parents, including 49 mothers and 3 fathers, ranged from 30 to 55 years of age ($M = 40.80$ years, $SD = 4.91$). Age of adoption ranged from 3.5 months to 10.5 years ($M = 26.02$, *Median* $= 10.00$ months). All participants reported being adopted by married, heterosexual couples. All but one participant was raised by two White adoptive parents; this adoptee was raised by a White mother and Puerto Rican father. Participants were raised in 24 states. Minnesota was the most frequently reported state ($n = 21$), with all other states being reported once or twice. The number of participants who were raised in Minnesota represents this state as having the highest concentration of Korean adoptees due to several overlapping cultural, structural, and procedural factors (Park Nelson, 2016). All participants were in heterosexual

marriages. Of all participants, 34 reported the race of their partners as White. In addition, five

were married to nonadopted Koreans and Korean Americans, and one was married to a Korean

adoptee. The remaining participants reported partner's races as Asian, Black, Latinx, and

multiracial. In relation to birth parents, 40 of the Korean adoptees reported having searched for

their birth families, with 16 adoptees successfully finding their birth families. The total number

of children per Korean adoptee parent ranged from 1 to 6, with an average of 2.12 children ($SD =$

1.00). The age of children ranged from 1 to 24 years of age, with an average of 9.99 years ($SD =$

5.29). The majority ($n = 43$) indicated having biological children; four parents reported only

having adopted children, and five reported having both adopted and biological children.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through social media platforms (i.e., Reddit and Facebook forums for

adoptees). Inclusion criteria were (a) self-identifying as adopted Korean Americans, (b) raised in

White adoptive families, and (c) having at least one child between the ages of 3 and 18 years old

(due to the salience of socialization practices). A total of 77 individuals contacted the

interviewers, and 52 followed through to schedule and participated in the interview. Interviewers

included a nonadopted Chinese international doctoral trainee in counseling psychology who

conducted 23 interviews, an adopted Korean American parent who was an assistant professor in

social work conducted 19 interviews, and an adopted Korean American parent who was a

research assistant conducted 11 interviews.

The semistructured interviews lasted 1 to 1.5 hours and were conducted either in person

($n = 16$) or online video conference ($n = 37$). In-person and online video interviews have the

same structure and duration. The interview protocol was adapted from Juang and colleagues

(2018). The protocol focused on ethnic and racial socialization in second-generation, nonadopted

Asian American families. Based on Juang et al.'s protocol, four Korean adoptee parents who met

the inclusion criteria, separate from the 52 participants, were interviewed and provided feedback

for adaptation and adoption-specific questions (e.g., has the conversation about adoption with

your parents stayed the same or changed over time growing up?) were added. All interviewees

were probed to reflect on how they were raised, as well as how they were raising their own

children. Interview questions covered a wide range of parenting-related topics, including

ethnicity, race, adoption-specific topics, and general parenting topics, for example, discipline and

expectations. Interviewers did not necessarily follow the sequence of these topical areas but

ensured all areas were probed at the end of the semi-structured interview.

The interviews were conducted from April to December 2015. Participant enrollment

continued until data saturation was reached and no new themes emerged from the interviews

(Taylor, Bogdan, & DeVault, 2015). All interviews were audio-recorded, with one failed

recording due to technical issues (i.e., one interview from a Korean adoptee mother who reported

only having one adopted child). Therefore, 51 recorded interviews were subsequently transcribed

and then proofread by separate research assistants, trained to adhere to the transcribing protocol

to ensure accuracy, consistency, and anonymity of the transcripts. Participants were given

pseudonyms for confidentiality purposes. The study was approved by the University of

Minnesota Institutional Review Boards (IRB Study No. 1302S27981), and parents were

compensated with a $20 gift card for participation.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was guided by thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis was

selected because the goal of the current research was to identify patterns or themes represented in

the Korean adoptee parents' interview responses as they discussed how they were socialized by

their parents and how they are socializing their children. The coding process included four phases: preliminary coding, open coding, master coding, and axial coding. First, the three interviewers generated preliminary codes as well as field notes after each session to compose a preliminary coding sheet (Taylor et al., 2015).

Second, all coders, after training, went through an open coding phase (Creswell & Poth, 2017) using five (10%) randomly selected transcripts. In addition to the three interviewers, the coding team also included four undergraduate research assistants: three nonadopted individuals (Indian American male, White American female, Chinese international male), and one adopted Chinese American female. During the open coding phase, coders first read through all five transcripts without coding to familiarize and immerse themselves with each transcript. Then each coder generated a list of codes for the five transcripts. Afterward, the coding team consolidated these open codes as well as the preliminary codes. A master list of coding categories was developed from this process. In a traditional thematic analysis approach, Braun and Clarke (2006) argued that the initial open coding should be based on the entire dataset. However, given the large sample size, a modification was made where the coding team combined the preliminary codes from the interviewers and open codes from the coders together to generate the master coding sheet.

During the third phase, coders used the master coding sheet to code all the transcripts in NVivo 11 Software. At least two coders coded each transcript separately to ensure reliability, with the first author serving as the discussant, to reach consensus for all transcripts. Modifications and refinements to the codes were discussed along the coding process. Both "positive" and "negative" incidents (e.g., not feeling authentic and feeling authentic in ethnic socialization) related to a theme or coding category were coded. Multiple themes or coding

categories were used for incidents that indicated more than one theme or code. Finally, during

the axial coding and selective coding phase, the authors worked together to understand the

content of and the relationship among all the codes. For example, we consolidated the codes such

as "talking about adoption" and "child's curiosity and inquiry about adoption" together and

further mapped out the themes based upon these codes (Table 1).

Researcher bias and trustworthiness. The research team includes individuals from

diverse backgrounds in terms of adoption status, parent status, gender, ethnicity, and national

origins. Informed by their experiences and training experiences in adoption research and

advocacy, the research team members viewed ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization as

adaptive strategies for adoptees' psychosocial adjustment and identity development. Two of the

three interviewers' shared identity as transracial, transnational adoptee parents may have

enhanced their credibility and rapport with the participants. To limit these effects on data

collection and analyses, we recorded memos during interviewing and coding processes,

discussed each individual's reactions to the interview in team meetings, and clarified any

assumptions made during coding. The rigor of the results was enhanced by iterative coding via

four coding phases, data checking at multiple time points, and researcher reflections in team

meetings.

<div align="center">RESULTS</div>

As indicated in Table 1, the themes and codes are organized into *past* socialization practices (i.e.,

how adoptees were socialized) in juxtaposition with *present* socialization practices (i.e., how

adoptees are socializing their children) to illustrate unique intergenerational patterns. Themes

were further organized in the separate domains of ethnic socialization (e.g., *past*: limited

exposure vs. *present*: not feeling authentic), racial socialization (e.g., *past*: colorblindness in

adoptive families vs. *present*: multiracial/multicultural promotion/pluralism), and adoption

socialization (e.g., *past*: master narrative of adoption vs. *present*: promotion of adoption-centered

activities). Although the overarching themes mirrored our research interest and interview

protocol to highlight the distinctive features across these domains in the past and present, we

acknowledge that a few of these practices (e.g., birth family involvement) can blur the

boundaries across the domains of ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization. In these instances,

parents discussed the underlying principles of socialization in one domain (e.g., birth family

plays a role in ethnic socialization), and subsequently referred back to their own accounting in

another domain (e.g., adoption socialization) due to the innate intersecting nature in these topics.

To contextualize the discussions around the intergenerationality of socialization, within each

section, we highlighted the interlinks between the past and present narratives to their present and

past narratives on socialization.

Ethnic Socialization

Past: limited exposure. The narratives from the sample of 51 adoptee parents presented a

wide range of socialization practices by adoptive parents. Participants mentioned adoptive

parents sent them to Korean cultural camps in the summer, took them to Korean restaurants, and

occasionally celebrated Korean holidays at home. The central theme that emerged from most

participants was an overall limited exposure to Korean culture. In many cases, participants

recognized the existence of their parents' ethnic socialization efforts, but by and large, these

socialization practices were low in frequency. For example, James shared,

> The only resemblance of Korean culture was a jar of kimchi in their refrigerator. . . . I
>
> lived in a predominantly White, Jewish neighborhood, so there was no diversity. . . . I

only had White friends in high school. So there was no discussion about anything

[Korean].

Perhaps as parents, many participants grasped the magnitude of parenting and expressed

empathy for adoptive parents' limited ethnic socialization, such as their own rejection to be

socialized Korean during their identity development, and the constraint of geographic locations

(i.e., in James's recount). Isabella likened the ethnic socialization process to "blind leading the

blind" for which adoptive parents are as apprehensive and ignorant as adopted children to

Korean culture. Nonetheless, the implicit message underneath the limited socialization from their

White parents was the assimilation ideology as Hye-in stated: "they thought it would delay my

process of learning and adjusting to the American culture."

Present: Not feeling authentic. In evaluating their ethnic socialization, participants spoke

about similar strategies endorsed by their adoptive parents, such as cooking Korean food or

celebrating Korean holidays. However, what was made explicit in most narratives was the sense

of inadequacy and not feeling "authentic" enough to "pass down" the Korean culture to their

children. As Marie, married to a nonadopted Korean American partner, stated,

> The most unique challenge [as a Korean adoptee parent] is that the culture component
>
> does not come organically. . . . It's not seamless. It's work. . . . It doesn't come naturally
>
> so it just falls off my radar and then I feel bad about it.

For Marie, although ethnic socialization does not come "organically" and "seamlessly,"

the strong investment to incorporate Korean culture in her family was evident: Korean food,

music, and drama around the house. Thus, the sense of inadequacy may lead to the compensatory

efforts that adoptee parents put into socializing their children. For others, like Stephanie in the

following story, it has become a barrier, leading to a decreased ethnic socialization.

Language. Language was identified as a subcode under "not feeling authentic." Specifically, language was the most significant barrier to accessing Korean culture and community for participants to incorporate ethnic socialization into their parenting. Similar to Marie, Stephanie described her constant challenge with the Korean language despite her effort to send her children to Korean language schools for 4 years. But because no one spoke Korean at home, Stephanie's children "were feeling isolated and did not get to learn and practice Korean." Stephanie "held [her] ground and made them go [to the language classes], but then after a while [she] said, fine, let's not go, it's not worth it."

Present: reculturation with children. Reculturation was first coined to describe the process in which adoptees reclaim their birth culture (Baden, Treweeke, & Ahluwalia, 2012), but not necessarily in the context of parental socialization. Perhaps because of the sense of inauthenticity in their socialization efforts, many participants described learning Korean culture alongside with their children (e.g., learning to cook Korean cuisine while teaching and feeding children, visiting Korea for the first time and bringing along the children) to enhance their own ethnic socialization experiences. The quote from Rebecca illustrated this colearning process with her 11-year-old daughter:

> I mean I really want it [Korean culture] to be important to her, and I want her to accept that she's part Korean. But I just started to figure it out myself, so there isn't too much, the greater challenge is what am I gonna teach her, I have to make sure that we're kind of learning together I think.

Rebecca's story was not unique. She was raised by adoptive parents "like Tea Partiers, so it's all about being American." Similar to many adult adoptees, Rebecca was still grappling with the paradoxical experiences being raised White and learning to be Korean. Rebecca lived in a

predominantly White neighborhood for almost a decade as a child, and she stood out as she "had

to be adopted to even live in this area" and "hated every second of it." However, the resilience in

these socialization narratives was parents' willingness to find alternatives and take extraordinary

efforts (e.g., relocation) in ethnic socialization despite the fact that they might be as naïve to

Korean culture as their children.

  Present: birth family involvement. For participants who had contact with their birth

family (*n* = 16), another alternative ethnic socialization strategy was to involve birth families.

Although birth family can also play an important role in racial and adoption socialization,

participants mainly spoke about the role of the birth family in terms of exposing them to Korean

language and cultural traditions. EunJung's family is such an example. EunJung found her birth

family in 1993, and it was an intentional socialization effort for EunJung to involve her birth

family.

> They [the children] talk to my Korean family on FaceTime, well you know, try to talk. I
>
> was lucky enough that my Korean mom and my oldest sister and my niece came to stay
>
> with us for almost a month and it was in 2012.

This theme on birth family involvement is in stark contrast with adoptive parents'

socialization practices without the presence of birth families. In our interviews, none of the

adoptive parents were able to involve birth parents in raising their children, perhaps due to the

closed nature of most international adoptions; however, even when adoptees made efforts to

connect with birth family, adoptive parents felt "betrayed" or "isolated." For example, Mary's

adoptive mother "did not want to have anything to do with [her] birth family." Thus, it is

important to consider the adoption triad (i.e., adoptive parents, birth parents, and adoptees) and

the impact of birth family on adoptees to fully understand the ramifications of involving the birth

family in their ethnic socialization practices.

Racial Socialization

Past: colorblindness and racism in adoptive families. Similar to ethnic socialization, we

found the heterogeneity in adoptive parents' racial socialization practices. One central theme that

emerged from participants' reappraisals was the colorblind ideology (i.e., not acknowledging

adoptees as people of color) and the avoidance of discussion about race and racism. Some

participants denounced their adoptive family members for expressing stereotypes and biases,

including blatant racism toward people of color. Patricia, for instance, described the "racist

household" she grew up in, where the "N-word was used freely." Her father called her sister's

boyfriend "[racial slur] because he was Mexican." And once her brother wanted to have a friend

who was Black for a sleepover and her father "wasn't having it." To many participants, what was

confusing and paradoxical was their parents seemed to be amnestic to the fact that Korean

adoptees are racial minorities. As Patricia put it, "I remember thinking what's going on

here, 'cause I'm not White." The following quote from Crystal further illustrated this colorblind

racial socialization practice:

> My mom, even in college, told me I looked White. . . . She said I looked White. I didn't
>
> look Asian. . . . I couldn't say anything to her cause they're old school. You can't like say
>
> anything back to them. . . . [I feel] disgusted, angry. That was a stupid comment because
>
> she said, "Your eyes aren't as slanted as your friends" and that bothered me.

What was astonishing in Crystal's narrative was both the literal "color"-blind approach

adoptive parents took to disregard her skin color and the minimization of her experiences as a

racial minority. The colorblind approach was echoed by David, who shared that his parents said

"you are basically White in our eyes." When Crystal was selected for a minority fellowship in

college, her mom responded, "Oh, you're not a minority." Chang et al. (2017) also noted these

avoidant/ambivalent strategies as the most common approach and reinforced by adoptees' own

desire for racial sameness during childhood. However, adoptees have increasingly regarded these

colorblind approaches to be maladaptive and prejudicial, as they gained physical distance from

and stepped out of the White adoptive family to be challenged with the racial realities in the

larger society. Crystal commented that she rejected being associated with the Asian community

growing up, and it was not until college or her mid-20s that she started to understand racism, yet

her family was still teasing her for making Asian friends. Coincidently, Crystal found her

daughter was "more comfortable with her skin and always talked about Asian power" when

going through the same developmental phase.

     Present: multiracial/multicultural promotion/pluralism. In examining participants'

present racial socialization practices, there was also an emphasis on the promotion of

multiculturalism and pluralist values. Hughes and Johnson (2001) defined *pluralism* as parenting

messages concerning diversity issues as well as ethnic-racial groups other than children's own

groups. Although the construct of pluralist racial socialization was not empirically supported in

previous studies with nonadopted families (e.g., Hughes & Johnson, 2001), we found that

discussion about multiculturalism, social justice, and social identities beyond being Korean or

Asian (e.g., other racial relations, gender, sexuality) is the most salient aspect of participants'

racial socialization. Two unique characteristics of adoptee families in our sample may have

contributed to the salience of this theme. Children of adoptees are faced with the pluralism of

having Korean parents and White grandparents and extended families. In addition, the majority

of participants ($n = 41$) in our study were in an interracial relationship. Thus, socializations

around pluralistic values are pertinent to children's multiracial identity development (Wu et al.,

in press). For instance, Hana connected the importance of pluralism to her adoptive family,

> Being an adoptee, having the kind of family and family structure that I've had, I have
>
> brothers and sisters who are not Korean. . . So I really wanna make sure that they [my
>
> children] understand that there's just a whole variety of things that they can learn from.
>
> To Hana, the emphasis on cultural pluralism also came from her mixed-race marriage to

expose her children to their Mexican heritage and values from her husband's side of the family.

Similarly, Patricia, growing up in "a racist household" and now married to an African American

male, spoke about putting more emphasis on their children's Black identity: "With the whole

Black Lives Matter, it's really more of an emphasis on their Black side and growing up in

America Black, than Korean."

> *Present: phenotypical differences.* In a multiracial family structure (i.e., White adoptive

extended families, Asian adoptees, and/or mixed-race marriages), phenotypical differences often

catalyzed conversations about race, and to some extent, adoption. This is an especially salient

strategy when children are younger. In some cases, children of adoptees may have noticed and

asked about the differences in physical appearances (e.g., between adoptive grandparents and

parents). Parents have also initiated and tailored their racial socialization based on children's

phenotypical features. Cristina, married to a nonadopted Korean American, described the

phenotypical contrast within her family:

> Because we look different [from my adoptive family], and so when they were younger I
>
> would explain it to them; and of course my husband's family looks like us so we would
>
> explain it in that aspect. . . I was adopted as a baby and I also have this family in Korea.

Cristina used these phenotypical differences to discuss both adoption and race. For Deana and many parents alike, an added layer is racial socialization within mixed-race marriages. Deana was hyperaware of her children's phenotypical features as they "look like the dominant social class, which is White. They don't look Korean, so they have that White privilege, and that is something that I talk about and need to talk more about." Therefore, the use of phenotypical features can be highly contextualized with parents' multiracial socialization. Across participants' narratives, the acknowledgment of physical appearance in their racial socialization again directly contrasted with adoptive parents' colorblind approach.

Present: dealing with racism. Participants' efforts around preparing their children for discrimination also contrasted how adoptive parents handled issues of racism. Different from White adoptive parents who are unlikely to have had experiences of and are often colorblind to racial discrimination, a critical consciousness-raising experience for most adoptees was feeling underprepared when they first encountered racism. Thus, participants felt motivated to prepare their children to cope with racism. Developmentally, as children gain more social-cognitive maturity and are better able to recognize race and understand how race relates to their experiences, participants reported more explicit education and discussion around racism. Cho spoke about the contrast between her socialization experiences from adoptive parents and her current parenting practices:

> I've said [to my 12-year-old son] you know very honestly this is how my parents handled it . . . and it wasn't helping me when I'm going to school by myself, and trying to defend myself, so I'm going to tell you that the best thing to do probably is to just go to a teacher, or to an adult if you feel comfortable doing that. And to just try to remove yourself from the situation if that other person is not going to, you know, leave you alone. But I've also

let him know that sometimes some kids will not leave you alone until you really assert yourself and that could mean that you might need to kick them. . . . Just giving him the options and you know letting him decide.

Some participants had not yet discussed coping with discrimination or unfair treatment with their young children because they did not encounter any discriminatory events or were "not there yet" to understand racism. In one case, Olivia described that her 5-year-old son was starting to see skin color differences, "but he thinks that means everybody looks different, and I will let him think that as long as he wants to." Although Olivia "hoped they would handle it" if they were unfairly treated, she did not discuss with them about concrete ways because "they are still young." Nonetheless, participants including Olivia recognized the importance of racial socialization to help their children to be adaptive living in a racialized society.

Adoption Socialization

Past: master narrative of adoption. As participants shared how adoptive parents discussed adoption, one theme that emerged is a dominant narrative which they were socialized to: Due to the "obviously physical differences" (Linda), "I just always remember knowing I was adopted but we just didn't ever talk much about adoption" (Sun-Mi), "I was chosen" (Charlene) or "God sent you to us" (Abigail), and "birth mother loved us and she made a difficult decision to place us up for adoption" (Donna). As Sam summarized,

I think it comes from some ignorance because they weren't really aware that the paperwork that might not be accurate. But I was kind of sold this very romantic narrative. Like "she couldn't take you and then we found you and you're our daughter." And that felt good when I was young.

These participants recognized the romanticizing of adoption served a purpose to assimilate young adopted children into a visible adoptive family for parents. However, this thin narrative about adoption adversely silenced the voices of birth family and minimized the lifelong loss that adoptees were grieving. "I was never really talked about it being like a loss or a birth mother. We never really talked about a birth mother. It was more about how I was part of the family" (Isabella). Of course, the existence of a master narrative does not preclude a few adoptive families that engaged children in conversations about adoption and birth families in depth. For instance, Hyo-Sonn's adoptive parents "always talked about [her] birth mother . . . and how [she] was born to another mother." She praised her adoptive parents for doing "a really good job at preparing us, we always talked about how we looked different, but yet she was my mom and I was her daughter. So she addressed it kind of upfront."

Present: talking about adoption. Unlike a rather thin, master narrative from adoptive parents on their adoption history, participants spoke about the importance of engaging in conversations about adoption with their own children. Participants' opinions diverged, however, on when would be developmentally appropriate to initiate the conversation about adoption. Some participants would not talk about adoption with children when they were young due to their limited cognitive capacity, whereas others argued not to underestimate children's ability to comprehend "complex" issues such as racism or adoption. For example, Ethan said, "[my 3-year-old daughter and I] talk a lot about race, but we don't talk a ton about adoption. Maybe I'm not giving her enough credit, but I feel like it's really complicated." Whereas Kristin started to talk about adoption when her 8-year-old daughter was still a toddler,

> I think maybe when she was a toddler, I just talked, you know. . . . We talk a lot about
> like what it means to have a family. . . . I tell [her] that I'm adopted, I came from Korea

that I don't know who my or who her Korean grandparents are, or other extended Korean

families. But I've tried to find them. And that she's like oh I would like to find them too.

Beyond their personal adoptive history, participants also discussed general adoption

issues with their children. For example, Eve helped her 13-year-old son understand the common

reasons and implications of adoption, because "adoption is really prevalent, he has friends who

are adopted." For the eight families with adopted children in our study, participants talked about

their own as well as their children's adoption history. Hyun highlighted the importance to share

her adoption stories because of her adopted children— "I share my [adoption] stories because my

kids are adopted. I probably would still share if I have biological kids too but not in depth

maybe." For these participants who made the choice of adoption, they described their "intuitive"

understanding about the needs of adopted children because of their shared fate in adoption.

Marcella, who has a 4-year-old adopted son from South Korea, stated that she deliberately

wanted to wait to tell her son about the details of his adoption as it had been a "shock" when she

found out everything about her birth family:

> I just talk a lot about how we were born in Korea, and that I have another, I have a mom
>
> and dad in Korea, and he also has another mom and dad in Korea, and then I go into his
>
> birth story. And that's really it for now. As he gets older, and maybe he has questions I'll
>
> talk more in-depth about it. . . . I just want him to realize you know his story is different.

This conscious building of thick, individual narratives around adoption, thus, is put in

contrast with the master narratives that many adoptees were socialized to growing up.

Present: promotion of adoption centered activities. Beyond having conversations about

adoption, participants also engaged children in activities centered around adoption through

books, movies, and attending social events related to adoption. Unlike the previous theme on

adoption conversation that typically involves a private, personal history of adoption, the promotion of adoption-centered activities is more related to the public, nonpersonal issues of adoption. For example, Mina took her 11-year-old daughter to watch an adoption-themed movie without necessarily sharing her adoption stories. In another example, Sophia mentioned she was active in organizing community events for Korean adoptees and "always brought [her 12-year-old] daughter along" to expose her to adoption. In contrast, participants rarely recollected memories of the adoption-centered activities initiated by their adoptive parents.

Once again, as an added layer for families who further adopted, the promotion of these adoption-centered activities is an important aspect of adoption socialization for adoptive children to gain a sense of comfort around their adoption (Baden, 2015). Hyu elaborated how she maintained connections with other adoptive families, promoting her children to build friendships and social support:

It's really neat connections that we have with these [adoptive] families. And so the boys are just such good friends, I mean they're really good friends, brothers almost. And they were all in different foster families in Korea the same time but they talked about what it was like for them . . . cause one of the families [is] in the small towns in [midwestern state]. And so my son texted to him a lot because he and him [are] like brothers and the only Koreans in town. I feel he feels comfortable, and he's comfortable talking to his friends about being adopted and how he feels about it [adoption] and birth family.

Present: child's curiosity and inquiry about adoption. The last theme that emerged from participants' accounts was the incidental learning prompted by the child's curiosity and inquiry about adoption. Although parents inherently play an important role in the child's socialization, their practices were dependent on children's interests in and perceived ability to understand

adoption. Juang et al. (2018) discussed the proactive and passive socialization approaches from

parents dependent on place, time, and child characteristics. We also noted participants in our

study spoke about their children having varying levels of interest in adoption that drove parents

to tailor their socialization efforts. For example, Heidi contrasted her 7-year-old daughter and 14-

year-old son:

> When they realized that I was doing a family search they sort of came up a little bit of
>
> questions. You know, why aren't grandpa and grandma your real mom, and then even my
>
> 7-year-old, she said well how come your mom and dad didn't want you? Why didn't they
>
> wanna have you? And so I had to explain to her about um, you know in her terms, cuz
>
> she's only 7 and then my 14-year-old, he doesn't understand, but I feel like gender plays
>
> a big role in what the children think about it I guess. Like my boys didn't seem to be
>
> curious as much as my daughter.

Participants' deliberate wait for moments of adoption socialization should not be

confounded with practices of adoptive parents who were aversive to and reticent about adoption

conversations (hence presenting with a master narrative of adoption). For example, Marcia

wanted to tell her children the full stories about her adoption, but "they are not going to get it . . .

and eventually they'll be interested and when they are ready, and again I take their cues. . . . I'll

talk." And when children are ready, a deep conversation with their child about adoption could be

powerful. Marie shared she discussed adoption with her 10-year-old son when he was curious

about "why all the adoptive parents are so mean" from his reading of the Harry Potter book

series. She further stated,

> He's in the car one time and he's talking about how . . . "it must be hard to being adopted
>
> because you always have to try to figure out who you are. And that can be a distraction to

doing what you want to do." And he said, "I'm not adopted, so all I have to think about is what I want to be when I grow up." And I was like, "Wow, that's, that's a really interesting way to say it."

DISCUSSION

The current article presents a qualitative study from in-depth interviews with 51 Korean American adoptee parents. This study is the first to explore adult transracial, transnational adoptees' ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices with their children. It specifically advances the intergenerationality of ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization. Consistent with and extending previous findings on adolescent adoptees (Baden, 2015; Hu et al., 2017; O. M. Kim et al., 2013; Yoon, 2004), adopted Korean American adults' reappraisal of their own childhood experiences informed how they approached ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization with their children. Our findings also revealed the various ways and unique features in how Korean adoptees practiced ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization.

The retrospective evidence provided by adult Korean adoptees is consistent with past research from adoptees' self-reports on adoptive parents' socialization during adolescence and emerging adulthood (e.g., Chang et al., 2017; Hu et al., 2017; Kim et al., 2013). Despite the heterogeneity within our sample, the majority revealed having received limited socialization around ethnicity, race, and adoption by their adoptive parents. Our results are consistent with research that suggests White parents of Korean adoptees are less likely to engage in racial socialization compared with ethnic socialization (Killian & Khanna, 2019; Seol, Yoo, Lee, Park, & Kyeong, 2016). In effect, adoptees reported that their adoptive parents applied a colorblind approach to parenting, accompanied by the omission of a personalized adoption history and experiences of racism in the family. In reappraisal of the adoption socialization, the concept of

master narrative was consistent with Chatham-Carpenter's (2012) findings that among 35

adoptive parents of children from China, the most dominant narrative was to portray birth

parents as loving their children but struggling with and pressured by outside forces to give them

up for adoption. Master narratives (e.g., about gender, culture) often serve the purpose of

maintaining hierarchies of power and privilege. In this case, the stories told for adoption

socialization may serve to legitimize adoption and separate further birth families from the

adoption triad (Baden et al., 2013).

This limited childhood socialization in return propels adoptees to value ethnic, racial, and

adoption socialization in their parenting practices as they enter marriage and form their family

(i.e., integenerationality). Our findings from adoptee parents thus add to the emerging literature

on adult adoptees and strengthen past research based on adolescents' reports (e.g., O. M. Kim et

al., 2013). The lack of socialization as reported by adoptees during adolescence may not be

solely attributable to parent–adolescent conflict or lack of perspective-taking from youth. Even

as adults and parents, Korean American adoptees continued reporting the experiences and

adverse impact of limited socialization from adoptive parents growing up.

In contrast to the current literature on ethnic and racial socialization in nonadopted

families of color (e.g., Hughes et al., 2006), adopted Korean American parents presented unique

features and challenges with their ethnic and racial socialization practices. The lack of exposure

to Korean culture in White adoptive families amplified some ethnic socialization barriers, such

as not knowing the Korean culture and language and being unsure of their cultural authenticity,

that are not uncommon in second-generation immigrant families. Many adoptee parents used

creative solutions such as colearning Korean culture with children and incorporating birth

families in response to the needs of ethnic and racial socialization. These socialization practices

(i.e., reculturation with children) challenged the traditional notion that views parental

socialization as a vertical transaction between parents and children, as opposed to horizontal

socialization through peers (Bisin & Verdier, 2011). It is also worth noting (e.g., in Mary's and

Isabella's narratives) that the birth families have been mostly underrepresented in the adoption

triad that consists of adoptees, adoptive parents, and birth parents in the literature, due to stigma

about relinquishment in sending countries and legitimization for the "best interest" of the

adoptees (Baden, Gibbons, Wilson, & McGinnis, 2013; Gibbons, Wilson, & Schnell, 2009).

Thus, adoptee parents have consciously reconfigured and challenged the dominant discourse that

marginalizes or erases birth parents to include birth parents as members of their family.

The mixed-race household (i.e., adoptive parents and adoptees, as well as adoptees and

adoptees' partners for mixed-race couples) provide additional challenges and unique

opportunities to socialize children in a diverse racial context within the household. Compared

with nonadopted families of color, adoptee parents were more likely to emphasize pluralism in

their racial socialization due to these family structures. The pluralist approach is conceptualized

differently from the egalitarian/colorblind approach—a common practice by adoptive parents to

reconcile and minimize the racial differences in the adoptive household by emphasizing the

sameness and universalities (e.g., O. M. Kim et al., 2013; Samuels, 2009). Egalitarian racial

socialization ignores and is colorblind to the racial realities for youth of color. Here across the

generations from adoptive families to adoptees' families, there is a shift from a general

colorblind approach to the promotion of cultural pluralism that directly addresses the racial

diversity both within and outside their families. Due to the scope of the current work, we were

not able to unpack additional research questions related to these socialization practices, for

instance, partner's influences on racial socialization in a multiracial family (Wu et al., in press).

Given the limited literature on adoption socialization, our study demonstrates the importance and relevance of adoption socialization to adoptee parents. Adoption socialization was initially proposed to understand the process by which adoptees understand their own adoption and gain a sense of comfort around their adoption (Baden, 2015). Adoption socialization can be initiated by adoptive parents or adoptees through activities such as reading adoption-based literature, joining adoption advocacy or activism, working in an adopted-related capacity (e.g., adoption agency, adoption art creation), or through relationships with adoption networks (e.g., adoptees, adoptive parents, and birth parents). In extending this concept to adoptee parents' socialization, we posed questions about the developmental functions and implications of adoption socialization for children as well as for adoptee parents. When children are exposed and socialized to adoption, including their parents' adoption history, they may be better prepared with questions of family legitimacy and encounters of adoption microaggressions (Baden, 2016) directed toward the adoptive family members. As adoptee parents and children exchange stories about their family formation through adoption socialization, both adoptees and their children are more likely to temporally integrate their identity through these past, present, and future narratives (Syed & Mitchell, 2015).

Adoption socialization was especially relevant to a subsample of "second-generation adoptive families" in which adoptee parents have adopted their own children. In these families, adoptee parents are tasked to socialize their children to two adoption histories—one of their own adoption and one of their children's. The recounts of adoptee parents' own adoption narratives can serve to empower and normalize second-generation adoptee children's experiences. Nonetheless, future studies are much needed to continue the investigation into the implications of adoption socialization practices for adoptees as well as their children. The construct of adoption

socialization also needs to be further operationalized and broadened to fully capture adoptee

parents' socialization practices.

Given the infantilization of adoptees (Baden, 2016) and the predominant narratives of

adoptive parents (Park Nelson, 2016), we sought to give voice to adopted adults as parents

through these themes from their recounts of the divergent socialization practices between two

generations. To situate in the context of Korean adoption, adoptee parents are still grappling with

the intergenerational impact of transracial, transnational adoption to answer the questions of

"who they are" and "who they want their children to be" through these socialization narratives.

Erickson's (1950) concept of generativity is useful in understanding such intergenerational

divide in ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices. During adulthood and parenthood,

an individual is no longer solely preoccupied with aspects of self (identity vs. role confusion),

but rather concerns in how to establish and guide the next generation including their own

children as well as connectivity of generations (generativity vs. stagnation). Through active

ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization, Korean adult adoptees developed their resilience and

agency in connecting to their children with their authentic self (Slater, 2003). The contrast of

past and current socialization practices thus allows us to understand how Korean adoptee parents

want to build connectivity to their children.

<center>*Practice Implications*</center>

Despite the interest in and calling for developing adoption-competent practice, the lack of

empirical research in adoptees' lifespan development continues to pose challenges for clinicians

to understand issues related to adoption (Atkinson, Gonet, Freundlich, & Riley, 2013; McGinnis,

Baden, Kim, & Kim, 2019; Wilson, Riley, & Lee, 2019). First, our findings encourage

practitioners to recognize and acknowledge the unique experiences of adoptees and avoid the

generalization of adoption experiences. For example, some transracial, transnational adoptees were raised with a high level of ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization, although the majority were socialized with an assimilation and colorblind approach and a dominant adoption narrative by their White adoptive parents. At the same time, practitioners should be aware of common adoption-related concerns, such as birth family search and reunions, attachment, grief, and loss, identified in the current study and previous literature (Baden & O'Leary Wiley, 2007; O. M. Kim et al., 2017; Smith, Howard, & Monroe, 2000). Second, our findings caution against practitioners taking an "adoption-blind" approach, which we define as negligence and avoidance to integrate adoption into case conceptualization and treatment, when working with adoptees. Retrospective accounts from adult adoptees suggest that it is imperative for practitioners to take a social justice approach to advocate on behalf of adoptee children and adolescents to promote cultural competence in adoptive parents and help parents understand the importance of ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization. Lastly, practitioners should also take a lifespan developmental perspective in working with adoptees. Being a parent may catalyze adoptees to reexplore their meanings of identity, relationships, and societal-level reflections. Practitioners need to recognize the myriad individual-level (e.g., identity development), family-level (e.g., child-rearing, partnership), and system-level (e.g., discrimination) barriers encountered by transracial, transnational adoptees as well as their resilience in coping with these challenges (Baden & O'Leary Wiley, 2007).

Limitations and Conclusions

There are several limitations to consider for this study. Almost half of the participants were residing in Minnesota, which has the largest number of adoptions from South Korea among all U.S. states (E. J. Kim, 2010). The sample consisted mostly of mothers, consistent with a

common challenge in parenting studies to recruit fathers. Thus, generalizations should be made with caution beyond these sample characteristics. Even though the codes that emerged from the fathers' narratives were similar to those from their female counterparts, given the overrepresentation of women and the tendency for mothers to be the main socializing agents, further evidence is needed for generalizations from current findings to Korean adoptee fathers. This study used a convenience sampling technique via adoption-focused social media platforms; thus adoption-related topics could have been more salient to participants in the current study compared with Korean adoptees who do not frequent these websites. Nonetheless, the themes from our findings suggest heterogeneity in a "saturated" sample.

Despite these limitations, the current study is to our best knowledge the first to investigate the ways in which adult Korean adoptees reappraise their adoptive parents' socialization practices, as well as explore their own ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices. Our findings suggest a diverse range of responses and unique ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices from Korean adoptee parents as influenced by their experiences of being raised in White adoptive families. Thus, our qualitative study contributes to an underrepresented area of the literature to understand the experiences of adopted Korean American parents. We believe that this emic approach is a sound step forward to provide insights into the adult adoptees' perspectives, especially parents', as they strive to further unpack their intersecting identities as transracial, transnational adoptees.

REFERENCES

Askeland, K. G., Hysing, M., La Greca, A. M., Aarø, L. E., Tell, G. S., & Sivertsen, B. (2017).

Mental health in internationally adopted adolescents: a meta-analysis. *Journal of the*

American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, *56*, 203–213.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2016.12.009

Atkinson, A. J., Gonet, P. A., Freundlich, M., & Riley, D. B. (2013). Adoption competent

clinical practice: Defining its meaning and development. *Adoption Quarterly*, *16*, 156–

174. https://doi.org/10.1080/10926755.2013.844215

Baden, A. L. (2015). Culture camp, ethnic identity, and adoption socialization for Korean

adoptees: A pretest and posttest study. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent*

Development, *150*, 19–31. https://doi.org/10.1002/cad.20119

Baden, A. L. (2016). "Do you know your real parents?" and other adoption microaggressions.

Adoption Quarterly, *19*, 1–25. http://doi.org/0.1080/10926755.2015.1026012

Baden, A. L., Gibbons, J. L., Wilson, S. L., & McGinnis, H. (2013). International adoption:

Counseling and the adoption triad. *Adoption Quarterly*, *16*, 218–237.

https://doi.org/10.1080/10926755.2013.794440

Baden, A. L., & O'Leary Wiley, M. (2007). Counseling adopted persons in adulthood:

Integrating practice and research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *35*, 868–901.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006291409

Baden, A. L., Treweeke, L. M., & Ahluwalia, M. K. (2012). Reclaiming culture: Reculturation of

transracial and international adoptees. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *90*, 387–

399. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.2012.00049.x

Banerjee, M., Harrell, Z. A., & Johnson, D. J. (2011). Racial/ethnic socialization and parental

involvement in education as predictors of cognitive ability and achievement in African

American children. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *40*, 595–605. https://doi.org/
10.1007/s10964-010-9559-9

Bisin, A., & Verdier, T. (2011). The economics of cultural transmission and socialization. In J.
Benhabib, A. Bisin, & M. O. Jackson (Eds), *Handbook of Social Economics* (Vol. 1, pp.
339–416). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: North-Holland. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-
444-53187-2.00009-7

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in
Psychology*, *3*, 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Chang, D. F., Feldman, K., & Easley, H. (2017). "I'm learning not to tell you": Korean
transracial adoptees' appraisals of parental racial socialization strategies and perceived
effects. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *8*, 308–322.
http://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000091

Chatham-Carpenter, A. (2012). "It was like this, I think": Constructing an adoption narrative for
Chinese adopted children. *Adoption Quarterly*, *15*, 157–184.
https://doi.org/10.1080/10926755.2012.698404

Chen, Z. Y., & Kaplan, H. B. (2001). Intergenerational transmission of constructive parenting.
Journal of Marriage and Family, *63*, 17–31. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-
3737.2001.00017.x

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2017). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among
five approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Côté, J. E. (2000). *Arrested adulthood: The changing nature of maturity and identity*. New York,
NY: New York University Press.

Day, S. C., Godon-Decoteau, D., & Suyemoto, K. L. (2015). Effects of becoming a mother on

    the development of ethnic and racial identities in Korean transnationally and transracially

    adopted women. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *6*, 359–370.

    http://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000028

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York, NY: Norton.

Gibbons, J. L., Wilson, S. L., & Schnell, A. M. (2009). Foster parents as a critical link and

    resource in international adoptions from Guatemala. *Adoption Quarterly*, *12*, 59–77.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/10926750902978808

Goldberg, A. E., & Smith, J. Z. (2016). Predictors of race, adoption, and sexual orientation

    related socialization of adoptive parents of young children. *Journal of Family

    Psychology*, *30*, 397–408. http://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000149

Greco, O., Rosnati, R., & Ferrari, L. (2015). Adult adoptees as partners and parents: The joint

    task of revisiting the adoption history. *Adoption Quarterly*, *18*, 25–44.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/10926755.2014.895468

Hu, A. W., Zhou, X., & Lee, R. M. (2017). Ethnic socialization and ethnic identity development

    among internationally adopted Korean American adolescents: A seven-year follow-up.

    Developmental Psychology, *53*, 2066–2077. http://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000421

Hughes, D., Bachman, M. R. D., & Fuligni, A. (2006). Tuned in or tuned out: Children's

    interpretations of parents' racial socialization messages. *Child psychology: A handbook

    of contemporary issues* (pp. 591–610), New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination

    of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental

    Science*, *1*, 200–214. http://doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4

Hughes, D., & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *63*, 981–995.

Juang, L. P., Park, I., Kim, S. Y., Lee, R. M., Qin, D., Okazaki, S., . . . & Lau, A. (2018). Reactive and proactive ethnic–racial socialization practices of second-generation Asian American parents. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *9*, 4–16. http://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000101

Killian, C., & N. Khanna (2019). Beyond color-blind and color-conscious: Approaches to racial socialization among parents of transracially adopted children. *Family Relations*, *68*, 260–274. http://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12357

Kim, E. J. (2010). *Adopted territory: Transnational Korean adoptees and the politics of belonging*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Kim, O. M., Hynes, K. C., & Lee, R. (2017). Searching for connection—Finding resolution: A grounded theory analysis of writings of Korean American adopted adults. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 8*, 235–247. http://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000082

Kim, O. M., Reichwald, R., & Lee, R. (2013). Cultural socialization in families with adopted Korean adolescents: A mixed-method, multi-informant study. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *28*, 69–95. http://doi.org/10.1177/0743558411432636

Langrehr, K. J., Yoon, E., Hacker, J., & Caudill, K. (2015). Implications of transnational adoption status for adult Korean adoptees. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *43*, 6–24. http://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2015.00061.x

Lee, R. M. (2003). The transracial adoption paradox: History, research, and counseling implications of cultural socialization. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *31*, 711–744. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000003258087

Lee, R. M., & Miller, M. (2009). History and psychology of adoptees in Asian America. In N.

 Tewari & A. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American psychology: Current perspectives* (pp. 337–

 364). New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Maccoby, E. E. (2007). Historical overview of socialization research and theory. In J. E. Grusec

 & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 3–32).

 New York, NY: Guilford Press.

McGinnis, H. A., Baden, A. L., Kim, A. Y., & Kim, J. (2019). Generational shifts: Adult adoptee

 scholars' perspective on future research and practice. *Rudd Adoption Research Program:*

 Future of Adoption Publication Series. Retrieved from

 https://www.umass.edu/ruddchair/sites/default/files/rudd.mcginnis.pdf

Park Nelson, K. (2016). *Invisible Asians: Korean American adoptees, Asian American*

 experiences, and racial exceptionalism. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Raleigh, E. (2013). Transnational Korean adoptees: Adoptee kinship, community, and identity.

 Journal of American Ethnic History, *32*, 89–93.

 http://doi.org/10.5406/jamerethnhist.32.2.0089

Samuels, G. M. (2009). Being raised by White people: Navigating racial difference among

 adopted multiracial adults. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *71*, 80–94.

 http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00581.x

Selman, P. (2012). The rise and fall of intercountry adoption in the 21st century: Global trends

 from 2001 to 2010. In J. Gibbons & K. Rotabi (Eds.), *Intercountry adoption: Policies,*

 practices, and outcomes (pp. 7–28). Farnham, England: Ashgate.

Slater, C. L. (2003). Generativity versus stagnation: An elaboration of Erikson's adult stage of

    human development. *Journal of Adult Development*, *10*, 53–65.

    https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020790820868

Smith, S. L., Howard, J. A., & Monroe, A. D. (2000). Issues underlying behavior problems in at-

    risk adopted children. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *22*, 539–562.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/S0190-7409(00)00102-X

Seol, K. O., Yoo, H. C., Lee, R. M., Park, J. E., & Kyeong, Y. (2016). Racial and ethnic

    socialization as moderators of racial discrimination and school adjustment of adopted and

    nonadopted Korean American adolescents. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *63*, 294–

    306. http://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000120

Song, S. L., & Lee, R. M. (2009). The past and present cultural experiences of adopted Korean

    American adults. *Adoption Quarterly*, *12*, 19–36.

    http://doi.org/10.1080/10926750902791946

Syed, M., & Mitchell, L. L. (2015). Temporal identity integration as a core developmental

    process. Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: An Interdisciplinary,

    Searchable, and Linkable Resource, 1-15.

    https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118900772.etrds0330

Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2015). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: A*

    guidebook and resource. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

van IJzendoorn, M. H. (1992). Intergenerational transmission of parenting: A review of studies

    in nonclinical populations. *Developmental Review*, *12*, 76–99.

Wilson, D., Riley, D., & Lee, B. (2019). Generational shifts: Building an adoption competent

    workforce: A review of the national adoption competency mental health training

initiative. *Rudd Adoption Research Program: Future of Adoption Publication Series.*

Retrieved from https://www.umass.edu/ruddchair/sites/default/files/rudd.wilson.et_al.pdf

Wu, C. S., Lee, S. Y., Zhou, X., Kim, J., Lee, H., & Lee, R. M. (in press). Hidden among the

hidden: Transracially adopted Korean American adults raising multiracial children.

Developmental Psychology. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/dev0000881

Yoon, D. P. (2004). Intercountry adoption: The importance of ethnic socialization and subjective

well-being for Korean-born adopted children. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in*

Social Work, *13*, 71–89. http://doi.org/10.1300/J051v13n02_04

Table 1

Themes and Codes

	Past: Adoptee's appraisals of adoptive parents' socialization	Present: Adoptee parents' socialization practices with their own children
Ethnic socialization: sharing of cultural practices, traditions, and histories regarding children's ethnicity or race and promotion of pride and commitment to one's ethnic identity	• Limited exposure	• Not feeling authentic • Reculturation with children • Birth family involvement
Racial socialization: sharing of social structures, intergroup relationships, and discrimination with regards to one's race or ethnicity	• Colorblindness and racism in adoptive families	• Multiracial/multicultural promotion/pluralism • Phenotypical differences • Dealing with racism
Adoption socialization: sharing of children's and/or parents' adoption history and process so children and adolescents understand about the adoption in the family and gain a sense of comfort around adoption	• Master narrative of adoption	• Talking about adoption • Promotion of adoption-centered activities • Child's curiosity and inquiry about adoption