Title

Racial-Ethnic Socialization Among Asian American Families with Preadolescent Children

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3qh1s5d1

Author

Kimura, Anna Mitsuko

Publication Date

2022

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Racial-Ethnic Socialization Among

Asian American Families with Preadolescent Children

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in Education

by

Anna Mitsuko Kimura

2022

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Racial-Ethnic Socialization Among

Asian American Families with Preadolescent Children

by

Anna Mitsuko Kimura

Master of Arts in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Rashmita S. Mistry, Chair

Racial-ethnic socialization (RES) has promotive and protective effects for Asian American children, but parental RES remains understudied among Asian American families with preadolescents. The current study draws from a sample of 404 Asian American parents (M_{age} = 38.4, SD = 7.0, 66% female) with 6- to 12-year-olds (M_{age} = 8.9, SD = 2.0, 56% boy; parent-report), and examines the role of child and parent factors on parents' RES engagement. Results revealed that parent generational status predicted parental RES, whereas child age did not. Parents' cultural maintenance practices were influenced both by their racial-ethnic and American identities in complex ways. Personal experiences of racial discrimination may differentially influence whether first vs. second+ generation parents discuss anti-Asian discrimination with their children. Parents' racial socialization confidence may influence whether they minimize

racism with their children. Findings highlight the importance of considering how Asian

American parents' background and beliefs shape their RES.

The thesis of Anna Mitsuko Kimura is approved.

Sandra H. Graham

Anna J. Markowitz

Rashmita S. Mistry, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Introduction

Since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, there has been an alarmingly high rate of anti-Asian hate and violence across the United States. Between March 2020 to March 2022, the anti-Asian hate incident reporting center Stop AAPI Hate received 11,467 reports (Yellow Horse & Chen, 2022). Almost 10 percent of the incident reporters were under the age of 18—a concerning statistic, given evidence indicating that COVID-19-related racist incidents are negatively associated with psychosocial outcomes among Chinese American youth (Cheah et al., 2020). Unfortunately, these anti-Asian sentiments represent just a portion of the broader interpersonal and structural racism that persists in the U.S. Given the endemic nature of racism and its detrimental effects on Asian American children, it is critical to better understand how Asian American parents transmit messages about race and ethnicity to their children (i.e., racial-ethnic socialization; Hughes et al., 2006)—a process that has been linked to positive outcomes among children of color, including Asian American children (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020, Juang et al., 2017).

When considering how Asian American families approach discussing ethnic heritage, race, and racism with their children, it is important to understand the racial narratives that shape the racialized experiences of Asian Americans in the U.S. Asian Americans are commonly racialized by the *model minority myth*, which misrepresents Asian Americans as a monolith, academically high-achieving, and apolitical (Wong & Halgin, 2006), and serves to pit Asian Americans against Black, Latinx, Indigenous, and working-class White communities in order to uphold White supremacy (Museus & Iftikar, 2013; Wu, 2015; Lee, 2015). Asian Americans are also subjected to the *perpetual foreigner stereotype*, which portrays all Asians, regardless of generational status, as foreigners to the U.S. (Tuan, 1998), and the *yellow peril narrative*, which

1

depicts Asian Americans as 'evil,' 'dirty,' and 'diseased,' and is a narrative that has reemerged during the COVID-19 pandemic (Chen et al., 2020). These racial narratives have been shaped by broader historical and sociopolitical contexts such as immigration policies, global economics, shifting national rhetoric, and U.S. imperialism and military intervention across Asia. Further, while Asian Americans have a long history in the U.S. and currently constitute the fastest growing racial group in the country (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021), Asian Americans are repeatedly excluded from race-related discourse, due to racial narratives that frame American racism in exclusively Black and White terms (Kim, 1999), and the model minority myth, which erases any differential needs within the broader Asian American pan-ethnic group (Yip et al., 2021). Not only do Asian American parents have to navigate these racial narratives in their own everyday lives, but they must also find ways to discuss these race-related topics with their children in ways that are developmentally appropriate, reflective of their children's racialized experiences, and responsive to broader racial and social inequities.

The literature on racial-ethnic socialization (RES) documents many positive effects of RES for children of color, including its promotive effects on academic and psychosocial outcomes and its protective effects against racial discrimination (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Research also indicates that parental RES practices vary by factors such as parents' generational status (Juang et al., 2018), parents' attitudes towards their own REI (Derlan et al., 2017; White-Johnson, 2010), and experiences with racial discrimination, such that more experiences of racial discrimination are related to increased action to prepare children for future experiences of racial bias (Anderson et al., 2015; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014; Benner & Kim, 2009). However, most of the RES literature has focused on adolescents, with less attention to children in early- to middle-childhood (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Among Asian American families, the majority

of studies examining RES have focused on the experiences of adolescents and young adults, with evidence suggesting generally positive associations of RES with adolescents' racial-ethnic identity (REI), self-esteem, academic motivation, and school engagement (Juang et al., 2017; Atkin & Yoo, 2020). While there has been a growth in attention on Asian American families within the RES literature (in a recent review, 24% of empirical studies included an Asian American sample; see Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), there remains a paucity of research examining Asian American parental RES with preadolescent children (ages 6-12; Juang et al., 2017). Given evidence indicating that children are piecing together their REI from a young age and the important role of parents in helping children navigate their racialized worlds (Williams et al., 2020), it is important to build an empirical understanding of how parental RES may vary across the developmental spectrum.

The current study aims to fill this gap in knowledge, with a focus on examining parental RES among Asian American families with 6- to 12-year-old children both overall and across key sociodemographic variables (e.g., generational status, child age). Further, the study aims to investigate the relations between parental RES and key correlates such as parents' REI, their American identity, experiences with racial discrimination, and confidence in their ability to discuss racism and racial discrimination with their children.

Theoretical Framework

The current study uses the Integrated Conceptual Framework for the Development of Asian American Children and Youth (Mistry et al., 2016) to developmentally frame Asian American parents' RES approaches with their young children. Informed by Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007), García Coll and colleagues' (1996) integrative model, and sociocultural theories (Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978; Weisner, 2002),

the framework highlights three core tenets: context, culture as a meaning making process, and developmental domains (see Figure 1; Mistry et al., 2016). These tenets are represented in a metaphor of interlocked gears that turn together to shape children's development—a dynamic representation that can be contrasted with other theoretical models that use arrows to indicate relationships between core components of development. The central tenet, culture as meaning making, represents the ways in which parents and children interpret contexts by using shared

Figure 1

Integrated Conceptual Framework for the Development of Asian American Children and Youth

Note. From "An Integrated Conceptual Framework for the Development of Asian American Children and Youth," by J. Mistry, J. Li, H. Yoshikawa, V. Tseng, J. Tirrell, L. Kiang, R. Mistry, and Y. Wang, 2016, *Child Development, 87*(4), p. 1016 (https://doi.org 10.1111/cdev.12577). Copyright 2016 by the Society for Research in Child Development.

ideologies, and use these interpretations to then inform interactions and socialization. Culture is defined as both shared ideologies and meaning making processes to move away from static, one-dimensional definitions of culture that are too often used to overgeneralize entire pan-ethnic groups (Mistry et al., 2016). The second tenet, context, highlights how the developmental process is embedded within multiple culturally interpreted contexts, such as the broader racialized context, and more proximal contexts, including the home and school environments. In contrast to other models (e.g., Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998), the framework posits that culture permeates across all contexts to influence development. Lastly, the third tenet, developmental domains, represents areas of development pertinent to children, such as identity development in a racialized context.

Applying the Integrated Conceptual Framework to parental RES, I posit that Asian American parents use their meaning making processes to interpret the broader racialized contexts, make sense of their own and their child's proximal contexts (e.g., home, school, neighborhood), and gauge their child's developmental readiness in order to determine how they want to engage in RES with their children. Children, in turn, will draw upon their own meaning making processes to interpret their parents' socialization and own environments. As a feedback loop, children's responses will then inform how parents engage in RES in the future and influence how they interpret their own and their children's contexts. Over time, this process will influence children's development, particularly in developmental domains associated with RES, such as REI development, school engagement, and youth adjustment. Thus, it is critical to account for parents' meaning making processes when investigating their RES practices. I now turn to the review of the literature to outline how parental RES relates to developmental

outcomes and to describe salient elements of parents' meaning making processes that inform their RES, particularly with Asian American children.

<div align="center">**Literature Review**</div>

I begin with definitions of terms and a broad overview of RES, including how RES has been examined among Asian American families. Next, I describe the research on parental RES with Asian American children, and end by describing key parental correlates that are posited to inform parents' meaning making processes around RES and remain understudied in the Asian American parental RES literature.

Race, Ethnicity, and Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Race is defined as a socially constructed concept that is not based in genetic traits and has been used to create and maintain systems of domination in the U.S. across time (Omi & Winant, 2014; Solórzano & Huber, 2020). In contrast, *ethnicity* is based on the shared culture of a group, including traditions, language, history, values, and norms (Tatum, 2017). While race and ethnicity are distinct constructs, they can overlap in everyday experiences, including within conversations that parents have with their children about race and ethnicity. Thus, where such overlap is applicable, the term 'racial-ethnic' is used.

In their seminal review, Hughes and colleagues (2006) closely examined the content of RES messages among families of color and identified four common messages. The first type is *cultural socialization*, which includes the transmission of cultural practices, traditions, languages, and histories to children, and the promotion of cultural, ethnic, and racial pride (Hughes et al., 2006). The second type is *preparation for bias*, which includes educating children about racial discrimination and preparing them with ways to cope and/or respond to future instances of discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). Preparation for bias messages also fall within

<div align="center">6</div>

the umbrella term of racial socialization, which more broadly refers to the process of relaying messages about race to children (Juang et al., 2017). The third type is *promotion of mistrust*, which includes messages that emphasize the need to be wary or distrustful of other racial and ethnic groups (Hughes et al., 2006). The fourth type is the endorsement of *egalitarianism and/or silence about race*, which includes messages that teach children to value individual qualities (e.g., hard work), rather than racial and/or ethnic group membership, and may include an avoidance of discussing race altogether (Hughes et al., 2006).

In a review of parental RES studies, Umaña-Taylor and Hill (2020) noted that families of color most commonly transmit cultural socialization messages, moderately engage in preparation for bias, and infrequently engage in promotion of mistrust messages. As an understudied RES message, there was insufficient evidence to generalize the frequency of egalitarian messages among parents of color (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Importantly, parents of color do not transmit these RES messages separately; parents often use a combination of these messages as they engage in RES (Hughes et al., 2006; Atkin & Yoo, 2020). Across racial and ethnic groups, RES is generally positively associated with youth of colors' development, with evidence that RES is promotive of academic and psychosocial outcomes and protective against the negative effects of racial discrimination (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). These positive effects of RES are posited to be mediated through mechanisms such as children feeling prepared to respond to racially biased instances or through a strong sense of positive self-esteem (Neblett et al., 2012). While research on RES has grown, there are limitations to the existing literature base, such as less research examining parental RES with children (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), and fewer studies that have examined the experiences of Asian American families (Simon, 2021), particularly Asian American families with elementary-age children (Juang et al., 2017).

Asian American Families and RES

Among the quantitative studies that have examined RES among Asian American families, RES is associated with a number of youth outcomes. Cultural socialization is positively associated with youth adjustment (e.g., self-esteem, psychological well-being, school engagement), whereas promotion of mistrust is generally negatively associated with youth adjustment (e.g., academic achievement, REI) (Juang et al., 2017). Preparation for bias is associated with both positive and negative youth adjustment, with some studies finding that increased preparation for bias is related to Chinese American middle schoolers feeling a misfit with American culture (Benner & Kim, 2009), and believing that others have a more negative view of their ethnic group (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). However, preparation for bias was also positively related to ethnic identity among Chinese American sixth graders (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). These mixed findings reflect the multifaceted nature of RES and the need for a nuanced investigation of this construct.

Notably, most quantitative studies examining Asian American parental RES have relied on RES measures that were not originally developed to align with the racialized experiences of Asian American families (Juang et al., 2017). Since racial and ethnic groups are differentially racialized in the U.S. (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017), adapted RES measures are unable to capture key constructs particularly relevant to Asian Americans, such as immigration and acculturation experiences. In response to a need for an Asian American specific RES scale, Juang and colleagues (2016) created the Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale. The scale was developed with particular attention to how immigration experiences may influence parents' RES and was tested with a sample of Asian American emerging adults with immigrant parents (Juang et al., 2016). To date, the Asian American Parental RES Scale has been used to

examine the relationship between parental RES and Asian American adolescent outcomes (Atkin & Yoo, 2020; Juang et al., 2016). Further research is needed to better understand how this new RES scale captures parental RES engagement among families with young children and how parent correlates may influence RES approaches.

Asian American Parental RES with Young Children

While the evidence indicates variability in Asian American parental RES and associated adolescent outcomes, there remains limited research that has examined these patterns among Asian American families with 6- to 12-year-old children (Juang et al., 2017). It is important to examine RES approaches used with children because research suggests that children are piecing together a sense of ethnic and racial identity from early childhood (Williams et al., 2020). For instance, Ambady and colleagues (2001) noted that among a sample of 5- to 7-year-old Asian American children, those who were primed to think about their ethnicity were more likely to score higher on a math test than those who were primed to think about gender or were in a control group, indicating that even in early elementary school, Asian American children are aware of ethnicity-based stereotypes. Further, age-related variations in RES have been studied among Black families, with evidence indicating that Black parents may increase promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias messages as children transition from early childhood (4-8 years) to middle childhood and early adolescence (9-14 years) (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Thus, further research on parental RES with young Asian American children and possible age-related differences in Asian American parental RES is warranted.

Overall, very few studies have examined Asian American parental RES with preadolescent children. For example, in a literature review of studies examining RES among Asian American families, just one out of the 22 studies included early-childhood-aged children

(Juang et al., 2017). A few additional studies have investigated RES approaches used by Asian American parents with young children. One such study was conducted by Juang and colleagues (2018), which qualitatively examined RES among Asian American families with children between the ages of 3 and 10 years. The study included focus groups and interviews with 34 second generation Asian American parents (majority East Asian American) and found that parents took both reactive and proactive approaches to socializing their children (Juang et al., 2018). Reactive approaches were in response to children's comments and experiences, whereas proactive approaches included discussions of racism by using books, referring to current events, and utilizing direct questioning strategies (Juang et al., 2018).

In another study, Anderson and colleagues (2015) conducted focus groups with 22 majority first generation Korean parents and found that parents were most likely to emphasize cultural pride and egalitarian messages to their 0- to 4-year-old children as they prepared their children to be ready to enter formal schooling. While the Anderson et al. (2015) and Juang et al. (2018) studies document valuable thematic patterns of RES among first and second generation Asian American parents, there remains a need to build the research base by using quantitative methods and conducting research with a diverse range of Asian ethnic groups (beyond East Asian groups) to better understand how Asian American parents approach RES with their children.

Variability Within Asian American Parental RES

In alignment with the Integrated Conceptual Framework (Mistry et al., 2016), the RES literature base suggests many factors may influence parents' meaning making processes as they determine how they engage in RES. Factors pertinent to the current study include parents' sociodemographic characteristics, beliefs about their REI and American identity, past racially

discriminatory experiences, and confidence in their ability to discuss racial discrimination and racism with their children.

      Sociodemographic Characteristics. When examining RES among Asian American families, evidence indicates the importance of accounting for sociodemographic characteristics such as parental generational status as well as family immigration and emigration experiences (Juang et al., 2018; Yoshikawa et al., 2016). *First generation* is defined as those who immigrated to the U.S., whereas *second+ generation* is defined as those born in the U.S. Juang and colleagues (2018) noted that the second generation Asian American parents in their qualitative study frequently shared a dilemma of wanting to proactively engage in cultural socialization but feeling unable to adequately pass along their cultural heritage to their children because they did not have the resources or a deep understanding of their cultural heritage. On the other hand, parents commonly shared that passing along American culture and values was easy, and that they felt more empowered to stand up against racism than their immigrant parents (Juang et al., 2018). In contrast to second+ generation parents who have not directly experienced the immigration process, first generation parents' meaning making processes are shaped by their emigration contexts, immigration experiences, and acculturation processes (Yoshikawa et al., 2016). Research indicates that Asian American immigrant parents take varying approaches to RES, with many preferring to take a bicultural approach by engaging in cultural maintenance practices, while also adapting to mainstream American culture (Atkin & Yoo, 2020).

      The immigration patterns of Asian ethnic sub-groups have been shaped by a history of U.S. military intervention, imperialism, and colonialism in Asia (Lee, 2015), resulting in heterogenous emigration and acculturation experiences across Asian ethnic subgroups (Kiang et al., 2016). For example, many Vietnamese refugees migrated to the U.S. after 1975, and many

middle-class Asian Indians immigrated to the U.S. after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. On the other hand, while immigration increased after 1965 for most Asian ethnic groups, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos have a longer history in the U.S. that has shaped levels of acculturation within these communities (Kiang et al., 2016). Thus, it is important to consider ethnic group membership (i.e., country of origin) as another sociodemographic variable that may shape variability in parental RES practices.

U.S. immigration policies have also played a major role in shaping the socioeconomic landscape of Asian America. For example, the Immigration Act of 1990 created the H-1B temporary visa program, which issues specialized worker visas and is only available to individuals that have attained at least a bachelor's degree (Kocchar & Cilluffo, 2018). Between 2001 and 2015, 68% of H-1B visa recipients were from Asia, with 51% of Indian descent and 10% of Chinese descent (Ruiz, 2017). Policies such as the H-1B visa program have skewed the income and education levels of certain Asian ethnic sub-groups and fueled a rapidly growing income divide among Asian Americans (Kochhar & Cilluffo, 2018). Further, income inequalities present prior to migration are only exacerbated once in the U.S. context (Kochhar & Cilluffo, 2018). With a wide spectrum of socioeconomic backgrounds within Asian America, family socioeconomic status (SES) and parental education are posited to play a role in parents' meaning making processes that inform their RES approaches. However, less research has examined the role of SES in shaping RES among Asian American families, particularly with young children. Tran and colleagues (2010) surveyed a sample of Asian American older adolescents and found that higher maternal education was associated with higher rates of cultural socialization and pluralism messages. While not an Asian American sample, in a qualitative study examining the influence of SES on RES messages relayed by Black parents/caregivers to their preschool- or

kindergarten-aged children, the authors found that working class parents/caregivers most commonly transmitted egalitarian messages, whereas middle class parents/caregivers most commonly transmitted preparation for bias messages to their children (Doucet et al., 2016). Thus, while a few studies have demonstrated how SES may influence RES approaches, more research is needed to discern how SES and parental education may influence parental RES approaches among Asian American families with preadolescent children.

Parent Beliefs about Racial-Ethnic and American Identities. To my knowledge, the literature on Asian American parental RES has largely focused on the relationship between RES and youth REI (e.g., Atkin & Yoo, 2020; Tran & Lee, 2010; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010) and American identity outcomes (e.g., Gartner et al., 2014; Woo et al., 2020), with less attention to the influence of parents' REI and American identity on their RES engagement. REI is often described and measured through a combination of multiple components. According to the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity, REI consists of four dimensions (Sellers et al., 1998). For this paper, I focus on two dimensions: centrality and private regard. *Centrality* refers to the extent to which an individual is attached to their racial-ethnic group and views their racial and/or ethnic identity as central to their core concept (Sellers et al., 1997). *Private regard* refers to whether an individual feels positively or negatively towards their own racial and/or ethnic group, and the extent to which they feel positively or negatively about being a part of their racial and/or ethnic group (Sellers et al., 1998). From a theoretical perspective, parents' beliefs about their own REI will shape their meaning making process around RES.

Empirically, studies examining parental RES have suggested that parents' REI centrality and private regard may be positively related to cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages among Latinx and Black families. For example, Derlan and colleagues (2017)

13

surveyed Mexican-origin mothers and found that mothers' REI centrality and greater positive feelings about their REI were associated with higher rates of cultural socialization messages with girls (although only for girls with lighter skin tones). White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) found that Black mothers who conveyed higher rates of racial pride and preparation for bias messages to their adolescents were also more likely to have higher REI centrality and private regard. In comparison, mothers who had lower levels of private regard less frequently conveyed racial pride messages to their adolescents, and mothers with lower levels of REI centrality were less likely to engage in racial socialization (White-Johnson et al., 2010). Further, while even less research has examined how the strength of parents' American identity may influence their RES engagement, a latent profile analysis with Latinx mothers of adolescents found that mothers high in both REI and American identity frequently engaged in cultural socialization, whereas mothers with low REI and relatively moderate endorsement of their American identity were less likely to engage in cultural socialization practices with their children (Christophe et al., 2020). Similar research among Asian American families that examines the influence of parents' REI and American identities on their RES practices is limited and remains an important gap to address.

  Experiences with Racial Discrimination. Parents' experiences with racial discrimination are associated with their approaches to RES. For instance, Hagelskamp and Hughes (2014) surveyed Black, Latinx, and Chinese mothers and their sixth-grade children, and found that higher rates of parent-reported institutional discrimination were positively associated with transmission of preparation for bias messages. Among the subsample of 24 Chinese immigrant mothers, a higher rate of interpersonal prejudice was predictive of a reduction in cultural pride messages conveyed to their children (Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). Further, Benner and Kim (2009) found that within a sample of majority immigrant Chinese American

parents, those who experienced more racial discrimination were more likely to engage in RES with their middle schoolers.

   Parental Racial Socialization Confidence. Related to experiences with racial discrimination, there is emerging evidence on the relevance of accounting for parents' confidence in their ability to engage in racial socialization as an additional parental correlate to consider (Anderson et al., 2020). To measure this construct, Anderson and colleagues (2020) introduced the Racial Socialization Competency Scale and tested the scale with Black families with children under 18 years. A follow-up study indicated that parents' confidence in their ability to engage in racial socialization significantly moderated an association between parental worries around the chance that their adolescent may experience a future racial incident and adolescents' psychosocial well-being (Anderson et al., 2021). Thus, when considering the factors that may influence Asian American parental RES, it is important to consider the influence of parents' past experiences with racial discrimination as well as their confidence in their ability to engage in racial socialization.

   In sum, while the parental RES literature is growing, further research on Asian American parental RES, particularly with young children, is warranted. While a few qualitative studies have shed light on Asian American parents' meaning making process when engaging in RES with their children, quantitative studies are needed to identify generalizable patterns with larger samples. Further, there remains a need to study a diverse range of Asian ethnic groups as the current literature base skews towards majority East Asian samples. Thus, the current study aims to address these gaps and add to the literature by examining parental correlates that may influence Asian American parents' RES practices with their preadolescent children.

Current Study

The purpose of the current study is to examine the variability in Asian American parents' RES approaches with their children and predictors of RES practices among a large and diverse sample of Asian American parents with children (ages 6-12). The specific research questions are:

1. To what extent do Asian American parents report engagement in specific RES practices (i.e., cultural maintenance, acculturation activities, raise awareness of anti-Asian discrimination, and minimize racism) with their children (ages 6-12)?

    a. How does RES engagement vary by parent generational status and child age?

2. To what extent are Asian American parents' levels of REI associated with their engagement in cultural maintenance or acculturation practices with their children?

    a. Are these associations moderated by parents' level of American identity and generational status?

3. To what extent are Asian American parents' racial discrimination experiences related to the frequency with which they raise awareness of anti-Asian discrimination or minimize racism with their children?

    a. Are these associations moderated by parents' racial socialization confidence, parent generational status, and child age?

Expected Outcomes

RQ1: Variation in Parental RES

It was expected that parents would report engaging in cultural maintenance and acculturation practices frequently. Parents would also report engaging in discussions of anti-Asian discrimination and minimizing race at lower rates.

Parental Generational Status. It was expected that first generation parents would more frequently report engaging in cultural maintenance and minimization of racism, as compared to second+ generation parents. In contrast, second+ generation parents would more frequently report engaging in acculturation practices and discussing anti-Asian discrimination with their children, as compared to first generation parents.

Child Age. It was expected that parents of older children (ages 9-12) would more frequently report discussing anti-Asian discrimination than parents of younger children (ages 6-8). Parents' engagement in cultural maintenance and acculturation practices were not expected to differ across the two age groups. With limited evidence on the influence of child age on minimizing racism, no directional hypotheses were developed.

RQ2: REI, American Identity, and Parent Generational Status Predicting Cultural Socialization

It was expected that parents who reported higher levels of REI (both centrality and private regard) would more frequently report engaging in cultural maintenance. Parents who reported lower levels of REI would more frequently report engaging in acculturation practices. These relationships were expected to be moderated by the strength of parents' American identity. For example, among parents who reported higher levels of REI, those with a weaker American identity were expected to more frequently report engaging in cultural maintenance, as compared to parents with a strong American identity. Among parents who reported lower levels of REI, those with a stronger American identity were expected to more frequently report engaging in acculturation practices, as compared to parents with a weaker American identity. Similar results as RQ1 were expected when parent generational status was added as a moderator, with the relationship between REI and cultural maintenance expected to be stronger among first

17

generation parents than second+ generation parents, and the relationship between REI and acculturation practices expected to be weaker among first generation parents than second+ generation parents.

RQ3: Racial Discrimination, Racial Socialization Confidence, Parent Generational Status, and Child Age Predicting Racial Socialization

It was expected that higher rates of experiencing racial discrimination (both general and perpetual foreigner based) would be correlated with higher rates of reported engagement to raise awareness of anti-Asian discrimination. Parents' confidence in their ability to discuss racial discrimination and racism with their children (i.e., racial socialization confidence) was expected to moderate this relationship. For example, it was expected that experiences of racial discrimination would be more strongly associated with reports of discussing anti-Asian discrimination among parents with higher levels of racial socialization confidence, as compared to parents with lower levels of confidence. Similar results as RQ1 were expected when parent generational status and child age were added as moderators. That is, the relationship between racial discrimination and discussion of anti-Asian discrimination would be stronger among second+ generation parents (as compared to first generation parents), and stronger among parents with older children (as compared to parents with younger children). Expected outcomes for minimization of racism were not directionally specified due to the exploratory nature of the analysis.

Methods

Data Source

Data for the current study were collected via an online survey of Asian/Asian American parents with 6- to 12-year-old children recruited through Centiment Survey Panels, an online

recruitment and data collection service (formerly known as Qualtrics Panel). Centiment's survey panel recruitment was balanced by age, gender, and census region to broadly represent the U.S. population, but was limited to respondents who had access to internet and voluntarily opted into Centiment's subject pool. The survey was distributed to 863 potential respondents (i.e., U.S.-based, Asian American parents of children ages 6-12), and yielded a 48% responses rate ($N =$ 404), which is a similar rate to other web-based surveys with the same length (e.g., Galesic & Bosnjak, 2009). The survey was administered in English. When completing the survey, if participants reported having a child within the 6-8 age range and a child within the 9-12 age range, the survey randomly selected which age range the target child should be in. If the participant had more than one child within the 6-8 age range or 9-12 age range, then they were asked to choose just one of their eligible children (i.e., each respondent only had one focal child).

Procedures

Recruitment and data collection were completed over two weeks in October 2021 by Centiment Survey Panels (https://www.centiment.co). Centiment disseminated the online survey through a number of mechanisms, including a respondent dashboard (qualifying respondents are notified of the survey via email or push notifications) as well as social media sites such as Facebook and LinkedIn. Prior to beginning the survey, participants completed an informed consent form, which included an overview of the study, information related to participation, and potential risks and benefits. Participants were compensated for their time via PayPal accounts, or a donation to a local school or nonprofit of their choice. The amount of compensation ranged between $3.50 and $8.25 and was determined by Centiment's dynamic recruitment system used to drive traffic to the survey. The current study was reviewed and approved by the IRB at UCLA (IRB#21-001082).

Participants

The current study includes data from 404 parents (M_{age} = 38.4, SD = 7.0, age range = 20-58) who (a) self-identified as Asian and/or Asian American and (b) had at least one Asian and/or Asian American child between the ages of 6 and 12 years. A power analysis using G*Power 3 determined that a sample of 400 would be adequate to detect a small- to moderate-effect (Faul et al., 2007). Participants reported demographic information about themselves and their children (see Table 1). The sample was 30% East Asian (majority Chinese), 27% South Asian (majority Asian Indian), and 27% Southeast Asian (majority Filipino). Two-thirds of participants were mothers and one-third were fathers. Approximately half of the sample were immigrants, and slightly less than half were born in the U.S. (i.e., second₊ generation). A majority of participants self-identified as middle class (77%). Children's ethnicity largely mirrored that of their parents, but with a higher percentage being multiracial (25%; majority Asian-White). The sample was relatively evenly split between 6- to 8-year-olds (49%) and 9- to 12-year-olds (51%). There were slightly more boys (56%) than girls (43%). Most children were U.S.-born (87%). See Appendix A for detailed information on child and household demographics.

Measures

Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Four subscales from the Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale (Juang et al., 2016) were include to measure the extent to which parents reported engaging in a variety of RES practices: (1) cultural maintenance (9-items; e.g., "You routinely cook your child Asian food"); (2) becoming American (4-items; e.g., "You encourage your child to be proud of being American"); (3) raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination (4-items; e.g., "You tell your child why some people will treat them unfairly because of their Asian background"); and

20

(4) minimization of race (3-items; e.g., "You tell your child that racism doesn't exist"). Each of the items were rated by parents on a four-point scale ranging from 1 = *never*, to 4 = *very often*, with additional options of *not yet, too young* (recoded in model as 1), *N/A* (recoded in model as missing) and *prefer not to answer* (recoded in model as missing). Among participants that had a response for at least half of the items in a subscale (i.e., at least two valid responses for a four-item subscale and at least two valid responses for a three-item subscale), a composite score was created for the subscale by calculating the average score across the items.

Adaptations. The subscales were adapted from the original adolescent-report format to a parent-report format and revised to include language inclusive of multiracial or multiethnic individuals (e.g., "You encourage your child to be proud of their culture(s)"). While a majority of the items were unchanged, three out of the four items in the becoming American subscale were revised because the original items were tailored to the experiences of immigrant parents who may not have necessarily identified as American. Instead, the items were replaced with statements that mirrored the cultural maintenance subscale but focused on activities related to and feelings around being American (e.g., "You celebrate American holidays with your child"). Thus, this revised subscale is referred to as acculturation practices in this paper.

Reliability. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA; principal axis factor analysis with promax rotation, $\kappa = 4$) was conducted to assess the reliability of the adapted subscales. Results of the EFA indicated that retaining all four subscales was appropriate (see Appendix B for full results of the EFA). Cronbach's alpha values indicate that each subscale had adequate to good reliability: cultural maintenance ($\alpha = .74$), acculturation practices ($\alpha = .58$), raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination ($\alpha = .85$), and minimization of racism ($\alpha = .72$).

Racial-Ethnic Identity

Parents' REI centrality was assessed using items from the centrality subscale (4-items; e.g., "In general, being a member of my racial/ethnic group(s) is an important part of my self-image"; α = .88) of the adapted Multidimensional Inventory for Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997; Kiang et al., 2006). The adapted MIBI private regard subscale was also used to assess another dimension of parents' REI (3-items; e.g., "I feel good about being a member of my racial/ethnic group(s)"; α = .85). The original language of both scales was slightly revised to refer to "racial/ethnic group(s)," rather than "ethnic group" or "Black," to be consistent and relevant to Asian American respondents, and inclusive of multiracial or multiethnic respondents. Participants were asked to rate their agreement for each item on a six-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). Among participants that had a response for at least half of the items in a subscale, a composite score was created for the subscale by calculating the average score across the items.

American Identity

The strength of parents' American identities were assessed by asking them to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "I identify as being American." The item was rated using a six-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*).

Racial Discrimination

Parents' experiences of racial discrimination were assessed using a 9-item Brief Discrimination Scale (Pituc et al., 2009), as well as three items from the Everyday Discrimination Scale (Williams et al., 1997). Participants were asked to indicate how frequently they had experienced each item in the past year (1 = *never*, 2 = *once or twice*, 3 = *three or four times*, 4 = *five or more times*). An EFA (principal axis factor analysis with promax rotation, κ = 4) was conducted to determine the factor structure of the 10 items (see Appendix B for full

results of the EFA). Results of the EFA supported a two-factor model, consisting of (1) general racial discrimination (6-items; e.g., "Rejected by others because of your ethnicity/race"; α = .92) and (2) perpetual foreigner (PF) based racial discrimination (6-items; e.g., "Had someone comment on or be surprised by your English language ability"; α = .84). While highly correlated (r = .78), the two discrimination variables were retained as two distinct factors because of the poor fit when estimating a single-factor model. Among participants that had a response for at least half of the items in a subscale, a composite score was created for the subscale by calculating the average score across the items.

Racial Socialization Confidence

Parents' confidence in their ability to engage in racial socialization was assessed using an abbreviated version of the Racial Socialization Competency Scale (RaSCS; Anderson et al, 2020; G. Stein, personal communication, June 19, 2021). Specifically, I included four items focused on parents' efficacy in engaging in racial socialization with their children (e.g., "How confident do you feel addressing an incident of racial/ethnic discrimination that your child has experienced or witnessed?"; α = .88). The items were rated using a five-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all confident* to 5 = *very confident*). Among participants that had a response for at least half of the items in this scale, a composite score was created by calculating the average score across the items.

Covariates

Covariates were included in all models to account for the possibility of other sociodemographic variables that the literature base has demonstrated to potentially influence the predictor and outcome variables. Covariates included child gender (girl = 1), and parent's race/ethnicity (i.e., East Asian, South Asian, Southeast Asian, Multiethnic, Multiracial), age,

gender (woman = 1), education level (1 = *some high school* to 8 = *doctorate degree*; categorical), and subjective social status (i.e., individual's perceived relative standing in society; SSS; Adler et al., 2000). SSS was assessed by asking participants to rank themselves along a 10-rung ladder, with the bottom of the ladder (score = 1) representing those who "have the least money, lead education, and worst job or no job," and the top of the ladder (score = 10) representing those who have "the most money, most education, and best jobs."

Analytic Plan

For RQ1, a Multivariate Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA) was conducted to assess how parent-reported RES practices varied for the following four dependent variables: (1) cultural maintenance, (2) acculturation practices, (3) raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination, and (4) minimization of race. Based on the extant literature that suggests the key role of parent generational status and the potential role of child age in shaping how parents engage in meaning making around RES, comparisons were made for each subscale by generational status (first vs. second+ generation) and child age (6-8 vs. 9-12 years old). Child gender, along with parent race/ethnicity (comparison group: East Asian), age, gender, education level, and SSS were hypothesized to be potential influencers of the RES process and were included in the model as covariates.

For RQ2, a series of ordinary least squares regression analyses were conducted to test the extent to which parents' REI (i.e., centrality, private regard) was associated with their cultural socialization (i.e., cultural maintenance, acculturation practices), and whether that varied by parents' American identity and generational status. All analyses included covariates to account for their potential influence on predictor and outcome variables. See Figure 2 for the analytic model.

Figure 2

Analytic Model for Research Question 2
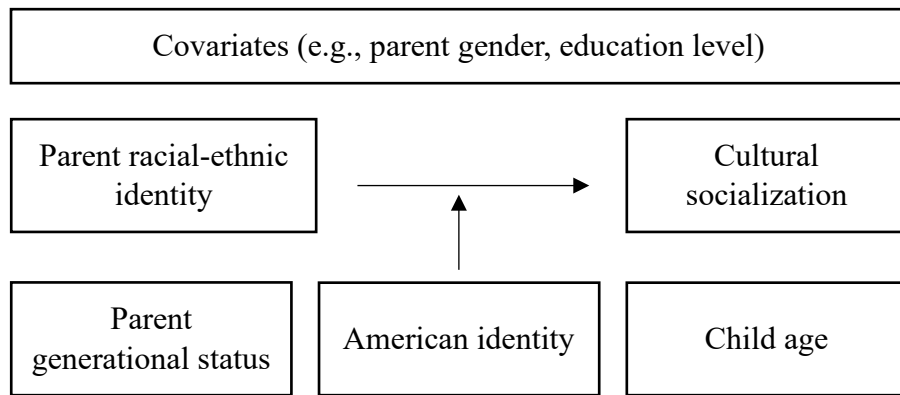
For RQ3, a second series of ordinary least squares regression analyses were conducted to test the extent to which parents' experiences of racial discrimination (i.e., general, PF-based) were associated with their racial socialization (i.e., discussion of anti-Asian discrimination, minimization of racism), and whether that varied by child age, parents' racial socialization confidence, and generational status. All analyses included covariates to account for their potential influence on predictor and outcome variables. See Figure 3 for the analytic model.

For each regression analysis, Model 1 included only the full set of covariates as predictors to test the influence of covariates on the outcomes of interest. Model 2 included the covariates plus all independent variables (predictors plus moderating variables) to test for main effects. The final model (Model 3) included the full model: covariate, independent variables, and two-way interaction terms between the primary predictor variable and moderating variables (e.g., REI Centrality x Parent Generation).

Figure 3

Analytic Model for Research Question 3

Covariates (e.g., parent gender, education level)		
Parent experiences with racial discrimination	→	Racial socialization
Parent generational status	Confidence in ability to discuss racial discrimination and racism ↑	Child age
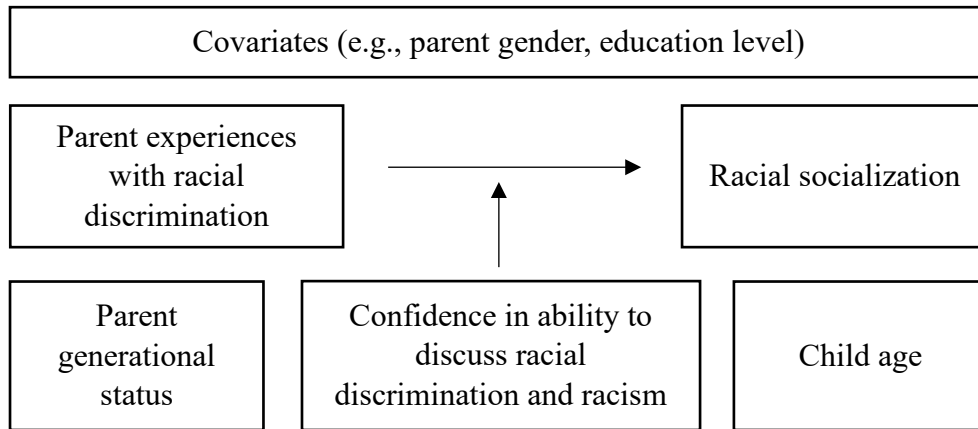
Results

Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations for the primary variables are presented in Table 2. Parents varied in their engagement of RES. A series of paired sample t-tests indicated that parents reported engaging in acculturation practices more often than cultural maintenance $t(396) = -14.53$, $p < .001$, discussing anti-Asian discrimination $t(398) = 24.46$, $p < .001$, and minimizing racism $t(390) = 28.21$, $p < .001$. Parents also reported engaging in cultural maintenance more frequently than discussing anti-Asian discrimination $t(394) = 18.28$, $p < .001$, and minimization of racism $t(386) = 20.53$, $p < .001$. Lastly, parents were more likely to discuss anti-Asian discrimination with their children than to minimize racism $t(389) = 4.37$, $p < .001$. As shown in Table 2, the four RES approaches were correlated with each other. These associations were in the expected direction, with the exception of discussing anti-Asian discrimination and minimization of racism which were unexpectedly found to be positively correlated.

Overall, parents reported high levels of REI centrality and private regard, but reported slightly lower levels of centrality than private regard, $t(397) = -3.73$, $p < .001$. Although highly correlated ($r = .80$), the variables were analyzed separately for theoretical reasons. Both REI variables were positively correlated with cultural maintenance and acculturation practices, and negatively correlated with minimization of racism. Parents also reported generally strong American identities. American identity was positively correlated with acculturation practices as well as levels of REI centrality and private regard (see Table 2).

Parents reported experiencing racial discrimination at relatively low rates, and reported experiencing slightly less general discrimination than PF-based discrimination $t(395) = -3.66$, $p < 001$. Both racial discrimination variables were positively correlated with discussion of anti-Asian discrimination. Unexpectedly, experiencing general discrimination and PF-based discrimination (marginal) were positively related to minimization of racism. Parents reported moderate levels of racial socialization confidence, which was positively correlated with reported engagement in cultural socialization, both REI variables, and American identity. Contrary to expectations, racial socialization confidence was not correlated with the racial socialization and racial discrimination variables (see Table 2).

RQ1: To what extent do Asian American parents report engagement in specific RES practices with their children?

To explore the variability in parental RES approaches, I conducted a 2 (parent generational status: first generation, second₊ generation) x 2 (child age group: ages 6-8, ages 9-12) x 4 (RES: cultural maintenance, acculturation practices, raise awareness of anti-Asian discrimination, minimize racism) MANCOVA described above. As expected, the omnibus test indicated a significant main effect of parent generational status, $Wilk's\ \lambda = 0.89$, $F(4, 344) =$

10.66, $p < .001$ and a marginally significant Parent Generation x Child Age interaction, *Wilk's λ* = 0.97, $F(4, 344) = 2.32$, $p = .06$. Contrary to hypotheses, the omnibus test indicated no significant main effect for child age, *Wilk's λ* = 0.99, $F(4, 344) = 1.21$, $p = .31$. Univariate follow-up test results for parent generational status and the Parent Generation x Child Age interaction are shown in Table 3 and summarized below.

Summary of Univariate Follow-up Tests for Parent Generational Status

Findings were aligned with a priori hypotheses: First generation parents reported higher levels of cultural maintenance ($M = 2.7$, $SD = 0.5$), and lower levels of acculturation practices ($M = 3.2$, $SD = 0.6$) than second+ generation parents ($M = 2.6$, $SD = 0.6$, $F(1, 347) = 3.88$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = .00$, and $M = 3.3$, $SD = 0.6$, $F(1, 347) = 6.84$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .02$ for cultural maintenance and acculturation practices, respectively). Second+ generation parents reported higher rates of discussing anti-Asian discrimination ($M = 2.1$, $SD = 0.9$) than first generation parents ($M = 1.7$, $SD = 0.8$), $F(1, 347) = 13.34$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Contrary to expectations, there were no significant univariate effects of parent generational status for minimization of racism.

Summary of Univariate Follow-up Tests for Parent Generation x Child Age Interaction

I also found evidence of a marginally significant Parent Generation x Child Age interaction for acculturation practices, $F(1, 347) = 3.39$, $p < .1$, $\eta^2 = .00$ (see Figure 4). Follow-up paired sample *t*-test results revealed that second+ generation parents of 9- to 12-year-old children ($M = 3.4$, $SD = 0.5$) reported higher rates of acculturation practices than first generation parents of 9- to 12-year-old children ($M = 3.1$, $SD = 0.6$), $F(1, 180) = 14.84$, $p < .001$. There were no differences by generational status among parents of 6- to 8-year-old children.

RQ2: To what extent are Asian American parents' levels of REI and American identity associated with their engagement in cultural maintenance or acculturation activities with their children?

I begin by presenting results from the first set of analyses, which focused on cultural maintenance, and then follow by presenting the second set of analyses, which focused on acculturation practices.

Cultural Maintenance

REI-Centrality. Contrary to hypotheses, as shown in Table 4, Model 3, REI centrality and parent generational status did not significantly predict cultural maintenance. However, as expected, parents who identified more strongly with being American reported lower levels of cultural maintenance practices.

Moderating Effect of American Identity. These main effects were qualified by a REI Centrality x American Identity interaction. A simple slopes test was conducted comparing the relationship between REI centrality and cultural maintenance across three levels of American identification: low ($M - 1SD$), average (M), and high (maximum value of scale[1]). All slopes were statistically significant from zero ($b = 0.12$, $t(351) = 2.96$, $p < .01$; $b = 0.22$, $t(351) = 7.05$, $p < .01$, and $b = 0.30$, $t(351) = 7.05$, $p < .01$ for low, average, and high endorsement of American identity, respectively). Results from a follow-up analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) revealed that parents with high REI centrality reported higher levels of cultural maintenance practices, irrespective of the strength of their American identity, $F(2, 51) = 0.02$, $p = .99$. On the other hand, among parents with low levels of REI centrality, there was a significant mean difference in cultural maintenance by parents' American identity, $F(2, 35) = 5.42$, $p < .01$. Post-hoc pairwise *t*-

---

[1] The highest level was set at the maximum value of the scale (i.e., 6) because the value of $M + 1SD$ exceeded the maximum value of the scale.

tests revealed that a stronger American identity predicted lower reported engagement in cultural maintenance ($M = 2.2$, $SD = 0.5$), as compared to parents with a weaker American identity ($M = 2.7$, $SD = 0.5$), $t(35) = 2.59$, $p < .05$ (see Figure 5 for the interaction plot). Cultural maintenance engagement did not significantly vary between parents with low vs. average levels of American identity ($t(35) = 0.33$, $p = .94$), and parents with average vs. high levels of American identity, $t(35) = 1.77$, $p = .20$.

REI-Private Regard. A similar pattern of results was observed for REI private regard. As shown in Table 5, Model 3, REI private regard and parent generational status were not significant predictors of cultural maintenance. American identity was negatively associated with cultural maintenance; a stronger American identity predicted lower cultural maintenance.

Moderating Effect of American Identity. This main effect was qualified by a REI Private Regard x American Identification interaction (see Table 5, Model 3). A similar simple slopes test was conducted; all slopes were statistically significant from zero ($b = 0.10$, $t(350) = 2.18$, $p < .05$; $b = 0.17$, $t(350) = 5.15$, $p < .01$, and $b = 0.24$, $t(350)=5.29$, $p < .01$ for low, average, and high endorsement of American identity, respectively). A follow-up ANCOVA revealed that regardless of American identity, parents who reported high levels of REI private regard also reported high levels of cultural maintenance, $F(2, 77) = 0.21$, $p = .81$. However, among those who reported low levels of REI private regard, engagement in cultural maintenance significantly varied by the strength of the parents' American identity, $F(2, 49) = 6.61$, $p < .01$. Parents who endorsed a low level of American identity reported more engagement in cultural maintenance strategies ($M = 2.8$, $SD = 0.5$), than those who endorsed an average level ($M = 2.5$, $SD = 0.5$), $t(49) = 2.14$, $p = .10$, or a high level of American identity ($M = 2.3$, $SD = 0.5$), $t(49) = 3.24$, p

< .01 (see Figure 6). There were no significant differences in cultural maintenance between parents with average vs. high levels of American identity, $t(49) = 0.91$. $p = 0.64$.

Acculturation Practices

REI Centrality. As shown in Table 6, Model 3, unexpectedly, neither REI centrality, parent generational status, American identity, nor the interaction terms were associated with acculturation practices, after accounting for the influence of covariates.

REI Private Regard. Similarly, contrary to expectations, neither REI private regard, parent generational status, American identity, nor the interaction terms were significant predictors of acculturation practices (see Table 7, Model 3).

RQ3: To what extent are Asian American parents' racial discrimination experiences and racial socialization confidence related to how frequently they raise awareness of anti-Asian discrimination or minimize racism with their children?

I begin by presenting results from the first set of analyses, which focused on reported engagement in discussions of anti-Asian discrimination. Next, I present results from the second set of analyses, which focused on reported engagement in minimizing racism. Although I had initially planned to include child age as a moderator for these analyses, based on the results of a non-significant association between child age and RES (see RQ1), child age was included as a covariate in these analyses.

Raising Awareness of Anti-Asian Discrimination

General Racial Discrimination. As shown in Table 8, Model 3, while racial socialization confidence was not predictive, both experiences of general discrimination and parent generational status predicted parents' discussions of anti-Asian discrimination with their children. As expected, second+ generation parents and those who reported experiencing more

31

general discrimination were more likely to raise awareness of anti-Asian discrimination with their children.

Moderating Effect of Parent Generational Status. These main effects were qualified by General Discrimination x Parent Generation interaction. As shown in Figure 7, a simple slopes test indicated that both slopes were significantly above zero ($b = 0.46$, $t(346) = 5.68$, $p < .01$ and $b = 0.21$, $t(346) = 2.89$, $p < .01$ for first generation and second$_+$ generation parents, respectively). A follow-up ANCOVA revealed that among parents who reported little to no general discrimination, first generation parents ($M = 1.5$, $SD = 0.7$) were less likely than second$_+$ generation parents ($M = 2.0$, $SD = 1.0$) to report discussing anti-Asian discrimination with their children, $F(1, 75) = 9.24$, $p < .01$. However, among parents who reported high rates of general discrimination, there were no significant differences by parent generational status, ($F(1, 57) = 0.01$, $p = .94$).

Perpetual Foreigner Based Racial Discrimination. As shown in Table 9, Model 3, PF-based discrimination, parent generational status, and racial socialization confidence were predictive of raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination. As expected, parents who experienced more PF-based discrimination, second$_+$ generation parents, and parents with higher levels of racial socialization confidence each reported higher rates of discussing anti-Asian discrimination with their children.

Moderating Effect of Racial Socialization Confidence. These main effects were qualified by PF-Based Discrimination x Racial Socialization Confidence interaction. However, follow-up ANCOVAs indicated that there were no significant differences in reported discussions of anti-Asian discrimination by parents' racial socialization confidence, both among parents who

reported low and high rates of PF-based discrimination ($F(2, 71) = 1.11$, $p = .33$ and $F(2, 71) =$ 1.82, $p = .17$ for low and high rates of PF-based discrimination, respectively).

Minimization of Racism

General Racial Discrimination. As shown in Table 10, Model 3, general discrimination was predictive of minimizing racism. Interestingly, more frequent experiences of general discrimination predicted higher rates of minimizing racism. Parent generational status and racial socialization confidence were not significant predictors of minimizing racism.

Moderating Effect of Racial Socialization Confidence. Although the General Racial Discrimination x Racial Socialization Confidence interaction was significant in the main model, follow-up ANCOVAs indicated that there were no significant differences in minimizing racism by levels of racial socialization confidence, both among parents who reported low and high rates of general discrimination ($F(2, 72) = 1.29$, $p = .28$ and $F(2, 55) = 1.75$, $p = .18$ for low and high rates of general discrimination, respectively).

Perpetual Foreigner Based Racial Discrimination. A similar pattern of results was observed for PF-based discrimination. As shown in Table 11, Model 3, experiences of PF-based discrimination were predictive of minimizing racism. Once again, more experiences of PF-based discrimination predicted higher rates of minimizing racism. Racial socialization confidence also predicted minimization of racism; unexpectedly, higher confidence predicting higher rates of minimizing racism. Parent generational status was not a significant predictor of minimizing racism.

Moderating Effect of Racial Socialization Confidence. The main effect was qualified by a PF-Based Discrimination x Racial Socialization Confidence interaction. As shown in Figure 8, results from a simple slopes test indicated that the slopes for parents with low or average levels

of confidence was statistically significant from zero ($b = 0.25$, $t(341) = 2.79$, $p < .01$ and $b = 0.12$, $t(341) = 1.96$, $p = 0.05$ for low and average confidence, respectively), but not significant for parents with high confidence ($b = -0.02$, $t(341) = -0.21$, $p = .83$). Follow-up ANCOVA results revealed that among parents who reported little to no PF-based discrimination, there were no significant differences in minimizing racism by racial socialization confidence, $F(2, 71) = 1.37$, $p = .26$. In contrast, among parents who reported high rates of PF-based discrimination, parents with low racial socialization confidence were marginally more likely to minimize racism ($M = 2.2$, $SD = 1.1$), in comparison to those with high confidence ($M = 1.6$, $SD = 0.8$), $t(60) = 2.03$, $p = .11$. No other post-hoc tests were significant ($t(60) = 1.75$, $p = .20$ and $t(60) = 0.91$, $p = .64$ for low vs. average and average vs. high rates of PF-based discrimination, respectively).

In sum, as expected, more frequent experiences of general and PF-based racial discrimination and higher levels of racial socialization confidence predicted a greater likelihood of parents discussing anti-Asian discrimination with their children. Furthermore, among parents who reported little to no experiences of general discrimination, first generation parents were less likely than second+ generation parents to raise awareness of anti-Asian discrimination with their children. However, there were no differences in engagement by generational status among parents who experienced higher rates of general discrimination. Surprisingly, experiences of general and PF-based discrimination predicted higher rates of minimizing racism, although for PF-based discrimination this association was qualified by parents' racial socialization confidence. More specifically, although racial socialization confidence did not predict differences in rates of minimizing racism among parents who reported low rates of PF-based discrimination, among parents who reported experiencing higher rates of PF-based

discrimination, parents with low racial socialization confidence were marginally more likely to minimize racism than parents with high confidence.

Discussion

While there are a growing number of studies examining Asian American parental RES with adolescents, there has been a dearth of quantitative research investigating Asian American parental RES with their preadolescent-age children. The purpose of the current study was to examine the variability in parental RES among a large, diverse sample of Asian American families. Using a parental RES measure that is reflective of Asian Americans' racialized experiences (Juang et al., 2016), this study explored child and parent correlates of parents' reported engagement in RES. Results suggest that Asian American parents' meaning making processes related to RES are influenced by their generational status, the strength of their REI and American identities, experiences of racial discrimination, and racial socialization confidence, but not based on the age of their child. Overall, parents reported engaging more in cultural socialization (i.e., cultural maintenance, acculturation practices) than racial socialization (i.e., discussing anti-Asian discrimination, minimizing racism). These findings are consistent with other parental RES studies that have documented higher rates of cultural socialization and lower rates of racial socialization with Asian American adolescents (Atkin & Yoo, 2020; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010), and children (Anderson et al., 2015).

A primary contribution of the current study was investigating whether parental and child correlates were associated with variability in parental RES. Consistent with prior studies, parent generational status predicted their engagement in cultural heritage maintenance strategies, acculturation practices, and discussions of anti-Asian discrimination (Juang et al., 2018): first generation parents were more likely to engage in cultural maintenance, whereas second+

generation parents were more likely to engage in acculturation practices and discussions of anti-Asian discrimination. Unexpectedly, there were no differences in parents' minimization of racism by generational status. These findings differ from prior studies that have found that immigrant Asian American parents tend to minimize or avoid discussion of racism with their children (Christophe et al., 2022; Young et al., 2021; Patel et al., 2022). However, this discrepancy in findings may be related to methodological differences as prior studies have not directly compared first vs. second$_+$ generation parents' approaches to minimizing racism; instead, studies have focused on observing RES processes just among immigrant Asian American parents. Thus, findings from the current study provide interesting insight by suggesting that in fact first generation and second$_+$ generation parents may engage in minimization of racism with their preadolescents at similar rates.

Surprisingly, RES approaches did not differ across older and younger children, suggesting that Asian American parents may use similar RES strategies throughout the middle childhood years. In contrast to Hughes and Chen's (1997) findings that Black parents engaged more in preparation for bias messages with their 9- to 14-year-old children as compared with 4- to 8-year-old children, no such age-related differences emerged in this study. However, the findings are consistent with those reported by Christophe and colleagues (2022), who found no significant parental RES strategy differences by child age (ages 10-18) among Black, Latinx, and Asian American families. To my knowledge, since this is one of the few quantitative studies that has tested whether Asian American parents change their RES based on their children's age during the middle-childhood period, additional research is warranted to better understand how children's age may influence parental RES.

Cultural Socialization

Consistent with findings from studies with Black and Latinx families (White-Johnson et al., 2010; Derlan et al., 2017), parents who endorsed high REI centrality and private regard were more likely to engage in cultural maintenance practices, irrespective of endorsement of their American identity. On the other hand, among parents who rated their REI as less important and had a less positive view of their own racial-ethnic group, those who more strongly identified as American were less likely to report engaging in cultural maintenance as compared with those who identified less with being American. This suggests that, when parents rate their REI as less important, their meaning making around whether and how to engage in cultural maintenance strategies is influenced by their American identity. These results mirror findings from a study conducted by Christophe and colleagues (2020) who found that among immigrant Latinx mothers of 11- to 14-year-olds, those who endorsed high levels of REI and American identity engaged in cultural socialization at high frequencies, whereas those who endorsed low REI and moderate American identity engaged in cultural socialization at low frequencies.

Interestingly, in this study, parents reported engaging in acculturation practices at high rates, regardless of the importance of their REI and how positively they viewed their own racial-ethnic group. Further, engagement in acculturation practices was not associated with parental generational status or how strongly parents endorsed being American. This finding is consistent evidence suggesting that second generation parents are comfortable passing on American culture to their children (Juang et al., 2018), and that first generation parents frequently use a bicultural RES approach by engaging in cultural maintenance strategies while also transmitting adaptation to mainstream culture messages to their adolescents (Atkin & Yoo, 2020). Further, in alignment with the Integrated Conceptual Framework for the Development of Asian American Children and Youth (Mistry et al., 2016) which calls forward the importance of context in shaping

individuals' meaning making processes, given that families in this study all resided in the U.S., it is unsurprising that most parents reported engaging in majority culture activities such as celebrating American holidays and cooking American food.

Racial Socialization

Consistent with prior studies, more experiences of racial discrimination were associated with more frequently discussing anti-Asian discrimination with children (Benner & Kim, 2009, Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). Among parents who reported lower rates of general discrimination, first generation parents were less likely than second+ generation parents to discuss anti-Asian discrimination with their children. However, among parents who reported higher rates of general discrimination, there was no difference in rates of discussing anti-Asian discrimination by parent generational status. The variability by parent generational status may have emerged from parents' diverging beliefs around whether discussions of anti-Asian discrimination were relevant to their children. Juang and colleagues (2018) found in their study with second generation, majority East Asian American parents that many preferred to proactively discuss racism with their children, even before their child brought up the topic to them. This same pattern may be reflected in the present study because second+ generation parents had a higher baseline rate of discussing anti-Asian discrimination with their kids. In contrast, first generation parents with few to no recent experiences of racial discrimination may not have viewed anti-Asian discrimination as a relevant topic to discuss with their children. Patel and colleagues (2022) found that first generation, Indian American parents believed their middle schoolers were less likely than them to experience discrimination because their children were born in the U.S. and familiar with mainstream culture, leading parents to communicate fewer preparation for bias messages to their children. Interestingly, parents shared these beliefs, even if

they had experienced racial discrimination themselves (Patel et al., 2022). In contrast, results from the present study indicated that, for first generation parents, higher rates of discrimination may have raised the saliency of racism and the potential for their own child to experience anti-Asian discrimination, and in response, parents decided to engage in discussion of anti-Asian discrimination at a higher rate.

Unexpectedly, parents who experienced more racial discrimination reported minimizing racism to their children at higher rates than parents who experienced less racial discrimination. However, this relationship was moderated by parents' racial socialization confidence. While parents who experienced less PF-based discrimination reported minimizing racism at similar rates, irrespective of racial socialization confidence levels, among parents who experienced more PF-based discrimination, parents who reported feeling less confident talking about race and racism with their children were more likely to report minimizing racism with their children, in comparison to parents who reported high confidence. These findings empirically support results from a study conducted by Christophe and colleagues (2022), who found that a large subset of Asian American and Latinx parents of 10- to 18-year-olds reported feeling less prepared but highly stressed about engaging in RES and that these same parents were more likely to minimize the importance of race with their children. Similarly, in the present study, among parents who felt less confident discussing racism with their children, more experiences of discrimination may have increased parents' stress around discussing racial discrimination and led parents to deny the existence or avoid the topic of racism with their children. Further, with the rise in violent anti-Asian attacks due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Yellow Horse & Chen, 2022), it is possible that parents may have preferred to shield their children from the scary realities of racism as a way of protecting their children's well-being. Additional research is needed to better understand why

experiences of racial discrimination may lead parents with less racial socialization confidence to minimize racism with their children.

Limitations and Future Directions

While the current study provides valuable insight into what influences Asian American parents' RES approaches with their 6- to 12-year-olds, there are a number of limitations to acknowledge. As a correlational study, the directionality between the predictors and the RES outcome variables cannot be discerned. Future research should include longitudinal research to investigate how parental RES approaches may vary in response to potential changes over time (e.g., child grows older, more experiences of racial discrimination). Further, as a parent-report survey, assessment of RES approaches only included parent perspectives. Given research indicating that parents and children may differ in their perceptions of how the parent is engaging in RES (Hughes et al., 2008), further research that includes both parent and child perspectives is needed (Juang et al., 2017). In addition, while there was a diverse range of SES within the sample, there was an overrepresentation of parents who were highly educated (69% had a 4-year degree or more), limiting the ability to test for differences by SES. Moreover, while approximately 72% of Asian American adults are proficient in English (Ruiz & Budiman, 2021), as an English-only survey, the findings exclude the experiences of parents who were not proficient in English. As a consequence, the first generation or immigrant parent perspectives in this study are reflective of a subset of the population that is proficient in English. As an invisibilized population, future research should include lower SES, immigrant, and non-English speaking Asian American families. Further, while the participants were drawn from across the U.S., the sample is not representative of the Asian American population in the U.S., and findings cannot be generalized to all Asian Americans residing in the U.S.

Finally, assessment of RES may have been influenced by differences in wording for the *raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination* and *minimization of racism* subscales. More specifically, while the items assessing minimization of racism included reference to *racism* (e.g., "You tell your child that racism doesn't exist."), the items assessing discussions of anti-Asian discrimination referenced differential treatment due to an *Asian background* (e.g., "You tell your child why some people will treat them unfairly because of their Asian background."). Given the racial narrative in the U.S. that invisibilizes anti-Asian racism and often defines racism in Black and White terms (Kim, 1999), it is possible that parents may not have viewed issues of racism and anti-Asian discrimination as synonymous. Future research should investigate whether Asian American parents perceive American racism as inclusive of anti-Asian discrimination, or whether parents view these as separate topics.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the current study builds upon prior research by being one of the first studies to examine how child and parent correlates may be influencing parental RES with preadolescents among a diverse sample of Asian American families. While the extant literature has mostly highlighted Asian American parents' consistent engagement in cultural maintenance practices, the current study findings demonstrates that parents also engage in racial socialization – whether talking about anti-Asian discrimination or minimizing racism with their children – albeit at lower rates than cultural socialization. The study suggests novel findings, including the influence of both REI and American identity in informing parents' engagement in cultural maintenance strategies, and the differential influence that experiences of racial discrimination may have for first vs. second+ generation parents as they make decisions around how to discuss anti-Asian discrimination with their children. Further, more experiences of discrimination, but

41

low levels of racial socialization confidence, may be associated with parents choosing to minimize racism with their children to avoid discussing a difficult or traumatic topic. In alignment with the Integrated Conceptual Framework (Mistry et al., 2016), study findings demonstrate how RES engagement is influenced by many parental factors and their meaning making processes. As anti-Asian racism remains unabating in the U.S., future research should continue to build the research base to better understand how Asian American parents can be supported as they engage in RES with their children.

Table 1

Detailed Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants

Parent Demographics	n (%)	Mean	SD
Gender[2]			
Woman	267 (66%)		
Man	137 (34%)		
Age		38.4 years	7.0
Ethnicity			
East Asian	123 (30%)		
Chinese	67 (17%)		
Korean	28 (7%)		
Japanese	22 (5%)		
Taiwanese	6 (2%)		
Southeast Asian	108 (27%)		
Filipino	61 (15%)		
Vietnamese	22 (5%)		
Thai	5 (1%)		
Hmong	5 (1%)		
Laotian	5 (1%)		
Cambodian	4 (1%)		
Other Southeast Asian (e.g., Indonesian, Singaporean)	6 (1%)		
South Asian	109 (27%)		
Asian Indian	97 (24%)		
Pakistani	6 (1%)		
Other South Asian (e.g., Nepalese, Bangladeshi)	6 (1%)		
Multiracial	33 (8%)		
Multiethnic	28 (7%)		
Prefer not to answer	3 (<1%)		
Generational Status			
First generation	197 (49%)		
Second+ generation	190 (47%)		
One or more parents born in U.S.	71 (18%)		
One or more grandparents born in U.S.	54 (13%)		
Prefer not to answer	17 (4%)		
Relationship Status			
Married or cohabitating with child's parent	309 (76%)		

[2] Data on participants' gender were provided by Centiment Survey Panels.

Married or cohabitating with someone other than child's parent	47 (12%)		
Single	30 (7%)		
Divorced or separated	15 (4%)		
Widowed	1 (<1%)		
Prefer not to answer	2 (<1%)		
Education Level			
Some high school	5 (1%)		
High school degree or equivalent	32 (8%)		
Some college	49 (12%)		
Technical or vocational degree	12 (3%)		
Two-year college degree	28 (7%)		
Four-year college degree	170 (42%)		
Graduate degree (e.g., Master's, Doctorate)	108 (27%)		
Subjective Social Status		6.1	1.7
Political Affiliation			
Democrat	73 (18%)		
Independent	34 (8%)		
Republican	21 (5%)		
Missing	277 (69%)		

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-Order Correlations for Predictors and Moderators

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Cultural Maintenance	2.7	0.6	1.00									
2. Acculturation Practices	3.2	0.6	.18**	1.00								
3. Raise Awareness of Anti-Asian Discrimination	1.9	0.9	.43**	-.01	1.00							
4. Minimize Racism	1.7	0.9	.30**	.04	.53**	1.00						
5. REI Centrality	4.8	1.0	.33**	.10*	.03	-.11*	1.00					
6. REI Private Regard	4.9	0.9	.25**	.19**	-.09$^+$	-.21**	.80**	1.00				
7. American Identification	5.0	1.3	-.03	.37**	.00	-.08	.24**	.29**	1.00			
8. General Racial Discrimination	1.8	0.8	.11*	-.04	.31**	.15**	.00	-.09$^+$	-.01	1.00		
9. Perpetual Foreigner Based Discrimination	1.9	0.6	.10*	-.01	.23**	.09$^+$	.04	-.02	-.02	.78**	1.00	
10. Racial Socialization Confidence	3.8	1.0	.18**	.31**	.04	-.02	.21**	.29**	.16**	.05	.08	1.00

$^+p < 0.1.$ *$p < 0.05.$ **$p < 0.01$

Table 3

MANCOVA: Univariate Effects by Parent Generational Status and Child Age Group

RES	$F(1, 350)$	p	η^2
Cultural Maintenance			
Parent Generation	**3.88**	**.05**	**.00**
Parent Generation x Child Age Group	1.66	.20	.00
Acculturation Practices			
Parent Generation	**6.84**	**.01**	**.02**
Parent Generation x Child Age Group	3.39	.07	.00
Raise Awareness of Anti-Asian Discrimination			
Parent Generation	**13.34**	**.00**	**.04**
Parent Generation x Child Age Group	1.61	.21	.00
Minimize Racism			
Parent Generation	1.97	.16	.00
Parent Generation x Child Age Group	1.91	.17	.00

Figure 4

Parent Generation x Child Age Predicting Acculturation Practices
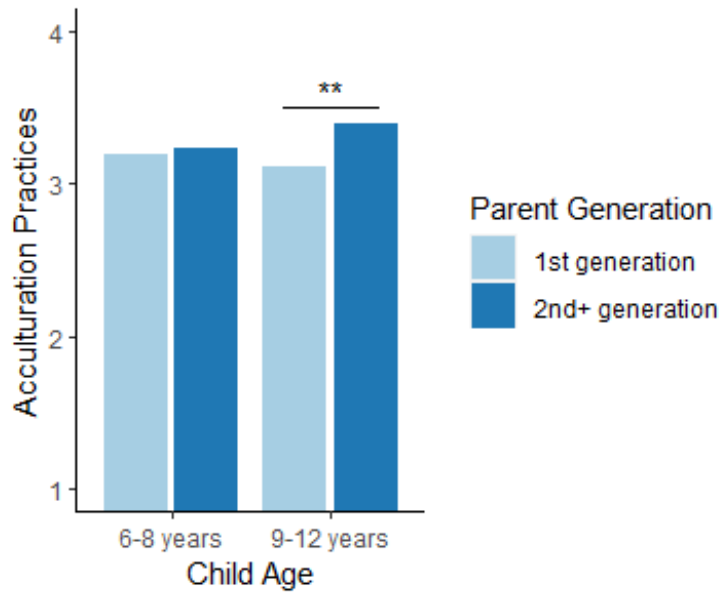
Table 4

REI Centrality, Generational Status, and American Identity Predicting Cultural Maintenance

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β
Intercept	2.19**	0.23		1.53**	0.26		3.36**	0.61	
Covariates									
Child Age	0.04*	0.02	0.12	0.03*	0.01	0.12	0.03*	0.01	0.11
Child Girl	0.11$^+$	0.06	0.10	0.11*	0.06	0.10	0.12*	0.05	0.10
Parent Southeast Asian	0.02	0.08	0.01	-0.00	0.08	-0.00	-0.02	0.08	-0.01
Parent South Asian	0.19*	0.08	0.15	0.22**	0.08	0.17	0.20**	0.08	0.15
Parent Multiethnic	0.04	0.11	0.02	0.05	0.11	0.01	0.11	0.12	0.00
Parent Multiracial	-0.05	0.11	-0.03	-0.01	0.11	-0.03	0.11	0.12	-0.02
Parent Age	-0.01$^+$	0.00	-0.10	-0.01$^+$	0.00	-0.10	-0.01$^+$	0.00	-0.10
Parent Female	-0.04	0.06	-0.04	-0.03	0.06	-0.03	-0.02	0.06	-0.01
Parent Education	0.04*	0.02	0.12	0.03$^+$	0.02	0.10	0.02	0.02	0.07
Parent SSS	0.03	0.02	0.08	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.05
Parent Predictors									
REI Centrality				0.21**	0.03	0.34	-0.16	0.11	-0.26
Second$_+$ Generation				-0.04	0.06	-0.04	-0.22	0.29	-0.20
American Identity				-0.04$^+$	0.02	-0.09	-0.40**	0.12	-0.90
REI Centrality x Parent Generation							0.03	0.06	0.15
REI Centrality x American Identity							0.07**	0.02	1.08
F Statistic	$F(10, 356) = 3.32$			$F(13, 353) = 6.57$			$F(15, 351) = 6.56$		
R^2	0.09			0.19			0.22		
$^\Delta R^2$				0.10**			0.03**		

$^+p < 0.1$. *$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$.

48

Figure 5

REI Centrality x American Identity Predicting Cultural Heritage Maintenance
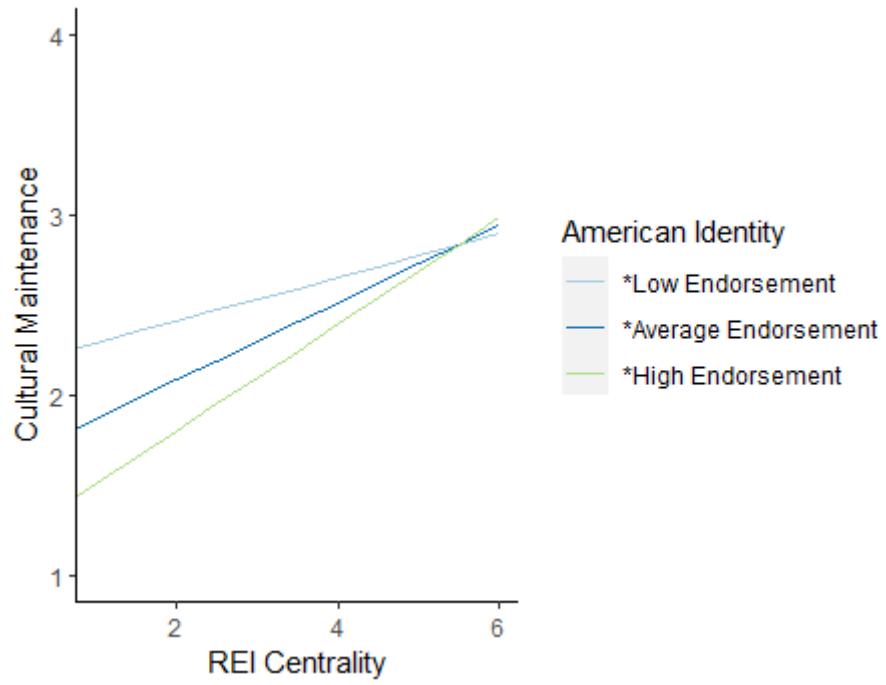
Table 5

REI Private Regard, Generational Status, and American Identity Predicting Cultural Maintenance

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β
Intercept	2.17**	0.23		1.66**	0.27		3.35**	0.65	
Covariates									
Child Age	0.04*	0.02	0.12	0.04*	0.01	0.12	0.00*	0.02	0.12
Child Girl	0.12*	0.06	0.10	0.12*	0.06	0.11	-0.06*	0.06	0.11
Parent Southeast Asian	0.02	0.08	0.01	-0.01	0.08	-0.01	0.08	0.08	-0.01
Parent South Asian	0.19*	0.08	0.15	0.19*	0.08	0.15	0.5*	0.08	0.14
Parent Multiethnic	0.03	0.11	0.02	0.04	0.11	0.02	-0.01	0.11	0.01
Parent Multiracial	-0.05	0.11	-0.03	-0.07	0.11	-0.03	0.22	0.11	-0.04
Parent Age	-0.01[+]	0.00	-0.10	-0.01	0.00	-0.11	0.01*	0.00	-0.12
Parent Female	-0.04	0.06	-0.03	-0.04	0.06	-0.03	0.12	0.06	-0.02
Parent Education	0.04*	0.02	0.12	0.03[+]	0.02	0.10	0.00	0.02	0.09
Parent SSS	0.03	0.02	0.09	0.02	0.02	0.07	-0.01	0.02	0.08
Parent Predictors									
REI Private Regard				0.18**	0.03	0.27	-0.16	0.12	-0.25
Second+ Generation				-0.04	0.06	-0.03	-0.48	0.33	-0.42
American Identity				-0.05[+]	0.02	-0.09	-0.34**	0.13	-0.78
REI Private Regard x Parent Generation							0.09	0.07	0.38
REI Private Regard x American Identity							0.06*	0.02	0.91
F Statistic	$F(10, 355) = 3.35$			$F(13, 352) = 5.12$			$F(15, 350) = 5.13$		
R^2	0.09			0.16			0.18		
$^\Delta R^2$				0.07**			0.02*		

[+]$p < 0.1$. *$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$

Figure 6

REI Private Regard x American Identity Predicting Cultural Heritage Maintenance

51
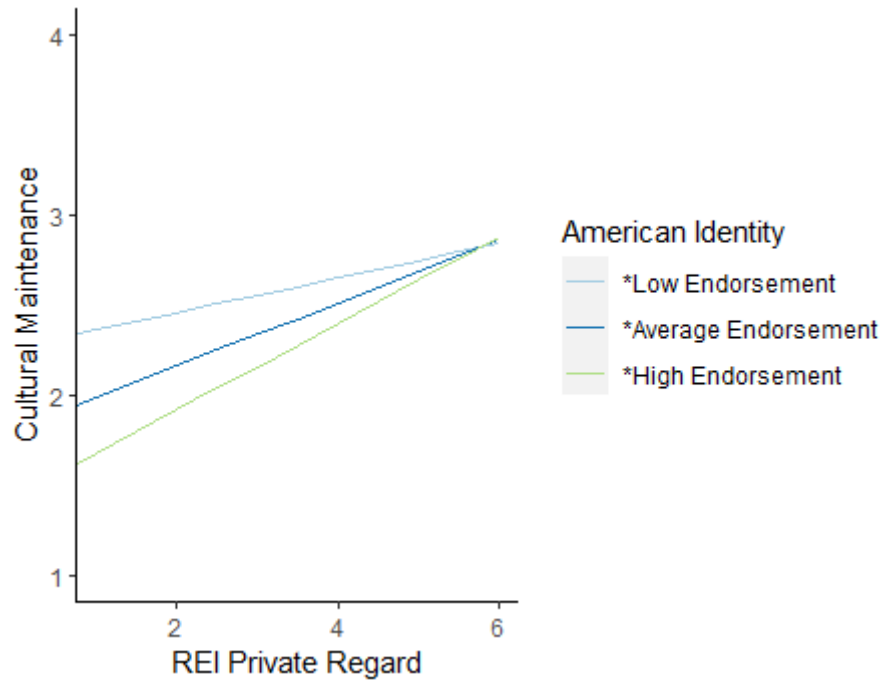
Table 6

REI Centrality, Generational Status, and American Identity Predicting Acculturation Practices

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β
Intercept	2.90**	0.24		2.02**	0.27		2.18**	0.57	
Covariates									
Child Age	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00
Child Girl	-0.04	0.06	-0.04	-0.06	0.06	-0.05	-0.06	0.06	-0.05
Parent Southeast Asian	0.04	0.08	0.02	0.09	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.08	0.07
Parent South Asian	-0.02	0.08	-0.02	0.06	0.08	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.04
Parent Multiethnic	0.01	0.12	0.00	0.02	0.12	0.01	-0.01	0.11	0.00
Parent Multiracial	0.33*	0.12	0.14	0.25*	0.11	0.12	0.22*	0.11	0.12
Parent Age	0.01	0.00	0.07	0.01	0.00	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.06
Parent Female	0.12[+]	0.07	0.10	0.12[+]	0.06	0.10	0.12[+]	0.06	0.10
Parent Education	0.00	0.02	-0.02	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01
Parent SSS	0.01	0.02	0.02	-0.01	0.02	-0.04	-0.01	0.02	-0.04
Parent Predictors									
REI Centrality				0.02	0.03	0.03	-0.01	0.11	-0.02
Second+ Generation				0.09	0.06	0.08	0.38	0.30	0.33
American Identity				0.16**	0.02	0.35	0.09	0.11	0.20
REI Centrality x Parent Generation							-0.06	0.06	-0.26
REI Centrality x American Identity							0.01	0.02	0.21
F Statistic	$F(10, 359) = 1.48$			$F(13, 356) = 5.88$			$F(15, 354) = 5.17$		
R^2	0.04			0.18			0.18		
$^\Delta R^2$				0.14**			0.00		

[+]$p < 0.1$. *$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$

Table 7

REI Private Regard, Generational Status, and American Identity Predicting Acculturation Practices

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β
Intercept	2.90**	0.24		1.88**	0.27		2.44**	0.58	
Covariates									
Child Age	0.00	0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
Child Girl	-0.04	0.06	-0.03	-0.06	0.06	-0.05	-0.06	0.06	-0.05
Parent Southeast Asian	0.04	0.08	0.03	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.08	0.06
Parent South Asian	-0.02	0.08	-0.02	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.05
Parent Multiethnic	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.02	0.11	0.01	0.02	0.11	0.01
Parent Multiracial	0.32**	0.12	0.16	0.23*	0.11	0.11	0.24*	0.11	0.12
Parent Age	0.01	0.00	0.07	0.01	0.00	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.06
Parent Female	0.12⁺	0.07	0.10	0.12*	0.06	0.10	0.13*	0.06	0.10
Parent Education	0.00	0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.01
Parent SSS	0.01	0.02	0.02	-0.01	0.02	-0.04	-0.01	0.02	-0.04
Parent Predictors									
REI Private Regard				0.06⁺	0.03	0.10	-0.05	0.12	-0.08
Second₊ Generation				0.10	0.06	0.09	-0.14	0.32	-0.12
American Identity				0.15**	0.02	0.33	0.06	0.11	0.12
REI Private Regard x Parent Generation							0.05	0.06	0.21
REI Private Regard x American Identity							0.02	0.02	0.27
F Statistic	$F(10, 359) = 1.48$			$F(13, 356) = 6.15$			$F(15, 354) = 5.43$		
R^2	0.04			0.18			0.19		
$^\Delta R^2$				0.15**			0.01		

⁺$p < 0.1$. *$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$

Table 8

General Discrimination, Generational Status, and Confidence Predicting Discussions of Anti-Asian Discrimination

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β
Intercept	2.31**	0.35		1.20**	0.39		0.52	0.54	
Covariates									
Child Age	0.05*	0.02	0.12	0.05*	0.02	0.11	0.04[+]	0.02	0.10
Child Girl	0.08	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.09	0.06	0.12	0.09	0.07
Parent Southeast Asian	-0.34**	0.12	-0.17	-0.27*	0.12	-0.14	-0.28*	0.12	-0.14
Parent South Asian	-0.15	0.12	-0.08	-0.05	0.12	-0.03	-0.06	0.12	-0.03
Parent Multiethnic	0.12	0.18	0.04	0.08	0.17	0.03	0.03	0.17	0.01
Parent Multiracial	-0.14	0.18	-0.05	-0.21	0.17	-0.07	-0.19	0.17	-0.06
Parent Age	-0.03**	0.01	-0.22	-0.02**	0.01	-0.16	-0.02**	0.01	-0.17
Parent Female	-0.06	0.10	-0.03	0.02	0.09	0.01	0.03	0.09	0.01
Parent Education	0.00	0.03	-0.02	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.01
Parent SSS	0.07*	0.03	0.13	0.05	0.03	0.11	0.05*	0.03	0.11
Parent Predictors									
General Discrimination				0.31**	0.05	0.29	0.77**	0.24	0.71
Second[+] Generation				0.18*	0.09	0.10	0.63**	0.22	0.36
Racial Socialization Confidence				0.02	0.05	0.03	0.16	0.11	0.17
General Discrimination x Parent Generation							-0.25*	0.11	-0.33
General Discrimination x Confidence							-0.08	0.06	-0.35
F Statistic	$F(10, 351) = 3.48$			$F(13, 348) = 6.15$			$F(15, 346) = 5.93$		
R^2	0.09			0.19			0.20		
$^\Delta R^2$				0.10**			0.01*		

[+]$p < 0.1$. *$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$

Figure 7

General Discrimination x Parent Generation Predicting Discussions of Anti-Asian Discrimination
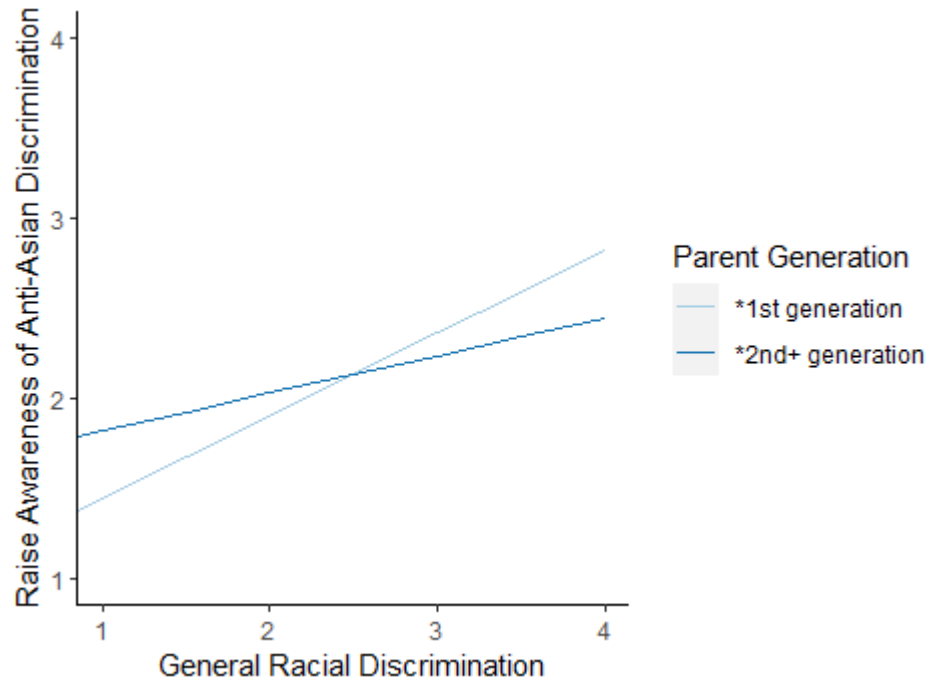
Table 9

PF-Based Discrimination, Generational Status, and Confidence Predicting Discussions of Anti-Asian Discrimination

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β
Intercept	2.31**	0.35		1.37**	0.40		0.40	0.60	
Covariates									
Child Age	0.05	0.02	0.12	0.05*	0.02	0.12	0.05*	0.02	0.11
Child Girl	0.08	0.09	0.05	0.09	0.09	0.05	0.10	0.09	0.06
Parent Southeast Asian	-0.34**	0.12	-0.17	-0.32**	0.12	-0.14	-0.35**	0.12	-0.15
Parent South Asian	-0.15	0.12	-0.08	-0.06	0.12	-0.02	-0.06	0.12	-0.02
Parent Multiethnic	0.12	0.18	0.04	0.06	0.18	0.04	0.00	0.17	0.02
Parent Multiracial	-0.14	0.18	-0.05	-0.21	0.19	-0.04	-0.21	0.17	-0.04
Parent Age	-0.03**	0.01	-0.22	-0.02**	0.01	-0.16	-0.02**	0.01	-0.16
Parent Female	-0.06	0.10	-0.03	-0.03	0.09	-0.03	-0.01	0.09	-0.01
Parent Education	-0.01	0.03	-0.02	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.02
Parent SSS	0.07*	0.03	0.13	0.05	0.03	0.09	0.05+	0.03	0.09
Parent Predictors									
PF-Based Discrimination				0.24**	0.06	0.21	0.81**	0.26	0.69
Second+ Generation				0.22*	0.09	0.13	0.48+	0.25	0.27
Racial Socialization Confidence				0.02	0.05	0.02	0.24+	0.13	0.26
PF-Based Discrimination x Parent Generation							-0.14	0.12	-0.18
PF-Based Discrimination x Confidence							-0.08*	0.06	-0.51
F Statistic	F(10, 352) = 3.50			F(13, 349) = 4.83			F(15, 347) = 4.57		
R^2	0.09			0.15			0.17		
ΔR^2				0.06**			0.02+		

+$p < 0.1$. *$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$

Table 10

General Discrimination, Generational Status, and Confidence Predicting Minimization of Racism

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β
Intercept	2.22**	0.34		1.81**	0.40		1.10[+]	0.56	
Covariates									
Child Age	0.03	0.02	0.07	0.03	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.02	0.05
Child Girl	-0.11	0.09	-0.06	-0.10	0.09	-0.06	-0.09	0.09	-0.05
Parent Southeast Asian	-0.23[+]	0.12	-0.12	-0.21[+]	0.12	-0.11	-0.21[+]	0.12	-0.11
Parent South Asian	0.36**	0.12	0.18	0.38**	0.12	0.19	0.37**	0.12	0.19
Parent Multiethnic	0.17	0.18	0.05	0.14	0.18	0.04	0.09	0.18	0.03
Parent Multiracial	-0.02	0.18	-0.01	-0.03	0.18	-0.01	-0.01	0.18	0.00
Parent Age	-0.02**	0.01	-0.15	-0.02*	-0.01	-0.13	-0.02*	0.01	-0.13
Parent Female	-0.26**	0.09	-0.14	-0.23*	-0.09	-0.13	-0.22*	0.09	-0.12
Parent Education	-0.05[+]	0.03	-0.11	-0.05[+]	0.03	-0.11	-0.05[+]	0.03	-0.10
Parent SSS	0.08**	0.03	0.15	0.08**	0.03	0.15	0.08**	0.03	0.15
Parent Predictors									
General Discrimination				0.16**	0.06	0.14	0.60*	0.25	0.56
Second+ Generation				0.02	0.10	0.01	0.09	0.22	0.05
Racial Socialization Confidence				-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.17	0.12	0.18
General Discrimination x Parent Generation							-0.04	0.11	-0.06
General Discrimination x Confidence							-0.11[+]	0.06	-0.46
F Statistic	F(10, 345) = 5.18			F(13, 342) = 4.66			F(15, 340) = 4.28		
R^2	0.13			0.15			0.16		
$^\Delta R^2$				0.02*			0.01		

[+]$p < 0.1$. *$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$

Table 11

PF-Based Discrimination, Generational Status, and Confidence Predicting Minimization of Racism

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β	b	SE_b	β
Intercept	2.22**	0.34		1.96**	0.41		1.02[+]	0.61	
Covariates									
Child Age	0.03	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.04
Child Girl	-0.12	0.09	-0.07	-0.12	0.09	-0.07	-0.10	0.09	-0.06
Parent Southeast Asian	-0.23[+]	0.12	-0.12	-0.23[+]	0.12	-0.12	-0.25*	0.12	-0.12
Parent South Asian	0.38**	0.12	0.19	0.39**	0.12	0.20	0.37**	0.12	0.19
Parent Multiethnic	0.17	0.18	0.05	0.13	0.18	0.04	0.07	0.18	0.02
Parent Multiracial	-0.02	0.18	-0.01	-0.02	0.18	-0.01	0.00	0.18	0.00
Parent Age	-0.02	0.01	-0.14	-0.02*	0.01	-0.12	-0.01*	0.01	-0.12
Parent Female	-0.28	0.09	-0.15	-0.27**	0.10	-0.14	-0.26**	0.09	-0.14
Parent Education	-0.06	0.03	-0.11	-0.05[+]	0.03	-0.11	-0.06[+]	0.03	-0.11
Parent SSS	0.08	0.03	0.16	0.08**	0.03	0.15	0.07**	0.03	0.14
Parent Predictors									
PF-Based Discrimination				0.11[+]	0.06	0.09	0.65*	0.27	0.56
Second[+] Generation				0.04	0.10	0.02	-0.15	0.25	-0.09
Racial Socialization Confidence				-0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.26*	0.13	0.28
PF-Based Discrimination x Parent Generation							0.09	0.12	0.11
PF-Based Discrimination x Confidence							-0.15*	0.06	-0.62
F Statistic	$F(10, 346) = 5.32$			$F(13, 343) = 4.36$			$F(15, 341) = 4.23$		
R^2	0.13			0.14			0.16		
$^\Delta R^2$				0.01			0.02*		

[+]$p < 0.1$. *$p < 0.05$. **$p < 0.01$

Figure 8

PF-Based Discrimination x Racial Socialization Confidence Predicting Minimization of Racism
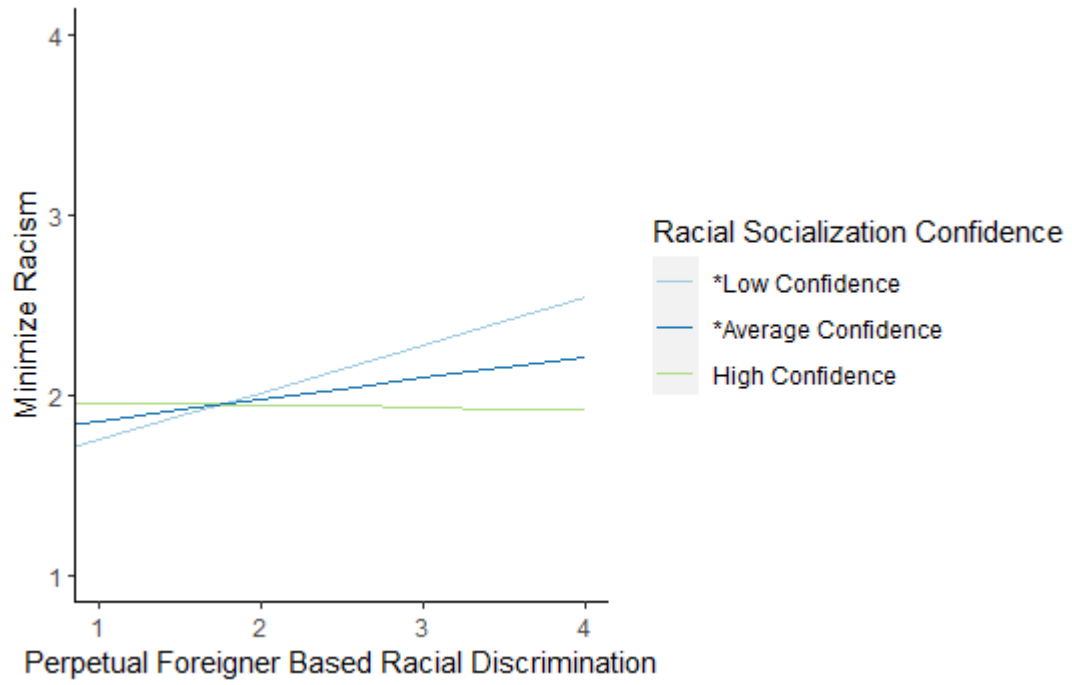
Appendix A

Detailed Child and Household Sociodemographic Characteristics

Table A1

Detailed Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants' Children

Child Demographics	n (%)	Mean	SD
Gender			
Boy	227 (56%)		
Girl	175 (43%)		
Non-binary or genderqueer[3]	1 (<1%)		
Transgender[4]	5 (1%)		
Prefer not to answer	1 (<1%)		
Age		8.9 years	2.0
Grade Level			
Kindergarten	6 (1%)		
1st grade	55 (14%)		
2nd grade	62 (15%)		
3rd grade	75 (19%)		
4th grade	45 (11%)		
5th grade	58 (14%)		
6th grade	49 (12%)		
7th grade	47 (12%)		
Prefer not to answer	7 (2%)		
Ethnicity			
East Asian	82 (20%)		
Chinese	56 (14%)		
Korean	14 (3%)		
Japanese	9 (2%)		
Taiwanese	4 (1%)		
Southeast Asian	78 (19%)		
Filipino	43 (11%)		
Vietnamese	16 (4%)		
Hmong	4 (1%)		
Cambodian	4 (1%)		
Indonesian	4 (1%)		
Other Southeast Asian (e.g., Laotian, Singaporean)	7 (2%)		

---

[3] The participant with a non-binary child was omitted from analysis due to a small sample.
[4] Participants were asked to identify their child's gender and then indicate whether their child identified as transgender in a follow-up question.

South Asian	104 (26%)
Asian Indian	94 (23%)
Pakistani	5 (1%)
Other South Asian	5 (1%)
(e.g., Nepalese, Bangladeshi)	
Multiracial	100 (25%)
Multiethnic	35 (9%)
Prefer not to answer	4 (1%)
Generational Status	
First generation	43 (11%)
Second$_+$ generation	353 (87%)
Prefer not to answer	8 (2%)

Table A2

Detailed Household Characteristics of Participants

Household Characteristics	n (%)	Mean	SD
Social Class			
Poor	6 (1%)		
Working class	63 (16%)		
Lower-middle class	50 (12%)		
Middle class	185 (46%)		
Upper-middle class	77 (19%)		
Upper class and affluent	13 (3%)		
Prefer not to answer	10 (2%)		
Subjective Social Status		6.1	1.7
Household Income			
Less than $15,000	4 (1%)		
$15,001 - $25,000	12 (3%)		
$25,001 - $50,000	57 (14%)		
$50,001 - $75,000	88 (22%)		
$75,001 - $100,000	81 (20%)		
$100,001 - $150,000	65 (16%)		
$150,001 - $200,000	35 (9%)		
$200,001 - $250,000	20 (5%)		
$250,001 - $500,000	19 (5%)		
More than $500,000	4 (1%)		
Prefer not to answer	19 (5%)		
Household Size		3.7	1.2
Adult speaks Non-English Language in Household			
Yes	224 (55%)		
No	166 (41%)		
Prefer not to answer	14 (3%)		
Religious Affiliation			
Christian	146 (36%)		
Catholic	97 (24%)		
Protestant	35 (9%)		
Hindu	64 (16%)		
Buddhist	43 (11%)		
Muslim	25 (6%)		
Other religions (e.g., Sikh)	6 (1%)		
Multiple religions	13 (3%)		

Not religious	89 (22%)
Prefer not to answer	18 (4%)
U.S. Region	
Northeast	70 (17%)
Midwest	55 (14%)
South	118 (29%)
West	161 (40%)

Appendix B

Results of Exploratory Factor Analyses

Table B1

Exploratory Factor Analysis for Asian American Parental RES Scale

Factor/Item	Loading
Factor 1: Cultural Heritage Maintenance (9 items)	
You tell your child to speak in your family's heritage language(s).	.62
You encourage your child to be proud of their culture(s).	.43
You routinely cook your child Asian food.	.47
You show your child that because you are an immigrant that you have worked hard to come to this country.	.41
You celebrate your heritage culture's holidays with your child.	.53
You spend time with relatives who are from your home country(ries).	.47
You use "ethnic" media (e.g., newspapers, books, TV shows).	.50
You visit stores and professionals (such as doctors, business owners) of your own ethnicity/culture(s).	.44
You take your child to visit your home country(ies).	.57
Factor 2: Acculturation Practices (4 items)	
You feel comfortable speaking English.	.44
You routinely cook your child American food.	.50
You celebrate American holidays with your child.	.62
You encourage your child to be proud of being American.	.49
Factor 3: Raise Awareness of Anti-Asian Discrimination (4 items)	
You tell your child why some people will treat them unfairly because of their Asian background.	.78
You tell your child that they have to work a lot harder in order to get the same rewards as others because of their Asian background.	.66
You tell your child that people may try to take advantage of them because of their Asian background.	.82
You tell your child that people may limit them because of their Asian background.	.77
Factor 4: Minimization of Racism (3 items)	
You tell your child that racism doesn't exist.	.75
You show to your child that issues of race and racism are not important.	.68
You give an impression to your child that you are not comfortable talking about issues of race.	.60

Table B2

Exploratory Factor Analysis of Discrimination Items

Factor/Item	Loading
Factor 1: General Racial Discrimination (6 items)	
Rejected by others because of your ethnicity/race.	.79
Denied opportunities because of your ethnicity/race.	.73
Treated unfairly or rudely by strangers because of your ethnicity/race.	.84
Treated with less courtesy than other people are.	.85
Treated with less respect than other people are.	.87
Received poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.	.81
Factor 2: Perpetual Foreigner Based Racial Discrimination (6 items)	
Heard someone say to you, "Go back where you came from."	.77
Had someone speak to you in a foreign language because of your ethnicity/race.	.58
Had your American citizenship or residency questioned by others.	.76
Had someone comment on or be surprised by your English language ability.	.66
Asked by strangers, "Where are you from?" because of your ethnicity/race.	.58
Had someone speak to you in an unnecessarily slow or loud way.	.78

References

Adler, N. E., Epel, E. S., Castellazzo, G., & Ickovics, J. R. (2000). Relationship of subjective and objective social status with psychological and physiological functioning: Preliminary data in healthy, White women. *Health Psychology, 19*(6), 586.

Ambady, N., Shih, M., Kim, A., & Pittinsky, T. L. (2001). Stereotype susceptibility in children: Effects of identity activation on quantitative performance. *Psychological Science, 12*(5), 385–390. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9280.00371

Anderson, A. T., Jackson, A., Jones, L., Kennedy, D. P., Wells, K., & Chung, P. J. (2015). Minority parents' perspectives on racial socialization and school readiness in the early childhood period. *Academic Pediatrics, 15*(4), 405–411. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acap.2014.11.002

Anderson, R. E., Jones, S. C. T., & Stevenson, H. C. (2020). The initial development and validation of the Racial Socialization Competency Scale: Quality and quantity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *26*(4), 426–436. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000316

Anderson, R. E., Jones, S. C. T., Saleem, F. T., Metzger, I., Anyiwo, N., Nisbeth, K. S., Bess, K. D., Resnicow, K., & Stevenson, H. C. (2021). Interrupting the pathway from discrimination to Black adolescents' psychosocial outcomes: The contribution of parental racial worries and racial socialization competency. *Child Development*, *92*(6), 2375–2394. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13607

Atkin, A. L., & Yoo, H. C. (2020). Patterns of racial-ethnic socialization in Asian American families: Associations with racial-ethnic identity and social connectedness. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cou0000435

Benner, A. D., & Kim, S. Y. (2009). Intergenerational experiences of discrimination in Chinese

American families: Influences of socialization and stress. *Journal of Marriage and

Family, 71*(4), 862–877. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00640.x

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In

*Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development, Volume 1, 5th

ed* (pp. 993–1028). John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2007). The bioecological model of human development. In

Handbook of Child Psychology. American Cancer Society.

https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470147658.chpsy0114

Budiman, A., & Ruiz, N. G. (2021). Key facts about Asian origin groups in the U.S. *Pew

Research Center*. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/05/22/key-facts-about-

asian-origin-groups-in-the-u-s/

Cheah, C. S. L., Wang, C., Ren, H., Zong, X., Cho, H. S., & Xue, X. (2020). COVID-19 racism

and mental health in Chinese American families. *Pediatrics*, *146*(5).

https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-021816

Chen, H. A., Trinh, J., & Yang, G. P. (2020). Anti-Asian sentiment in the United States –

COVID-19 and history. *American Journal of Surgery, 220*(3), 556–557.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amjsurg.2020.05.020

Christophe, N. K., Stein, G. L., Kiang, L., Johnson, N. C., Jones, S. C. T., Stevenson, H. C.,

Anyiwo, N., & Anderson, R. E. (2022). A 21st century Take on racial-ethnic

socialization: Patterns of competency and content among diverse parents of color. *Social

Sciences*, *11*(2), 88. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11020088

Christophe, N. K., Stein, G. L., Kiang, L., Supple, A. J., & Gonzalez, L. M. (2020). Latent profiles of American and ethnic–racial identity in Latinx mothers and adolescents: Links to behavioral practices and cultural values. *Journal of Latinx Psychology*, *8*(2), 142–160. https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000136

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction* (3rd ed.). NYU Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ggjjn3

Derlan, C. L., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Updegraff, K. A., & Jahromi, L. B. (2017). Longitudinal relations among Mexican-origin mothers' cultural characteristics, cultural socialization, and 5-year-old children's ethnic–racial identification. *Developmental Psychology*, *53*(11), 2078–2091. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/dev0000386

Doucet, F., Banerjee, M., & Parade, S. (2016). What should young Black children know about race? Parents of preschoolers, preparation for bias, and promoting egalitarianism. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 1476718X16630763. https://doi.org/10.1177/1476718X16630763

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A.-G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, *39*(2), 175–191. https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03193146

García Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., García, H. V., & McAdoo, H. P. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891–1914. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x

Gartner, M., Kiang, L., & Supple, A. (2014). Prospective links between ethnic socialization, ethnic and American identity, and well-being among Asian-American adolescents.

Journal of Youth and Adolescence, *43*(10), 1715–1727. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-013-0044-0

Galesic, M., & Bosnjak, M. (2009). Effects of questionnaire length on participation and indicators of response quality in a web survey. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *73*(2), 349–360. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfp031

Hagelskamp, C., & Hughes, D. L. (2014). Workplace discrimination predicting racial/ethnic socialization across African American, Latino, and Chinese families. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *20*(4), 550–560. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0035321

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*(4), 200-214. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4

Hughes, D., Rivas, D., Foust, M., Hagelskamp, C., Gersick, S., & Way, N. (2008). How to catch a moonbeam: A mixed-methods approach to understanding ethnic socialization processes in ethnically diverse families. In *Handbook of Race, Racism, and the Developing Child* (pp. 226–277). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118269930.ch11

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*(5), 747–770. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747

Huynh, V. W., & Fuligni, A. J. (2010). Discrimination hurts: The academic, psychological, and physical well-being of adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *20*(4), 916–941. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00670.x

Juang, L. P., Park, I., Kim, S. Y., Lee, R. M., Qin, D., Okazaki, S., Swartz, T. T., & Lau, A. (2018). Reactive and proactive ethnic–racial socialization practices of second-generation Asian American parents. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *9*(1), 4–16. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/aap0000101

Juang, L. P., Shen, Y., Kim, S. Y., & Wang, Y. (2016). Development of an Asian American parental racial–ethnic socialization scale. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 22*(3), 417–431. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000083

Juang, L. P., Yoo, H. C., & Atkin, A. (2017). A critical race perspective on an empirical review of Asian American parental racial-ethnic socialization. In Y. Choi & H. C. Hahm (Eds.), *Asian American Parenting: Family Process and Intervention* (pp. 11–35). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63136-3_2

Kiang, L., Tseng, V., & Yip, T. (2016). Placing Asian American child development within historical context. *Child Development*, *87*(4), 995–1013. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12578

Kiang, L., Yip, T., Gonzales-Backen, M., Witkow, M., & Fuligni, A. J. (2006). Ethnic identity and the daily psychological well-being of adolescents from Mexican and Chinese backgrounds. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1338–1350. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00938.x

Kim, J. Y. (1999). Are Asians Black?: The Asian-American civil rights agenda and the contemporary significance of the Black/White paradigm. *The Yale Law Journal, 108*(8), 2385-2412. https://doi.org/10.2307/797390

Kochhar, R. & Cilluffo, A. (2018, July 12). Income inequality in the U.S. is rising most rapidly

    among Asians. Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/social-

    trends/2018/07/12/income-inequality-in-the-u-s-is-rising-most-rapidly-among-asians/

Lee, E. (2015). *The making of Asian America: A history*. Simon and Schuster.

Mistry, J., Li, J., Yoshikawa, H., Tseng, V., Tirrell, J., Kiang, L., Mistry, R., & Wang, Y. (2016).

    An integrated conceptual framework for the development of Asian American children

    and youth. *Child Development*, *87*(4), 1014–1032. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12577

Museus, S. D., & Iftikar, J. (2013). Asian Critical Theory (AsianCrit). In M.Y. Danico and J.G.

    Goslon (Eds.), *Asian American Society*. Sage.

Neblett, E. W., Rivas-Drake, D., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2012). The promise of racial and ethnic

    protective factors in promoting ethnic minority youth development. *Child Development*

    Perspectives, *6*(3), 295–303. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2012.00239.x

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2014). *Racial formation in the United States (3rd ed.)*. Routledge.

    https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203076804

Patel, P., Martin Romero, M. Y., Stein, G. L., & Raval, V. (2022). Promoting pride but missing

    the need for preparation for bias: Racial-ethnic socialization among Indian American

    families living in the southeast U.S. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*.

    https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000296

Pituc, S. P., Jung, K. R., & Lee, R. M. (2009, August). *Development and validation of a brief*

    measure of perceived discrimination [Conference presentation]. 37th Annual Asian

    American Psychological Association Conference, Toronto, Canada.

Rivas-Drake, D., Hughes, D., & Way, N. (2009). A preliminary analysis of associations among

    ethnic–racial socialization, ethnic discrimination, and ethnic identity among urban sixth

graders. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 19*(3), 558–584.

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2009.00607.x

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. Oxford University Press.

Ruiz, N. (2017, April 27). Key facts about the U.S. H-1B visa program. Pew Research Center.

https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/27/key-facts-about-the-u-s-h-1b-visa-

program/

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A. J., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997).

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability

and constuct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *73*(4), 805–815.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.4.805

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J., & Chavous, T. M. (1998).

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity: A reconceptualization of African American

racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*(1), 18–39.

https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Simon, C. (2021). The role of race and ethnicity in parental ethnic-racial socialization: A scoping

review of research. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *30*(1), 182–195.

https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-020-01854-7

Solórzano, D. G., & Huber, L. P. (2020). *Racial microaggressions: Using critical race theory to

respond to everyday racism*. Teachers College Press.

Tatum, B. D. (2017). *Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?: And other

conversations about race*. Basic Books.

Tran, A. G. T. T., & Lee, R. M. (2010). Perceived ethnic–racial socialization, ethnic identity, and

    social competence among Asian American late adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and*

    Ethnic Minority Psychology, *16*(2), 169–178. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0016400

Tuan, M. (1998). *Forever foreigners or honorary whites?: the Asian ethnic experience today*.

    Rutgers University Press.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Hill, N. E. (2020). Ethnic–racial socialization in the family: A decade's

    advance on precursors and outcomes. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *82*(1), 244–271.

    http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12622

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society*. Harvard University Press.

Weisner, T. S. (2002). Ecocultural understanding of children's developmental pathways. *Human*

    Development, 45(4), 275–281. https://doi.org/10.1159/000064989

White-Johnson, R. L., Ford, K. R., & Sellers, R. M. (2010). Parental racial socialization profiles:

    Association with demographic factors, racial discrimination, childhood socialization, and

    racial identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16*(2), 237–247.

    https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016111

Williams, C. D., Byrd, C. M., Quintana, S. M., Anicama, C., Kiang, L., Umaña-Taylor, A. J.,

    Calzada, E. J., Gautier, M. P., Ejesi, K., Tuitt, N. R., Martinez-Fuentes, S., White, L.,

    Marks, A., Rogers, L. O., & Whitesell, N. (2020). A lifespan model of ethnic-racial

    identity. *Research in Human Development, 17*(2–3), 99–129.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2020.1831882

Williams, D. R., Yan Yu, Jackson, J. S., & Anderson, N. B. (1997). Racial differences in

    physical and mental health: Socio-economic status, stress and discrimination. *Journal of*

    Health Psychology, 2(3), 335–351. https://doi.org/10.1177/135910539700200305

Wong, F., & Halgin, R. (2006). The "model minority": Bane or blessing for Asian Americans?. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *34*(1), 38-49.

Woo, B., Maglalang, D. D., Ko, S., Park, M., Choi, Y., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2020). Racial discrimination, ethnic-racial socialization, and cultural identities among Asian American youths. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *26*, 447–459. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000327

Wu, E. D. (2015). *The color of success: Asian Americans and the origins of the model minority*. Princeton University Press.

Yellow Horse, A. J., & Chen, T. (2022). Two years and thousands of voices: What community-generated data tells us about anti-AAPI hate. Chinese for Affirmative Action, AAPI Equity Alliance, San Francisco State Asian American Studies. https://stopaapihate.org/year-2-report/

Yip, T., Cheah, C. S. L., Kiang, L., & Nagayama Hall, G. C. (2021). Rendered invisible: Are Asian Americans a model or a marginalized minority? *American Psychologist*, *76*(4), 575. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000857

Yoshikawa, H., Mistry, R., & Wang, Y. (2016). Advancing methods in research on Asian American children and youth. *Child Development*, *87*(4), 1033–1050. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12576

Young, J. L., Kim, H., & Golojuch, L. (2021). "Race was something we didn't talk about": Racial socialization in Asian American families. *Family Relations*, *70*(4), 1027-1039. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12495