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Racial-Ethnic Socialization in South Asian American Families:
Parents' Model Minority Internalization, Racial Discrimination Experiences,
and Racial-Ethnic Identity

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Education

by

Amaesha Durazi

2024

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Racial-Ethnic Socialization in South Asian American Families:
Parents' Model Minority Internalization, Racial Discrimination Experiences,
and Racial-Ethnic Identity

by

Amaesha Durazi

Master of Arts in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2024

Professor Rashmita S. Mistry, Chair

Research indicates that parents' racial-ethnic identity and racial discrimination experiences influence their engagement in racial-ethnic socialization with their children. However, these associations are less explored in Asian American families with younger children, particularly those of South Asian descent. Internalization of the model minority myth may also affect racial-ethnic socialization in Asian American families, but its role is not well understood. This study examined the relationships between South Asian American parents' racial-ethnic identity, racial discrimination experiences, endorsement of the model minority myth, and racial-ethnic socialization practices. South Asian American parents ($N = 119$; $M_{age} = 37.89$, $SD = 5.58$)

with children aged 6-12 years completed an online survey. Path analyses revealed that parents' racial-ethnic identity and endorsement of the model minority myth were positively associated with cultural socialization, while their discrimination experiences and beliefs in Asian Americans' unrestricted mobility were positively associated with racial socialization. These results suggest that internalization of the model minority myth may promote cultural maintenance by reinforcing 'positive' Asian stereotypes and that South Asian American parents might be balancing the need to prepare their children for racism with minimizing the role of race in determining future success.

The thesis of Amaesha Durazi is approved.

Sandra Graham

Anna Markowitz

Rashmita S. Mistry, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2024

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Introduction

Asian Americans are expected to become the largest immigrant group in the United States by 2055 (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021), with South Asian Americans (i.e., those with origins in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Afghanistan, Bhutan, and the Maldives) being the fastest-growing subgroup (Ramakrishnan, 2023). Estimates indicate that 1 in 4 Asian American children are of Indian heritage (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2023). Despite their numerical representation, South Asian Americans along with other Brown Asian ethnic groups (e.g., Filipino Americans) are less visible in Asian American racial discourse (Nadal, 2019) and are underrepresented in developmental research (Daga & Raval, 2018). This is unfortunate as South Asians face racism that significantly impacts their mental and physical health, including bullying, harassment, and violence at school, work, and places of worship (Kaduvettoor-Davidson & Inman, 2013; Manejwala & Abu-Ras, 2019; Nadimpalli et al., 2016). Understanding the racial messages that South Asian children and youth receive, including the role of promotive and protective factors in aiding their coping and adjustment, is crucial.

Parental racial-ethnic socialization (RES) – the communication of racial, ethnic, and cultural messages to children and youth – has been linked to key developmental outcomes (e.g., academic achievement, psychosocial well-being; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). While most RES research focuses on adolescents, children show an early awareness of their own and others' racial-ethnic identities (Iruka et al., 2021) and parents modulate their RES approaches based on their child's age (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Although children also experience racism, their understanding of race-related concepts is typically less developed compared with adolescents, affecting their ability to comprehend and process racialized experiences. Thus, parental RES may be especially important during middle childhood and early adolescence, although this remains

underexplored. Hence, the current study examined parental RES in South Asian American families with 6- to 12-year-old children.

Prior work with Black and Latinx families shows that RES practices are shaped by parents' racial-ethnic identity (REI; a sense of belonging or affiliation with one's racial-ethnic group) and the frequency of parents' racial discrimination experiences (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Kulish et al., 2019; Saleem et al., 2020). However, less research has focused on the influence of REI and discrimination on Asian American parents' RES, especially those of South Asian descent. Another factor that may uniquely affect RES in Asian American families is the model minority myth, a popular racial narrative in the United States that includes overgeneralization of the success and upward mobility of Asian Americans (Walton & Truong, 2023). Research indicates that Asian Americans may internalize the model minority myth to varying degrees (i.e., model minority internalization [MMI]), by endorsing beliefs that their group works harder and possesses greater upward mobility as compared with other racial minority groups (Yoo et al., 2014). Although a few studies have examined youth MMI as an outcome of parental RES (Daga & Raval, 2018; Kim et al., 2023), the role of parental MMI in RES processes remains unknown. As such, this study explores parents' REI, racial discrimination experiences, and endorsement of MMI as correlates of parental RES in a sample of South Asian American parents with children aged 6 to 12.

Literature Review

South Asian American History

The passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 prompted the United States to look to India for its labor needs. The first wave of South Asian immigrants arrived in the late 1800s and early 1900s from colonized British India, which included present-day Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Facing economic pressure, disease, and other stressors in their homeland, farmers and British Army soldiers arrived in California to work for half the wages of European workers (Bhandari, 2022; Bhatia & Ram, 2018). Gradually, these immigrants asserted economic independence and business prowess (Bhatia & Ram, 2018), leading to the proliferation of anti-Asian (South Asian) sentiments as Americans were warned against the “tide of turbans” vying for local jobs (Bhandari, 2022, p. 4). Eventually, anti-immigration policies such as the 1917 Asiatic Barred Zone Act halted migration from India and neighboring countries. Furthermore, owning land, interracial marriage, and naturalized citizenship for people of Asian descent were barred in many U.S. states (Bhandari, 2022; Bhatia & Ram, 2018). In 1923, Bhagat Singh Thind, an Indian Sikh soldier who fought in World War I with the U.S. military applied for U.S. citizenship based on his high-caste Aryan heritage, which was scientifically classified as Caucasian at the time. The Supreme Court denied his application, solidifying the racialization of South Asians and reinforcing whiteness as a prerequisite for citizenship (Bhandari, 2022).

The 1960s Civil Rights Movement led to another immigration boom. The Hart-Cellar Act of 1965 abolished the race-based quota system of immigration, replacing it with policies aimed at skilled workers and, later on, family reunification. Thus, the second wave of South Asian immigrants consisted largely of educated and qualified professionals who were “triple selected” (i.e., upper class, upper caste, and skilled; Bhandari, 2022, p. 6). This cohort achieved significant economic success and mobility through their access to well-paying white-collar jobs in the science, technology, and professional fields. The third wave of South Asian immigrants, arriving under family reunification or diversity provisions in the 1980s, consisted of many older or working-class individuals who found employment in low-wage service sector jobs (Bhandari,

2022). Today, the South Asian American diaspora includes diverse individuals across ethnic and religious lines, socioeconomic backgrounds, and professions.

Racial-Ethnic Socialization in Asian American Families

Hughes et al. (2006) identified four main dimensions of RES through their work with Black families: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism or silence about race. Building on this work, Juang et al. (2016) adapted these dimensions to better capture the experiences of Asian American families: cultural heritage maintenance (i.e., instilling cultural pride, history, and practices such as those involving language, food, festivals), raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination (i.e., telling children racism exists), avoidance of other groups (i.e., cautioning to be wary of interracial interactions), and minimization of race (i.e., color-evasive attitudes or downplaying racism). For the current study, we adapted Juang's (2016) youth-report measure to assess parental reports of RES. However, to preserve the authenticity of the findings reviewed below, we include authors' respective use of RES terminology.

Recent studies of RES with Asian American samples highlight variability in parental approaches and associated outcomes between and within ethnic groups. For example, in a sample of predominantly Chinese American adolescents, Atkin et al. (2019) found that cultural socialization was protective in weakening the link between racial discrimination and psychological distress; however, the opposite was true of promotion of mistrust. Park et al. (2021) found that ethnic-heritage socialization and promotion of mistrust were beneficial for U.S.-born Filipino American youth, but only preparation for bias was beneficial for Korean American youth, irrespective of nativity status (i.e., born in or outside of the United States). This differential pattern of findings could stem from the diverse histories and experiences of Asian

ethnic groups in the United States, underscoring the importance of investigating RES processes within specific Asian subgroups.

Racial-Ethnic Socialization in South Asian American Families. Although research on RES in South Asian American families is limited, recent studies provide valuable insights. A qualitative study (Patel et al., 2022) with mostly second-generation Asian Indian American youth and their immigrant parents found an emphasis on cultural socialization and a lack of preparation for bias were two major themes, mirroring previous findings that Asian American parents engage in more cultural heritage maintenance and less race-related socialization (Juang et al., 2017). Pride messages sometimes reflected parents' model minority internalization (MMI; e.g., Indians are better at math, earn more money). Moreover, despite both parents and children reporting experiences of discrimination, parents often advised their children to ignore it and avoided discussions of racism to prevent children from expecting negative experiences. Some parents also believed their children were less likely to face racism due to their greater familiarity with mainstream culture. Another qualitative study by Tummala-Narra et al. (2024) found similar results among 1.5- and second-generation Asian Indian American adolescents, who reported a lack of parent-child conversations about race and racism. Instead, parents emphasized education and fitting in as pathways to success in the United States, which some participants attributed to their parents' experiences as immigrants and model minorities. The authors suggest that these findings may reflect a colonial mentality—an adaptive response marked by cultural inferiority and tolerance of oppression. The lingering psychological effects of British colonization in South Asia may contribute to the internalization of the model minority myth as a survival mechanism, prioritizing silence over resistance to inequality and shaping RES messages accordingly. While

informative, these studies highlight a significant gap in research on what motivates South Asian American parents to discuss race and racism with their children.

Correlates of Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Given the influence of parents' RES approaches on children's developmental outcomes, understanding the factors that drive these approaches is crucial. For instance, research indicates that cultural socialization is consistently associated with positive adjustment (e.g., better self-esteem, psychological well-being, and school engagement) whereas promotion of mistrust correlates with negative adjustment (e.g., lower racial-ethnic identity and academic achievement; Juang et al., 2017). Among various determinants of RES, parents' racial-ethnic identity and racial discrimination experiences emerge as key predictors, particularly within Black and Latinx populations (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Kulish et al., 2019; Saleem et al., 2020).

Racial Discrimination. Among Asian American families, Benner and Kim (2009) found that Chinese American parents' racial discrimination experiences predicted their communication of preparation for bias messages with their adolescents. More recently, Woo et al. (2020) found that Filipino and Korean American parents who reported more frequent racial discrimination experiences reported higher levels of engagement in preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. However, results have not always been consistent across racial groups and types of discrimination (e.g., interpersonal and institutional; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). More research is needed to clarify how parents' discrimination experiences relate to RES approaches in Asian American families.

Racial-Ethnic Identity. While associations between parental REI and RES have been documented in Black and Latinx American families (Hughes, 2003; Kulish et al., 2019), this relationship is less explored in Asian American families. Most REI research with Asian

Americans has focused on youth REI as an outcome of RES (Atkin & Yoo, 2021; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Tran & Lee, 2010). However, aspects of REI such as centrality (i.e., the relative importance of one's racial-ethnic identity to one's self-concept) and private regard (i.e., how positively or negatively one perceives one's racial-ethnic group; Sellers et al., 1998) may also influence Asian American parents' RES. [Author identity masked] recently reported that among a large sample of ethnically diverse Asian American parents, those who reported a higher level of centrality and private regard were more likely to engage in cultural socialization with their 6- to 12-year-old children. Overall, there is a lack of research testing parents' REI and discrimination experiences as correlates of RES in exclusively South Asian American samples. Furthermore, it is worthwhile to consider macro-level factors, such as historical and sociopolitical factors (e.g., model minority myth), that may impact RES.

Role of Model Minority Internalization in Racial-Ethnic Socialization

The model minority myth paints Asian Americans as intelligent, hardworking, and accommodating, approximates their academic and socioeconomic success to their White counterparts, and minimizes their racialized experiences (Shih et al., 2019). Although this narrative appears positive, it is detrimentally homogenizing – converting a mosaic into a monolith by placing the diverse experiences of numerous ethnic groups under one umbrella. Moreover, it is often weaponized against people of color and creates divisiveness between marginalized groups by discounting the systemic oppression of Black and Brown people and the fact that subgroups of Asian immigrants were structurally set up for success (i.e., through immigration policies and systems; Bhandari, 2022). Furthermore, the myth is a stereotype that masks the stark economic inequality among Asian Americans (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021; Kochhar

& Cilluffo, 2018; Weller & Thompson, 2016) and the racism they face (Benner & Graham, 2013; Gee, 2015; Gee & Peck, 2018; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004).

Asian Americans can adopt the model minority myth to varying degrees, known as model minority internalization (MMI). MMI has two dimensions: achievement orientation (i.e., beliefs that Asian Americans work harder than other racial minority groups) and unrestricted mobility orientation (i.e., beliefs that Asian Americans face fewer barriers than other racial minority groups; Yoo et al., 2014). Findings on the psychosocial effects of MMI are mixed; it has been associated with maladaptive (e.g., negative affect, poorer mental health, lower help-seeking) and adaptive outcomes (e.g., positive affect, stress reduction; Atkin et al., 2019; Kim & Lee, 2014; Yoo et al., 2014). Hence, MMI can function as a double-edged sword, leading Asian Americans to experience both pride and pressure to live up to expectations (Daga & Raval, 2018).

MMI has implications for developmental outcomes in Asian American families; however, its role in RES requires further investigation. Although a few studies have explored youth-reported MMI as an outcome of parental RES (Kim et al., 2023), including in South Asian samples (Daga & Raval, 2018), it is equally critical to examine how parents may be affected by and transmit MMI messages as they filter and process information and experiences with their children. For instance, since the model minority myth casts Asian Americans in a ‘positive’ light, it is possible parents with stronger MMI endorsements could have elevated REIs, resulting in more frequent cultural socialization. Similarly, endorsement of unrestricted mobility orientation may lead parents to downplay discrimination, resulting in less preparation for bias messages. Thus, the current study explored parental MMI as a correlate of Asian American parents’ RES.

Current Study

This study examined associations among REI, racial discrimination, MMI, and RES in South Asian American parents with 6- to 12-year-old children. The research question was: To what extent are parents' REI, racial discrimination experiences, and endorsement of MMI related to their RES practices?

Where applicable, we drew on prior research to delineate expected findings. First, consistent with prior studies, we hypothesized that parents' racial discrimination experiences would be positively associated with raising awareness of discrimination with their children (Benner & Kim, 2009; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014; Woo et al., 2020). We also hypothesized more frequent discrimination experiences to be negatively associated with minimizing race and racism, since parents' experiences may drive them to educate their children about racism. Consistent with prior findings, we hypothesized REI to be positively associated with cultural maintenance practices (Hughes, 2003; Kulish et al., 2019; author identity masked). We also hypothesized stronger endorsement of MMI-achievement orientation to be associated with more frequent engagement in cultural maintenance, as associating 'positive' traits with being Asian may encourage parents to pass on their culture. Finally, we hypothesized that stronger endorsement of MMI-unrestricted mobility orientation would be associated with less frequent engagement in preparation for bias and more frequent minimization of race, as believing that Asian Americans face fewer barriers than other minority groups may lead parents to de-emphasize race and racism.

Method

Data Source

Data came from a larger study of Asian American parents ($N = 477$) with children aged 6-12 years. The study included two components, an online survey of parents' reports of their

RES, REI, racial discrimination experiences, race-related knowledge and attitudes, and psychosocial well-being ($n = 404$) as well as a multi-site, multi-method sub-study with a different sample of Asian American parents ($n = 73$), which included the same survey mentioned above in addition to parent and child interviews and a parent-child observation task. The current study focuses on a subsample of South Asian American parents ($n = 119$), drawn from the online survey and multi-method portion of the larger study.

Procedures

Participants were recruited in one of two ways: (1) an online survey via Centiment Survey Panels ($n = 404$) or (2) through social media, email listservs, community events, and snowball sampling ($n = 73$). Eligible participants identified as Asian or Asian American U.S. residents, had at least one Asian or Asian American child aged 6 to 12, had internet access, and could respond to the survey in English. Centiment disseminated the survey through a respondent dashboard and social media sites in October 2021. Recruitment was balanced by child age and census region to broadly represent the U.S. population but was limited to those who voluntarily opted into Centiment's subject pool. The survey was distributed to 863 potential respondents and yielded a 48% response rate ($n = 404$), a similar rate to other same-length, online surveys (e.g., Galesic & Bosnjak, 2009). Informed consent was collected before the start of the survey and participants were asked to respond with one eligible target child in mind. The survey took approximately 20 minutes to complete. Participants were compensated via PayPal or a donation to a local school or nonprofit (\$3.50 - \$8.25), determined by Centiment's dynamic recruitment system. [Institutional] IRB reviewed and approved the study (IRB#21-001082). The second wave of data collection for the multi-site, multi-method portion was coordinated across four study sites between March 2022 - December 2022. Participants were recruited from the East,

Midwest, Southwest, and Southern California regions of the United States. After confirming eligibility via an online screener and providing informed consent electronically, participants completed the 20-minute online survey on Qualtrics with one eligible target child in mind. Parents were compensated with a \$45 Amazon gift card and children received a book (\$15 value). IRB approval was obtained at each study site.

Participants

For the current study, we drew upon parent survey data from the South Asian American subsample across the two components of the larger study. This included 105 participants from the online survey portion and 14 participants from the multi-method portion, resulting in a combined sample of 119 parents (25 – 52 years, $M_{age} = 37.89$, $SD = 5.58$). Detailed sociodemographic information about participants is presented in Table 1. A majority of participants were mothers (74%), first-generation immigrants (71%), and identified as Asian Indian (87%). Families were mostly middle to upper-middle class, as assessed using multiple indicators of social class.

Table 1

Detailed Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants

Parent demographics	n	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Age			37.89	5.58
Gender ¹				
Woman	88	74		
Man	31	26		
Ethnicity				
Asian Indian	104	87		

¹ Gender data for participants recruited through Centiment Survey Panels were provided by Centiment (n=404). Gender data for participants of the multi-site, multi-method portion were self-reported (n=73).

Pakistani	4	3		
Sri Lankan	4	3		
Bangladeshi	2	2		
Nepalese	2	2		
Multiethnic	3	3		
Generational status ²				
First generation	80	71		
Second+ generation	33	29		
Missing data	6			
Relationship status				
Married to or cohabitating with child's parent	100	84		
Married to or cohabitating with someone other than child's parent	14	12		
Single	4	3		
Divorced or separated	1	1		
Education level				
High school	6	5		
Some college	7	6		
Technical or vocational degree	3	3		
Two-year college or Associate's degree	4	3		
Four-year college or Bachelor's degree	40	34		
Graduate degree (i.e., Master's or Doctorate)	57	49		
Missing data	2			
Subjective social status ³			6.62	1.51

Measures

Parents' Racial-Ethnic Identity. Parents' REI was assessed using an adapted version of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997) for Asian Americans (Kiang et al., 2006). Participants answered questions about REI centrality (4 items; e.g., "being a member of my racial/ethnic group(s) is an important part of my self-image") and

² First generation = Born outside the U.S.; Second+ generation = At least one parent or grandparent born in the U.S.

³ SSS was assessed using the MacArthur Scale (Adler et al., 2000; a 10-rung ladder where 1 = the people with the least money, least education, and least respected jobs and 10 = the people with the most money, most education, and most respected jobs).

REI private regard (3 items; e.g., “I feel good about being a member of my racial/ethnic group(s)”) using a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 6 = *strongly agree*). To create a composite score, items were summed and averaged. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) resulted in a single-factor model and supported a combined REI measure ($\alpha = 0.92$; see Appendix for details).

Parents’ Discrimination Experiences. Parents’ experiences of racial discrimination were assessed using items from the Brief Discrimination Scale (9 items; Pituc et al., 2009) and the Everyday Discrimination Scale (3 items; Williams et al., 1997). These scales included items about general discrimination (e.g., “treated with less respect than other people”) as well as discrimination specific to Asian Americans (e.g., “had someone comment on or be surprised by your English language ability”). Participants answered how often they had experienced certain discriminatory events in the past year using a 4-point Likert scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once or Twice*, 3 = *Three or Four Times*, 4 = *Five or More Times*). To create a composite score, items were summed and averaged. An EFA was conducted to determine factor structure and reliability. The final solution resulted in a single-factor model and supported a combined discrimination measure ($\alpha = 0.94$; see Appendix for details).

Internalization of the Model Minority Myth. MMI was assessed using a subset of items from the Internalization scale of the Model Minority Myth (IM-4) measure (Yoo et al., 2010). Specifically, we included 5 items from the Achievement Orientation subscale and 3 items from the Unrestricted Mobility Orientation subscale⁴. Participants used a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 6 = *strongly agree*) to indicate their beliefs regarding Asian Americans’

⁴ This subset of items was selected due to high factor loadings in the original analysis by Yoo et al. (2010). Consequently, an EFA was run with the selected items to determine the factor structure.

achievement in comparison to other racial minority groups (5 items; e.g., “Asian Americans have a stronger work ethic”) and Asian Americans’ mobility in comparison to other racial minority groups (3 items; e.g., “Asian Americans are less likely to face barriers at work”). To create composite scores for each subscale, items were summed and averaged. An EFA yielded a two-factor model (see Appendix for details). Consequently, the Achievement Orientation subscale ($\alpha = 0.89$) and the Unrestricted Mobility Orientation subscale ($\alpha = 0.83$) were considered distinct measures.

Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization. RES was assessed using Juang et al.’s (2016) Asian American Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale. Three subscales were included: (1) cultural heritage maintenance (9 items; e.g., “you tell your child to speak in your family’s heritage language(s)”); raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination (4 items; e.g., “you tell your child that people may limit them because of their Asian background”); and minimization of race (3 items; e.g., “you show to your child that issues of race and racism are not important”). Participants used a 4-point Likert scale⁵ (1 = Never⁶, 2 = Occasionally, 3 = Often, 4 = Very Often) to indicate how often they engage in these RES practices. To create composite scores for each subscale, items were summed and averaged. An EFA was conducted to ascertain the scale structure and reliability of the three subscales (see Appendix for details). All three subscales were retained and had acceptable to good levels of reliability (cultural heritage maintenance, $\alpha = 0.69$; raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination, $\alpha = 0.85$; minimization of race, $\alpha = 0.76$).

⁵ While the original survey was tested using a 5-point Likert scale, the survey in this study was administered using the 4-point Likert scale mentioned above.

⁶ An additional option of *Not yet, too young* was recoded as 1 for analysis purposes.

Covariates. Early exploratory analyses indicated that child age, child gender, household income, and parent education were not significantly correlated with any study variables and thus these were not included as covariates. Due to power constraints and because most parents were first-generation, we also did not include parent generational status (foreign or U.S. born) as a covariate. However, to account for potential sampling differences, data source was included as a covariate in all analyses.

Analytic Plan

Path analyses within a structural equation modeling framework were used to test associations among study variables. Following Kline's (2015) guidelines, we multiplied the estimated number of parameters (i.e., 25) by five to determine the approximate minimum sample size ($N = 125$) to ensure sufficient statistical power. Analyses were conducted in RStudio (Version 4.3.1) using the R package *lavaan* (Rosseel, 2012). Model fit was evaluated using the following goodness-of-fit indicators: non-significant χ^2 , CFI > 0.90, SRMR < 0.08, and RMSEA < 0.06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Missing data were handled using full-information maximum-likelihood estimation (Enders, 2001; Enders & Bandalos, 2001).

Due to power constraints, we conducted two separate path analyses to test for isolated effects of each MMI subscale: first, the relations of parents' endorsement of MMI-achievement orientation, discrimination experiences, and REI with parental RES (see Figure 1); and next, the relations of parents' endorsement of MMI-unrestricted mobility orientation, discrimination experiences, and REI with parental RES (see Figure 2). Additionally, since our REI measure included two dimensions (i.e., centrality and private regard) that are theoretically distinct, we also ran the models outlined above separately for REI centrality and REI private regard to test for isolated effects of these components. The results, however, were the same as the models

including a composite measure of REI, which are included here. To account for potential sampling differences, both models included data source as a covariate.

Results

Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations are presented in Table 2. Parents reported engaging in cultural heritage maintenance most often, minimization of race and raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination were used occasionally, and avoidance of other groups was the least reported form of socialization. On average, parents reported high levels of REI and few discrimination experiences. Endorsement of MMI was fairly high across the sample, with stronger support for MMI-achievement orientation than MMI-unrestricted mobility orientation. As expected, parents' REI was positively correlated with cultural maintenance while their reports of racial discrimination were positively correlated with the other RES approaches. However, we observed an unexpected positive correlation between parents' discrimination experiences and their minimization of race. MMI-achievement orientation was positively correlated with cultural maintenance and REI. Finally, MMI-unrestricted mobility orientation was positively correlated with all four RES approaches and MMI-achievement orientation.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-Order Correlations for Correlates

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Scale values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1) RES: Cultural Heritage Maintenance	2.80	0.52	1 - 4		.40**	.32**	.41**	-.00	.36**	.25**
2) RES: Raising Awareness of anti-Asian Discrimination	1.87	0.87	1 - 4			.68**	-.09	.37**	.10	.22*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Scale values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) RES: Minimization of Race	1.96	0.97	1 - 4				-.12	.23*	.11	.29**
4) Parents' REI	4.76	0.89	1 - 6					-.18	.35**	.07
5) Parents' Experiences of Racial Discrimination	1.79	0.76	1 - 4						-.09	-.05
6) MMI: Achievement Orientation	4.84	0.98	1 - 6							.37**
7) MMI: Unrestricted Mobility Orientation	3.99	1.20	1 - 6							

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$.

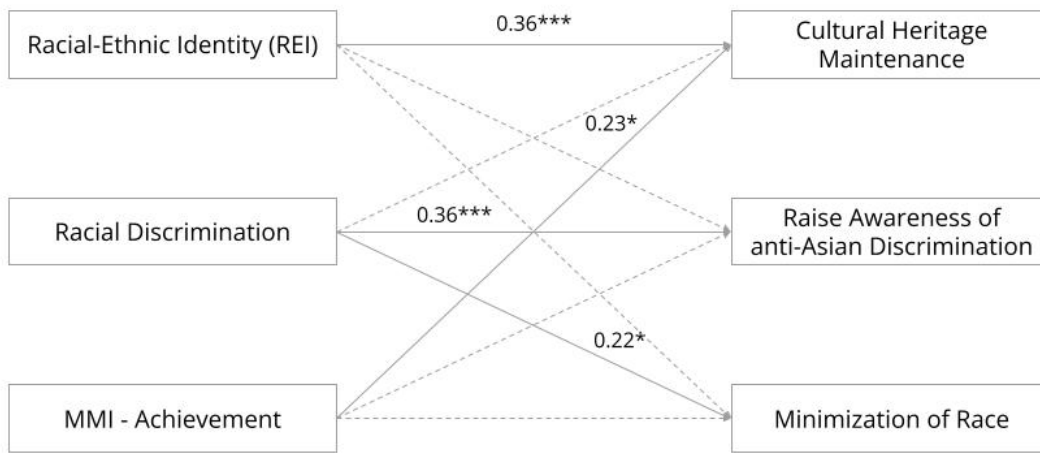
Parents' MMI, Racial Discrimination Experiences, and REI as Correlates of Parental RES

MMI-Achievement Orientation. The overall model had a good fit, $\chi^2(3, N = 119) = 3.09, p = .38, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.03, RMSEA = 0.02$. As expected, parents with stronger endorsements of REI reported engaging in cultural maintenance practices more often ($\beta = 0.36, p < .001$). Additionally, parents who experienced more racial discrimination were, as expected, more likely to raise awareness of anti-Asian discrimination ($\beta = 0.36, p < .001$) with their children. However, contrary to expectations, parents' experiences of discrimination were also associated with a greater frequency of minimizing race ($\beta = 0.22, p = .017$). Finally, stronger

endorsement of MMI-achievement orientation was related to more frequent cultural maintenance ($\beta = 0.23, p = .012$).

Figure 1

Model for Associations of MMI-Achievement Orientation, Racial Discrimination, and REI with RES (Standardized Coefficients)



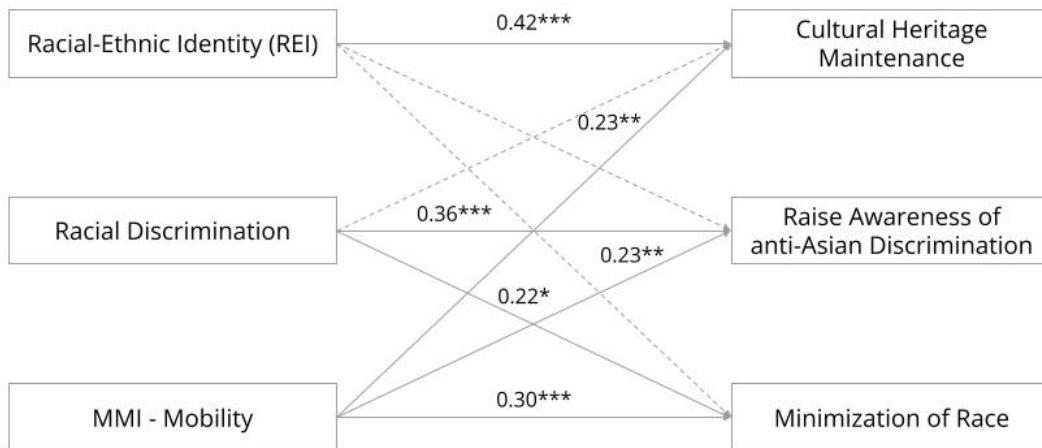
Note. Model fit statistics: $\chi^2 (3, N = 119) = 3.09, p = .38, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.03, RMSEA = 0.02$. Dotted lines represent modeled paths and bolded lines represent modeled paths that reached significance. Covariates: data source. Estimates of covariates and within-level covariances were calculated but are not shown. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

MMI-Unrestricted Mobility Orientation. The overall fit was good, $\chi^2 (3, N = 119) = 0.26, p = .97, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.01, RMSEA = 0.00$. Consistent with earlier reported findings, stronger endorsements of REI were associated with more frequent cultural maintenance practices ($\beta = 0.42, p < .001$), and frequent experiences of discrimination were related to greater engagement in raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination ($\beta = 0.36, p < .001$) and minimizing race ($\beta = 0.22, p = .01$). Interestingly, parents who more strongly endorsed MMI-

unrestricted mobility orientation were also more likely to raise awareness of anti-Asian discrimination ($\beta = 0.23, p = .006$) and minimize race in conversations with their children ($\beta = 0.30, p < .001$). Endorsement of MMI-unrestricted mobility orientation was also associated with more frequent cultural maintenance ($\beta = 0.23, p = .006$).

Figure 2

Model for Associations MMI-Unrestricted Mobility Orientation, Racial Discrimination, and REI with RES (Standardized Coefficients)



Note. Model fit statistics: $\chi^2 (3, N = 119) = 0.26, p = .97$, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = 0.01, RMSEA = 0.00. Dotted lines represent modeled paths and bolded lines represent modeled paths that reached significance. Covariates: data source. Estimates of covariates and within-level covariances were calculated but are not shown. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

Discussion

Descriptively, South Asian American parents had high cultural maintenance scores and lower scores for race-related messages, consistent with past work on Asian American families (Juang et al., 2017). Parents strongly endorsed both REI and MMI. Interestingly, on average,

parents scored higher on MMI-achievement orientation (i.e., beliefs that Asian Americans work harder than other racial minority groups) and lower on MMI-unrestricted mobility orientation (i.e., beliefs that Asian Americans face fewer barriers than other racial minority groups). This trend was also prevalent in Daga and Raval's (2018) work with South Asian American youth and may involve the tendency to prefer self-serving attributions to explain success. Across the 12 items measuring racial discrimination, the proportion of parents who reported no experiences of discrimination ranged from 36% to 67%, with an average of 50%. One possible explanation for the lower levels of reported racial discrimination is that our sample consisted mainly of first-generation parents who endorsed high levels of MMI, which fosters the trivialization of anti-Asian racism (i.e., MMI-unrestricted mobility orientation). Parents' perceptions of racism could have been influenced by MMI, leading to lower reporting of discrimination. Furthermore, research suggests that first-generation and second-generation immigrants may differ in their conceptualizations of racism. Gonzalez et al. (2022) found that Mexican, Indian, and Chinese immigrant parents showed more uncertainty in understanding and identifying racial discrimination compared to their second-generation children and African American parents. Similarly, interviews with South Asian first-generation parents revealed that they were sometimes unsure of what qualified as racism (Patel et al., 2022). This likely stems from less familiarity with the U.S. context and acculturation processes, as immigrant parents may rely on the sociocultural context of their countries of origin to make sense of their racialized experiences in the United States.

As expected, path analyses indicated that stronger parental REI was related to greater engagement in cultural maintenance practices, consistent with past literature on Black and Latinx families (Hughes, 2003; Kulish et al., 2019) and recent work with a more ethnically diverse

Asian American sample [author identity masked]. It is not surprising that South Asian American parents who associate positive feelings and a sense of belonging with their racial-ethnic group are more invested in passing down their cultural values and practices to their children.

More frequent experiences of racial discrimination was associated with raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination with children, confirming our expectations and aligning with past work on Asian American families (Benner & Kim, 2009; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014; Woo et al., 2020). For example, interviews with South Asian American youth revealed that their parents prepared them for how others may react to their success as a person of color and, in the vein of protection, warned them that certain racial-ethnic groups may not be trustworthy (Daga & Raval, 2018). Cautioning against interactions with other groups could be part of how South Asian American parents prepare their children for racism. For instance, Patel et al. (2022) found that some parents indirectly shaped their children's peer networks due to concerns that others might not share their culture and values, while others encouraged friendships with fellow Indians to avoid explaining cultural differences. In interviews with South Asian American adolescents, Tummala-Narra et al. (2024) found some evidence of parental skepticism regarding relationships that crossed racial and ethnic lines. Unexpectedly, we also found that parents who reported experiencing discrimination more frequently were more likely to minimize racism. Although it is not clear exactly why, one possibility is that South Asian American parents who have endured more racism are trying to prepare their children for discrimination while simultaneously emphasizing that race is not deterministic of future outcomes. This may be especially true of the current sample, which includes many high-SES South Asian Americans who may have achieved success despite experiencing racism.

Stronger endorsement of the belief that Asian Americans face fewer barriers compared to other racial minority groups (i.e., MMI-unrestricted mobility orientation), similar to parents' reports of discrimination, was also associated with raising awareness of discrimination, and as we expected, minimizing race. One plausible interpretation is that some South Asian American parents who have experienced racial discrimination also internalize that Asian Americans can usually achieve success despite racism, through structural pathways to which other minority groups may have less access (e.g., education, professional opportunities). Consequently, South Asian American parents may downplay racism, communicating to their children that race and racism do not have to be a hindrance for social mobility.

Another - more technical - explanation may have to do with the framing of the survey items. The items in the raising awareness of anti-Asian discrimination subscale are specific to anti-Asian racism, whereas the items in the minimization of race subscale are more general. Hence, South Asian parents could be discussing anti-Asian discrimination, but downplaying racism experienced by other groups (e.g., anti-Black racism). Alternatively, this study did not assess whether parents discussed interpersonal versus structural racism. The model minority myth primarily suggests that Asian Americans face less structural racism compared to other minority groups. Consequently, parents endorsing MMI might focus on preparing their children for interpersonal racism while de-emphasizing structural racism, which may explain the seemingly contradictory finding that parents are both raising awareness of anti-Asian racism and minimizing racism.

We found that parents who strongly endorsed MMI (achievement orientation and unrestricted mobility orientation) engaged more frequently in cultural maintenance practices. Since MMI portrays Asian Americans 'positively', it may bolster REI and enhance racial-ethnic

pride, motivating parents to pass on their cultural heritage. For instance, both Patel et al. (2022) and Daga and Raval (2018) found connections between pride and MMI in South Asian families.

Limitations, Constraints on Generality, & Future Directions

Although findings from the current study contribute to understanding RES processes among Asian Americans, particularly South Asian Americans, the results should be interpreted with caveats. Importantly, the cross-sectional design limits causal interpretations. Additionally, previous research suggests parents and children may perceive parental RES practices differently (Hu et al., 2015); multi-informant methods incorporating both parent- and youth-reported RES are a crucial next step. It is also worthwhile to explore how various forms of discrimination (e.g., interpersonal, structural) shape parents' RES practices and the specific types of discrimination parents discuss with their children. Future research should consider demographic (e.g., generational status) and contextual (e.g., neighborhood composition) factors as predictors of parental RES (see [author identity masked]; Park et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2022) and the role of historical factors (e.g., colonization; David & Okazaki, 2006). Furthermore, religion and caste can shape attitudes and practices in South Asian families; future research should explore how these identity aspects and religion- or caste-based discrimination impact South Asian RES processes, particularly in navigating the model minority myth and Islamophobia.

The current sample consisted of primarily middle to upper-middle-class Asian Indians and results may not be generalizable to South Asian Americans from lower SES backgrounds, those with national origins outside India, and multiracial South Asians. Future studies should examine RES with more diverse South Asian representation, including non-English speaking populations. Additionally, part of the current sample was limited to those who voluntarily opted

into Centiment's subject pool. There remains a possibility of self-selection bias, as those interested in the study may be more inclined to discuss culture, identity, and race.

Finally, the role of MMI in RES processes remains unclear and both theoretical and empirical work in this area are needed. Although we were unable to examine MMI as a moderator due to power limitations, future research should investigate whether MMI moderates associations between racial discrimination, REI, and RES. Furthermore, MMI and related concepts (e.g., model minority stereotyping) likely influence Asian American RES in multifaceted ways. For instance, beyond shaping which RES approaches parents adopt, the model minority myth may be an explicit part of RES messaging (e.g., perpetuation of the myth, preparing children to cope with model minority stereotypes). Overall, the field would benefit from considering how Asian-specific racial narratives are involved in RES processes in Asian American families.

Conclusion

This study builds on and extends the literature on parental RES processes in Asian American families by focusing on South Asian American families with 6- to 12-year-old children. Findings indicate that parents' REI and MMI may support engagement in cultural socialization, while their racial discrimination experiences and beliefs in the unrestricted mobility of Asian Americans may relate to racial socialization messages. Notably, we observed that South Asian American parents adopted seemingly contradictory RES approaches, discussing racial discrimination with their children while also minimizing race. Future research should continue to develop an understanding of RES processes in South Asian American families and its implications for practitioners and policymakers working with this population.

Appendix

Table A1

Final Factor Solution for Exploratory Factor Analysis of Racial-Ethnic Identity Items

Factor/Item	Loading
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own racial/ethnic group(s).	.74
I feel a strong attachment towards my own racial/ethnic group(s).	.84
In general, being a member of my racial/ethnic group(s) is an important part of my self-image.	.83
Being a member of my racial/ethnic group(s) is an important reflection of who I am.	.71
I feel good about being a member of my racial/ethnic group(s).	.81
I am happy that I am a member of my racial/ethnic group(s).	.80
I have a lot of pride in my racial/ethnic group(s) and its accomplishments.	.80

Note. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted using principal factor analysis for extraction with promax rotation ($\kappa=4$).

Table A2*Final Factor Solution for Exploratory Factor Analysis of Racial Discrimination Items*

Factor/Item	Loading
Rejected by others because of your ethnicity/race.	.80
Denied opportunities because of your ethnicity/race.	.78
Treated unfairly or rudely by strangers because of your ethnicity/race.	.83
Treated with less courtesy than other people are.	.83
Treated with less respect than other people are.	.86
Received poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.	.78
Heard someone say to you, "Go back where you came from."	.72
Had someone speak to you in a foreign language because of your ethnicity/race.	.61
Had your American citizenship or residency questioned by others.	.77
Had someone comment on or be surprised by your English language ability.	.71
Asked by strangers, "Where are you from?" because of your ethnicity/race.	.54
Had someone speak to you in an unnecessarily slow or loud way.	.87

Note. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted using principal factor analysis for extraction with promax rotation ($\kappa=4$).

Table A3*Final Factor Solution for Exploratory Factor Analysis of Model Minority Internalization Items*

Factor/Item	Factor 1 Loading	Factor 2 Loading
Factor 1: Achievement Orientation (5 items)		
Asian Americans have a stronger worth ethic.	.93	-.07
Asian Americans are harder workers.	.76	.00
Despite experiences with racism, Asian Americans are more likely to achieve academic and economic success.	.61	.10
Asian Americans are more motivated to be successful.	.85	-.03
Asian Americans generally perform better on standardized exams (i.e., SAT) and have higher GPAs because of their values in academic achievement.	.72	.06
Factor 2: Unrestricted Mobility Orientation (3 items)		
Asian Americans are less likely to face barriers at work.	-.09	.88
Asian Americans are less likely to encounter racial prejudice and discrimination.	.01	.85
Asian Americans are more likely to be treated as equals to White Americans.	.16	.61

Note. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted using principal factor analysis for extraction with promax rotation ($\kappa=4$).

Table A4*Final Factor Solution for Exploratory Factor Analysis of Racial-Ethnic Socialization Items*

Factor/Item	Loading
Factor 1: Cultural Heritage Maintenance (9 items)	
You tell your child to speak in your family’s heritage language(s).	.59
You encourage your child to be proud of their culture(s).	.45
You routinely cook your child Asian food.	.24
You show your child that because you are an immigrant that you have worked hard to come to this country.	.39
You celebrate your heritage culture’s holidays with your child.	.36
You spend time with relatives who are from your home country(ies).	.41
You use “ethnic” media (e.g., newspapers, books, TV shows).	.61
You visit stores and professionals (such as doctors, business owners) of your own ethnicity/culture(s).	.37
You take your child to visit your home country(ies).	.60
Factor 2: Raise Awareness of Anti-Asian Discrimination (4 items)	
You tell your child why some people will treat them unfairly because of their Asian background.	.76
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.	.57
You tell your child that people may try to take advantage of them because of their Asian background.	.91
You tell your child that people may limit them because of their Asian background.	.83
Factor 3: Minimization of Race (3 items)	
You tell your child that racism doesn’t exist.	.80
You show to your child that issues of race and racism are not important.	.72
You give an impression to your child that you are not comfortable talking about issues of race.	.60

Note. A single-factor exploratory factor analysis was conducted for each subscale using principal factor analysis for extraction with promax rotation ($\kappa=4$).

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