Hidden Among the Hidden:

Transracially Adopted Korean American Adults Raising Multiracial Children

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Abstract

The parenting practices of both transracially adopted Korean American adults and multiracial families are often overlooked in developmental science, yet are important to address given that the majority of Korean adoptees are now adults with families of their own and given rapid increases in the multiracial population. This qualitative study examined the cultural socialization beliefs and practices among transracially adopted Korean Americans who are parents of multiracial Asian-White children. Drawing upon interviews with 31 Korean adoptee parents (29 female; $M_{age} = 41.26$), we identified four themes that capture parents' understanding of their children's multiracial identities, how that understanding subsequently shapes their cultural socialization practices, and how parents' socialization beliefs and practices vary by developmental stage. These themes described the ways that parents' cultural socialization practices were shaped by their children's phenotypes, parents' understanding of their children's multiracial identities, geographic location, and the multiracial family context. This study also demonstrated how multiracial couples in our sample engaged in cultural socialization together. Results suggest that Korean adoptee parents largely acknowledged their children's multiracial identities through labels, but primarily socialized children as monoracial minorities.

Keywords: multiracial, cultural socialization, transracial adoptees, parenting

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Adopted Koreans raised transracially in White families are a hidden subgroup within the Korean American population. Constituting between 5-10% of the Korean American population (E. J. Kim, 2010; U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), transracial Korean adoptees' experiences as ethnic and racial minorities are often overlooked in developmental research on Korean Americans and the broader Asian American population. Even less is known about the experiences of transracial Korean adoptees raising their own children - oftentimes multiracial - with regard to race and ethnicity.

Multiracial children, more broadly, are excluded in many ways in developmental science. Despite an exponential increase in the multiracial population since 1970 (Pew Research Center, 2015), the population count of individuals of two or more races remained hidden in the United States Census until 2000. Not surprisingly, the experiences of families with different-race parents have been largely absent in parenting and child development research (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). In particular, little is known about the ways that different-race parents practice *cultural socialization*¹ (Atkin & Yoo, 2019), or teach multiracial children about race, ethnicity, and culture (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). This gap in research contrasts widely with the fact that the multiracial population is the fastest-growing population in America (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), and nearly half of the multiracial population is under 18 (Pew Research Center, 2015). In addition, there is almost no empirical knowledge of cultural

¹ In this paper, we conceptualize cultural socialization as a meta-construct that subsumes ethnic and racial socialization. This conceptualization is consistent with the definition of culture as a broad construct that encompasses race and ethnicity (American Psychological Association, 2017). This broad conceptualization is appropriate for adoptees and many other groups with intersectional identities (e.g., immigrants, religious minorities, LGBTQ populations) who transmit messages that are not directly related to race or ethnicity but are nonetheless related to culture (e.g., messages about assimilation to the majority culture).

socialization of Asian-White youth (Atkin & Yoo, 2019), as existing studies focus on Asian-White adults (Brittian, Umaña-Taylor, & Derlan, 2013; V. Chong & Kuo, 2015) or are outside of developmental science (S. H. Chang, 2015; K. H. Chong, 2013). Yet the population of Asian-White youth is also expected to grow, given that Asian-White couples were the second-highest intermarriage pairing among newlyweds in 2015 (Pew Research Center, 2017). Therefore, the current qualitative study aims to investigate the cultural socialization beliefs and practices among transracially adopted Korean Americans who are parents of multiracial Asian-White children.

Transracial Korean Adoptees as Parents: From One Multiracial Family to Another

Transnational adoption from South Korea to the United States began immediately following the Korean War (E. J. Kim, 2010). As the adoptee population increased in subsequent decades, researchers sought to understand the childhood and adolescent adjustment of international adoptees (e.g., Askeland et al., 2017). There has also been a focus on cultural experiences of Korean youth transracially adopted into White families (O. M. Kim, Reichwald, & Lee, 2013; Lee, 2003), including the ways that Korean adoptees experience cultural socialization from their adoptive families (D. F. Chang, Feldman, & Easley, 2017; Day, Godon-Decoteau, & Suyemoto, 2015; Hu, Anderson, & Lee, 2015; Hu, Zhou, & Lee, 2017; Langrehr, Yoon, Hacker, & Caudill, 2015). For example, research has found that the majority of White adoptive families engage in limited cultural socialization, and the families who do practice cultural socialization tend to focus more exposure to adoptees' Korean heritage, rather than discussions of race and racial differences (Anderson, Lee, Rueter, & Kim, 2015; D. F. Chang et al., 2017; O. M. Kim et al., 2013). But Korean adoptees do not stay children forever; the majority of Korean adoptees are now adults with families of their own. However, there is scant research on adoptees' experiences as parents (e.g., Day, Godon-Decoteau, & Suyemoto, 2015; Greco,

Rosnati, & Ferrari, 2014), including Korean transracial adoptees' experiences of engaging in cultural socialization with their own children.

The cultural socialization practices of Korean transracial adoptees who partner and have children with White partners are of particular interest, as these Korean adoptees have experiences with multiple forms of multiraciality. First, Korean adoptees were raised in a *transracial*, multiracial family, in which adoptees were of a different race from one or both of their adoptive parents. This includes Korean adoptees whose adoptive parents were Asian-White interracial couples (Park Nelson, Langrehr, & Kupel, 2013). Second, through an interracial relationship with a White partner, Korean adoptees form their own multiracial families consisting of two parents of different races. Third, the biological children of Korean adoptees and their White partners are multiracial, meaning that they are of two or more racial groups. Thus, in this paper, we use "multiracial" as a broad umbrella term that describes multiple types of family identities as well as an individual's racial background. In the next section, we draw on several models of cultural socialization to explain possible implications of growing up in a transracial, multiracial family for forming a multiracial family and engaging in cultural socialization with multiracial children.

Cultural Socialization in Multiracial Families

To guide our study of cultural socialization in multiracial families, we draw upon cultural socialization models (Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt, Gunnar, & Minnesota International Adoption Project Team, 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Yasui, 2015) that articulate how parental *attitudes and beliefs* about culture inform specific *messages* that parents give about culture and *practices* by which parents express these messages (e.g., verbal statements, behaviors). Cultural socialization messages include ethnic socialization (e.g., teaching about one's ethnic heritage,

promoting ethnic pride), racial socialization (e.g., promoting awareness of racism, preparing children for experiences of discrimination), egalitarianism (i.e., promoting equality of all people), cultural pluralism (i.e., encouraging children to learn about other races/ethnicities), and assimilation into the majority culture (Hughes et al., 2006; Juang, Shen, Kim, & Wang, 2016). There is limited knowledge of cultural socialization in multiracial families (Atkin & Yoo, 2019), as the majority of research has focused on monoracial families of color, particularly Black families (Hughes et al., 2006; Huguley, Wang, Vasquez, & Guo, 2019; Priest et al., 2014). Existing studies of cultural socialization among multiracial families have typically assessed parental messages and practices (e.g., Brittian, Umaña-Taylor, & Derlan, 2013; Jackson, Wolven, & Crudup, 2017; Rollins & Hunter, 2013; Villegas-Gold & Tran, 2018), similar to studies of monoracial families (Yasui, 2015). A limitation of this approach is that it only captures aspects of cultural socialization that can be directly observed by youth or that parents are consciously aware of (Yasui, 2015). Parental attitudes and beliefs about culture do not necessarily align with their actual messages and practices (Hughes et al., 2008), possibly due to child age (Hughes et al., 2006) or mismatches between child and parent perception (Hu et al., 2015; Hughes et al., 2008). To more fully understand cultural socialization particularly among multiracial families where there is limited knowledge, it is important to capture parental attitudes and beliefs along with their messages and practices.

Given that existing cultural socialization frameworks are articulated from a monoracial paradigm (Harris, 2016), we draw from models of multiracial identity development (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 2003) that articulate aspects of cultural socialization unique to families with multiracial youth. Different-race parents of multiracial children may approach cultural socialization differently, having had varying previous racialized experiences

and received cultural socialization to various extents in their own families-of-origin (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). For example, previous work among minority/White multiracial families suggests that minority parents may be more attuned to their children's experiences as racial minorities (K. H. Chong, 2013; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, & Harris, 1993), whereas White parents may have color-blind attitudes (S. H. Chang, 2015), emphasize cultural socialization less than their minority partner (Fatimilehin, 1999), or lack understanding of the racial experiences their multiracial children may face (K. H. Chong, 2013; Kerwin et al., 1993). Thus, it is important to examine individual parental approaches to cultural socialization, as well as how different-race partners engage in cultural socialization together. In addition, monoracial parents have not personally experienced the racial reality of their multiracial child and thus lack this experience to draw from when engaging in cultural socialization (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). That is, while monoracial minority parents may identify with multiracial children's experiences of being treated as a minority, they cannot personally identify with racial experiences associated with being multiracial (e.g., discrimination directed toward multiracial identity). Finally, these models note that cultural socialization is informed by the racial phenotype (i.e., racialized physical appearance) of multiracial youth and the quality of the relationship between parents (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 2003).

The aforementioned models (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 2003) have several implications for Korean adoptee parents engaging in cultural socialization with Asian-White multiracial children. First, Korean adoptees' childhood experiences of cultural socialization in their adoptive families may inform their current practices with their own children (Day et al., 2015). Korean adoptee parents who received limited cultural socialization growing up in transracial, White adoptive families may be less inclined to engage in cultural socialization with

their children, as silence about ethnicity, race, or their multiracial family identity during their upbringing may contribute to beliefs that such discussions and activities are not important. Other Korean adoptee parents may be more inclined to engage in cultural socialization with their own children if they believe that cultural socialization was missing from their own upbringing, or if they grew up with open discussions of being part of a transracial, multiracial family. Second, Korean adoptee parents' racialized experiences also inform their cultural socialization practices (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). That is, while Korean adoptees may have received limited cultural socialization in transracial adoptive families, they nonetheless had racialized experiences as an Asian American (D. F. Chang et al., 2017; Lee, 2003) that White partners would not have had. For example, if they experienced racial discrimination, they may be proactive about engaging in racial socialization and discussing discrimination with their children, prior to children's personal experiences of discrimination. In addition, while monoracial Korean adoptees have not experienced the racial reality of being multiracial, they may relate to their child's experience of being in a multiracial family where family members are of different races, and could be more cognizant of initiating conversations about family racial differences.

Finally, cultural socialization varies based on child age (Hughes et al., 2006). Children's awareness and understanding of race varies across developmental stages, as do their racialized experiences (Quintana, 1998; Spears Brown & Bigler, 2005). As such, parents may tailor cultural socialization according to their children's different experiences and developmental stages. At younger ages, specifically children in preschool or kindergarten, there may be fewer discussions of race and discrimination. Instead, parents may engage in cultural socialization messages and practices focused on instilling ethnic pride and teaching ethnic history (Hughes et al., 2006), given that younger children lack the cognitive maturity to understand race and ethnicity in a

nuanced manner (Quintana, 1998). At older ages, children's understanding of race and ethnicity becomes more nuanced. They begin to understand the societal implications of race and ethnicity, and children in middle or high school may start to experience or become aware of instances of racial discrimination (Spears Brown & Bigler, 2005). Accordingly, some evidence suggests that parents engage in greater cultural socialization, including messages and practices that address racism, as children grow older and enter adolescence (Fatimilehin, 1999; Hughes & Chen, 1997; McHale et al., 2006).

There is limited knowledge of developmental variations in cultural socialization of multiracial youth. Yet multiracial youth learn early on about racial differences within the family, understand they have a multiracial background, and are questioned by others about their racial heritage as young children (S. H. Chang, 2015; Kerwin et al., 1993). These experiences of racial difference within and outside the family begin at a young age and continue throughout their developmental lifespan. Existing research on developmental variations in cultural socialization has largely focused on monoracial youth (Hughes et al., 2006). The few empirical studies of cultural socialization in multiracial families have largely failed to capture how cultural socialization may vary by developmental stage of multiracial youth, as they have focused on a specific developmental period (Rollins & Hunter, 2013) or smaller age range (Fatimilehin, 1999), or utilized multiracial adults' retrospective recall of cultural socialization during childhood (V. Chong & Kuo, 2015; Crawford & Alaggia, 2008; Jackson et al., 2017; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017; Villegas-Gold & Tran, 2018). In addition, while Kerwin et al.'s (1993) qualitative study included a wide range of children, the authors did not examine developmental variations in cultural socialization. Given that multiracial children are exposed to race and ethnicity at young ages and have racialized experiences early on, both within and outside the

family, it is important to understand how families of multiracial youth engage in cultural socialization across the span of development to help them navigate these experiences.

The Current Study

The current qualitative study is an investigation of cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices among a sample of transracially adopted Korean Americans who are parents of Asian-White children (ages 3-18). Given the limited developmental studies on cultural socialization among multiracial youth, this study is an initial exploration of Korean adoptee parents' cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices with multiracial children across the span of child development. In generating a descriptive account of Korean adoptee parents' cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices in our sample, we were guided by three research questions: (a) How do Korean adoptee parents acknowledge the multiracial identities of their children? (b) How does parents' understanding of their children's multiracial identities inform their cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices? (c) How do Korean adoptee parents engage in cultural socialization together with a White partner?

Method

Reporting of Qualitative Methods

We present our methods according to the reporting standards for qualitative research recommended by Levitt and colleagues (2018). These standards emphasize reporting of information that allows for evaluation of methodological integrity, defined as a synergistic relationship between fidelity and utility (Levitt et al., 2018; Levitt, Motulsky, Wertz, Morrow, & Ponterotto, 2017). Briefly, fidelity refers to aspects of the research process that facilitate an accurate representation of the subject matter, and utility refers to whether the methodology was effective in achieving research aims (Levitt et al., 2017). In our below reporting, we demonstrate

fidelity by describing the perspectives of researchers involved in data collection and analysis, as well as procedures for perspective management (i.e., consensus). We demonstrate utility by justifying our study design and analytic approach in the context of our research questions and study goals.

Participants

This study is a secondary analysis of interviews collected for a larger study of transracially adopted Korean American adults ($N = 51$) who are parents of children ages 3-18 (Zhou, Kim, Lee, & Lee, 2016). While the goal of the original study was to examine the intergenerational transmission of cultural and adoption socialization practices among Korean adoptee parents, the current study focuses specifically on the cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices of Korean adoptees who are parents of Asian-White multiracial children.

The current sample ($N = 31$; 29 females) was limited to a subset of Korean adoptee parents who had at least one biological multiracial (Asian-White) child with a White partner or ex-partner (see Table 1 for a summary of participant characteristics). Parents were excluded from the current sample if they had a biological children with a partner who was not White (e.g., Asian, Black, Latinx, etc.), or had a White partner but only had adopted children, not biological multiracial children.

Participant ages ranged from 30-55 years ($M = 41.26$, $SD = 5.32$), and age of adoption ranged from 3.5 months to 10.5 years old ($M = 2.19$ years, $SD = 2.75$). Two participants identified as multiracial (i.e., Asian-White). Participants were raised in 18 different states, with Minnesota being the most common ($n = 11$; 35.48%). When asked to indicate the degree to which Asians were represented in their neighborhood (1 = nearly all from own group/almost all Asians; 5 = nearly all from different groups/few Asians), participants reported living in majority

White neighborhoods ($M = 4.61$, $SD = .84$). Based on income and education, most participants had a high socioeconomic status, as 22 (70.97%) reported an annual family income of \$100,000 or higher, and 21 (67.74%) had earned a bachelor's degree or higher.

Twenty-five participants (80.64%) were married to the White biological parent of their child, with five divorced or separated (16.13%) from their child's White parent and one divorced from their child's White parent and remarried to a different White partner (3.22%). Twenty-six participants (83.87%) had only biological (i.e., multiracial) children, whereas three (9.68%) had both biological and adopted children, and two (6.45%) had both biological children and stepchildren. Across participants, the total number of biological children was 55, with 50 children (90.90%) in the target age range of 3-18 years old. Within the target age range, 24 children (48%) were between ages 3-9, 19 (38%) were between ages 10-13, and seven (14%) were between ages 14-18. The number of biological children per parent ranged from 1 to 4, with an average of 1.61 ($SD = .76$) within the target age range of 3-18, and 1.77 ($SD = .72$) including children outside the target age range (i.e., younger than 3 or older than 18).

Procedure

Participants were recruited on social media platforms (e.g., Facebook groups and Reddit forums for adoptees) and Korean adoption websites for a study on parenting experiences of adopted Korean Americans. These sites were chosen based on the fourth author's knowledge of the Korean adoption community and the online communities where many adult Korean adoptees participate. These sites were not chosen based on specific Korean adoptee parenting communities but with the understanding that many Korean adoptees in these groups are parents.

Participants were eligible if they were transnationally adopted from South Korea, raised in a transracial White adoptive family, and had at least one child between ages 3-18. Seventy-

seven individuals contacted the researchers to express interest in the study, and 52 individuals participated in individual interviews. The final sample consisted of 51 participants as one interview was not recorded due to technical issues. Participants received a \$20 gift card for completing the study. All study procedures were approved by the University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board (IRB Study Number: 1302S27981; IRB Study Title: Second Generation Asian-Heritage Parenting).

Interviews lasted 1-1.5 hours and were conducted either in person ($n = 16$) or using VSee, a secure online video conference application ($n = 36$). Interviews were conducted between April and December 2015, and all interviews were audio-recorded. Audio-recordings were transcribed verbatim by undergraduate research assistants. Transcriptions were proofread by a second undergraduate research assistant. All research assistants were trained using a set of guidelines to ensure de-identification of data and consistent formatting. The guidelines included instructions about what was considered identifiable information and how to notate information that had been redacted.

Perspective management in data collection. Interviews were conducted by the third author (a non-adopted international doctoral student in counseling psychology; 14 interviews), fourth author (an adopted Korean American parent and assistant professor of social work; 10 interviews), and fifth author (an adopted Korean American parent and research assistant; 7 interviews). The interviewers were supervised by the last author, a non-adopted Korean American professor of psychology. The involvement of two interviewers who shared identities with participants (i.e., adopted Korean American parents) may have facilitated credibility and rapport with participants that then enhanced the utility of our methods (Levitt et al., 2017). We also acknowledge how these shared identities may have influenced the fidelity of data collection.

Interviewers sought to reduce bias by using a semi-structured interview protocol and recording memos during data collection (Levitt et al., 2018, 2017).

The semi-structured interview protocol covered various parenting topics, including exposure to Korean culture, discipline, aspirations and expectations, adoption, and discussions of race, ethnicity, and discrimination. For each topic, participants were asked about both their childhood experiences of growing up in a transracial adoptive family and their current practices of raising their children. The interview protocol was adapted from a previous protocol (Juang et al., 2018). Four Korean adoptee parents were interviewed using Juang et al.'s (2018) interview protocol on cultural socialization, and based on their feedback, questions on the following topics were added to Juang et al.'s (2018) protocol: discussions of adoption in adoptive family and with children, discussions of race and ethnicity in adoptive family, and unique challenges as a Korean adoptee parent. The current study only presents themes related to Korean adoptees' cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices for multiracial Asian-White children.

Analysis

Interview transcripts were analyzed using thematic analysis, a qualitative method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting themes from data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Given the limited prior research on cultural socialization of multiracial children, thematic analysis was appropriate for our goal of creating a descriptive account of Korean adoptee parents' beliefs, messages, and practices. Thematic analysis consists of six phases: becoming familiar with data, generating initial codes, sorting codes into potential themes, reviewing and refining themes to ensure they accurately represent the data, naming and describing themes, and writing the report of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Importantly, thematic analysis occurs in an iterative manner where analysis moves back and forth between phases as needed (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In addition, thematic analysis is flexible in that it can be used in an inductive or deductive manner, and to describe the entire dataset or a particular set of themes within the data. Our specific analytic procedure is described below.

First, a team of coders read a random subsample of three (10%) interview transcripts to immerse themselves within the data. Then, they read through the three transcripts again and generated initial codes describing segments pertaining to cultural socialization, multiracial identity, and family racial differences. As parents often discussed their children as a unit, segments referencing stepchildren, adopted children, or multiracial children outside of the target age range (i.e., 3-18 years old) were inclusively coded as long as multiracial children within the target age range were also mentioned in the coded segment. The coders were the first author (a non-adopted, monoracial Asian American female doctoral student) and two undergraduate research assistants (a non-adopted, multiracial Asian-White female, and a non-adopted, monoracial White male). Prior to coding, all coders read relevant literature on transracial adoption, cultural socialization, multiracial families, and thematic analysis. However, the coders used a data-driven, bottom-up approach to inductively generate initial codes (i.e., rather than using a predetermined coding system).

Next, the initial codes from each coder were combined. The coding team met to discuss and organize the codes into a hierarchical list of themes and codes, with input provided by the last author. This list of themes was used to code all transcripts. Each transcript was independently coded by the second author (a non-adopted, multiracial Asian-White male undergraduate research assistant) and another undergraduate research assistant (a non-adopted, multiracial Asian-White female). Coders were trained using the same procedures in the previous coding step and were provided a list of themes and codes with working definitions. The first

author met weekly with coders to review coding and resolve discrepancies by consensus (see below). Finally, the first and second author reviewed the coded segments and produced the written analysis, with input from the last author. Throughout the coding and analytic process, themes and codes were iteratively refined and modified to ensure that themes were internally coherent and reduce overlap between themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Perspective management in data analysis. We used several strategies to increase fidelity and manage researcher perspectives on the analysis. Throughout the coding process, coders recorded memos of their reactions and thoughts and discussed how their perspectives might have influenced their interpretation of data. Furthermore, we strengthened the methodological integrity of our analysis by using a consensus process to reach agreement between coders (Levitt et al., 2018, 2017). Consensus accounts for bias resulting from any individual researcher by using a team with multiple perspectives to code and capture the complexity of data (Hill et al., 2005; Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997). Consensus is more suitable than quantitative determinations of interrater agreement for analytic procedures where coding takes place in an iterative process (Hill et al., 1997), including our use of thematic analysis in the current study. We used a modified version of the consensus methods described by Hill and colleagues (Hill et al., 2005, 1997). After data were independently coded, the first author reviewed codes and met with coders on a weekly basis to establish consensus. Coders and the first author discussed discrepant codes until consensus agreement was reached across the team. We also reviewed the definitions of themes and listened to the original audio recording of interviews to assist in establishing consensus (Hill et al., 2005).

Results

We identified four themes from the coding of the qualitative interview data. The first three themes of appearance, multiracial identity, and location and social context were related to parental understanding of multiracial identity on an individual, child level and subsequently, parental cultural socialization of multiracial children. The last theme described multiracial identity on a family level and how it served as a context for cultural socialization of multiracial children. These four themes capture the ways in which parental efforts to address the multiracial identity in their children and as a family unit is determined by contextual and developmental factors.

Racial Phenotype Appearance

This theme described the ways that parents have acknowledged their children's racial phenotype appearances beginning in early childhood and, subsequently, how that acknowledgement has influenced parents' cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices as children have grown older. Within this theme, there were four codes that captured: (a) parents' descriptions of child phenotype, (b) parents' acknowledgment of children's feelings toward their phenotypes, (c) how parents relate phenotype to cultural socialization, and (d) how phenotypic variation is related to variations in cultural socialization within families.

Referencing phenotype. Parents frequently referenced their children's racial phenotype appearances - both as they appeared to parents and as they appeared to strangers - and drew upon these appearances when discussing their children's multiracial identities. Children were described as having Asian or Korean, White, ambiguous, or mixed-race appearances. Descriptions of appearances were often made in the context of comparisons to other family members. Emma stated that "one of our kids looks more Caucasian [White] than the other," specifically, that her 8-year-old daughter "looks more like my husband." Others noted that their

child's Asian heritage would not be apparent in their appearance unless they were seen together. Madison stated of her 16-year-old daughter, "I don't think you would know that she's part Asian unless you knew that I was her mother." The referencing of phenotype was a common statement among parents and is consistent with the prior theory on multiracial identity development (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 2003).

Acknowledging child's feelings. Parents' acknowledgement of appearances also extended to acknowledging their children's feelings toward their racialized appearances. Marcia stated that her daughter, now 23, "struggled a bit with looking more Asian or being seen as Asian" when she was younger due to experiences of discrimination. By contrast, Charlene commented on her 11-year-old daughter appearing White: "And my daughter dislikes not being Asian. Or not being seen as Asian, and being seen as ambiguous. And people will say 'Oh, are you Italian? Oh, are you...?'" These statements reveal how there were parents who were attuned to their children's own racial awareness around phenotypic appearances, and parents responded accordingly as reflected in the next code.

Phenotype informs cultural socialization. Parents linked their children's appearances, particularly whether children appeared Asian or White, to their cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices. For children who presented as Asian, parents anticipated that their children would experience racism and emphasized messages of racial socialization to prepare children for such experiences. Ethan stated of his 3-year-old,

My daughter, she presents Asian. She's multiracial, she's half White and half Asian, and she's pretty Asian. And I think setting her up to feel American [White] is setting her up to fail. In the sense I think it's important to have her recognize her race and her racial difference, and understand how that fits into American society.

Although Ethan recognized his daughter's multiracial identity, including her White heritage, his beliefs about socializing his child at this young age were informed by her phenotypic appearance as a racial minority. Later in the interview, he described practicing racial socialization in a developmentally appropriate manner: "Yeah...in three-year-old language. So we tell her that people will treat her differently, or it's possible people will treat her differently because of how she looks, and...that's not fair, that's not nice, but that's how it is." Not only was Ethan aware of how his young daughter would present to other people, he and his wife were proactive about teaching her to cope with experiences of discrimination based on her racialized appearance as an Asian American. Similarly, parents of older children discussed proactive racial socialization practices. Mina recalled her experiences of culturally socializing her 7-year-old son and 11-year-old daughter, with the latter child described as appearing Asian earlier in the interview:

My husband's side, he comes from a German family, on both sides they're very German, and so we talked about you know, "You're Korean and you're also German." But it's sometimes hard to remember that being especially with my daughter because she looks so very much like me. But if anything we talk more about being Asian or Korean just cause, and I think my husband too is worried that that's something that others will notice or maybe ask about, or hopefully they won't get teased, but I mean realistically.

Although Mina and her husband acknowledged both aspects of their children's ethnic heritage in their cultural socialization messages and practices, they placed a greater emphasis on discussions of Asian/Korean heritage due to their daughter's Asian phenotype.

For children who presented as White, there were parents who were cognizant that their children's White privilege would potentially protect them from personal experiences of discrimination. For example, Mia noted of her three White-passing children, "I think it will make

it easier for them in life,” while Charlene stated of her White-passing daughter, “To be honest, I was very happy that she didn’t look like me because I didn’t want her to go through the things that I went through, but then I see my son going through them.” Parents tailored their cultural socialization messages and practices accordingly, with some parents providing racial socialization messages that highlighted discrimination experienced by others, rather than preparing for personal experiences of discrimination. Rebecca reflected on racially socializing her 11-year-old daughter:

There were two Somalian [sic] children who have joined their school that I've been very, very worried about. So I make sure that I talk to her about the things that her friends were saying about this culture wasn't true. And she has been with me when, and since she looks so much Caucasian [White], she sees things, like when someone is slow talking me because they think I don't speak English and she'll [ask], “Why are they talking to you like that? Why does she look at you like that, why does she say that?” and I just have to explain to her, “Well, you know they think...” and I don't know if she really understands it because she doesn't understand that my mom couldn't have given birth to me so we talk about it when situations arise.

Although Rebecca tried to explain racial discrimination to her daughter, she was unsure how well her daughter understood the concept, noting that her daughter also struggled to understand adoption. In contrast, there were also parents who de-emphasized cultural socialization messages and practices related to race and ethnicity, due to their children not appearing Asian. For instance, due to her 12-year-old daughter’s “ethnically ambiguous” appearance, Sophia reported beliefs that de-emphasized the role of ethnicity in personal identity:

When I'm standing beside her, I think people go, "Oh yeah, she's Korean." But then if I'm not around, it's just her and her father, you could kind of fudge around. And so it's not really as important that she, that it has to be that ethnic focus, and that it just needs to be more important about becoming a good citizen and becoming who she wants to be as she grows up.

Variation between children. As racial phenotype appearances varied among children within families, parents discussed tailoring cultural socialization for each child based on appearance. Olivia noted having different beliefs for socializing her 2-year-old son, described earlier in the interview as having fair skin and looking more like her husband, compared to her 4-year-old son, who would be perceived as Asian:

...just because one does look like me so people will probably identify him more as Asian or Korean, but the other one doesn't and so if I don't try to put some of that in him he might not end up with, I don't know if that makes sense...[Interviewer: Yeah. So depending on how they look you have to strategize differently how you parent them culturally?] Yeah, just kind of like, "Okay, even though you don't really look like it, you really are equal and you do have the same ownership in this if you want it so..."

Like other parents of young children in our sample (e.g., Ethan), Olivia was already aware of how her young children would be perceived by others and developed beliefs about how she might engage in cultural socialization differently based on their appearance. Similarly, Marcia recalled engaging in more discussions of race and discrimination with her daughter (now 23 years old and previously described as struggling with her Asian phenotypic appearance) when she was younger, compared to her now 18-year-old son, who was born "tow-headed blonde" and "hardly looks Asian."

Multiple Ethnic and Racial Identities

The *multiple ethnic and racial identities* theme described the ways that parents recognized their children's multiple heritages and how their cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices were shaped by their understanding of their children's multiracial identities. This theme included two codes of (a) recognizing multiracial identity through labeling and self-categorization practices, and (b) teaching about children's multiple ethnic and racial heritages.

Labeling and self-categorization. This code describes parents' acknowledgment of children's multiracial identities through their use of ethnic-racial labels, as well as parental beliefs, messages, and practices specifically related to labeling and self-categorization. Most parents acknowledged their children's multiracial identities through their descriptions of their children, such as "half Korean," "half Asian," "part White," "not one hundred percent Asian," "multiracial," and "mixed."

In addition, parents described a range of beliefs, messages, and practices related to facilitating their children's self-categorization. There were parents who endorsed beliefs and engaged in practices to communicate that it was important for children to form a clear sense of identity and recognize their multiple heritages. For example, Mia stated, "I think it's important to have them understand that they're not just Caucasian [White]," and a few parents told their children, "You're not White" or "You're off-White." Although Jessica's daughters were 13 and 15 at the time of the interview, she described having conversations about identity starting at a young age:

Even from the very beginning we were very clear about their identity. For instance, I would tell the girls, "You're Korean, you're half Korean, because I'm Korean and then

your dad is Italian, Irish, and a little bit German.” So from the time [older daughter] was three years old, she would tell people. They would be like, “Oh, what are you?” And she goes, “I’m Korean, Italian, Irish, and a little bit German.” Like she could tell you that. The children of parents who reported providing self-categorization messages spanned ages 3-13 years old, suggesting that parents felt this was an important message to communicate to children across a wide range of ages. At the same time, there were parents who discussed developmental variations in their children’s understanding of self-categorization. For example, some parents noted that their preschool-aged children could ethnically self-identify due to parental teaching of labels, but also expressed feeling unsure how well their children were able to make meaning of those labels at that age. In addition, Yumi noted how her son (who was described as a quarter Korean) changed his self-labeling from “minority” in kindergarten to “White” as a 12-year-old and related this change to his current understanding of genetics.

In contrast to parents who facilitated self-categorization, there were parents who reported various beliefs linked to their choice not to do so. These beliefs included giving children the autonomy to choose labels that would make them feel pride in their identity, ambivalence and dislike of labels, and de-emphasizing the role of race or ethnicity in their child’s identity. Hyo-Sonn stated of her 5-year-old daughter, “Whether she is Korean or whether she is Caucasian [White] or whether she feels like she’s Lebanese or whatever, but I want her to be comfortable and confident in whatever she picks,” while Cho commented of her 12-year-old son, “I personally don’t want him to grow up like labeling himself as this or that ‘cause I think that’s really harmful.” In addition, Mary described beliefs about de-emphasizing race and ethnicity for her 5-, 8-, and 10-year-old sons:

When they think about “Who I am as a person?” I want them to first think about, “I am a good person, I want to treat others well.” I want just who they are as a person and to be a good person and to be a good citizen. I think it's maybe more important than what the actual color of their skin is like.

Teaching about multiple heritages. In addition to labeling, parents acknowledged children’s multiple ethnic heritages through beliefs, messages, and practices of teaching about ethnic heritage, across different developmental stages. Parents of children who were elementary-aged or older frequently reported engaging in ethnic socialization to teach about Korean culture, using practices such as exposure to language and food, celebrating holidays, and traveling to Korea. These practices are similar to those previously reported by non-adopted second-generation Asian American parents (Juang et al., 2018). There were also parents of younger, preschool-aged children who engaged in certain ethnic socialization practices (e.g., observing Korean customs), while also reporting plans to pursue additional practices (e.g., language classes, taekwondo) when children were older, reflecting beliefs regarding the importance of socialization. There were other parents who described ethnic socialization practices related to their partner’s ethnic heritage, in addition to Korean culture. As Hyo-Sonn noted, “We talk about how there's really cool things about being Korean, but then [husband’s] side has some Dutch in it so we talk about some of the cool things from his side as well.” Notably, parents’ ethnic socialization messages and practices toward either or both heritage cultures appeared consistent across children within families, including adopted and stepchildren, in contrast to the ways that parents appeared to vary racial socialization based on their children’s racial phenotype.

Furthermore, there were parents who acknowledged children’s multiracial identities through labeling, while engaging in socialization messages and practices that focused on Korean

or Asian American (i.e., monoracial) identity. For example, parents discussed promoting Korean pride due to their children's experiences of bullying or seeking out examples of Asian Americans in entertainment media. This was similar to the racial phenotype theme where parents recognized children's multiracial identity but racially socialized them as if they were monoracial. Moreover, this is consistent with previous findings where minority parents of multiracial individuals communicated cultural socialization messages based on youth's monoracial minority identities (Jackson et al., 2017).

Location and Social Context

The *location and social context* theme focused on the ways that parents acknowledged their children's multiracial identities with respect to the racial diversity of their geographic and social contexts, and how this acknowledgment informed parents' cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices. Parents referenced the racial diversity of children's schools as well as diversity within their broader environments. Parents also highlighted the challenges of raising their children in a predominantly White environment and engaged in practices to expose their children to greater diversity, similar to previous literature (Juang et al., 2018). As with the previous two themes, most parents' considerations of geographic location and social context in their cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices appeared to be based on an understanding of their children as monoracial minorities (Harris, 2016), rather than specifically as multiracial.

For school-age children, parents specifically chose racially diverse schools, even if there were other schools closer by, or they took into account the diversity of school districts when deciding where to live. There were parents who noted that these choices exposed children to other multiracial peers, in addition to greater overall diversity. Susan described her children's

school, noting how her children's peer context influenced their understanding of multiraciality as well their self-categorization:

They have a lot of kids that are mixed that they're actually friends with, so they understand that concept. But I think all of their mixed-race friends in their class are one of their races is White. So all of their friends kind of also identify more as White.

Parents also discussed alternative practices for exposing children to diversity in school, such as volunteering at their children's school so children would see minorities represented in their school environment. Abigail noted how her child's awareness of racial minorities in an otherwise-White classroom prompted a discussion of racial differences both within and outside of the family:

[Daughter] would come home from kindergarten and be like, "There's [a] very dark boy in my class,"...And so yeah, so we bring up, "Honey, there are different colored skin and ...different people have different eyes, we have different eyes," and then I'll just talk about a little of the things with her and look at that, "Dad has blond hair, blue eyes, that's not everybody."

Outside of school, parents' cultural socialization practices were informed by diversity within their geographic location. Mary noted limited racial socialization with her children (ages 5, 8, and 10) owing to limited encounters with racism in her environment: "They've never asked me if I've been discriminated against, because there is so much diversity in [Midwestern city]. You see a lot of Asian people. We have a lot of Asian friends that are married to White guys." In contrast, Barbara, who lived in a predominantly White rural area, discussed racial socialization practices to teach her children how to respond to racially charged incidents such as "getting stared at a lot." Furthermore, there were parents who noted having limited access to ethnic

socialization resources, such as Korean restaurants and language classes, due to their geographic location.

Creating a Multiracial Family

The last theme described the ways in which the multiracial family context informed how Korean adoptee parents culturally socialized their multiracial children. This theme included three codes of (a) navigating their White partner's racial journey within an interracial marriage and multiracial family, (b) engaging in cultural socialization alongside a White partner, and (c) acknowledging and discussing the multiracial family identity as part of cultural socialization.

White partner's racial journey. Within the process of creating a multiracial family and culturally socializing multiracial children, there were Korean adoptee parents who discussed being in an Asian-White interracial marriage, specifically navigating their White spouses' journeys of learning about race and discrimination. There were parents who noted White partners' discomfort in discussing race or reported conflicting views with their partner regarding race, while also noting that their partners were trying to grow in their understanding of race. For example, Charlene described:

Oh, I don't think we disagree about how we are raising them culturally in terms of Korea. Now, where we do disagree sometimes is in discussions about racial profiling and race and White privilege, cause my husband I would say is quintessential White fragility, right? But he's working through it, it's just gonna take him a little longer than it's taken the rest of us, right? And I'm trying to be respectful about that even though it's very frustrating.

As part of White spouses' racial journey, there were parents who proactively prepared their partners for the experience of culturally socializing multiracial children, specifically noting racial

considerations. Emma anticipated her multiracial children's (ages 6, 8) experiences of bias in conversations with her husband:

The one thing that I have reminded him, not so gently at times, is that, "Remember your kids are half-Asian and so they're gonna experience some things that you have never experienced before. And that is racism. And that, you need to make sure that you are advocating for them and other people, that is your responsibility. When you marry me, you take on that responsibility, too." And he has!

Similarly, Doris pointed out to her husband that he would be raising children of a different race, specifically noting their intersectional identity:

I addressed this with my husband before we even had kids. I was like, "How are you going to bring up these men? ... If we have [boys], they're going to turn into men, and they're going to be men of color. And you being some big ol' Swedish guy, how are you going to deal with having two men of color as your sons? Or as your son, maybe." Or maybe I said this when they were little, too. But we always talk about race, and that kind of stuff.

Co-socialization with White partner. Parents discussed culturally socializing their multiracial children with their White partners, at times noting the implications of the above racial differences in the co-socialization process. Parents frequently had similar beliefs as White partners regarding the importance of cultural socialization. For example, there were parents who noted that their partners were supportive of the ethnic socialization activities mentioned above in the *multiple racial identities* theme. However, there were also parents who de-emphasized the importance of race and ethnicity in raising their children, but were in agreement with their partner on this choice.

Despite similar cultural socialization beliefs among Korean adoptee parents and their White partners, Korean adoptee parents appeared to take a more active role in cultural socialization practices. Olivia stated of her husband:

He's kinda open to [teaching children about Korean culture], he's kinda just supportive of whatever I'm wanting to do as far as that stuff goes because he doesn't really know anything, you know what I mean? He doesn't have a side one way or the other, it's kind of he's as supportive [of] whatever decisions I wanna make as far as that goes.

The more active role of Korean adoptee parents was particularly true for racial socialization. Charlene stated that her children were more likely to initiate conversations about racial discrimination with her, compared to her husband, who was earlier described as uncomfortable in discussions of race and White privilege. There were also Korean adoptee parents who chose to take a more active role in racial socialization due to their partner's limited awareness of the experiences of people of color. For example, Hyo-Sonn described her decision to send her 5-year-old daughter to a private school:

We live in a small farm town. I'm sending my kid-- our kids to private school where there's a lot more diversity. Cause I called about the public school and there's only one other Asian child there and my kids would've been Asian two and three. And so I felt that was important, but [husband] was like, "Mm, as long as the kids are all nice it's not a big deal."

Hyo-Sonn also later stated that while her husband was supportive of the decision to enroll their daughter in a private school, he did not think his children would experience racism, particularly in a less diverse public school.

Two parents also discussed the process of co-socializing their children with an ex-partner, as they were divorced from the White co-parent of their children. David stated that he and his ex-wife had similar beliefs of letting their 13- and 18-year-old daughters choose how to self-identify:

My ex never tells the girls that, “Okay, you need to identify as Caucasian [White] or you need to identify as Korean or a mixture of both.” She looks at the girls the same way I do in that they're just simply our girls.

In contrast, Barbara explained how conflict with her White ex-husband limited her ability to engage in cultural socialization with her 13-year-old daughter:

I would actually like [biological daughter and stepdaughter] to learn how to speak Korean, but my ex-husband and I are divorced, and he puts up a big stink about it, so I try to do as much as I can without triggering a legal battle.

Multiracial family context. Finally, parents acknowledged how the multiracial family context facilitated discussions of race, including family racial differences and public perceptions of the family. They discussed family phenotypic variations (e.g., hair color, skin tone) with their children as a way to help them understand racial differences. There were also parents who noted the ways their young children were aware of racial differences within the family. For example, Donna described an earlier family conversation with her 7-year-old adopted Korean daughter and 5-year-old multiracial son:

There was a funny time when they were younger, when you know they were saying, “[Name] is full Korean, Mom is full Korean, [name] is full Korean, I’m half-Korean half-White,” and then they look at my husband, and they were like, “Daddy are you, is this

person White?” and he said, “Yeah,” and they were like, “Aww, Daddy.” I mean, he’s definitely the odd man out.

Similarly, Emily stated of her 6-year-old son and 8-year-old daughter: “They think of themselves as Asian. [Son] sometimes talks about how ‘You, me, and [daughter] are Asian, Daddy’s not. Daddy’s not Asian.’” Interestingly, Emily’s children’s understanding of family racial differences was facilitated by their self-identification as monoracial minorities.

There were parents who were aware of how they were perceived in public as a multiracial family. They described instances of being stared at by strangers or questioned by others when they or their partner were seen with their child who had a different racial phenotype. Emily noted that her White husband was asked if his 8-year-old biological, multiracial daughter was adopted. Furthermore, Hyo-Sonn described an incident where her husband was with their 5-year-old multiracial daughter:

There was another incident with [daughter], she was with [husband] and [husband’s father], and somebody in the store came up and asked the kids if they were okay. If they were with who they belonged. Like I think they thought they were being abducted or something. Which whatever, I guess I appreciate the sentiment, but my poor daughter doesn’t [understand] why it’s strange that someone would ask them that. So I wish I would’ve been better prepared to address that somebody might ask that, but we just talk through all those different situations.

In reaction to this situation of how her multiracial family was perceived by others, Hyo-Sonn engaged in racial socialization specific to her daughter’s experience in a multiracial family.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to investigate the cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices, including child and contextual factors influencing socialization, among Korean adoptee parents of multiracial Asian-White children. Our study was driven by research questions about how parents acknowledge their children's multiracial identities and what are parents' cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices with their children. We were also interested in the role of the multiracial family context, including Korean adoptee parents' interracial marriage, in cultural socialization. In addition to identifying parents' cultural socialization messages and practices, we identified cultural socialization beliefs, including developmental considerations. In contrast, the majority of past cultural socialization research with multiracial families has focused on parental messages and practices, either reported from a parental perspective for a single phase of development (e.g., Rollins & Hunter, 2013) or from multiracial adults' retrospective report of their childhood (V. Chong & Kuo, 2015; Crawford & Alaggia, 2008; Jackson et al., 2017; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017; Villegas-Gold & Tran, 2018).

Our findings suggested that Korean adoptee parents were cognizant of the multiracial identities of their children, as suggested by their prominent use of labels referring to the multiple or "partial" heritages of children. Parents reported a range of beliefs, messages, and practices related to teaching children how to self-label, similar to previous research with Black-White youth (Kerwin et al., 1993; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). Some parents engaged in conversations with their children about how to identify themselves ethnically and racially, in order to help them develop a clear sense of identity and prepare them for questions they would receive from others regarding their ethnic and racial heritage. These conversations often began at a young age (e.g., 3 years old), adding greater specificity to previous reports by White mothers of

Black-White adults that discussions of labeling began early on in childhood (Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). However, beyond discussions of labels, parents in our sample did not report other beliefs, messages, or practices of culturally socializing their children specifically as multiracial, and they more frequently socialized their children in ways that promoted monoracial identities (i.e., Asian American or White).

The tendency to promote monoracial identities was apparent in parents' discussions of, messages, and practices related to their children's racial phenotype appearances. Consistent with prior theory noting the role of phenotype in cultural socialization of multiracial youth (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 2003), we found that children's appearances were a strong motivation for how parents chose to culturally socialize their children, particularly regarding discussions of racism. Parents primarily described their children's appearances in terms of monoracial identities (e.g., Asian, White), and they were aware of how their children's racial phenotype appearance would be perceived in society, even for young, preschool-aged children. Our participants related their children's appearances to their specific racial socialization beliefs, messages, and practices. Parents made greater efforts to prepare Asian-appearing children for experiences of racism across developmental stages, consistent with previous qualitative research suggesting Asian American mothers may emphasize the importance of cultural socialization for Asian-White youth who appear Asian (K. H. Chong, 2013). At the same time, there were parents who reported beliefs or practices of discussing discrimination with White-passing children, but focused on awareness of discrimination experienced by others. Thus, in contrast to previous findings that mothers of multiracial children with non-Black heritage were most frequently silent about race (Rollins & Hunter, 2013), the Korean adoptee parents in our sample reported beliefs and practices about the importance of discussing race, which were tied to

children's appearances. Furthermore, our results suggest that parents vary their racial socialization messages and practices for each child based on their children's differing racial phenotypes. The role of racial phenotype in socialization appears particularly salient for multiracial children, and also suggests a greater need in the broader cultural socialization literature to consider the impact of child individual difference variables on the socialization process.

We also found that parents appeared to recognize their children's multiracial identity in terms of beliefs, messages, and practices about children's multiple ethnic and racial heritages. Specifically, these practices tended to focus on teaching about children's ethnic heritages. Parents in our sample reported practices of teaching about ethnic heritage (i.e., ethnic socialization) that were similar to those previously identified in monoracial Asian American families with non-adopted parents (Moua & Lamborn, 2010), including second-generation parents (Juang et al., 2018). Parents engaged in common practices to teach their children about Korean culture across different ages, and parents of school-age children were intentional about exposing their children to diversity through their schools. Such practices have also been broadly reported among multiracial families and youth (Jackson et al., 2017; Kerwin et al., 1993; Rollins & Hunter, 2013; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). Unique to the multiracial experience, there were parents who reported teaching about their White partner's ethnic heritage (e.g., German, Swedish, etc.) along with Korean culture, consistent with multiracial Mexican adults' reports of being exposed to customs and food from their multiple ethnic backgrounds (Jackson et al., 2017). In contrast to discussions of race which appeared to vary between children based on phenotype, parents did not report varying ethnic socialization practices between different children in their family.

Beyond teaching children how to label themselves and teaching about multiple heritages, participants did not report practices that promoted a specifically multiracial or mixed identity, such as providing exposure to other multiracial individuals through social communities (Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). In addition, although multiracial adults have reported experiencing discrimination specifically targeted toward their multiracial identity (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011; Yoo, Jackson, Guevarra, Miller, & Harrington, 2016), participants in our sample engaged in racial socialization, specifically preparation for bias, based on their child's monoracial appearance as Asian. Aside from teaching children to self-categorize in preparation for questions about their appearance, participants did not discuss preparation for experiences of discrimination unique to being multiracial. Thus, although national trends suggest that parents are most likely to identify Asian-White children as multiracial rather than Asian or White (Brunsma, 2005), our findings suggest that parents' messages and practices of raising children as monoracial minorities differ from their labeling as multiracial, perhaps reflecting that Korean adoptee parents in our sample approach cultural socialization from a monoracial perspective (Harris, 2016).

Finally, our study findings offer an initial glimpse into the ways that Korean adoptee parents navigate the process of raising a multiracial child together with a White spouse or ex-partner. For some parents in our sample, inherent in the process of creating a multiracial family was negotiating racial differences with a White spouse. Similar to previous qualitative interviews of non-adopted Asian Americans with White spouses (S. H. Chang, 2015; K. H. Chong, 2013), there were parents who reported that their White spouses had limited awareness of racism and were uncomfortable in discussions of race. In addition, there were parents who reported that their spouses were on a journey of growing in racial awareness. A prior study of Asian

American/White interracial couples similarly found that White partners become more aware of racism and White privilege throughout their dating relationship (AhnAllen & Suyemoto, 2011).

Parents also noted that White partners had a more passive role in the cultural socialization process. While Korean adoptee parents were generally in agreement with their White spouse regarding the importance of teaching about Korean ethnic heritage, parents sometimes had differing views on race. As such, Korean adoptee parents were primarily responsible for cultural socialization, both in teaching their children about Korean heritage and about race. Notably, some parents took a more active role because they were raising the child on their own as a single parent, or due to disagreements with their ex-partner (i.e., child's White biological parent). These findings of different parental racialized experiences and relationship quality as factors informing cultural socialization are consistent with prior theory (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005).

Notably, while Rockquemore and Laszloffy's theory was originally articulated with respect to Black-White families, our findings suggest some evidence of similar processes among Korean adoptee parents raising Asian-White children with a White partner. In addition, our findings suggest that Korean adoptee parents not only acknowledge the multiracial identities of their children, they also teach their children what it means to be part of a multiracial family. This process of socialization included using the immediate family as a catalyst for teaching about racial and ethnic diversity, particularly for young children, and discussing situations where different family members are not perceived to be related.

Limitations and Future Directions

Our study findings should be interpreted with several limitations in mind. First, as the original purpose of the interviews was to understand the parenting and ethnic, racial, and adoption socialization practices of Korean adoptee parents (Zhou et al., 2016), participants were

not directly asked about cultural socialization of multiracial children. Future studies that focus specifically on raising multiracial children and creating multiracial families may highlight additional experiences and themes that did not arise in our study due to our interview protocol. Second, given the exploratory nature of this study and the wide range of child ages across participants in our sample, we could not engage in extensive comparisons of cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices across child age or developmental stage. We can only draw preliminary conclusions about the ways that parents vary cultural socialization for multiracial children of different ages. Future research should consider how parents tailor their cultural socialization messages and practices in a developmental manner, as well as investigating possible mismatches between parents' practices, children's developmental stages, and children's lived experiences. For example, parents may not engage in discussions of race and ethnicity with their children because they feel that their children are too young to understand, whereas children may already be experiencing discrimination (S. H. Chang, 2015). In addition, the investigation of gender on cultural socialization practices was beyond the scope of our research questions; however, future studies of cultural socialization in multiracial families should consider the role of both parent and child gender given previous findings of gender differences in cultural socialization (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014).

Third, our analysis did not consider the influence of participants' experiences in transracial adoptive families and their own ethnic-racial identity development as transracial adoptees on their cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices. Previous research has suggested that the transracial adoption experience impacts Korean adoptees' subsequent ability to engage in cultural socialization as parents of their own children (Day et al., 2015). We

acknowledge that transracial adoption is an important context that was addressed in the original study with this sample (Zhou et al., 2016), but is beyond the scope of the current study.

Fourth, our findings were based on a single parent reporter within a multiracial Asian-White family. Thus, our understanding of the ways that Asian-White couples engage in cultural socialization together was based on the perspective of the Korean adoptee parent only. Furthermore, our sample primarily consisted of mothers, as with the majority of parental cultural socialization research which relies on mother report (Priest et al., 2014), including previous research on cultural socialization of multiracial children (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). Notably, though, the disproportionate number of mothers in our sample of Korean adoptee parents with multiracial children also reflects national trends in which Asian American females have a higher rate of outmarriage than Asian American males (Pew Research Center, 2017), suggesting that the minority parent in a multiracial Asian-White family is more likely to be female. Still, the findings of this study would be strengthened by future research designs that explore cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices from multiple perspectives in a multiracial family, including children and multiple caregivers. For example, much remains unknown about how different-race parents negotiate the process of engaging in cultural socialization together.

Finally, the characteristics of our sample should be considered when considering the generalizability of our findings to other multiracial families. Our sample consisted of transracially adopted Korean American parents, and though we did not specifically address the role of adoption in our study, the experience of growing up in a transracial adoptive family may affect Korean adoptees' cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices (Day et al., 2015). Though Juang et al. (2018) noted that second-generation Asian American parents in their study faced challenges similar to transracial Korean adoptees (e.g., Day et al., 2015) in passing on

heritage culture, Korean adoptees may differ from non-adopted Asian Americans in the amount of exposure to cultural socialization growing up. Thus, future studies should examine whether the experiences reported by Korean adoptee parents in our sample are also consistent with non-adopted Asian American parents' reports of cultural socialization of Asian-White children. In addition, as the majority of parents in our sample had a high socioeconomic status and previous research suggests that socioeconomic status is positively related to cultural socialization practices (Hughes et al., 2006), the cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices reported in our sample may not reflect those of all Asian-White multiracial families with a Korean adoptee parent.

Conclusion

Given the ways that the parenting experiences of both transracial Korean adoptees and multiracial families have been overlooked in developmental science, we aimed to provide an initial descriptive account of the cultural socialization beliefs, messages, and practices of Korean adoptee parents of multiracial Asian-White children. Although parents in our sample reported a range of beliefs, messages, and practices regarding their children's multiracial identity, we identified several consistent parenting themes related to phenotype, recognizing multiple ethnic and racial identities, geographic location, and the context of the multiracial family. Notably, our findings suggest a possible discrepancy between parents' acknowledgment of their children's multiracial identity and their practices, which primarily promoted a monoracial minority identity. This preliminary investigation identifies salient aspects of multiracial parenting to pursue in future research, which is of critical importance given the increasing population of multiracial youth (Pew Research Center, 2015).

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Table 1
Participant Characteristics

Name (Pseudonym)	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Family Structure	Multiracial Children				
					# in age range			Total	
					3-9	10-13	14-18	3-18	Overall
Mary	42	F	Married	Bio, Step	2	1		3	3
Sonia	42	F	Single	Bio	1	1		2	2
Rebecca	41	F	Single	Bio		1		1	1
Ethan	38	M	Married	Bio	1			1	1
Emma	38	F	Married	Bio	2			2	2
Charlene	47	F	Married	Bio		1	1	2	2
Olivia	30	F	Married	Bio	1			1	2
Pamela	37	F	Married	Bio		1		1	2
Isabella	38	F	Married	Bio	1			1	2
Hyo-Sonn	33	F	Married	Bio, Adopt	1			1	2
Donna	39	F	Married	Bio, Adopt	1			1	1
Emily	40	F	Married	Bio	2			2	2
Mina	39	F	Married	Bio	1	1		2	2
David	39	M	Single	Bio		1	1	2	2
Abigail	35	F	Married	Bio	4			4	4
Mia	42	F	Married	Bio	2	1		3	3
Marcia	49	F	Married	Bio			1	1	2
Madison	52	F	Married	Bio, Adopt			1	1	1
Sophia	42	F	Married	Bio		1		1	1
Yumi	46	F	Married	Bio, Adopt		2		1	1
Barbara	39	F	Married (Divorced from White father of child)	Bio, Step		1		1	1
Cho	43	F	Married	Bio		1		1	1
Susan	38	F	Married	Bio	1	1		2	2
Rose	35	F	Married	Bio	1	1		2	2
Dorothy	55	F	Single	Bio			1	1	1
Jessica	44	F	Married	Bio		1	1	2	2
Eve	41	F	Single	Bio		1		1	1
Deana	48	F	Married	Bio	1		1	2	2
Helen	42	F	Married	Bio		1		1	1
Doris	45	F	Married	Bio		2		2	2
Ruby	40	F	Married	Bio	2			2	2

Note: Only multiracial children are listed in the table counts (i.e., stepchildren and adopted children are not included). F = female, M = male, Bio = biological, Step = stepchildren, Adopt = adopted.

Table 2

Summary of Themes and Codes

Theme and Definition	Codes	Example Quote
Racial Phenotype Appearance <i>Cultural socialization of multiracial children and understanding of multiracial identity informed by phenotype</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Referencing phenotype Acknowledging child's feelings Phenotype informs cultural socialization Variation between children 	<p>"I don't think you would know that she's part Asian unless you knew that I was her mother." (Madison)</p> <p>"And my daughter dislikes not being Asian. Or not being seen as Asian, and being seen as ambiguous." (Charlene)</p> <p>"From a young age I told them that eventually they will experience racism, 'cause they're mixed, although they have some Caucasian [White] traits...They are definitely Asian, and you can tell." (David)</p> <p>"[My daughter] looks Asian, and so she would make comments like, 'Well, it's easier for my brother because he doesn't look Asian. Or people don't even think he looks Asian.'" (Marcia)</p>
Multiple Ethnic and Racial Identities <i>Recognition of children's multiple heritages through labeling and cultural socialization messages and practices</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Labeling and self-categorization Teaching about multiple heritages 	<p>"I would tell the girls, 'You're Korean, you're half Korean, because I'm Korean and then your dad is Italian, Irish, and a little bit German.'" (Jessica)</p> <p>"We talk about how there's really cool things about being Korean, but then [husband's] side has some Dutch in it so we talk about some of the cool things from his side as well." (Hyo-Sonn)</p>
Location and Social Context <i>Cultural socialization informed by school and environmental diversity</i>	--	<p>"They've never asked me if I've been discriminated against, because there is so much diversity in [Midwestern city]. You see a lot of Asian people. We have a lot of Asian friends that are married to White guys." (Mary)</p>
Creating a Multiracial Family <i>Cultural socialization in the context of an interracial marriage and multiracial family</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> White partner's racial journey Co-socialization with White partner Multiracial family context 	<p>"The one thing that I have reminded him...is that, 'Remember your kids are half-Asian and so they're gonna experience some things that you have never experienced before. And that is racism.'" (Emma)</p> <p>"And so I felt that [school diversity] was important, but [husband] was like, 'Mm, as long as the kids are all nice it's not a big deal.'" (Hyo-Sonn)</p> <p>"[Son] sometimes talks about how, 'You, me, and [daughter] are Asian, Daddy's not. Daddy's not Asian.'" (Emily)</p>