ETHNIC SOCIALIZATION, IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT IN INTERNATIONAL ADOPTEES AS ADOLESCENT AND YOUNG ADULTS

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Ethnic and racial socialization of internationally and/or transracially adopted children has been widely recognized as a viable and important social work practice area in the adoption community. Increasingly, adoption social work professionals and adoption agencies advocate for the importance of connecting children who have been adopted internationally and/or transracially to their birth culture. However, awareness of what constitutes good social work practice in this area is minimally informed by research evidence. The primary purpose of this study was to identify developmental contextual factors, such as adoptive parents' support of ethnic and racial socialization and neighborhood characteristics, and examine how such factors affect transracially adopted Asian children's ethnic identity development and psychological well-being. Using a web-based survey design, the study recruited 100 Asian adoptees, between the ages of 14-26 from adoption family support groups on various Internet e-mail "listservs". The results showed that while ethnic socialization was directly and negatively associated with adoptees' psychological well-being, the effect of racial socialization was positive. The finding suggests that parental efforts for socializing children to their ethnic culture facilitate adoptees' ethnic identity development, which in turn, decrease adoptees' sense of marginality and, thereby increase adoptees' self-esteem.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ethnic socialization of internationally adopted children has been widely recognized as a viable social work practice area in the adoption community. Increasingly, professionals such as adoption workers, clinicians, and adoption agencies advocate for connecting adopted children to their birth culture. However, awareness of what is good social work practice in this area is minimally informed by research. Except for a few studies (Mohanty, Koeske, & Sales, 2006; Yoon, 2000), research has focused on Black or immigrant children's ethnic socialization experiences (Boykin & Tom, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes, 2003; Mutisya & Ross, 2005; Phinney, Chavira, 1995; Scott, 2003; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002; Tyler, Boykin, Boelter, & Dillihunt, 2005). Because adopted adolescents face different developmental issues, the conclusions from these studies cannot be generalized to this group and, there is evidence that for adopted adolescents developing a secure sense of self can be a difficult task (Brodzinsky, 1987).

Studies that have examined ethnic/cultural socialization and good developmental outcome of transracially adopted children generally show a positive linear relationship, but there are exceptions. For example, Yoon (2000) reported a positive relationship between family ethnic socialization and adoptee's ethnic/racial identity but other studies found no relationship between family ethnic socialization and children's identity development (DeBerry, Scarr, & Weinberg, 1996; Mohanty, Koeske, & Sales, 2006). These inconsistent findings may be attributed to

various factors, including different conceptual definitions and measuring instruments for ethnic socialization, lack of guiding theories, small non-probability samples, and the age of children studied. In addition, findings from a few studies (Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001; Tessler, Gamache, Liu, 1999) and reported practice experience suggest that when adoptive parents place too much emphasis on the child's birth culture, a sense of confusion may result among adoptees. However, there has been no research directly addressing this issue. In addition, most studies suggest no theoretical framework to understand ethnic socialization issues that adoptive parents emphasize with their children. A lack of theoretical research undermines efforts to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the effect of ethnic socialization on developmental and psychosocial adjustment of international adoptees.

1.1   BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

Most studies agree that adolescence is a risky period for psychological development (Versluis-den Bieman, & Verhulst, 1995; Brodzinsky 1987) and for a person adopted from a different culture, the establishment of identity is typically a complex task (Grotevant, 1997). During adolescence, internationally adopted adolescents, like their non-adopted counterparts, strive to define who they are and what they are in relation to occupations, ideologies, values and relationships in addition to who they are as an adopted person, and most frequently, as a person of color. According to Erikson (1950) adolescents are concerned with "what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are" (p.261). So, for international adoptees, ethnic identity is a critical issue because what they believe they are as adolescents may differ from what others believe they are (Wilkinson, 1995). Ethnic identity can be a critical

component of ego identity formation of international adoptees. Aries and Morehead (1989) suggested research examining the process of ego identity formation for minority youths should investigate ethnic identity as a domain of ego identity formation. However, no studies have examined the relationship between ego identity and ethnic identity and how understanding the multiple domains of identity development affect psychosocial well-being of international adoptees. Identity formation is contextual (Grotevant, 1987) in the sense that the family and the broader environment, such as the neighborhood, influence adolescents' developmental processes and outcomes. Little is known about the ways in which the neighborhood context affects the process of international adotees' ego identity, ethnic identity, and psychological health.

The primary purpose of the present study was to identify developmental contextual factors, such as adoptive parents' support of ethnic socialization and neighborhood characteristics, and how these factors affect internationally adopted adolescents' ego and ethnic identity formation and psychological well-being. Understanding how the contextual factors impact the process of overall identity development and how the formation of ego identity and ethnic identity are both associated with the psychological functioning of international adoptees may guide social workers in the selection of particular interventions to assist international adoptees and their adoptive families.

In the following sections, the history of international adoption in the United States will be presented, including the policies that deal with international adoption and the adoption practices that reflect the standards of the international policies. Second, a theoretical framework relating to ethnic socialization of minority children will be discussed both in terms of its central role for non-adopted minority children and for adopted minority children's developmental and psychosocial outcome. Third, a conceptual framework for understanding the linkage between

parental support of ethnic socialization and the issues of ego identity, ethnic identity and psychosocial adjustment will be specified. Specific hypotheses will be discussed, to suggest that ego identity and ethnic identity mediate the relationship between ethnic socialization and adolescent outcomes and that too much emphasis on socializing children to their birth culture can be detrimental to their psychosocial adjustment. Finally, methodology to investigate these research hypotheses will be discussed.

1.2   HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL ADOPTION IN THE UNITED STATES

International (intercountry) adoption is not a new phenomenon in the United States. Previously, the intrafamily adoption of foreign children and adoption of Canadian orphans by U.S. citizens was the trend and involved only a small number of people (Weil, 1984). After World War II, men in the United States armed forces occupying Europe and Asia began to father illegitimate children. Simultaneously, some Americans became concerned about the number of homeless children in areas devastated by the war (Weil, 1984). Between 1948 and 1953, U.S. families adopted 5,814 European children and an additional 2,418 Asian children, primarily from Japan (Hollingsworth, 2003). In the mid-1950s as a response to children made parentless by an international conflict—The Korean War—for the first time in history, families in the United States adopted children who were racially and culturally different from themselves (Alstein & Simon, 1991). International adoption became more prevalent in 1960. By the 1970s, it became a means for many Americans to form a family. The recent figure in international adoption shows that in the year 2002, 21,100 non-native children were adopted by U.S. families (U.S.

Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2002). While a large number of children come from China, other children come from Russia, Guatemala, Korea, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and India.

There are many reasons that American families turn to international adoption than to domestic adoption. A decline in the number of healthy Caucasian infants available for adoption and the National Association of Black Social Workers' statement against interracial placement domestically are significant motivators in adopting a child internationally. According to Hollingsworth and Ruffin (2002), prospective parents generally want infants and the children available in foster care are older. Further, too many foster children come with siblings and many couples worry about the lingering effects on children that are in state custody (Lewin, 1998). Also the emphasis on open domestic adoption deter some would be parents to adopt domestically. The shorter period to adopt internationally, confidential adoption, and the opportunity to adopt same-race children such as children from Eastern Europe are other contributing factors to adopt internationally (Hollingsworth, 2002).

Children are available for international adoption for several reasons including factors such as cultural, political upheaval, civil wars, natural disasters and domestic policies in the sending countries. Political upheaval in Romania in 1989 when the Romanian President, Nicolae Ceausescu was deposed and executed, the media coverage of the existence of 100,000 children in state orphanages allowed availability of children for adoption internationally. In Korea, strong emphasis on family structure was a barrier for illegitimate or mixed-race children to be accepted by that country's society. For example, the birth of a child is registered in the child's father's name (Wilkinson, 1995) and if in a situation where the mother has never married, or is divorced, the child becomes "a legal and social nonentity" (Wilkinson, 1995, p. 174). China's one- child

policy that began in 1979 to curtail excessive population growth allowed children available, mostly girls, for international adoption (Hollingsworth, 2003).

Cost associated with adopting internationally may considerably vary according to the "sending" countries. Typically, adoptive parents spend in excess of $20,000 adopting internationally (Lindsey, 2006). According to the Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute (2002), U.S. adoptive parents spent nearly $200 million for international adoption services. Often they are asked by the adoption agency to carry cash abroad to pay fees, which fostered unethical adoption practices overseas. With the increase of international adoption, by the end of the 1990s, the number of individuals and agencies involved in facilitating the adoption process increased to 80 U.S. agencies active in Russia and 150 active in China (The Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, 2002).

In the United States, the procedures of international adoption are essentially considered a private matter between a private individual or couple who wishes to adopt, and a foreign court, which operates under that country's laws and regulations. Prospective adoptive parents who want to adopt must fulfill the requirements set by the United States Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services in the Department of Homeland Security (BCIS), the foreign country in which the child resides and sometimes the state of residence of the adoptive parents (International Adoption, 2004). At the state level, prospective parents must initially satisfy their home state's requirements with respect to parental fitness. A satisfactory home study is a prerequisite under the federal law for international adoptions. Prospective adoptive parents file the Orphan Petition form I-600 at the local BCIS office. BCIS evaluates the suitability of the prospective parent(s) and determines whether the child is an orphan under the U.S. Immigration

and Nationality Act. When the application is approved, notification is sent to the adoptive parents and to the U.S. mission in the country of origin.

Some countries allow simple adoption, which means that the adopting parent(s) are granted guardianship of the child by the foreign court and the child leave the foreign country to be adopted in the country of the adopting parents. Other countries require full adoption of the child in the foreign court. The Child Citizenship Act (CCA) of 2001 provides automatic citizenship to adopted children of U.S. citizens.

International adoption, however, is not without controversy. Some argue that this type of adoption presents risks to these adopted children. There is the belief that these children will be deprived of an opportunity to know and have access to their birth families (Hollingsworth, 2003). Others argue that international adoption involves the separation of children not only from their birthparents, but also from their racial, cultural and national groups of origin (Bartholet, 1993). Some critics view international adoption as socially unjust. According to Hollingsworth (2003) international adoption may exploit family poverty in developing countries and social sanctions directed against disenfranchised children.

1.2.1   International adoption policy

The issues and concerns about the increasing prevalence of intercountry adoptions led to the establishment of standards for international adoption. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) is considered the most powerful legal instrument for the recognition and protection of the children's human rights. One identified risk posed by international adoption is the child's right to knowledge of their birth families. To address this risk, Article-9 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) states that children who are separated from one or

both parents should maintain personal relations and direct contact with both parents on a regular basis, unless it is contrary to the child's best interests. Article 8 emphasizes the preservation of the child's identity "including nationality, name, and family relations as recognized by law without unlawful interference" (No.1, p.385). It also stresses that if a child is illegally deprived of his or her identity, state parties to the convention should provide appropriate assistance and protection to the child in re-establishing his or her identity. However, the convention was largely unsuccessful as no policy emerged at a national level in the United States.

The Hague Convention on the Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect to Intercountry Adoption in 1993 endorsed international adoption as a practice. The Hague convention recognized that the child, for the full and harmonious development of its personality, should grow up in a family environment in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding. The third provision of the preamble suggests that in order to provide the child a permanent family, international adoption should be placed ahead of foster or institutional care in the child's country of origin. Chapter 11 of the Convention (Articles 4-5) delineates the requirements for intercountry adoptions. An adoption can only take place if the competent authorities of the State of origin determine that the child is adoptable, that an international adoption is in the child's best interests, and if the competent authorities of the receiving State have determined that the prospective adoptive parents are eligible and suitable to adopt. On October 6, 2000, the United States enacted the Intercountry Adoption Act (IAA) in order to approve the provisions of the Hague Convention.

The policy emphasis on connecting internationally adopted children to their birth culture has also reflected the standards and procedures in the adoption practice field. Lately, many adoption agencies and professionals encourage adoptive parents to socialize children to their

ethnic culture with the belief that children's knowledge about their ethnic/racial background would enhance their developmental and psychosocial adjustment. While the attitude of adoptive parents differs in their degree of importance to maintaining children's ethnic culture, most adoptive parents socialize children to a range of cultural activities such as eating ethnic foods, watching videos, reading books, developing relationships with other children from their country of origin, attending cultural camp, and visiting their birth country.

Having discussed the historical overview of international adoption in the United States and how adoption policies affect the practice field in terms of supporting and encouraging adoptive parents to socialize adopted children to their birth culture, in the next section, the definition of ethnic socialization will be presented. Special emphasis will be placed on how parental support on ethnic socialization affects both adopted and non-adopted minority children's outcome.

2.0 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As indicated earlier, much of the literature on ethnic socialization has focused on African-American families. Although socialization patterns can be different among White families with internationally adopted children, it is worthwhile to look at socialization issues that minority parents face and how parental socializations influence adolescent outcomes. In the next section, the definition of ethnic socialization will be presented which will follow a discussion of the effect of parental emphasis on ethnic socialization and children/adolescents' developmental and psychosocial outcome.

2.1   DEFINITION OF ETHNIC SOCILIZATION

Peters (1985) defines racial socialization as "culture-specific child rearing values, attitudes, and behaviors" (p. 172). According to Thorton, Chatters, Taylor and Allen (1990) racial socialization includes specific messages and practices that parents provide "concerning the nature of race status as it relates to: (1) personal and group identity, (2) intergroup and interindividual relationships, and (3) position in the social hierarchy" (p. 401). Racism factors should be considered in understanding the dynamics of Black children's socialization (Peters, 1985). Given the possibility that minority life experience involves racially hostile encounters, Stevenson (1995) states racial socialization as the process of communicating messages and behaviors to

children to enhance their sense of identity. Phinney and Chavira (1995) suggested ethnicity is a crucial factor in parental socialization. According to Massatti, Vonk and Gregoire (2004), ethnic socialization involves the opportunities for cultural activities adoptive parents provide in order to assist their children with unique racial and cultural needs. Although, studies differ in their conceptual definition of racial and ethnic socialization, most studies agree that the process of ethnic and racial socialization involves the ways in which minority parents prepare their children to feel pride in their ethnic/racial identity, help them to succeed in the mainstream culture and prepare them to be aware of discrimination and prejudice.

2.1.1   Ethnic Socialization and Conceptual Framework

While most studies suggested no theoretical framework to understand minority children's ethnic socialization, a few studies were based on "the triple quandary" proposed by Boykin and Toms (1985), a conceptual framework to understand the Black child racial socialization process. According to Boykin and Toms (1985), Black family socialization can be characterized in terms of importance given to mainstream, minority status, and Black cultural socialization orientations. Black families, who hold a mainstream socialization orientation may not consider race in the socialization process, are more likely to emphasize White middle-class culture, such as beliefs in strong achievement, self-control and individualism. In contrast, socialization informed by the oppressed minority status, these parents are more likely to emphasize the importance of racial issues such as preparing children to be aware of and cope with institutional and individual oppression. Families who believe in Black culture are more likely to emphasize African-American culture such as African-American identity, heritage, philosophy, and language.

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Although, these three domains are conceptually different, Boykin and Toms (1985) argues that Black child socialization often reflects a negotiation in all these three domains.

2.1.2 Ethnic Socialization and Non-Adopted Minority Children

Minority parents may share some similar child-rearing strategies when their children are raised in ethnic and minority cultures. However, socialization of minority children adopted by White parents can differ in many important ways including cultural values, norms and beliefs, and skills. In order to understand ethnic socialization of minority children with White adoptive parents, it is important to understand minority parental socialization. As the data on same-ethnic adoptees' (children of color adopted by parents of color) ethnic socialization are scarce, this section will focus on ethnic socialization of non-adopted minority children.

Phinney and Chavira's (1995) work used Boykin's model of racial socialization with Japanese American, African American and Mexican American families. The study found that most parents emphasized culture as their primary theme of socialization. The study found a trend for parents who used a combined style of socialization involving discussing both achievement and social problems to have adolescents who used a proactive coping style. This proactive coping style involves taking an active stance towards prejudice and discrimination by discussing it with the perpetrators, disproving stereotypes, and using self-affirmation. There was also a trend toward higher ethnic identity among adolescents whose parents prepared them for living in a diverse society. Thus, these findings imply that preparing children for diversity and discussing potential problems related to prejudice and discrimination are very important.

In a study of racial socialization by Black parents, Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, and Allen's (1990) study found three major components that Boykin and Toms (1985) proposed for

the socialization of Black children. A detailed coding scheme for racial socialization was developed by asking respondents whether or not they have racially socialized their children. The study found that about 29% of the respondents emphasized the importance of achievement, hard work, and moral virtues, which reflect a mainstream socialization message; 25% stressed the importance of racial pride, discussed Black heritage, history, and traditions, which reflect believing in Black culture; and 19.5% of respondents stressed the presence of racial restrictions, emphasized recognition of the child's racial background and provided positive self-image, reflecting a minority orientation. The study only provides descriptive information about the practice of racial socialization by Black parents. It fails to investigate the developmental outcome of children as it relates to parental racial socialization efforts.

2.1.3   Ethnic Socialization and Adopted Minority Children

Using Boykin's model of Black children socialization, Deberry, Scarr, and Weinberg (1996) divided transracial adoptive families, White parents with Black children, into five types on the basis of parental effort to teach the adoptees about racial/cultural issues. These are Deemphasis/Denial, Ambivalent/Inconsistent, Bicultural, Multiracial, and Overinvolved families. While Denial families generally avoided or minimized interest in and discussion of behaviors associated with racial issues, Bicultural families maintained consistent verbal and behavioral attempts to address racial and cultural issues in their families and to have their adoptees learn about his or her African-American heritage. Ambivalent/Inconsistent families acknowledged the importance of racial and cultural issues but displayed behavioral inconsistencies. Multiracial families had several transracial adoptees of different races and identified themselves as multiracial. They did not perceive themselves as White families with

minority children, while the Overzealous/Overenthused families were preoccupied with racial differences. These families focused on "excessive discussion" on racial issues to the exclusion of other familial issues.

The study found that at Time 1, when children's average was 7 years, most families (42%) were Bicultural, 25% were Denial/deemphasis, 31%.8 were Ambivalent, 1.1% families were multiracial. No families were identified as Overzealous/Overenthused. At Time 2, when adoptees were 17, parents' data showed that Bicultural families decreased to 20.4% and most of these families were Denial/Deemphasis (35.2%) and Ambivalence (39.8%). Overzealous/Overenthused families increased to 2.3 percent. The study suggests that during adolescence, adoptive families may experience difficulties addressing both adoptive and reference groups issues.

Studies focusing on ethnic socialization of international adoptees with White parents have used different theoretical frameworks from those that have been used to study Blacks. For example, Tessler et al. (1999) applied three of LaFromboise et al. (1993)'s five models of second-culture acquisition (*assimilation*, *acculturation*, and *alternation)*, and developed another model of *child choice* in order to understand adoptive parents approach to bi-cultural socialization of Chinese adoptees. Adoptive parents who believe in assimilation were more likely to deemphasize adoptee's culture of origin and focus more on developing American identity by socializing children to the values and beliefs of mainstream American culture. Those who believe in acculturation are more likely to emphasize Chinese cultural identity by giving opportunities to their adopted children to socialize with Chinese friends, attend Chinese-American schools and participate in Chinese cultural activities. Adoptive parents who believe in the alternation model attempt to find a balance between Chinese and American identities by

socializing their adopted children to feel pride in both the cultures. However, these parents often reported being worried about providing the right amount of exposure to both American and Chinese cultures. Those who believe in child choice focus more on exposing their adopted children to the Chinese culture as the child desires.

Rojewski's (2005) study used three models such as Kirk's (1964) model of adoptive parents coping strategies, Brodzinsky's (1987) model of adoptees' coping strategies, Tessler et al. (1999) model of bi-cultural socialization, and developed a combined model. According to Rojewski (2005), adoptive parents who stress Chinese cultural heritage hope their adopted children identify as a member of Chinese culture while becoming competent in participating in the majority culture. In contrast, those who reject the child's cultural heritage believe in an assimilation model and are more likely to emphasize mainstream socialization. Adoptive parents who take a balanced approach acknowledge the adopted child's birth cultural heritage by integrating culturally relevant events and activities in their every day life. These adoptive parents believe in the alternation model and desire their children to effectively alternate culturally appropriate behaviors of both the majority and ethnic culture. Rojewski (2005) found two common themes in balancing a child's birth cultural heritage. These are "(1) the acknowledgement of adoption and Chinese heritage, and (2) a realization that the child will be competent in only one culture, American" (p.96). Although, the Tessler et al. (1999) and Rojewski (2005) studies explicitly reported adoptive parents support of the ethnic socialization process, both the studies fail to examine adoptees' developmental and psychosocial outcome.

Having discussed major theories related to adopted and non-adopted minority children's ethnic socialization, the next section of the literature review will focus on the effect of ethnic socialization for minority children. Studies are analyzed on the basis of their focus on either one

or all aspects of Boykin and Toms' (1985) three socialization processes (i.e. mainstream, minority status, and ethnic culture) and child outcomes.

2.1.4   Ethnic Socialization and Child/Adolescent Outcome in American Black Youth

Studies have documented that family support of ethnic socialization influences the identity development and overall adjustment of children/adolescents. For example, in a study of 287 African American adolescents, Stevenson (1995) found a positive relationship between adolescents' perceptions (attitudes about how racial socialization should take place within a family) of racial socialization and their racial identity. The study used two types of racial socialization processes such as preparing the child for oppressive experiences and teaching children how to be proud of their culture, which reflects Boykin and Toms (1985) minority and Black cultural socialization orientations. Spencer (1983) demonstrated similar findings among preschool Black children. These findings indicate that Black parents' child-rearing strategies concerning race, such as teaching children about civil rights and racial discrimination are related to and predictive of their child's Afrocentric cultural values.

Marshall (1995) found that African American parents' report of ethnic socialization (i.e. preparing their children for the significance of race in American society) was related to their children's process of ethnic identity formation. Mutisya and Ross' (2005) study explored the relationship between Afrocentricity (i.e., pride in African identity, philosophy, language, and culture) and racial socialization. The study found a significant positive correlation between Afrocentricity and racial socialization. Similarly, Demo and Hughes (1990) documented the importance of parental messages concerning the meaning of being Black in shaping racial identity of Black American adults.

Bowman and Howard (1985) examined race-related socialization and its effect on 377 Black youth's academic performance and their sense of personal efficacy. The findings suggest that Black youth who received race-related messages regarding racial barriers, self-development, ethnic pride, and egalitarianism had a higher sense of personal efficacy and academic performance. These studies suggest for minority children/adolescents, parental ethnic socialization is an important predictor of children/adolescents' psychosocial outcomes.

2.1.5 Ethnic Socialization and International Adoptees' Outcome

The empirical research on ethnic socialization among international adoptees has, for the most part, applied ethnic cultural orientation. Studies have shown that international adoptees may have a better adjustment if adoptive parents are aware and sensitive to their adopted children's race, ethnicity, and culture (Vonk, 2001). Research findings from a few studies suggest that the self-esteem of adoptees is positively related to transracial adoptive parents' cultural competence and the extent to which adopted children are positively exposed to their culture of origin. For example, Yoon (2000) examined the relationship of ethnic pride and parental support for ethnic socialization with psychological well-being of 241 Korean-born adolescent adoptees. For the purpose of this study, Yoon (2000) developed scales to measure adoptive parental support of adoptee's ethnic socialization and sense of ethnic pride for the adoptees. The study found that parental support of ethnic socialization was related to their adopted children's positive sense of ethnic pride, which was consequently related to their subjective well-being. However, the response rate was only 30%.

In our previous study (Mohanty, Koeske, & Sales, 2006), we examined the relationship between parental support for cultural/ethnic socialization and its effect on adoptees' self-esteem.

A sample of 82 adult international adoptees was studied. The results showed that intercountry adult adoptees' self-esteem was related to a feeling that they belonged to their adoptive family as well as believing that they were not marginal in the majority culture, both of these qualities arising from the opportunities to get involved with their birth culture. However, the sample included only adult international adoptees and may not be generalizable to adolescents.

Lee and Quintana (2005) examined the benefits of cultural exposure to children's development with 50 transracially adopted Korean children living in the United States. Using the Perspective-Taking Ability model developed by Quintana, Castaneda-English, and Ybarra (1999), the results showed that parental ethnic socialization was significantly related to their children's developmental understanding of being Korean. These transracially adopted children appeared to develop the understanding of their cultural and racial status in ways similar to nonadopted children of color who are raised within same-race families. However, the study sample included only children at a cultural camp and may not be generalizable to other transracially adopted children. In a study of 30 Caucasian parents and 40 adopted Korean children, Huh and Reid (2000) found that when adoptive parents were actively involved in the Korean culture, Korean adoptees had strong ethnic identities. However, the sample size was quite small.

Although most studies report a positive linear relationship between ethnic socialization and children's psychosocial adjustment, findings from a few studies indicate that too much emphasis on birth culture and racial/ethnic differences may negatively impact children's overall adjustment. For example, DeBerry, Scarr, and Weinberg's (1996) study found that when adoptive families emphasized the importance of cultural and racial issues and consistently tried to teach their transracial adoptees about his/her African-American heritage, the adoptees were

less well-adjusted at adolescence. The study suggested that exploring racial differences during adolescence might increase some transracial adoptees' risk for maladjustment. Stevenson, Reed, Bodison and Bishop (1997) found for African American teenage women high parental involvement in racial socialization activities was related to low self-esteem, sad mood and instrumental helplessness. Similarly, Marshall (1993) found that African American children who received more ethnic socialization from parents had lower academic reading grades.

Several studies that focused on ethnic socialization of international adoptees found that adoptive parents often struggle with the question of to what extent or how much they should socialize their adopted child with his/her birth culture (Tessler et al., 1999; Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001). A reason reported for their concern is that too much ethnic socialization might create "differences" between themselves and the child and that the child might perceive conflict between the majority and minority cultures, resulting in a feeling of marginality and isolation. For example, one adoptive parent in Tessler et al. (1999) study reported her lack of knowledge about providing the right amount of exposure to her child's ethnic culture might cause her to over expose her child to Chinese events at the expense of her Americanization: "I do not know what is the right amount of exposure to both worlds. I am worried that I will not be able to provide a real immersion in Chinese culture—I do not want her to be left out of the normal activities that help American kids gain confidence (like soccer on Saturdays), so I will not over commit her to Chinese events at the expense of her Americanization" (p. 112).

Terri Culp (1996), an adoptive parent, reported her feeling of uncertainty in a similar way: "….I don't know where the line is drawn between keeping her in touch with her native heritage and overemphasizing it to the point of making her feel 'different' " (As cited in Rojewski and Rojewski, 2001, p. 97). According to Rojewski and Rojewski, (2001), adoptive

parents in their attempt to provide ethnic socialization should take a balanced approach by supporting a child's ethnic uniqueness but should not "stress differences to the point of isolating the child from other family members or segments of the community" (p.104). Chang's (2001) study on international adoptive families with Chinese children suggests that adoptive parents should be watchful about their approach to bi-cultural socialization; otherwise, they may risk not meeting their adopted children's actual needs of being loved.

In summary, the findings of the foregoing studies suggest that adoptive parents face a complex task in socializing their children to their birth culture. Further, empirical support based on quantitative methodology is consistent with the direct effect of family ethnic/racial socialization and positive developmental outcome among minority children; the overemphasis idea has not been directly empirically demonstrated at least not for international adoptees. It is more anecdotal and speculative that excessive parental emphasis on ethnic socialization might be counterproductive to their children's developmental and overall psychological well-being. It is to these developmental patterns that attention turns in the next section.

2.2   EGO IDENTITY AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Erikson's (1963) psychosocial development theory posits that development occurs across the life cycle in eight stages. Each life stage depends on the success of the former, presents new challenges and creates opportunities for the growing personality. According to Erikson (1963), a major developmental task for all adolescents is the establishment of identity. During the adolescent stage, they are concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared to who they feel they are. Erikson (1963) viewed ego identity as feeling comfortable

with one's physical self, as having a sense of direction, and an awareness and experience of balance between one's physical self, one's view of self as an individual, and as a member of social groups.

Marcia (1994) refers to ego identity as a coherent sense of one's meaning to oneself and to others within a particular social context. Marcia (1994) operationalized Erikson's theory of ego identity development and postulated four identity statuses based on individuals' degree of explorations and commitment: *foreclosure, moratorium, identity achievement, and identity diffusion*. While the foreclosure status is characterized by commitment with an absence of exploration, moratorium is one of almost total exploration. Identity achievement individuals are those who have both explored and committed. In contrast, identity diffusion individuals are those who have not explored or committed to an identity.

Studies have suggested that achieved ego identity may protect individuals from health risk behaviors and influence their psychological well-being. For example, Markstrom, Berman, and Brusch (1998) reported a significant and positive relationship between ego identity achievement and self-esteem in a group of primarily Jewish respondents. Identity achieved women scored significantly higher on self-esteem (Prager, 1982). Marcia (1966) found identity achieved individuals perform better than other statuses under stress on a concept attainment task. Other studies have found that identity achieved individuals are relatively light consumers of alcohol (Bishop, Weisgram, Holleque, Lund, & Wheeler-Anderson, 2005) and less likely to engage in unprotected sex (Hernandez & Diclemente, 1992). Ego identity among adoptees has received less attention. Stein and Hoopes (1985) found a positive relationship between overall ego identity and self-esteem among 91 white adolescents both adopted and nonadopted. The studies reported here imply that an achieved ego identity among adolescents is a desirable

developmental outcome. However, most of these studies above included white samples and there is little empirical evidence regarding ego identity development in adopted minority children.

Studies suggest that ethnicity should be considered when understanding the identity development of minority children (Aries & Moorehead, 1989). Therefore, in order to understand minority children's ethnic identity, Phinney (1989) applied Marcia's (1994) ego identity statuses for studying ethnic identity in adolescence. She developed a three-stage process of ethnic identity development that begins with "unexamined" ethnic identity (diffusion/foreclosure), goes through a moratorium stage, and ends with an achieved ethnic identity. During the unexamined stage, individuals lack interest in or knowledge about one's ethnic or racial background. Individuals in moratorium stage become actively involved in exploration of their ethnicity. It is not until the final stage, ethnic identity achievement, that individuals gain a secure sense of self as an ethnic group member based on knowledge and understanding obtained through an active exploration of one's ethnic background.

For minority children, ethnic identity is an important component of identity development and is considered desirable for healthy development (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Ethnic identity refers to "one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership" (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987, p. 13). In differentiating ethnic identity from ego identity, Phinney and Rosenthal (1992) opines that (a) while ethnic identity is a social identity, ego identity gives little emphasis to social identity, (b) ethnic identity is given and deals with one's heritage; ego identity is chosen, (c) while the importance of ethnic identity differs among ethnic groups, and between majority and minority group members, the formation of ego identity can be comparable for all adolescents irrespective of their membership to an ethnic group, and

(d) finally, ego identity has been studied primarily by social psychologists and personality researchers, while ethnic identity has been studied across different academic fields.

Research has suggested that ego identity development parallels the formation of ethnic identity. For example, in examining the relationship between ego and ethnic identities among 209 Japanese Americans, Filipino Americans, Hawaiian Americans, and multiethnic students, Yuh (2005) found that identity-achieved individuals reported significantly higher ethnic identity achievement scores than did diffused individuals. The measures used to assess ethnic identity and ego identity were Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) by Phinney (1992) and Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status 2 (EOMEIS-2) by Bennion and Adams (1986) respectively. In a similar vein, Louis and Liem (2005) using MEIM and EOMEIS among ethnic minority and majority college students found that participants with an achieved ego identity reported more positive ethnic identification than did participants with a diffused ego identity.

Phinney (1989) examined ethnic identity, ego identity and psychological adjustment across three ethnic groups such as Asian-American, Black, Hispanic, and White students. To measure ego identity, the study adapted from an ego identity inventory developed by Rosenthal, Gurney, and Moore (1981). Interviews consisting of 20 questions were used to assess the extent of exploration of ethnic identity. The study revealed that minority adolescents with achieved ethnic identity had the highest scores on measure of ego identity. Ethnic identity was found to be predictive of over-all ego identity among black high school students (Aries & Moorehead, 1989). Branch (2001) and Branch, Tayal, and Triplett (2000) using MEIM and EOMEIS reported a significant negative relationship between ethnic identity and diffused identity status among Asian/Asian American and Latino/Hispanic adolescents and young adults. The findings of these

above studies suggest that for ethnic minority adolescents and youths, ethnic and ego identities are related concepts.

Various studies have demonstrated a positive relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem, and healthy psychological functioning of adolescents and young adults of color (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990, Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts & Romero, 1999; Yuh, 2005). With transracial adoptees, there is also emerging evidence that positive racial and ethnic identity contributes to psychological adjustment. For example, the results of Yoon's (2004) study demonstrated the salience of a positive sense of ethnic identity to adolescent adoptees' psychological well-being. DeBerry, Scarr and Weinberg (1996) demonstrated similar findings among 88 African American transracial adoptees. These findings indicate that addressing issues relate to racial identity is important for transracial adoptees' adjustment.

Studies have also observed that gender and age relate differentially to ego and ethnic identity development. For example, Rotheram-Borus (1989) found that adolescent boys were significantly more likely to be in the ethnic moratorium stage than girls. Jewish females were reported to have a higher score on ethnic identity achievement than males (Markstrom, Berman, & Brusch, 1998). Similar findings have been reported by Martinez and Dukes (1997). Their study found a greater level of ethnic identity among minority females (e.g. Blacks and Asians) than males. Contrary to these findings, Lee and Yoo (2004) reported no significant gender differences in ethnic identity among Asian American college students. Spencer, Icard, Harachi, Catalano and Oxford (2000) noted no gender difference on overall ethnic identity, but girls had significantly higher scores on ethnic exploration than boys. Phinney (1992) reported no

significant differences between males and females in ethnic identity; however, girls had high scores in ethnic behaviors and practices.

Research on ego and ethnic identity suggests a linear progression on identity development, with older individuals more likely to be in achieved identity status then the younger individuals. For example, Branch, Tayal and Triplett (2000) reported a significant age effect on ego identity development. In examining the effect of age on ethnic identity, Phinney's (1992) study found a developmental trend among high school and college students, with college students scoring significantly higher than the high school students on ethnic identity achievement. Other studies have reported results conflicting with those of Phinney. For example, Branch, Tayal, and Triplett (2000) using Phinney's (1992) MEIM scale reported an inverse relationship between age and ethnic identity development. Similarly Branch (2001) found no significant main effect of age on ethnic identity using MEIM scale. In addition, his study did not find a continuous progression of identity development between the ages of 13 and 26 years. Instead he found the highest score on identity development among the 13 to 19 year olds, followed by the 23 to 26 year olds and the 20 to 22 year olds. The kind of findings Branch (2001) reported seemed inconsistent with the usual expectation of developmental theory.

Racial contexts, specifically if that context is similar or dissimilar to the child's ethnicity, may affect his/her self-concept (Rosenberg, 1981). In considering Rosenberg's theoretical position, it can be argued that contextual factors, such as the community where adoptees' ethnic group is less visible or under-represented can influence the development of children's ego identity, ethnic identity and consequently their self-esteem. For example, in examining the importance of neighborhood context on ego and ethnic identity formation, Markstrom, Berman, and Brusch's (1998) study revealed that among Jewish adolescents where the majority in the

neighborhood are Jewish, adolescents reported lower scores on identity diffusion and higher scores on ethnic behaviors or practices and on the total ethnic identity score than their counterparts where Jewish were the minority in the neighborhood. Further, the study found that in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood, self-esteem and identity achievement was positively related among Jewish adolescents.

Previous studies on school desegregation give support to the importance of racial/ethnic contexts in the development of children's self-esteem. In examining the effect of racial integration on self-esteem among Black children in secondary high school, Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) found 26% of the Black high school students in a predominantly White school had lower self-esteem compared to12% of the Black high school students in predominantly Black schools and this difference was statistically significant. St. John's (1975) review of more than 120 studies yields similar results. For example, in examining the effect of racial integration in schools on Black children's general self-esteem and academic self-concept, more studies she reviewed indicated a negative or mixed effect than a positive outcome.

A review of 21 empirical studies suggested a positive relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem among Latinos who lived in areas where their ethnic group was the majority (Umana-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002). Garcia and Lega (1979) found a relationship between Cuban ethnic identity and residing in a neighborhood where Cuban residents were the majority. In a study of transracially adopted children, McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, and Anderson's (1982) study found that children whose families resided in racially mixed communities, tended to feel more positive about themselves as Black persons. Belonging with others who share the common characteristics are important aspects of self-esteem and identity development, and when there is a discrepancy between the individual's social characteristics and the surrounding

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population, a possible outcome for minority children may be lower self-esteem (Rosenberg &
Simmons, 1971).

In summary, the literature review suggests that ethnic socialization and neighborhood
positively relate to identity development, and an achieved sense of ego and ethnic identity has
been shown to relate positively to psychological well-being of minority children. Furthermore,
studies indicate that ethnic identity and ego identity are parallel and related concepts. In addition,
literature has emphasized the positive relationship between ethnic socialization and
psychological well-being of minority children.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

The study uses theories in two different ways: (1) Boykin and Toms's (1985) model of ethnic
socialization of minority children, Rojewski's (2001) combined model of adoptive parents'
socialization strategies to understand international adopted children's ethnic socialization
processes and (2) Eriksons's developmental theory to frame the hypothesized influences of
ethnic socialization on ego identity, ethnic identity and psychosocial adjustment among adopted
adolescents. Boykin and Toms (1985) model assumes that Black (minority) family socialization
involves the interplay between three socialization agenda: getting along in the mainstream of
American society, dealing with racism, and understanding Black culture. Although the model
does not speak directly to adoptive families' socialization strategies, the minority socialization
themes can be applied to most families with international adopted children.

The first socialization theme, getting along in the mainstream, is least problematic for
adoptive parents. Through tacit socialization, white adoptive parents pass on mainstream

American beliefs and values to their children. For example, in a study of 526 white American parents with internationally adopted Chinese children, Tessler et al. (1999) found that most adoptive parents agreed American socialization factors such as forming relationships outside the nuclear family, patriotism, and exposing the children to American popular culture were more important than Chinese socialization. Scroggs and Heitfield (2001) reported that 97% of all adoptive fathers believed that helping the child develop connections to and an appreciation and respect for American culture were very important. Literature is replete with findings that support most transracial adoptive parents' raise their children with an orientation toward the Anglo American culture (Andujo, 1988; Kim, 1977; McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, & Anderson, 1984).

A second socialization theme relates to racial socialization that emphasizes racial issues and prejudice. Because most international adoptees are transracial, by adopting a child internationally, adoptive families become interracial and experience racism and prejudice associated with the minority status. Thus, it seems appropriate to assume that the socialization agenda for adoptive families should include a set of coping styles and adjustment techniques in order to prepare adopted children to cope and survive in a potentially oppressive environment. For example, DeBerry, Scarr, and Weinberg (1996) found that adoptive parents' effort to teach transracial adoptees about racial issues predicted their afrocentric reference group orientation, which includes racial awareness, racial friendship preferences, racial self-designation, racial attitudes, knowledge and understanding of racial issues, efforts to integrate, and efforts to meet African-Americans. On the other hand, when transracial adoptive parents deemphasized race-related socialization, Andujo (1988) found that transethnic adoptees had problems identifying with their ethnic group.

The final theme involves teaching adoptees to learn about their birth culture. Recently, many adoptive parents have adopted a culture specific socialization agenda. They recognize the importance of exposing their children to their birth heritage. According to Rojewski and Rojewski (2001), 77.3% of their sample of adoptive parents with older children (47 months of age and older) reported having occasional or more frequent discussions about Chinese cultural heritage. Trolley, Wallin and Hansen (1995) reported similar percentages among adoptive parents who were asked about how frequently the birth culture was introduced to their children. The study found that 70% of the sample exposed their adopted children to their birth culture on a periodic basis. Scroggs and Heitfield (2001) found that almost all parents who adopted children from Asia gave high priority to helping their child develop connections to his/her birth culture. These results suggest that most adoptive parents help their child to feel proud of his or her birth cultural heritage. There is little empirical evidence regarding adopted children's own perceptions of the frequency of parental cultural teaching.

Rojewski and Rojewski (2001) in their combined model of socialization strategies suggest that adoptive parents who believe strongly in a child's cultural heritage as essential for establishing a positive ego-identity may not emphasize mainstream socialization. Instead, they are more likely to place a heavy emphasis on adopted child's birth culture, such as heritage and language and focus on "excessive" discussion on racial issues. Too much stress on adoptees' birth culture might create feelings of disconnectedness and disengagement among adoptive family members (Brodzinsky, 1987). In contrast, those who reject their child's birth culture are more likely to emphasize American culture and de-emphasize racial issues and child's birth culture such as language, festivals, and art. Minimizing child's birth culture might create identity confusion and feelings of isolation among international adoptees. Parents who acknowledge the

child's birth culture are more likely to take a balanced approach of emphasizing both American and child's birth culture and of discussing racial issues and prejudice. In this study, it is assumed that socializing children to American culture and society will be a constant among white adoptive parents. However, adoptive parents can achieve the balanced condition when ethnic socialization is present. That means that the more adoptive parents socialize the child to his/her ethnic culture, the greater the likelihood that adoptive parents will achieve a balanced condition.

Erikson's psychosocial development perspective assumes that a major developmental task in adolescence is the establishment of identity. For international adoptees, the theory suggests that ethnic identity, as a part of ego identity, evolves from a lack of awareness or understanding of the person's ethnicity, to a more clear and committed sense of their ethnicity (Roberts et al.,1999). Friedlander, Larney, Skau, Hotaling, Cutting, and Schwam (2000) explored the process of bicultural identity development for international adoptees. They found that the children's understanding of ethnicity in relation to adoption goes through a developmental progression that reflects changes in a growing child's cognitions, values, and a sense of personal identity.

According to Erikson (1963), family and societal institutions play a central force in human development. The theory suggests that adoptive parents can facilitate the process of their children's acceptance of their ethnic identity. Adoptive parents' support on ethnic socialization might help international adoptees' to feel comfortable with their ethnic background. Friedlander et al. (2000) found that when adoptive parents construct their family in a multicultural way and provide the children with opportunities to become involved with their birth heritage, children develop a sense of ethnic identity, which serves to reduce the adopted children's sense of isolation and marginality. Similar finding have been reported by Lee and Quintana (2005) in

their study of the benefits of ethnic socialization to transracially adopted Korean children. The study suggests that the developmental differences between transracially adopted and nonadopted Korean children may be overcome if Korean adopted children receive greater exposure to their culture of origin. Andujo (1988) and Yoon (2000) in their research found that ethnic socialization experiences of adoptees determine the development of their ethnic identities and consequently their psychosocial adjustment.

In considering Erikson's psychosocial development theory, Boykin and Toms' (1985) model of ethnic socialization and Rojewski's (2001) combined model, I believe that these theories provide an adequate theoretical framework for the study prediction that ethnic socialization experiences and ethnic composition of the neighborhood influence one's psychological well-being, and further that ego identity and ethnic identity serve as intervening or mediating mechanisms between the relationship of ethnic socialization, neighborhood and psychological well-being. Furthermore, ethnic socialization and psychological well-being will be related in a curvilinear fashion such that (a) psychological well-being would be lower among the adoptees whose parents emphasize or minimize ethnic socialization, and (b) psychological well-being would be highest among adoptees whose parents acknowledge birth culture by finding a balance.

Table 1 Conceptual Definition of the Study Variables

Ethnic Socialization	Providing opportunities for children to learn their ethnic heritage and culture.
Racial Socialization	Preparing children to develop coping mechanisms to deal with racial prejudice and discrimination.
Ethnic Identity	"One's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership" (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987, p. 13).
Ethnic Affirmation	"Commitment and a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, together with pride and positive feelings about the group" (Roberts et al., 1999, p. 316).
Ethnic Exploration	"The process through which individuals explore, learn about, and become involved in their ethnic group" (Roberts et al., 1999, p. 316).
Ego Identity	A coherent sense of one's meaning to oneself and to others within a particular social context (Marcia, 1994).
Marginality	Not feeling a sense of belonging to either the dominant white culture or their ethnic culture.

2.4 RESEARCH PURPOSE

The purpose of this study was to understand the ways in which adoptive parents prepare their children for understanding their ethnic and ego identities and how such preparation affects adoptees outcome in terms of their developmental and psychological well-being. The study examined the role of ego and ethnic identities in the relationship between adoptive parents' support on ethnic socialization, social environment, and psychological well-being among Asian adoptees. Specifically, the goal was to determine whether adolescents who report greater support for ethnic and socialization also report a high level of ego and ethnic identity and psychological well-being. In addition, this research explored if adoptive parents' presumed excessive emphasis on the child's birth culture might be unfavorable to their child's psychological well-being. Further, the relationship between ego identity and ethnic identity was explored. It was argued that ego and ethnic identity would be correlated because one component of identity development could affect other domains of the identity process (Grotevant, 1992). The study investigated the relationship between the social environmental factor of the percentage of the people in the neighborhood who share the adoptees' ethnicity and the adoptees' ego and ethnic identities and psychological well-being. This study also attempted to explore the ethnic neighborhood factor and parental supports for ethnic and racial socialization. The following hypotheses were evaluated and the proposed relationships are illustrated in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

2.4.1 Hypotheses

1. Following the work of Yoon (2000), the current study predicts a positive linear relationship between parental supports for ethnic and racial socialization and psychological well-being. Further, based on the theoretical model of Rojewski and Rojewski (2001), the study will explore the possibility of a curvilinear relationship, such that at very high levels of parental emphasis on ethnic and racial socialization, psychological well-being would decline.

2. If there is evidence for a curvilinear relationship of ethnic and racial socialization and psychological well being, the partial mediation effect will be tested in the range before the psychological well-being becomes negative. Consistent with the Erikson's developmental perspective, and the work of Yoon (2000) it is hypothesized that ego identity and ethnic identity will mediate the effect of parental support for ethnic socialization and social environment on adoptees' psychological well-being.

3. Following the previous studies of Yuh (2005) and Phinney (1989), ethnic identity and ego identity will be positively and linearly related.

4. Consistent with the study conducted by McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, and Anderson (1982), it is hypothesized that the adoptees' ego identity, ethnic identity, and psychological well-being will be higher when the community includes a substantial number of individuals of shared ethnicity with the adoptee.

Psychological well-
being
1. Self-esteem
2. Low depression
3. Ethnic Identity
4. Ego identity
5. Belongingness
6. Marginality

Ethnic and racial socialization
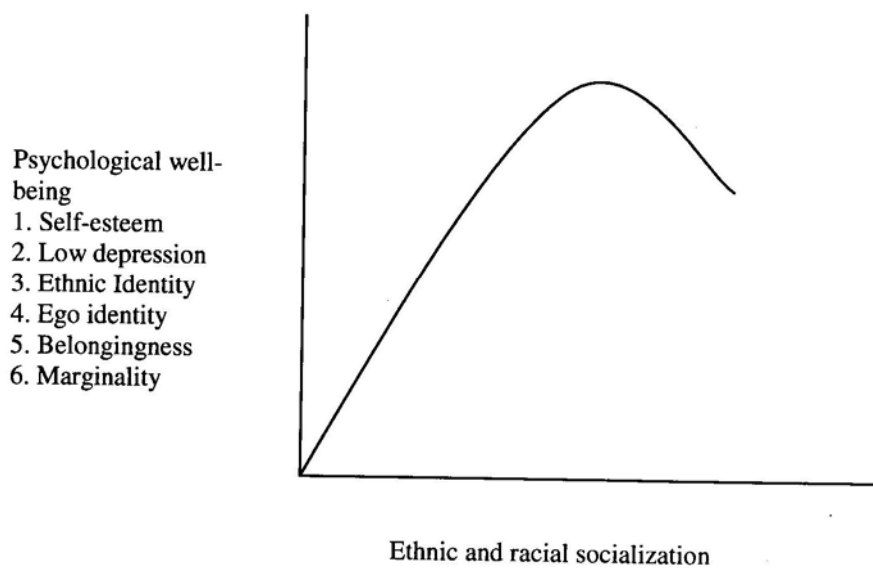
Figure 1 The Model of the Curvilinear Relationship
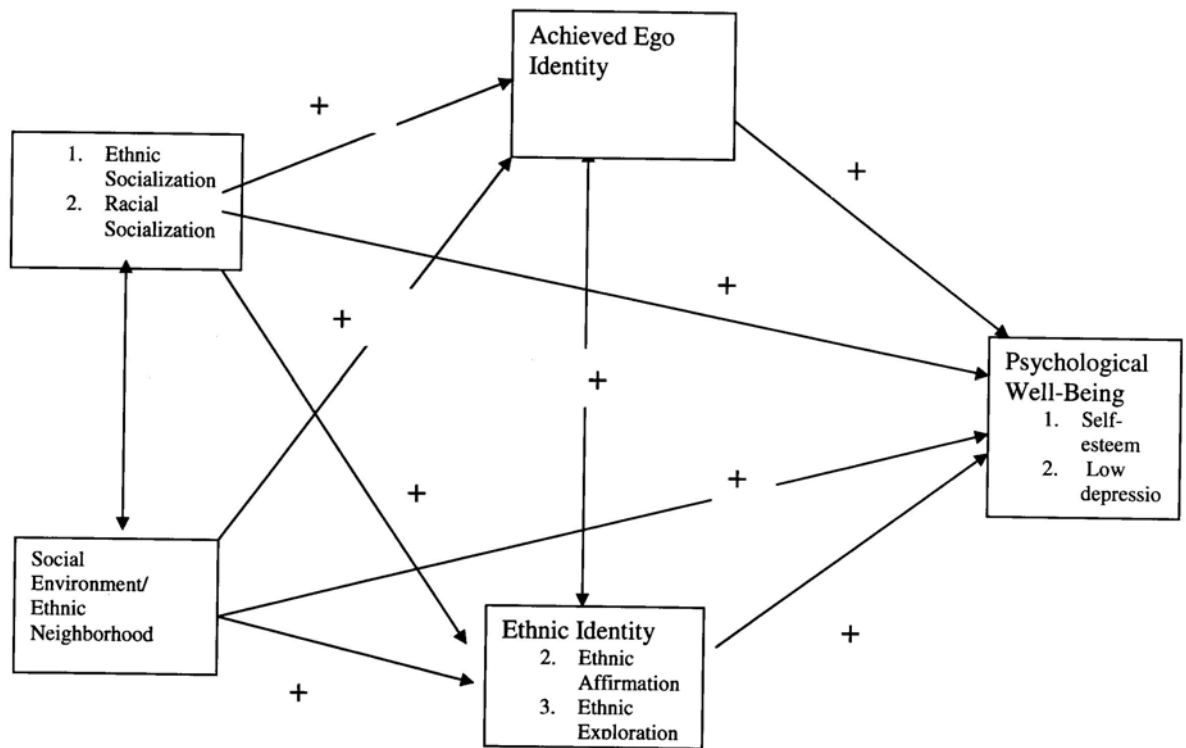
Figure 2 The Model of the Mediating Role of Ego Identity and Ethnic Identity in Relation to Ethnic Socialization, Ethnic Neighborhood and Psychological Well-Being

3.0 METHOD

3.1 SAMPLE AND PROCEDURES

The study is a cross-sectional design. Participants were internationally adopted Asian children. The criteria for recruiting adoptees included being at least 14 years of age, not more than 26 years old at the time of the study, adopted from one of the Asian countries, and being adopted by Caucasian parents. Parents were eligible to participate if they have a 14-17 year-old internationally adopted child from one of the Asian countries. Parental consent was required for a 14-17 year-old child to be eligible to participate in this study. More than 40% of international adoptees come from Asian countries (U.S. Department of State, 2007). Compared to Eastern European and South American adoptees, Asian adoptees (specifically Korean adoptees) are now adolescents and young adults. Therefore, this group was the most logical to study.

Study participants were recruited purposively from online adoptive family support groups on various Internet e-mail "listservs". If the list was moderated, I contacted the moderators through e-mails about the appropriateness of my request. I sent an e-mail to each group, separately, in order to avoid my request being perceived as spam. As suggested by Smith and Leigh (1997), the survey invitation contained the followng information: approval of the moderator, enough information about the study in order to allow potential participants to be fully informed before they participate, the IRB approval code, the institutional affiliation, my e-mail

address, the mailing address of the ethics committee, and detailed instructions on how to participate. The announcements directed potential participants to an internet website: www.adoptionsurvey.pitt.edu, which provided information on the proposed project as well as informed consent forms for participants that explained the purpose of the study. After viewing the website, potential participants were directed to a screening page in order to double-check that respondents are indeed who they say they are. The screening questions assessed the eligibility of the participants and after successfully answering the screening questions; participants received a unique study ID and password which they then entered in a box before clicking another button to begin the study. Adult adoptees (defined as over 18 years of age) were required to provide consent by reading the information statement, and completing an online survey.

Adoptees who were between the ages of 14-17 were asked to view the parental consent forms (which included information on voluntary participation and confidentiality), to download the parental consent form, including the assent signature line, and sign and send it to the principal investigator. Parents were asked to provide written consent in order to allow their children to participate in this research study. To access the written consent, parents were asked to fill out the mailing information on a web form or email to the principal investigator with their address information. The web form gathered address information and sent it to the Principal Investigator using the University of Pittsburgh mail server. Once the mailing address was received, the principal investigator mailed the parental consent document and a self-addressed envelope. Potential adolescent adoptee participants were required to discuss the study with their parents, make a decision regarding participation and get the consent form signed by parents. Once a signed informed consent form was received by the principal investigator, a subject ID number was assigned to each participant randomly.

For adoptee child/adoptive parent pairs, the same ID numbers were assigned in order to link adoptee child participant's survey responses with his/her parent's responses for later data analysis. The principal investigator emailed the subject/participant ID number and password to both the adoptive parent and his/her child separately in order to access the web survey. Adoptees and parents' survey responses were stored in a separate file and could only be identified by their ID. As a way to compensate for any inconvenience related to participation, adoptees were offered an electronic gift certificate valued at $15 for use at www.amazon.com. This gift certificate was available if participants chose to supply their e-mail address. Once a participant completed the survey, the information was stored in the Center on Race and Social Problems, University of Pittsburgh web server. The web server was administered by a Computing Services and Systems Development representative following University Standards and Policies database.

3.1.1 Other Sampling Strategies

Internet e-mail "listservs" was not the only method used for recruiting adoptive parents and their children. Particpants were also recruited from the Lutheran Service Society of Western Pennsylvania specialized in placing children with U.S parents and Bal Jagat, a private non-profit intercountry adoption agency in Long Beach, CA. Other recruitment methods that were followed included the following: e-mailing participants who had previously participated in a study conducted by the principal investigator, creating a web presence at various adoption related websites, and promoting the survey through advertisements in adoption newsletters and magazines.

A few subjects were also recruited through snowball sampling. This sampling technique is recommended for accessing hard-to-find participants. (Anastas, 1999). In this case, snowball

sampling is necessary because there is no central list of families who adopted children internationally, outside of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. In a snowball sample, respondents who volunteer to participate in the study may also forward the study's web site to other potentially interested adoptive families. Thus, when a referred adoptive family becomes part of the sample and, in turn, refers others, the sample snowballs.

Several key challenges complicated recruitment with this hard-to-reach population. First, no lists of international adoptees were available, so identifying a contact strategy was difficult. Second, the topic was very sensitive to adoptive parents. In addition, the study focused on adolescent and young adult adoptees.

The methodology I adopted was a web-based survey. Through the University of Pittsburgh web server, I hosted a study website. Initially, I contacted a few yahoo.com Asian adoptees and adoptive families support groups because I knew that most adoptive families are members of yahoo support groups. While some moderators of the yahoo groups welcomed the study purpose and posted the study information on their "listservs," others did not. I waited for two months before receiving a response from yahoo moderators. In addition, during data collection, I realized that that adoptive parents of older children may not be active yahoo group members . Therefore, I obtained cooperation from a wide range of internet-based support groups. I also published the study information in multiple adoption newsletters, for example, Adoption Community of New England (ACONE), Chao Ban Newsletter, and Korean American Adoptee Adoptive Family Newwork (KAAN), Adoptive Family Support Newwork, and China Connection.

The success of recruitment with sensitive populations depends on gaining the trust of prospective participants. To gain trust, my web site provided information about the research

study purpose and explained how the findings would benefit the adoption community. Using sensitive and inoffensive terminology was also very important. During the course of the study, I realized that participants objected to certain terms such as the word 'children' when referring to adult adopted persons. After consulting with other adoption researchers and adoptees, I decided to use the term 'adoptee' to mean 'adopted children and adults.' Other challenges involved encouraging participants to complete the entire survey. To increase survey participation and decrease survey abandonment, incentives were offered for completed surveys.

The web survey consisted of 7 screen pages. During the five month data collection period, a total of 100 adoptees and 23 adoptive parents responded to the online survey. Because of the web-based survey design, it was not possible to know who received the information and therefore to determine response rates. However, the web site calculated the number of potential participants who were eligible to participate from those who were not. After various adjustments, it was estimated that the response rate was 39 percent among those who actually were eligible to participate in the study and were able to access the web survey.

3.1.2   Pilot Test

The pilot test was conducted with a total of 6 individuals including two adoptive parents, two doctoral students and two technical persons knowledgeable about the web survey. The participants were identified through snowball sampling. Participants were asked to give feedback and suggestions regarding the length of time of administration; whether questions were clear in wording or too ambiguous; whether response categories were mutually exclusively and exhaustive; and whether directions were clear. In addition, participants were encouraged to

submit the survey from a variety of computers and internet connections, using different browsers. The web survey was modified based on their suggestions.

3.2   PARTICIPANTS FOR THE STUDY

The sample consisted of 100 internationally adopted Asian children residing in the United States. The average age of the sample was 20.09 years (SD = 3.21) and the majority of participants, 61%, were female. The median age at adoption was 5 months (range = 1-119 months). Among the participants, 70% were adopted from Korea, 14% were from China, 14% were from South & South East Asia, and one person was from Japan and another person was from Cambodia. More than half of the respondents (61%) were living with their adoptive parents at the time of the study.   When respondents were asked about the preadoption setting, approximately, 42% reported that they lived with foster families at the time of adoption, 33.31% in an orphanage, 6.7% lived with their biological families, 1.1% reported multiple placement and 16.6% reported "other" or that they "don't know". More than half of the respondents (63.3%) were students and were never married or single (81.1%).

3.3   MEASUREMENTS

The study used five self-report questionnaires for data collection: The Ethnic Socialization Scale; the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), the Extended Objective Measure of Ego

Identity (EOM-EIS-II), Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, Brief Symptoms Inventory (BSI), Social Environment, and the demographic measure. The full questionnaire is shown in Appendix D.

3.3.1 Ethnic and Racial Socialization

To measure ethnic and racial socialization of international adoptees, two cultural themes consistent with the Boykin and Toms (1985) model of minority children's ethnic socialization were included: birth cultural socialization and minority socialization (e. g. the importance of racial issues in the socialization process). Culture-based and race-related socialization practices were assessed by using a 14-item Cultural Socialization Scale (Mohanty, Koeske, & Sales, 2006). The original scale had five items that assessed race related socialization practices and 9 items assessed cultural socialization practices and the scale was used as a single-factor structure. Because the purpose of this study was to provide information about the differential effect of each ethnic and racial socialization factor on adoptees outcome, and because the number of items in the scale affect its reliability, six new items were added to the original scale. A 5-step metric was used for responding varying from 1 (Not at all important) to 5 (Extremely Important).

A principal-component analysis with a direct oblimin rotation was conducted to identity the factor structure of the 20 ethnic and racial socialization items. The number of components to be extracted was determined by (a) eigenvalues above 1.0 and (b) scree test. This analysis revealed three factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 (9.85, 2.11, 1.32), but a scree test suggested a two factor structure. The two-factor solution was finally chosen because it supported the conceptualization of the item development of ethnic and racial socialization scale and it explained 60% of the variance. The first component, ethnic socialization, (11 items) accounted for 49.26% of the total variance and the second component, racial socialization, (9 items)

accounted for 10.55% of the total variance (see Table 2 for eigenvalues, loading of variables on factors, percentages of variance, and mean and standard deviation of each item). Cronbach's alpha for *ethnic socialization* was .91. Sample items for this factor were "Learning the language or dialect of my birth culture" and "Appreciating the fine arts, such as music and dance, of my birth culture". Cronbach's alpha for racial socialization was .93 (e.g., "Educating me about the realities of prejudice, racism, and discrimination and "To be proud of my skin color"). The mean score for each subscale was computed by summing the individual items on each subscale and averaging, with higher scores on the subscale indicating more parental support for ethnic and racial socialization."

Table 2 Exploratory Factor Analysis of the Ethnic and Racial Socialization Scale

Item #	Items	Mean	SD	Factor 1	Factor 2
7	Learning the language or dialect of my birth culture	1.92	1.07	.90	.22
10	Be fluent in the language of my birth culture	1.73	1.1	.87	.24
2	Appreciating the fine arts, such as music and dance, of my birth culture	2.48	1.17	.75	-.10
5	Including traditions of my birth culture, such as ethnic holidays, in my family celebrations	2.24	1.30	.69	-.03
3	Learning the history of the people of my birth country	2.51	1.27	.68	-.21
1	Learning values and traditions of my birth culture	2.88	1.27	.68	-.22
9	Visiting my country of birth	3.21	1.48	.62	-.15
20	Attending cultural camps too frequently	1.78	1.17	.61	-.02
11	Establishing relationships with children from my birth culture	2.68	1.25	.57	-.28
14	Living in an integrated neighborhood with neighbors who reflect my race and ethnicity	1.78	1.03	.48	-.17
19	Go to schools that have a diverse student body in terms of race and ethnicity	2.42	1.25	.43	-.27
17	Educating me about the realities of prejudice, racism, and discrimination	3.18	1.39	-.05	-.93
15	Learning about racial differences	3.02	1.38	-.00	-.85
18	Teaching me a variety of coping strategies from which to choose when faced with prejudice or bias	2.94	1.33	.06	-.83
16	To be proud of my skin color	3.98	1.22	-.04	-.82
8	Talking about race and racism openly within the family	3.04	1.37	.01	-.82
6	Teaching what to do when a non family member uses racist language	3.29	1.35	-.01	-.81
12	Establishing relationship with adoptees from different racial and ethnic background	2.55	1.31	.35	-.53
13	Seeking support and advice from adults of my race-ethnicity about how to cope with prejudice and discrimination	2.44	1.36	.34	-.50
4	Feeling pride in my racial/ethnic heritage	3.53	1.34	.37	-.50
	Eigenvalue			9.85	2.11
	% variance			49.26	10.55
	Coefficient alpha			.91	.93

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3.3.2   Emphasis on Birth Culture

Heavy emphasis on birth culture was measured by asking adoptees to rate the amount of emphasis on learning the heritage and culture of their birth country on a one-item scale from 1 (Too little) to 10 (Too much).

3.3.3   Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity of international adoptees was measured using the Revised Multigroup Measures of Ethnic Identity. The original multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM) has 14 items and was designed to measure three aspects of ethnic identity: positive ethnic attitudes and a sense of belonging to one's ethnicity (5 items); ethnic identity achievement (7 items) and ethnic behaviors (2 items) (Phinney, 1992). Roberts et al, (1999) reported that the internal reliability of a 12-item revised multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM) is .81, the same as that of the 14-item scale. They recommend that researchers use the 12-item rather than 14-item scale. The 12 items are presented in grid format and range from (1) strongly disagree to (4) strongly agree. Sample questions are: "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs"; "I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group"; "I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background". This instrument was chosen for this study because the scale allows for comparison of correlates of ethnic identity across psychological variables (Phinney, 1992), and because this scale has been used successfully by different researchers to measure ethnic identity among adolescents and young adults from diverse ethnic groups (Roberts et al., 1999; Phinney, 1992).

The MEIM scale has good psychometric properties with an Alpha coefficient of .80 or higher across different racial/ethnic groups (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al. 1999; Spencer Icard, Harachi, Catalano, & Oxford, 2000). In this study, the Cronbach's alpha was .89. The construct validity of the scale is supported by the positive correlations with measures of psychological well-being including self-esteem, social connectedness, optimism, happiness and negative correlations with loneliness and depression (Lee, 2003; Lee & Yoo, 2004; Roberts et al., 1999).

A major concern with the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure is a lack of clarity regarding the exact factor structure of the scale. Phinney (1992) developed the scale to measure three aspects of ethnic identity, but after exploratory factor analysis, she identified a single factor for ethnic identity. This one-factor structure was replicated using principal-axis factor analysis with 275 academically talented adolescents (Worrell, 2000). Other researchers have identified a two-factor structure of the MEIM. For example, Roberts et al. (1999) using exploratory factor analysis and then a confirmatory factor analysis identified two factors based on two theoretical approaches such as social identity theory and the developmental theory of Erikson: 1) *affirmation/belonging*; 2) *exploration*. Similarly, Spencer et al. (2000) found a two-factor structure of the MEIM with a sample of 2,184 monoracial and multiracial adolescents. Lee and Yoo (2004) identified a 3-factor structure of the MEIM. They found that different aspects of ethnic identity had differential relationships with psychological well-being. Because the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure was never used with internationally adopted Asian adoptees, the exploratory factor analysis was conducted to determine the exact factor structure with this population. The scree plot suggested two factors. The two-factor solution with oblimin rotation explained 62% of the total variance with Factor 1 and Factor 2 explaining 47.59% and 14.42% of the total variance respectively. Factor 1 consisted of seven items and Factor 2 of five. The

Cronbach's alpha for ethnic affirmation/attachment was .89 and for exploration, the Cronbach's alpha was .83. The results of the two-factor solution analysis in the current study were similar to those previously reported by Roberts et al. (1999) and Spencer et al. (2000). Because different aspects of ethnic identity relate differently to social and psychological outcomes (Lee & Yoo, 2004), this study will use these two factors independently to measure ethnic identity. The mean score was computed by summing across all individual items on each subscale and averaging, with higher scores on the subscale indicating a more positive ethnic identity. Item loadings for this two-factor solution are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Mean, Standard Deviation, and Factor Loadings of the MEIM Items

Item #	Items	Mean	SD	Factor 1	Factor 2
12	Feel good about my cultural or ethnic background	3.20	.68	.84	-.05
9	Lot of pride in my ethnic group	3.02	.86	.82	.06
5	I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to	3.24	.66	.80	-.02
6	A strong sense of belonging	2.52	.90	.77	.01
7	Understand my ethnic group membership means to me	2.77	.80	.75	-.00
3	A clear sense of my ethnic background	2.83	.82	.73	-.04
11	Strong attachment towards my own ethnic group	2.64	.94	.56	.40
2	Active in organization	2.27	.98	-.10	.86
1	Spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group	2.90	.87	.16	.75
8	Talked to other people about my ethnic group	2.70	.89	.07	.74
4	My life will be affected by my ethnic group membership	2.64	.88	-.11	.69
10	Participate in cultural practices of my own group	2.54	.91	.29	.67

3.3.4 Ego Identity

The Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity (EOM-EIS-II) developed by Bennion and Adams (1986) assesses ego identity status in the ideological (occupation, politics, religion, and philosophical lifestyle) and interpersonal domains (friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreation). The scale is based on Erikson's (1963) theory of ego identity development and Marcia's (1966) conceptualization of identity status paradigm (diffused, foreclosed, moratorium, achieved). The scale consisting of 64 items includes 16 statements representative of each of the four identity statuses. A 6-point grid format was used for responding. The response options ranged from 1 (strongly agree) to 6 (strongly disagree).

The scale was chosen for this study because the instrument provides continuous scales for each of the four identity statuses and is applicable for correlational studies (Grotevant & Adams, 1984; Schwartz, 2004); the scale is useful to study adolescents and young adults between the ages of 13 and 30 years old (Adams, 1998); and it has been shown relevant to the study of how parental socialization factors contribute to the development of ego identity (Adams & Jones, 1983). For the purpose of this study, only the interpersonal domain of ego identity (e.g., friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreation) consisting of 32 items was used because of the following reasons: (1) adoption is more likely to be linked with interpersonal relationships rather than ideological domains (Grotevant ,1997); (2) this dimension is deemed the most relevant across entire sample's age range; and a smaller set of items is important for this study. Sample items include: "I haven't really thought about a 'dating style'; I'm not too concerned whether I date or not"; "My ideas about men's and women's roles come right from my parents and family. I have not seen any need to look further"; and "I've tried many different friendships and now I have a clear idea of what I look for in a friend".

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The EOM-EIS scale has good psychometric properties. The Alpha coefficient for interpersonal domain for diffused, foreclosed, moratorium, and achieved identity status ranges from .60 to .80 (Bennion & Adams, 1986). Grotevant and Adams (1984) reported test-retest reliabilities for the ideological and interpersonal scales over a four-week period of time ranging from .59 to .82. For the current study, the alpha coefficient ranged from .48 to .87. Theoretical validity is evidenced by a relationship between achieved identity subjects and measures of self-acceptance (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979); higher scores on a measure of intimacy among achieved subjects (Bennion and Adams, 1985); and a relationship between positive ethnic identity and achieved identity individuals (Louis & Liem, 2005; Yuh, 2005). The interpersonal identity achievement subscale will not be included in the model because the factor structures reported by the original authors were not replicated in the present study and the overall reliability of this subscale (8 items) was low, $\alpha = .61$.

3.3.5   Psychological Well-Being

In order to measure psychological well-being of internationally adopted adolescents, Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1965) and Brief Symptoms Inventory (BSI) were used. Brief Symptoms Inventory developed by Derogatis and Melisaratos (1983) measures psychological symptoms and distress among adolescents and adults. The scale consists of 53 items covering nine symptom dimensions: Somatization, Obsession-compulsion, Interpersonal Sensitivity, Depression, Anxiety, Hostility, Phobic anxiety, Paranoid ideation and Psychoticism; and three global indices of distress: Global Severity Index, Positive Symptom Distress Index, and Positive Symptom Total. Items were rated on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely), with the higher score indicating more psychological distress. The alpha coefficients for the seven

dimensions in the previous studies ranged from .74 on Interpersonal Sensitivity to .85 on Depression. Test-retest reliability over a span of two weeks ranged from .68 for Somatization to .91 for Phobic Anxiety and for the three Global Indices from .80 (PST) to .90 (GSI). Construct validity is evidenced by factor analysis results confirming a prior construction of the symptom dimensions (Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983). Sample items are: "Feeling easily annoyed or irritated", "Feeling of worthlessness", "Trouble remembering things", "Feeling fearful", "Feeling nervous when you are left alone". The BSI was chosen for this study because it is a widely used measure, has been used among international adoptees; and the BSI can be used among adolescents as young as 13 years of age (Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983). For the purpose of this study, only the depression subscale consisting of 6 items was used. The alpha coefficient for the depression subscale was .92.

3.3.6   Self-Esteem

Self-esteem was measured by Rosenberg (1965) Self- Esteem Scale (RSE). The 10 items are rated on a 4-point scale that ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) with higher scores representing higher self-esteem. The scale has an equal number of positive and negative items. After reverse scoring the negative items, the total score was computed by summing and averaging the individual 4-point items. Sample questions are: "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself"; "At times I think I am not good at all"; "I feel that I'm person of worth"; "I wish I could have more respect for myself". The scale has been shown to be reliable and valid with diverse populations (e.g. Mexican, Asian, White, and Native American adolescents) with coefficient alphas ranging from .58 to .88 (Bracey, Bamaca, & Umana-Taylor, 2004; Lee, 2003; Martinez & Dukes, 1997). The coefficient alpha for the current study was .89. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem

Scale was chosen for this study, because it is the most widely used measure of self-esteem and is used by Alstein and Simon (1991), Westhues and Cohen (1998) and Mohanty, Koeske, Sales, (2006) to study international adoptees' self-esteem.

3.3.7   Belongingness and Marginality

To measure belongingness to one's adoptive family and marginality, two subscales (*belongingness* and *marginality*) of the Belongingness and Ethnic Self-Perception scale developed by the principal investigator for use in another adoption study were used. The subscale *belongingness* consisted of 5 items, two negative and 3 positive statements. The *marginality* subscale included 7 items. Two items were revised to reflect adoptees' sense of marginality because of adoptive status and a person of color. Items were scored on a six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) with high scores indicating high belongingness to an adoptive family and a higher sense of marginality. Mohanty, Koeske, and Sales (2006) reported the Cronbach's alpha of .91 for *belongingness* (e.g., "I feel as close to my parents as others do" and "I feel somewhat disconnected from my adoptive family"). Cronbach's alpha for *marginality* was reported as .71 (Mohanty, Koeske, & Sales, 2006). Sample items for the subscale *marginality* are: "I feel I am different from the majority in the culture" and "I feel a sense of incompleteness because of my adoptive status". The current study reported the Cronbach's alpha for *belongingness* was .87 and for *marginality*, alpha was .81. In our previous study, *belongingness* and *marginality* factored out separately showing evidence for factorial validity and separate out of ethnic identity.

3.3.8 Social Environment (Ethnic Neighborhood)

A four-item scale was developed to measure adoptees' perceptions of the ethnic composition of their social environment, including the neighborhood, high school, close peer relationships, and relationship with others. Sample question is: "Thinking about your social environment, what percentage of the people in your *neighborhood do* you think share your specific ethnic group?" Response options ranged from 1 (none) to 5 (a lot, more than 75%).

3.3.9 Discrimination

Perceived discrimination consisted of two items. One item asked the adoptees about feeling teased or insulted because of their ethnic background. The other item inquired about negative reactions from others about their skin color. These items were based on a 1-4 scale, with higher scores indicating a perception of more discrimination.

3.3.10 Demographic Information

Demographic information included questions regarding adoptee's gender, age at adoption, current age, country of origin, adopted country, number of siblings, ethnic groups, pre-adoption settings, the level of education from high school to post graduate, marital status, and the residence; the parents' marital status, age, race/ethnicity, level of education from some high school to graduate degree, and the family's income.

4.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 DESCRIPTIVE AND BIVARIATE STATISTICS

Preliminary analyses examined the relations of demographic variables to the test variables of self-esteem, depression, ethnic and racial socialization, ethnic affirmation/achievement, ethnic exploration, marginality, and belongingness to explore confounding influences. Only one variable, age, was related to test variables. Age was significantly related to depression ($r = .25$, $p = .014$), ethnic affirmation/achievement ($r = -.21$, $p = .04$), marginality ($r = .41$, $p < .001$), belongingness ($r = -.20$, $p = .05$), ethnic socialization ($r = -.43$, $p < .001$), and racial socialization ($r = -.41$, $p < .001$), therefore, age will be controlled in the model test.

The bivarite correlations and descriptive statistics for the central variables, including the means, standard deviations, and skewness are summarized in Table 4. The depression score was log transformed because of its non-normal distribution. The summed scores on belongingness were strongly skewed to the left and were not normal, so belongingness was rescored by counting the number of 6's selected across the 5 items on the 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) scales. The results indicated that participants, on average, reported high self-esteem ($M = 3.19$) but low on depression (Median = 1.67). Using the Rosenberg self-esteem scale, previous studies have reported a similar level of self-esteem among international adoptees (Mohanty, Koeske, & Sales, 2006; Simon & Alstein, 1996; Westhues & Cohen, 1998).The mean of 2.33 on

ethnic socialization indicated that providing opportunities for ethnic socialization activities were "slightly important" (2) to "moderately important" (3) to adoptive parents. The mean of 3.11 on racial socialization indicated that parenting emphasis on issues related to race and discrimination was "moderately important" (3) to "very much important" (4) to adoptive parents. In general, items in relation to racial socialization showed higher means than ethnic socialization items.

The means for ethnic affirmation (M = 2.88) and ethnic exploration (M = .2.61) indicated a comparatively lower level of ethnic identity among adoptees. Using Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, studies have found the mean score for ethnic affirmation and ethnic exploration among ethnic minority children ranges from 3.21 to 3.27 and 2.60 to 2.81 respectively (Romero & Roberts, 1998, 2003). The means for marginality (M = 2.65 on a 1 to 6 metric) indicated that on average, adoptees tended to disagree with statements expressing feeling different in the majority society. The median score for belongingness (M= 5.60 on a 1 to 6 metric) suggested that most participants were close to their adoptive family.

The means for interpersonal identity achievement (M = 31.64) indicated achieved identity status among adoptees in relation to friendships, dating, recreation, and intimate relationship with the opposite sex. Using the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity, the scale authors (Grotevant & Adams, 1984) reported the means for interpersonal identity achievement among two college samples range from 32.3 to 32.6. In terms of ethnic neighborhood, a majority of the respondents reported that none or less than 10% of the people in their neighborhood, their high school, or their close friendship network shared their ethnic group membership. The mean of 2.78 for personal experiences of discrimination indicated that adoptees somewhat slightly agreed (1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree) with statements relating to the experiences of discrimination because of ethnic background and skin color.

4.1.1 Bivariate Correlations for Central Variables

Racial socialization was marginally related to higher self-esteem ($r = .20$, $p = .055$) and low depression ($r = -.20$, $p = .058$); unexpectedly and contrary to expectation, ethnic socialization was not significantly related to psychological well-being (i.e. self-esteem and depression) (see Table 3). Ethnic affirmation was non-significantly associated with self-esteem ($r = .17$, $p = .10$) and depression ($r = -.05$, *ns*). The direction of the association between ethnic exploration and self-esteem and depression was opposite to that hypothesized. Ethnic exploration was significantly associated with lower self-esteem ($r = -.22$, $p = 035$) and higher depression ($r = .29$, $p = .005$). Ethnic socialization and racial socialization were highly intercorrelated ($r = .70$, $p < .001$) and a high correlation was also evident with ethnic affirmation and ethnic exploration ($r = .54$, $p < .001$) and self-esteem and depression ($r = -.69$, $p < .001$).

Consistent with the hypotheses, ethnic socialization correlated significantly with ethnic affirmation ($r = .49$, $p < .001$) and ethnic exploration ($r = .25$, $p = .015$), two variables conceptualized as potential mediators. Racial socialization correlated significantly with ethnic affirmation ($r = .33$, $p = .001$), marginality ($r = -.35$, $p < .001$) and belongingness ($r = .35$, $p < .001$). In addition, ethnic exploration correlated significantly with marginality ($r = .37$, $p < .001$) and low belongingness ($r = -.37$, $p < .001$) and ethnic affirmation correlated significantly with marginality ($r = -.23$, $p = .023$). Discrimination was significantly and positively associated with depression ($r = .40$, $p < .001$), marginality ($r = .38$, $p < .001$), and ethnic exploration, ($r = .36$, $p < .001$) and negatively with belongingness ($r = -.25$, $p = .014$). Ethnic neighborhood was significantly related to ethnic socialization ($r = .28$, $p = .005$) and ethnic

exploration (r = .22, p = .025). As expected, interpersonal identity achievement was significantly related to high self-esteem (r = .25, p = .025) and low depression (r = -.23, p = .023).

It is important to mention that this study was able to replicate some of the significant bivariate correlations that were apparent in my earlier study on the effect of parental support for cultural socialization on adoptees' self-esteem. For example, racial socialization was related to self-esteem, belongingness and marginality in the expected direction and that marginality was negatively related to self-esteem, ethnic identity affirmation/achievement and belongingness. As expected, belongingness was positively related to self-esteem.

Table 4 Bivariate Correlations and Means, SDs and Skewness

Variable	Mean	SD	Skewness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Self-esteem	3.19	.54	-.56											
2. Depression	1.66	.97	.48(1.32)	-.70***										
3. Marginality	2.65	2.57	.59	-.62***	.67***									
4. Belongingness	6.60	1.19	-.40	.47***	-.46***	-56***								
5. Ethnic Affirmation	2.88	.63	-.24	.17	-.07	-.23*	-.00							
6. Ethnic Exploration	2.61	.70	-.00	-.21*	.31**	.38**	-.37***	.54***						
7. Ethnic Socialization	2.33	.88	.32	-.06	.03	-.17	-.00	.49***	.25**					
8. Racial Socialization	3.11	1.07	-.23	.20	-.18	-.35***	.35***	.33**	-.08	.70***				
9. Discrimination	2.78	.87	-.27	-.19	.40***	.38***	-.25*	.13	.36**	.10	.04			
10. Ethnic Neighborhood	1.25	.60	.60(1.01)	-.15	.09	.05	-.00	.11	.22*	.28*	.17	-.04		
11. Ego Achievement	31.71	5.14	.32	.25*-	-.22	-.14	.13	.15	.02	-.12	.07	.05	.04	
12. Age	20.09	3.21	-.07	-.13	.25*	.43**	-.23*	-.21*	.10	-.43**	-.41**	.31	-.15	.19

*p < .05, *p < .01, *p < .001

Note: Median is reported for depression, belongingness and ethnic neighborhood. Skewness is reported for depression, ethnic neighborhood, after transformation. In parenthesis, skewness for depression and ethnic neighborhood is reported.

4.2 TEST OF MEDIATION MODEL

Path analysis using a series of multiple regressions was used to test the central hypothesis that ethnic identity (i.e., ethnic exploration and ethnic affirmation) served as a mediator between contextual factors and psychological well-being (e.g. self-esteem and depression). Age was entered as a control variable because of its relationships with two or more central variables. Depression and ethnic neighborhood scores were log transformed because the scores were not normally distributed and were positively skewed. Interpersonal ego identity achievement subscale was not included in the model because the factor structure reported by the original authors was not replicated in the present study and the overall reliability of this subscale was low, $\alpha = .62$.

Before testing the model, the curvilinear pattern between ethnic and racial socialization and psychological well-being (i.e, self-esteem and depression) was explored using curve estimation. The curvilinear model was not supported and in no case was there evidence for very high amounts of ethnic and racial socialization producing reduced ethnic identity or lower well-being. Therefore, the curvilinear idea was abandoned and the model was tested with the assumptions of linearity. The assumptions of multiple regression analysis were investigated by examination of residual distributions and plots and by checks for independence, collinearity, and influential cases. The analysis was done with a sample of 94 individuals with complete data on the variables of interest. The models of self-esteem and depression are depicted in Figures 3 and 4.

4.2.1 Test of Mediation Model-Self-Esteem

The path analysis is reported in Figure 3 including the path coefficients (βs) in the form of standardized regression weights. Statistically significant direct (p = <.10) effects are shown in Figure 3 by solid lines. Non-significant direct effects are shown by a dotted line. Statistically non-significant effects for which the path coefficients were <.15 were omitted from the figure to enhance clarity. Initially a fully recursive model was tested, consistent with the expectation of positive mediation. Subsequently, lines were trimmed based on the results of the tests. The multiple regression model indicated that ethnic socialization was significantly and positively associated with ethnic affirmation (β = .54, p <.001) as predicted; however, the effects of racial socialization and ethnic neighborhood on ethnic affirmation were not significant. In addition, ethnic socialization related positively to ethnic exploration (β = .60, p <.001). The direct effect of racial socialization on ethnic exploration was negative (β = -.44, p = .001). Ethnic socialization directly diminished adoptees' self-esteem but increased self-esteem indirectly through the mediating factor of ethnic affirmation. This indirect effect was quite substantial [(.54)(.45) = .243]. The overall regression model explained 25% of variance on self-esteem

(F(6,87) = 4.85, p <.001).

As hypothesized, racial socialization was significantly and positively related to self-esteem (β = .30, p = .036), the indirect effect of racial socialization on adoptees self-esteem through the mediating factor of ethnic exploration was also positive. The size of the indirect effect was [(-.44)(-.30) = .132]. As predicted, the results suggest that parental efforts for socializing children to their ethnic culture facilitated adoptees' ethnic identity development, which, in turn led them to have high self-esteem. Contrary to the hypotheses and

counterintuitively, racial socialization or parental efforts for socializing children to the importance of race and discrimination in the majority culture lead adoptees to get less involved in the exploration of their own culture ($\beta = -.44$), which, in turn, leads them to have higher self-esteem.

Figure 3 Path Analysis Showing Mediating Role of Ethnic Affirmation and Ethnic Exploration in Relation to Ethnic and Racial Socialization and Self-Esteem (N = 94)

The data showed that the direct effect of ethnic socialization on self-esteem (-.42) was different in sign for the indirect effect, which indicated a suppressive effect (Koeske, 1998) or inconsistent mediation (MacKinnom, Krull, & Lokwood, 2000). Conger (1974) defines a suppressor variable as "a variable which increases the predictive validity of another variable (or set of variables) by its inclusion in a regression equation" (p. 36-37). This study used the product of coefficient methods developed by MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West and Sheets (2002) to test for the significance of mediation, because this method has good type 1 error and good statistical power for a small sample size and allows researchers to evaluate each of the mediating variable effects separately in a model with more than one mediating variable (MacKinnon et al., 2002). Further, confidence limits for the indirect effect based on the distribution of the product or resampling methods are more accurate than other methods (MacKinnon, Lockwood & Williams, 2004).

The results (see Table 5) showed a statistically significant mediation effect of ethnic affirmation in relation to ethnic socialization and self-esteem (95% CL = .11, .40). Similarly the strength of the mediation effect of ethnic exploration in relation to ethnic socialization and self-esteem (95% CL = -.33, -.06) and racial socialization and self-esteem (95% CL = .04, .24) was also significant. It should be noted that only the first of the three mediated effects correspond fully to the initial conceptualization.

Table 5 Asymmetric Confidence Intervals for the Mediated Effect of Ethnic Identity Affirmation and Ethnic Exploration in Relation to Ethnic and Racial Socialization and Adoptees' Self-esteem

Indirect effects	Distribution of the Product $\alpha\beta$	95% Asymmetric Confidence Intervals	Significant
Ethnic Socialization → Ethnic Affirmation → Self-esteem	$\alpha\beta = .24$	Prodlow = .11 and Produp = .40	Yes
Ethnic Socialization → Ethnic Exploration → Self-esteem	$\alpha\beta = -.18$	Prodlow = -.33 and Produp = -.06	Yes
Racial Socialization → Ethnic Exploration → Self-esteem	$\alpha\beta = .13$	Prodlow = .04 and Produp = .24	Yes

4.2.2 Test of Mediation Model –Depression

Similar findings are also evident in the depression model (see Figure 4). Regarding the depression model, ethnic socialization had a significant positive effect ($\beta = .54$, p <.001) on ethnic affirmation and on ethnic exploration ($\beta = .60$, p <.001), meaning for those children who are socialized more to their ethnic culture, their ethnic exploration and ethnic identity affirmation scores are higher. As hypothesized, the indirect effect of ethnic socialization on depression through ethnic identity affirmation/achievement was negative and substantial [(.54)(-.32) = -.17)], meaning high ethnic socialization leads adoptees to have high scores on ethnic affirmation, which, in turn, leads them to have low depression. However, the indirect effect of racial socialization on depression through ethnic exploration was [(-.44)(.38) = -.17)],

revealing that with more parental support for racial socialization, adoptees are less likely to be involved in exploring their ethnic culture, which, in turn, led them to have low depression. The overall model was significant ($F(6,87) = 4.40$, p = .001).

Consistent with the suppressive effect, the data showed that the indirect effect of ethnic socialization on depression through ethnic affirmation had a sign opposite to that of the direct effect. Using the Prodclin program, the results showed (see Table 6) a statistically significant mediation effect of ethnic affirmation in relation to ethnic socialization and depression (95% CL = -.25, -.10). Similarly the strength of the mediation effect of ethnic exploration in relation to ethnic socialization and depression (95% CL = -.14, .32) and racial socialization and depression (95% CL = -.24, -.10) was also significant.
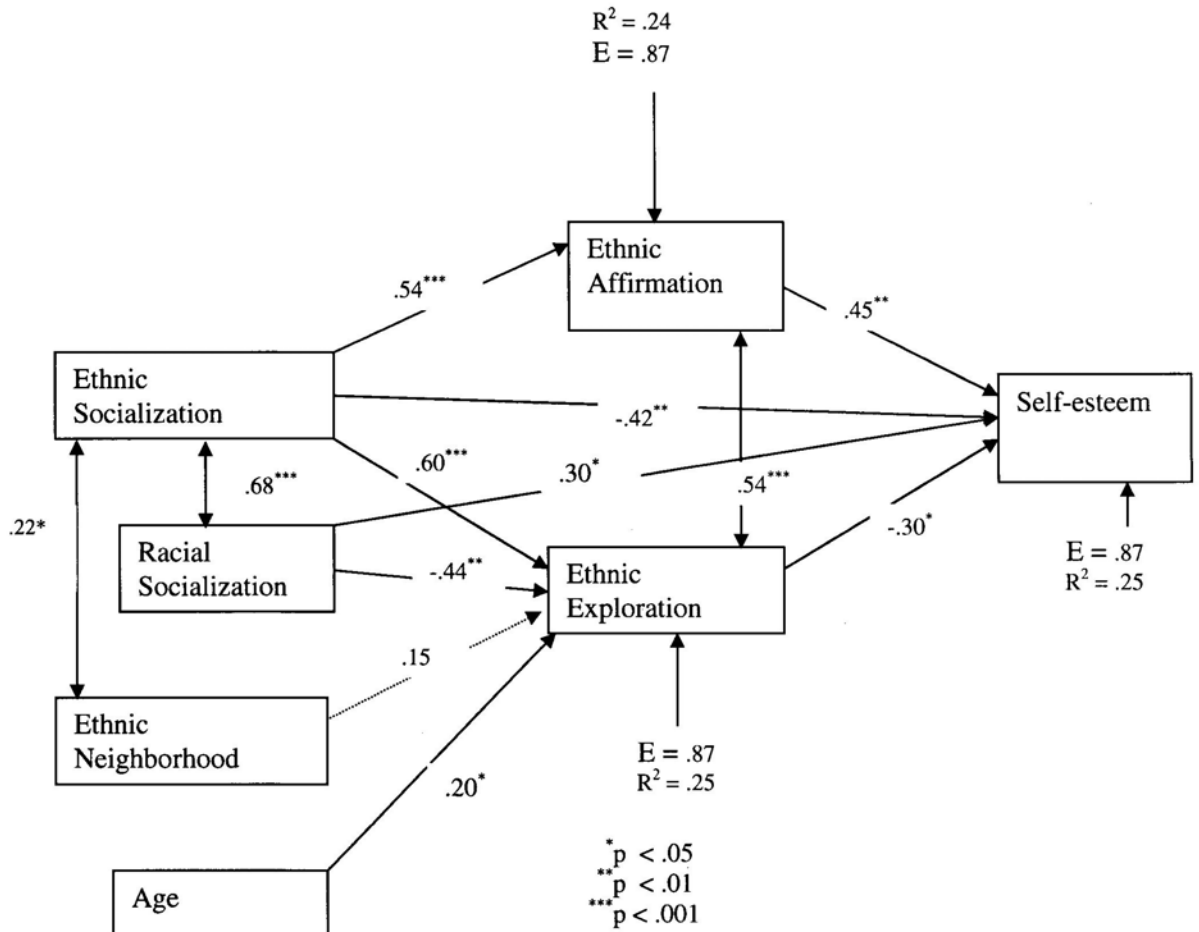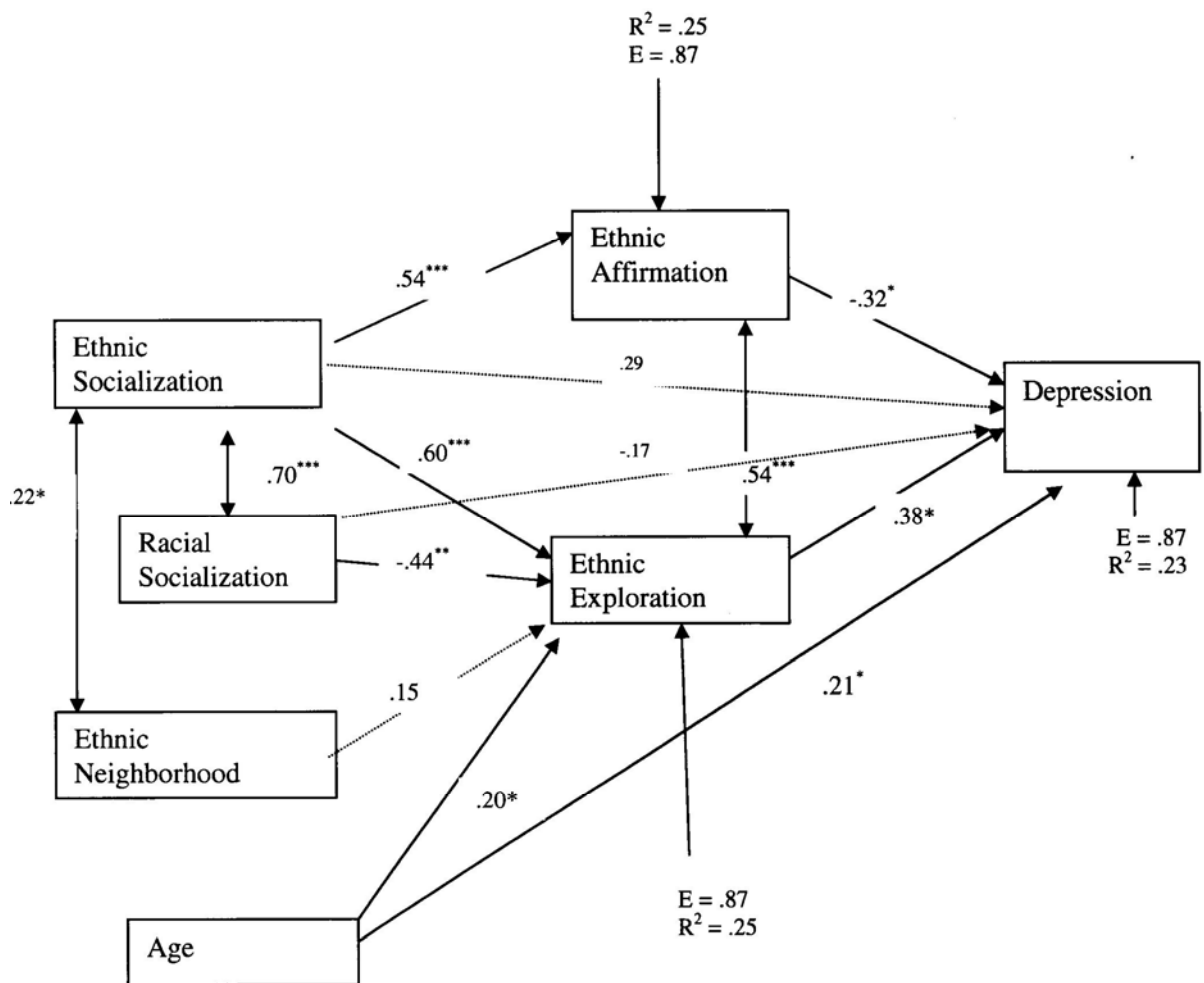
Figure 4 Path Analysis Showing Mediating Role of Ethnic Affirmation and Ethnic Exploration in Relation to Ethnic and Racial Socialization and Depression (N = 94)

Table 6 Asymmetric Confidence Intervals for the Mediated Effect of Ethnic Identity Affirmation and Ethnic Exploration in Relation to Ethnic and Racial Socialization and Adoptees' Depression

Indirect effects	Distribution of the Product $\alpha\beta$	95% Asymmetric Confidence Intervals	Significant
Ethnic Socialization → Ethnic Affirmation → Depression	$\alpha\beta = -.17$	Prodlow = -.25 and Produp = -.10	Yes
Ethnic Socialization → Ethnic Exploration → Depression	$\alpha\beta = .23$	Prodlow = .14 and Produp = .32	Yes
Racial Socialization → Ethnic Exploration → Depression	$\alpha\beta = -.17$	Prodlow = -.24 and Produp = -.10	Yes

4.2.3 Post-hoc Analysis- Model Revision

The presence of the three counter-intuitive significant effects in the model for self-esteem and depression raises real difficulties and the need for a re-conceptualization of the model. While some of these re-interpretations are based on theories related to acculturation, ethnic identity and marginality, other interpretations are speculative. The finding concerning the negative direct effect of ethnic socialization on adoptees' psychological well-being is surprising. The possible explanation might be that for adoptees, birth culture is, in fact, their "second culture." They are socialized into a culture where they or their adoptive parents never even have lived. Adoptees

develop knowledge about their ethnic culture via reading books, watching videos, eating ethnic foods, and attending culture camps, rather than through adoptees's direct experience. They may think that they are being "trapped" between two cultures, which they might perceive as inconsistent or conflictual. Thus parental efforts at ethnic socialization might create identity confusion and ambivalence (Green, 1942). Another plausible explanation might be that support to enhance ethnic socialization might accentuate the difference or create an "insistence-of-difference" (Brodzinsky , 1987) coping pattern between an adoptee and an adoptive family, which might lead to adoptees' feeling a sense of isolation and marginality (i.e. lower well-being) from the family and ultimately lead them to feel psychologically rejected and abandoned.

A statistically significant (negative) relationship was also found to exist between racial socialization and adoptees ethnic exploration. This could be because parental efforts to promote their children's awareness of racial bias and discrimination and prepare them to cope with it may promote their children's sense of group equality and hope in the face of racial inequality. It might sensitize them to potential negative consequences of being racially different and the degree of racial knowledge/awareness of what is involved in being racially different. As a result children might discover an identity more salient than only that related to race (Seaton, Scottham, & Sellers, 2006; Spencer, 1983). And because American society is a race-conscious society, adoptees may abstain from ethnic behaviors/practices because of the perceived costs associated with the minority status. Equally plausible is the explanation that white parents' denial of racial difference and of the importance of racism and discrimination in society might contribute to low support for racial socialization (Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt, Gunnar, & the Minnesota International Adoption Project team, 2006). Less parental teaching about how to get along in

mainstream society and deal with discrimination might force adoptees in the exploration of their ethnic culture to establish their sense of positive ethnic identity.

The final counterintuitive direct effect showed that ethnic exploration resulted in negative effect on self-esteem and high depression. An explanation for this may be that ethnic exploration is referred to a "moratorium" or a transitional phase (Phinney, 1990) where individuals learn more about their group by talking to people, reading its history and traditions and participating in cultural practices such as food, music, or customs. Generally, moratorium is related to more problem behaviors, less social competence, and lower self-esteem (Rotheram-Borus, 1989). Applying marginality theory (Goldberg, 1941; Green, 1942; Johnston, 1976) to Asian adoptees, it can be argued that as Asian adoptees explore more about their ethnic group, they might experience certain indecisiveness regarding the choice between the ethnic and the dominant cultures (Johnston, 1976). Some Asian adoptees might be able to gain acceptance to their ethnic group, while others may not. Asian immigrant families might perceive these adoptees as foreigners who don't share the same culture, language and history even if they are born in the same country. Those who are not able to resolve their ethnic identity issues and feel rejected by the group they desire to identify with might feel double rejection (Johnston, 1976), rejection by the dominant or adoptive parents' culture _and_ by representatives of the ethnic or birth culture, which might exacerbate the old feeling of not being accepted and rejected by the biological parents. That might create a sense of confusion, alienation and isolation typically associated with a 'marginal man' and thus might lead to psychological maladjustment (Johnston, 1976).

Some but not all of these speculative explanations can be addressed by the data. The concept of marginality, which was a significant mediator in the previous study conducted by the principal investigator (Mohanty, Koeske, & Sales, 2006) and was measured in this study, was

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included in a revised model test. In the revised model test, marginality was conceptualized to be temporally subsequent to the ethnic identity factors and prior to the outcome variable relating well-being. Ethnic neighborhood was not included in the revised model test because of its non-significant effect on any of the outcome variables in the previous models. The revised model accounted for 46% of the variance in adoptees's psychological well-being compared to the previous models, which was 25% (see Figures 3 and 4). Figure 5 and 6 shows the revised model of self-esteem and depression respectively. Statistically significant direct ($p = <.10$) effects are shown by solid lines. Non-significant direct effects are shown by a dotted line. Statistically non-significant effects for which the path coefficients were <.15 were omitted for the figure to enhance clarity.

The joint significance test by MacKinnon et al. (2002) was used to examine a three-path mediational model that ethnic affirmation and ethnic exploration mediate the relationship between the effect of ethnic socialization, racial socialization, and neighborhood contextual factors on adoptees's feelings of marginality, and feelings of marginality mediate the effect of ethnic affirmation and exploration on adoptees self-esteem. The joint significance test does not require the overall relationship between the independent variable and dependent variables to be significant. In a three-path mediational model (see Table 7 and 8), when each of these three paths, β_1, β_2, and β_3 in Figure 5 and Figure 6 are significantly nonzero, it shows the evidence for significant mediation (MacKinnon et al. (2002). The results showed that parental supports for ethnic socialization was related positively to ethnic identity affirmation ($\beta = .53$, $p <.001$) and high ethnic identity achievement was negatively related to feeling of marginality ($\beta = -.55$, $p <.001$) and low marginality was related to high self-esteem among adoptees ($\beta = -.65$, $p <.001$). Similarly, ethnic socialization was related to ethnic exploration in the expected direction

($\beta = .67$, p <.001), however, ethnic exploration was related positively to adoptees' feeling of marginality ($\beta = .61$, p <.001). As in the earlier model test, the direct effect of ethnic socialization on adoptees' self-esteem was negative ($\beta = -.35$, p = .015). Contrary to our initial hypotheses and also as found previously, parental support for racial socialization was related negatively to ethnic exploration ($\beta = -.47$, p = .001). Marginality was not directly affected by socialization variables. The two dimensions of ethnic identity factors that were supported as significant mediators in the previous two models, did not explain a significant proportion of unique variance in adoptee's self-esteem when marginality was in the model suggesting that marginality plays a useful role and should be included in the model. Interestingly, the results showed that age was significantly and positively related to adoptees' feeling of marginality ($\beta = .27$, p = .003). The significance of all three beta coefficients is suggestive of significant mediation. Similar findings were also evident in the test of the revised depression model (Figure 6).
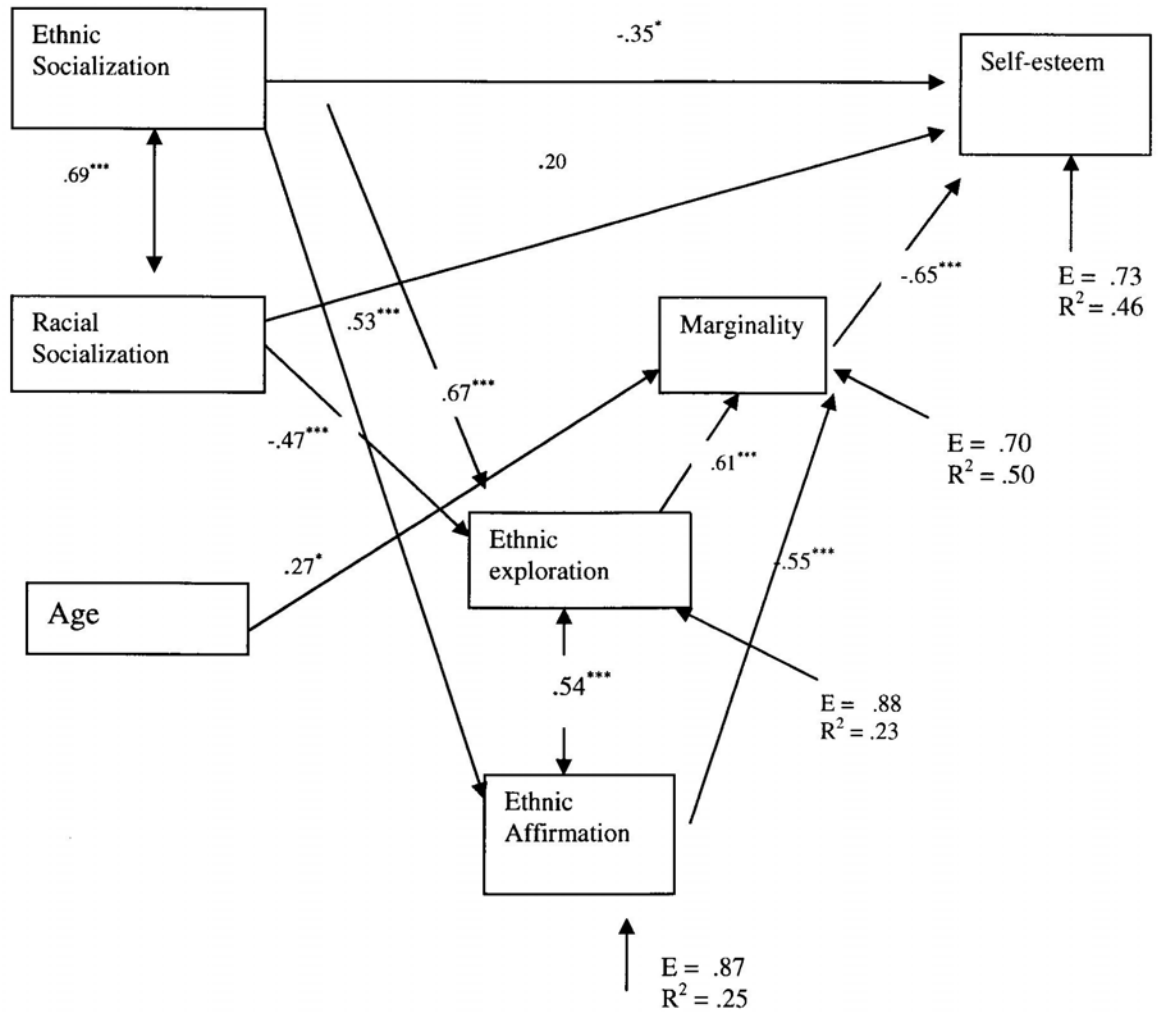
Figure 5 Path Analysis Showing Mediating Role of Ethnic Affirmation, Ethnic Exploration and Marginality in Relation to Ethnic and Racial Socialization and Self-esteem (N = 93)

Table 7 Three Path Mediational Model Showing Significance of Indirect Effects

Indirect effects							Distribution of the Product $\alpha\beta$	Significant
Ethnic Socialization	β_1	Ethnic Affirmation	β_2	Marginality	β_3	Self-esteem	$\alpha\beta = .19$	Yes
Ethnic Socialization	β_1	Ethnic Exploration	β_2	Marginality	β_3	Self-esteem	$\alpha\beta = -..26$	Yes
Racial Socialization	β_1	Ethnic Exploration	β_2	Marginality	β_3	Self-esteem	$\alpha\beta = .17$	Yes
Racial Socialization	β_1	Ethnic Affirmation	β_2	Marginality	β_3	Self-esteem	$\alpha\beta = .01$	No

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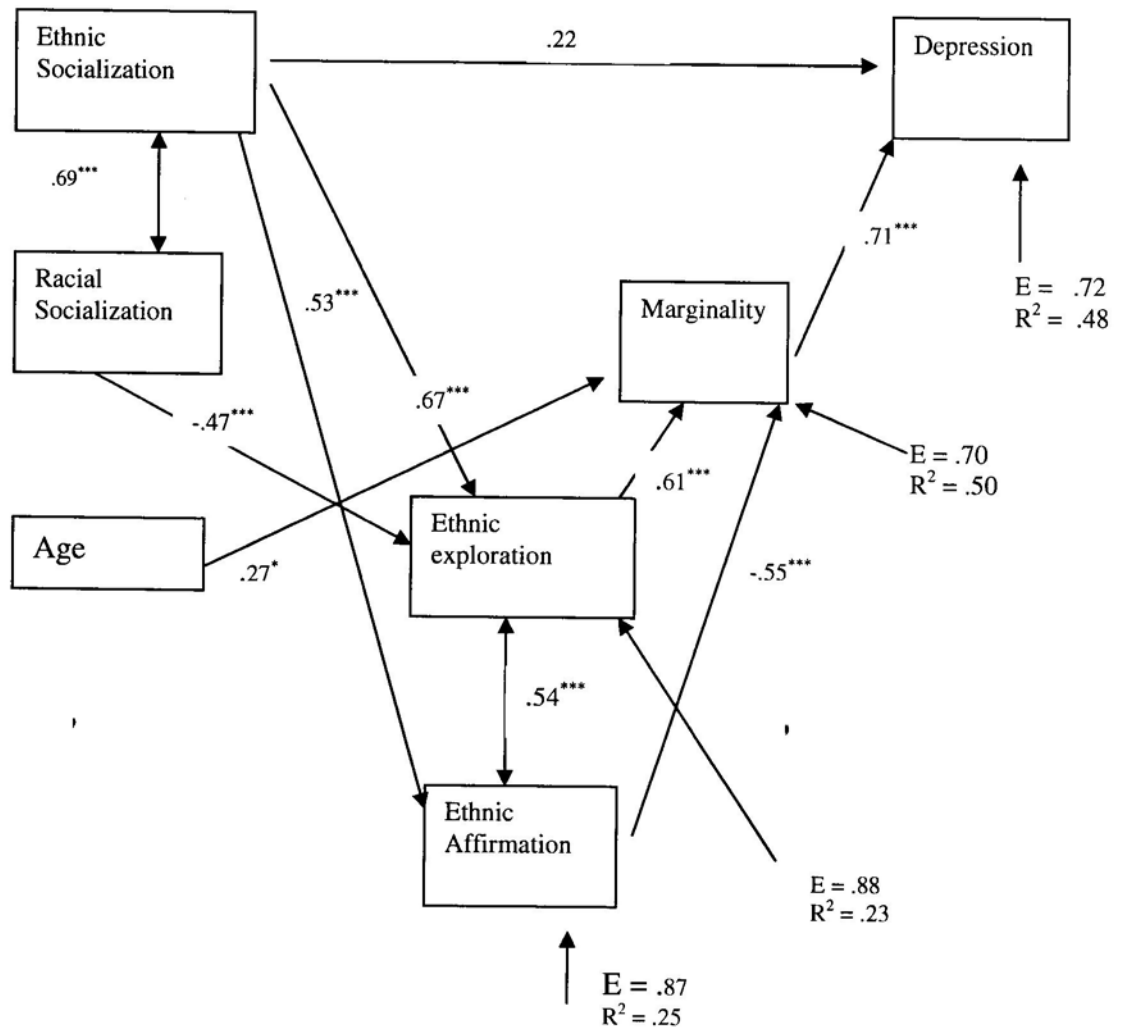
Figure 6 Path Analysis Showing Mediating Role of Ethnic Affirmation, Ethnic Exploration and Marginality in Relation to Ethnic and Racial Socialization and Depression (N = 93)

Table 8 Three Paths Mediational Model Showing Significance of Indirect Effects

Indirect effects	Distribution of the Production, $\alpha\beta$	Significant
Ethnic Socialization β_1 Ethnic Affirmation β_2 Marginality β_3 Depression	$\alpha\beta = .21$	Yes
Ethnic Socializa β_1 Ethnic Exploration β_2 Marginality β_3 Depression	$\alpha\beta = .29$	Yes
Racial Socialization β_1 Ethnic Exploration β_2 Marginality β_3 Depression	$\alpha\beta = .20$	Yes
Racial Socialization β_1 Ethnic Affirmation β_2 Marginality β_3 Depression	$\alpha\beta = .01$	No

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5.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The current study proposed to investigate the developmental contextual factors of family ethnic and racial socialization and neighborhood characteristics and how these factors affect Asian adoptees' psychological well-being. Specifically, the study aimed to determine the role of ethnic identity in the relationship between adoptive parents' support for ethnic and racial socialization, neighborhood characteristics, and psychological well-being among Asian adoptees. The major model testing findings of this study were that (a) while ethnic socialization was directly and negatively associated with adoptees' psychological well-being, the effect of racial socialization was positive on self-esteem, (b) parental supports for ethnic socialization increased adoptees' well-being indirectly through its ability to influence adoptees' ethnic affirmation, (c) supports for racial socialization decreased adoptee's exploration of the ethnic/birth culture and thereby, increased their psychological well-being, and (d) parental efforts for socializing children to their ethnic culture facilitate adoptees' ethnic affirmation, which in turn, decrease adoptees' sense of marginality and, thereby increase adoptees' well-being.

5.1.1 Ethnic and Racial Socialization

The findings indicate that adoptive parents provide opportunities for their children to learn the ethnic heritage and culture and also prepare their children to develop the coping mechanism to

deal with racial bias and discrimination, a finding consistent with previous research on cultural socialization in families with internationally adopted Asian children (Lee et al., 2006; Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001; Tessler et al., 1999) but in contrast with other research that reported few opportunities for ethnic and racial socialization activities to transracial adopted children (Andujo, 1988; McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, & Anderson, 1984; Mohanty, Koeske, Sales, 2006). The later studies were conducted during the 80's when resources and opportunities for multicultural activities were limited for adoptive families.

Interestingly and contrary to previous research on parental support for ethnic and racial socialization with minority children (Hughes, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), this finding suggests that these transracial adoptive parents direct greater attention to preparing children to deal with racism and discrimination than teaching children about their cultural history and heritage. One plausible explanation is that adoptive parents may be more concerned that their children will face discriminatory treatment and thus may think that discussing the potential for discrimination and preparing them to success in the face of racial bias will have favorable consequence for their children's self-esteem. The second possibility is that although, for adoptive parents, both socialization activities are deliberate, they are aware of racism and discrimination in this society and thus may be more likely to emphasize the importance of racial socialization.

Findings suggest that if parents socialize their children regarding race, they also socialize them about their (children's) ethnic culture. Theoretical interpretation of the strong positive relationship between ethnic socialization and racial socialization suggest that when parents transmit messages related to cultural values, knowledge, and practices, they also transmit messages related to minority status including discussions about the prevalence of discrimination and racial bias. Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, and Spicer (2006) suggest that

ethnic socialization and racial socialization are interrelated and that these two processes do not occur in the exclusion of each other.

5.1.2   Ethnic and Racial Socialization and Adoptees' Psychological Well-being

The data suggest that adoptees socialized to be aware of racial prejudice and discrimination (i.e. racial socialization) had high self-esteem. The findings correspond with previous research indicating preparing children to understand and to deal with issues related to the racial group status has a positive impact on minority children's well-being (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; McHale, Crouter, Kim, Burton, Davis, Dotterer & Swanson, 2006). Support for racial socialization may transmit the message to adoptees that their parents understand what it means to be a minority person and that they validate their experiences with racism and discrimination and keep an open communication about racial issues.

With respect to ethnic socialization, the results from the path analyses showed that socializing children to ethnic cultural values, heritage, and promoting ethnic pride (i.e. ethnic socialization), contributed negatively to adoptees' psychological well-being, which is contrary to previous research that generally show the protective factor of ethnic socialization on children's functioning (Krishnakumar & Brown, 2007; Johnston, Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Deckard, & Petrill, 2007; Mohanty et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 1997; Yoon, 2000). It is important to explore if adoptive parents are engaged in culture related activities as a family or separating out the child from the family to learn and engage in such activates, which might create "differences" between the child and adoptive families and thus affect the child's well-being.

5.1.3 Curvilinear Relationship of Ethnic and Racial Socialization and Adoptees' Psychological Well-being

To my knowledge, this is the first study that examined the possible curvilinear effect of ethnic and racial socialization on adoptees' psychological well-being. Specifically we examined if adoptive parents' presumed excessive emphasis on the child's birth culture is unfavorable to their child's psychological well-being. The hypothesis was not supported. One possibility might be that support for ethnic and racial socialization is a new movement among adoptive families and that they have not yet reached a point where heavy emphasis will be a concern. Future research might examine this curvilinear relationship among transracially adopted younger children and adolescents.

5.1.4 Ethnic and Racial Socialization and Adoptees' Ethnic Identity Development

The results suggest that family ethnic socialization was positively associated with ethnic affirmation and ethnic exploration, consistent with expectations and earlier studies (McHale et al., 2006; Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plankett & Sands, 2006; Yoon, 2000). Support for ethnic socialization facilitates adoptees' knowledge about their ethnic group membership and helps them develop a clear and confident sense of their ethnicity. On the other hand, the finding indicates that minimizing cultural socialization activities is detrimental to children's development of ethnic identity.

Similar to previous research (Marshall, 1995; Stevenson, 1995), there were significant positive Pearson correlational relationships for racial socialization on ethnic affirmation. However, and contrary to the hypothesis, there was support for a significant and inverse

relationship between racial socialization and ethnic exploration. The data seem to show that if there was a heavy racial socialization component, adoptees were less likely to behave ("to explore") in accordance with their ethnic identity. They may have thought of themselves in terms of their ethnicity, but, perhaps because it is still a race-conscious society, they may not emit ethnic behaviors/practices if their parents dwelled on their racial difference to the majority. Further, the data suggest that if they did practice ethnic behavioral practices they were at risk for less esteem and more depression. It is also possible that racial socialization may be related to racial attitudes, knowledge, and understanding of racial issues, and Phinney's Multi Group Ethnic Identity Measure does not tap this race-related aspect of identity.

5.1.5 Ethnic Neighborhood and Ethnic Identity development

The study found that adoptive parents tended to live in a homogeneous neighborhood where their ethnicity (white) is the majority. This finding is similar to other research that reported white families' preference for living in a predominantly white neighborhood (McRoy et al., 1982). However, for those who decided to provide a multicultural environment to their adopted children, the study demonstrated a positive and significant association with ethnic exploration. The data show adoptees were more likely to behave in accordance with their identity if their social environment was more similar. It is quite possible that adooptees are more likely to begin the process of exploration of their ethnic identity if they are living in a diverse multicultural environment and this finding is consistent with other research (Markstrom, Berman, & Brusch, 1998). In addition, adoptive parents may have committed to socialization of their children to their ethnic culture as evidenced by their choice of living in a diverse neighborhood and this

finding is supported by the significant positive relationship between ethnic neighborhood and the support for ethnic socialization.

5.1.6 Ethnic Identity and Adoptees' Psychological Well-being

The results suggest that an achieved ethnic identity, defined as pride in one's ethnic background and a strong sense of belonging to one's ethnic group, contributed positively to adoptee's psychological well-being. The finding is consistent with previous research showing the protective factor of ethnic identity in the psychological well-being of non-adopted minority children and adopted children (Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Alipura, 1990; Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Roberts et al. 1999; Yoon, 2000; Yuh, 2005). Conversely, the lack of high level of ethnic identity might relate to poor psychological well-being including low self-esteem and depression. Generally, more ethnic exploration was significantly associated with low self-esteem and high depression. Interestingly, the finding is consistent with previous research on the impact of multiple dimensions of ethnic identity on adolescents' self-esteem conducted by Romero and Roberts (2003). One plausible explanation is that exploration or the search for the meaning of one's ethnicity might be difficult for transracial adoptees as these explorations are often related to the search for their birth families. The positive correlation between ethnic exploration and ethnic affirmation suggests that exploration requires a certain level of commitment to one's ethnic group membership and more exploration is likely to lead to a certain level of commitment (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

5.1.7 Ethnic Identity as a Mediator

Consistent with the hypothesis, parental support for ethnic socialization was positively related to ethnic affirmation, which in turn, was related to high self-esteem and low depression among adolescent and young adult Asian adoptees. The finding corresponds with Yoon's (2000) study that reported cultural socialization experiences of adolescent adoptees influences the development of their ethnic identity and consequently their psychological well-being, but in contrast with my previous study that did not find the mediating effect of ethnic identity in relation to cultural socialization and adoptees' self-esteem. It should be noted that my previous study sampled adult adoptees and thus they reflect a different developmental period. Indeed, the association between ethnic socialization and ethnic affirmation was very strong in the current study possibly because both ethnic socialization and ethnic identity were assessed at the same time.

Contrary to my hypothesis and other research, support for racial socialization decreased adoptee's interest in the exploration of the ethnic culture, which, in turn, increased their psychological well-being. The possible explanation for this unexpected finding was discussed previously. The results of the current study partially support previous research on the protective factor of ethnic identity.

5.1.8 Marginality as a Mediator

Going a step further than previous research, this study examined multiple indicators of identity development among Asian adoptees. The findings indicate that parental efforts for socializing children to their ethnic culture facilitate adoptees' ethnic affirmation, which in turn, decrease

adoptees' sense of marginality and, thereby increase adoptees' self-esteem. Consistent with previous research on cultural marginalization and depressive symptoms in non-adopted and adopted Asian adolescents (Kim, Gonzales, Stroh & Wang, 2006; Mohanty, Koeske, Sales, 2006), feeling of marginality was significantly related to high depression and low self-esteem. The findings suggest that ethnic affirmation decreases adoptees' feelings of marginality, and not feeling marginal increases adoptees' well-being. Similarly, feelings of marginality explain the negative effect of ethnic exploration on adoptees' well-being. The unfavorable influence of marginality on adoptees' psychological well-being suggests that for adolescent adoptees, construction of ethnic identity is challenging because their adoptive parents are unfamiliar with the experiences of growing up as a minority member. Although the concept of marginality has been studied in relation to acculturation, this is the first study to our knowledge that examined marginality in relation to ethnic identity development. Future research should focus on marginality as part of the multidimensional ethnic identity construct. The current study provides evidence for the utility of the marginality construct and is in opposition to disprove Del Pilar's (2004) recommendation that the marginality concept should be discarded by social scientists.

5.1.9   Limitations

It is important to acknowledge methodological limitations when interpreting the findings of the study. In a cross-sectional design, it is impossible to be confident that the temporal ordering of test variables assumed in the model conceptualization is correct. For example, children who have low self-esteem have parents who may be sensitive to issues related to the child's birth culture and may be more apt to discuss issues related to their child's ethnic culture, heritage, and language. The validity of the causal conclusions is also challenged when self-report measures are

used to assess for both independent and dependent variables. Although the data were potentially consistent with the proposed mediational model, longitudinal studies with larger samples are needed to better address the problems of reverse causation. Another limitation is that the items on ethnic and racial socialization scales retrospectively ask participants on their ethnic and racial socialization experiences that may be limited by participants' abilities to remember accurately such experiences, or to present their veridically. They might exacerbate or diminish actual parental emphases.

The web-based survey design fails to control for coverage error. Not everyone has e-mail or internet access; however, this study focused on adolescents and young adult international adoptees. In 2001, about 90 percent of children and adolescents ages 5–17 (47 million persons) used computers, and about 59 percent (31 million persons) used the Internet (DeBell & Chapman, 2001). In the current sample, more than half of the respondents (63%) were students and reported that their parents' had completed college or had a graduate degree. Because adopting a child internationally can cost more than $20,000 (Lindsey, 2000), most of these families have high socioeconomic level. High SES families are more likely than other families to have internet access (Dillman & Bowker, 2001).

The study contained a relatively small sample size that precluded us from conducting a more sophisticated statistical analysis such as structural equation modeling. Mostly all of the participants in the present study were recruited from online support groups, thus it represents a homogenous sample and may not be generalizable beyond the study sample. In addition, the survey solicited volunteer respondents from online support groups, further limiting the generalizability of the sample. For example, respondents who were willing to participate in the

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study may have distinct experiences different from those of participants who were unwilling in terms of their ethnic and racial socialization experiences and their views on transracial adoptions.

Further, the study is limited by sampling bias. More than half of the study sample is female. Therefore, the findings may be influenced in part by gender differences related to ethnic and racial socialization practices and ethnic identity development. Studies have indicated that adolescent females and males relate differently to ethnic identity development (Rotheram-Borus, 1989; Markstrom, Berman, and Brusch, 1998) and that parents of internationally adopted daughters attach higher importance to fostering ties to birth culture, such as learning basic and advanced language skills and celebrating holidays, than do parents of sons (Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001). Although the preliminary analyses did not find such differences, future research with a large sample size is needed to further explore this issue.

The comparatively lower level of ethnic identity among adoptees found in this study may indicate the weakness of Phinney's MEIM scale that was developed primarily for use with immigrant families. Baden (2002) suggested that transracial adoptee's cultural-racial identity is related to the degree to which adoptees are comfortable with their own racial group as well as with their parents' racial group. It is possible that because transracial adoptees are often considered as "honorary whites", ethnicity is less salient for this group. Future research might examine the score on ethnic identity measure between white adolescents and these transracial adoptees of "honorary status" to demonstrate possible lower salience of ethnicity to this group. Further, studies should use an ethnic identity measure developed specifically for transracial adoptees.

Another limitation is that the data were collapsed across various subethnic groups within broader Asian ethnic categories without examining if the responses of the subgroups were

actually similar, thus potentially resulting in the loss of statistical power (Helms, 2007). Although most adoptees reported Asian-Americans when asked to self-identify ethnically, future research needs to examine if these subethnic groups are not truly different.

Another limitation was the occurrence of suppression effects in the data. Some might discount the entire findings as statistically improper or an artifact in the data because of the high correlation between ethnic and racial socialization, and ethnic affirmation and ethnic exploration. It is well-known that the addition of redundant variables in multiple regression result in a decrease in the weighted validity (Conger, 1974); however, the model was run to check whether the suppression arose from the mediator and X intercorrelation rather than the redundancy of the mediators with each other or the X's with each other. The results showed that the path from ethnic socialization to ethnic affirmation to self-esteem was stable and theoretically relevant, including the models with marginality. However, until a replication study is done to see whether these coefficients are replicated, this issue of suppression effects cannot be resolved. It is worth noting that in a mediational context, suppression effects are not rare and that suppressor variables remove some irrelevant variance in a predictor (Conger, 1974).

Still, this study adds to the literature in several important ways. It focuses on adolescent and young adult adoptees experiences that support ethnic and racial socialization, while previous studies on parental ethnic/cultural socialization strategies and adoptee's self-esteem have surveyed only adoptive parents. In so doing, this study partially replicated the work of Mohanty, Koeske, and Sales (2006) and Yoon (2000) and extends their research by demonstrating the differential effect of ethnic and racial socialization experiences on adoptees' identity development and psychological well-being. In addition, this study is one of the few studies to focus on multiple indicators of identity development of transracial adoptees.

5.1.10 Implications for Practice and Policy

Social work practices in the decision of placing children and supporting these children to achieve optimal adjustment have often been based on our own ideologies of what we think as good social work practices, with little empirical evidence supporting these practices. This is the first study that examined differential effects of ethnic and racial socialization on adoptees's psychological well-being. The results indicate that the support for ethnic socialization has negative impact on adoptees' psychological well-being and the direct negative influence of ethnic socialization was larger than its indirect beneficial influence through ethnic affirmation. An important implication is to measure and study these unspecified constructs that explain this unanticipated negative effect.

The results suggest that support for racial socialization may have positive effects on children's well-being through their effect on low ethnic/birth culture exploration and, in turn, on less marginality. In recent years, many adoption agencies provide post-adoption services to adoptive parents to provide their children with information about their ethnic culture. However, the findings of this study indicate that additional services are needed. For example, adoptive parents should be taught to discuss the realities of race and discrimination to children. While connecting adopted children to their ethnic culture is important, it is possibly not that vital at all stages of ethnic identity development.

Social workers should be knowledgeable about theories relating to identity development and how the dynamics of race, ethnicity and adoption play an important role in shaping transracial adoptees' identity development. Such knowledge will help adoption social workers to counsel adoptees to successfully adjust to the family and to U.S. society. Further, during the

home study, social workers need to assess if parents are culturally competent to raise their transracial children.

The results suggest that ethnic affirmation may enhance not only self-esteem, but also decrease adoptees' feelings of marginality and depression. Implications of this finding may include intervention programs that target promoting ethnic pride and respect, knowledge of ethnic history and culture. Since our findings suggest that Asian adoptees are more likely to feel marginal in the majority society if they fail to resolve their ethnic identity issues, intervention programs in the form of supportive counseling services are necessary to those adoptees exploring their ethnic identity.

Recently, much policy emphasis has been placed in maintaining adoptees' cultural ties. For example, under the Hague Treaty on Intercountry Adoptions, placement agencies are required to provide at least 10 hours of education and training to prospective parents before the child is placed with the family for adoption and one of the important topics to include is adoptee's cultural, ethnic and linguistic background. While knowledge and awareness of one's ethnic/birth culture is critical, policy makers and adoption workers should understand that adoptees are living in a race-conscious society. Therefore, it is suggested that mandatory educational programs should be provided to both adoptive parents and prospective parents on issues relating to racial socialization and how to deal with the issues of race in their families.

5.1.11 Directions for Future Research

The finding shows that two factors of ethnic identity relate to outcome variables differently. Future research needs to examine the multidimensional aspects of ethnic identity and if each of these factors should be studied separately. Further, longitudinal research needs to examine the

developmental course of ethnic identity and how social contexts affect ethnic identity development during adolescence and young adulthood. It appears as if being "up front" or manifesting ethnic behavior may be risky for adoptees. Future research needs to examine the two subgroups—those adoptees who behave in accordance with their ethnicity and those who do not. Comparative research with Russian and Kazakhstan adoptees who are racially similar to their adoptive parents is needed to determine the ethnic identity developmental pattern between these two groups. Qualitative research could provide a deeper understanding of how international adoptees understand ethnic identity and adoption.

The data suggests that support for racial socialization might sensitize adoptees to potentially negative consequences of being racially different and it might also increase their knowledge and awareness of what is involved in being racially different. Future research needs to examine if racial knowledge mediates the relationship between racial socialization and self-esteem. Further, research which focuses on both adoptive parents and adoptees and examines how parental racial attitude and beliefs affect adoptee's ethnic identity development is clearly needed. Lastly, adoptive identity development is critical to understand the multiple dimensions of ethnic identity of Asian adoptees. Future research is needed to examine how the intersection of adoptive identity and ethnic identity affect the adoptees' psychological well-being.

5.1.12 Conclusions

The data reflects the complexity of understanding the identity development of internationally adopted Asian adolescents and young adults. If we wish to support these transracial adoptees as they transition to adulthood, care should be taken to meet the best interests of these children including their developmental and mental health.

APPENDIX A

INVITATION LETTER TO INTERNET E-MAIL "LISTSERVS"

Children, aged **14-26** who are adopted from one of the Asian countries are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Jayashree Mohanty, Ph.D. Candidate from the University of Pittsburgh, School of Social Work. For those children between the ages of 14-17, I would also like to invite their parents to participate in this research study. The purpose of this dissertation study is to understand the ways in which adoptive parents prepare their children for understanding their identities and how such preparation affects adoptees' well-being. Both children and parents fill out a web questionnaire. The findings will prove useful to understanding what types of cultural activities parents provide that are helpful to their children.

Participation is voluntary and confidential (private) and used for analysis only. To qualify for the study adoptees must be between the ages of 14-26, adopted from one of the Asian countries, and placed with Caucasian parents. Parents must be 18 years of age or above, Caucasian, and have completed an adoption from one of the Asian countries. Adoptees, ages 14 through 17, need written parental consent in order to be eligible to participate in this research study. The adoptee questionnaire takes about 20-25 minutes and the parent questionnaire takes about 5 minutes.

This study is approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Pittsburgh, IRB # 0607096 and follows the Board's ethical standards and guidelines. Adoptees, 14-26, will be offered $15 electronic gift certificate for use at www.amazon.com.

To participate, please click on this link: http://www.adoptionsurvey.pitt.edu
If you need anymore information about me, or about the study, please feel free to contact me at 412-624-7154 or jmssw@pitt.edu.

If you know someone who meets the eligibility requirements for the study, then please refer them to this website: http://www.adoptionsurvey.pitt.edu

APPENDIX B

INTRODUCTION LETTER TO INTERNATIONAL ADOPTEES

Dear International Adoptees,

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Jayashree Mohanty, a doctoral candidate from the University of Pittsburgh, School of Social work. As part of my degree, I am interested in understanding the ways in which adoptive parents prepare their children for understanding their identities and how such preparation affects adoptees well-being. Through this research, you can help me discover to what extent knowledge about adoptees' birth culture is beneficial to their well-being.

I am inviting internationally adopted Asian children, ages of **14-26**, who grew up with White parents, to participate. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to answer questions on a web survey questionnaire. All answers are confidential (private). Your participation in the study is voluntary, and you can withdraw your participation at any time during the study. As always in any research study, there is a risk of breach of confidentiality. In order to address this risk, all data gathered in this study will be stored in a secure web server following the University of Pittsburgh Standards and Policies, will not contain any identifying information of the participants, and will be accessed solely by me as the researcher. The answers you provide will only be used for the purposes of research. Only grouped (aggregate) data will be published. All data will be destroyed after a period of five years. The web questionnaire will take 35-45 minutes to complete.

I hope you will cooperate with this effort, since the information I obtain can help social workers in the selection of particular interventions to assist international adoptees and their adoptive families. There are no anticipated risks or direct benefits to you from participating in this study. By responding to this survey, you may help a doctoral student finish her degree and help others by contributing to our knowledge about policy and practice issues related to international adoption.

This study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Pittsburgh and follows the Board's ethical standards and guidelines. When you finish the survey,

your responses will be automatically entered. In addition, you will be offered an electronic gift certificate valued at $15 for use at www.amazon.com if you choose to supply your email address. The principal investigator will email the gift certificate directly to your email address.

For legal and ethical reasons in a research study, any participants *under the age of 18* require a signed consent form by your parents, indicating that they agree to your participation in the study. On the informed consent form, there are two separate lines that you and your parent must sign. Please provide your mailing address in order to receive a copy of the consent form. Please click here to provide the **mailing address.**

If your browser does not permit you to fill out this form, you can e-mail me your name and mailing address at jam89@pitt.edu. Or, if you prefer to print your consent form and return it, please mail it to Jayashree Mohanty, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, 4200 5th Ave, Pittsburgh, PA 15213-9972.

Please click here to download the **consent form.**

If you are over **18** years of age, please scroll down and click on "Continue" in order to participate in this study.

If you have any questions regarding the survey, please feel free to contact me at 412-802-6362 or jam89@pitt.edu. Thank you for assisting me with my research and for your contribution to understanding international adoptees' adjustment. If you wish to see a short report of the findings, please contact me via email.

I have had the opportunity to read this form, which serves as my consent as I am over 18 years of age. I agree **to participate in this project.**

I AM AT LEAST 18 YEARS OF AGE.

Please click below ONLY when completely finished with this page.

<div style="border:1px solid black; display:inline-block; padding:10px 40px;">Continue</div>

IF YOU ARE BETWEEN 14 AND 17 YEARS OF AGE, PLEASE CLICK HERE.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

University of Pittsburgh
Institutional Review Board
Approval Date: 09/28/06
Renewal Date: 09/27/07
IRB Number: 0607096

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY
Youth (age 14-17) Consent

TITLE: Ethnic Socialization, Identity Development, and Psychological Adjustment in International Adoptees as Adolescents and Young Adults.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Jayashree Mohanty, MSW, Ph.D. Candidate
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2117 Cathedral of Learning,
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SOURCE OF SUPPORT: None

Why is this research being done? We are interested in understanding how international adoptees deal with difficult issues and adjust to life in their adopted country as they grow up. We are conducting a study to see how adoptive parents prepare their children for understanding their identities and how such preparation affects adoptees well-being.

Who is being asked to participate in this research study? We will ask approximately 200 Asian adoptees to participate. Your child is being asked to participate because your child is adopted from one of the Asian countries, and your child is 14, 15, 16, or 17 years old.

What procedures will be performed for research purposes? If you agree to allow your child to participate in the study, your child will be asked to answer questions about his/her experiences and about learning the birth culture, sense of identity, self-esteem, and life complaints. Participation in this study will involve filling out a web questionnaire. The questionnaire will take about 20-25 minutes. You/your child can ask any questions by e-mail regarding the questionnaire any time during or after the completion of the survey questionnaire.

What are the possible risks, side effects, and discomforts of this research study?
There is little risk involved in this study. However, a potential risk in participation in an internet-based study is the fear about the security of web-based survey data. To eliminate these risks all records, related to your child's involvement in this research study will be kept in a secure web server that is administered by a Computing Services and Systems Development (CSSD) representative following the University Standards and Policies. Your child's confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by storing all data in a password-protected computer file that will only be accessed by Jayashree Mohanty and Dr. Gary F. Koeske who are aware of the importance of maintaining the confidentiality of the participants' data. The only place your child's name appears is on this consent form, which will be stored in a locked file from the completed questionnaire. All written reports using this data will only describe the results as an overall summary of the responses provided by all respondents. No individual data will be identified. If your child chooses to provide his/her e-mail address in order to receive a gift certificate valued at $15 for use at www.amazon.com, the principal investigator will email the gift certificate directly to your child's email address. Your child's e-mail address will only be used for the purposes of emailing the gift certificate to your child and not for the purpose of any advertising or promotion.

Another potential risk associated with your child's participation is the discomfort your child may experience thinking about issues related to adoption. A list of relevant books and web resources about adoption and psychological issues related to adoption will be available from the researcher. Please email me at jmssw@pitt.edu if you are interested in this information.

Participant's Initials_____

What are the possible benefits from participating in this research study? There are no direct benefits for your child to participating in this study. However, your child may feel positive about himself/herself by knowing that he/she is helping others by participating in this study. Moreover, we hope that the study will increase understanding of international adoptees' psychological adjustment as they grow up and contribute to the knowledge about policy and practice issues related to international adoption.

Will there be any costs to me/my child if my child takes part in this research study? You/your child will not be charged for the costs of any of the procedures performed for the purpose of this research study.

Will my child be paid if my child takes part in this research study? When your child complete the web questionnaire, your child will be offered an electronic gift certificate valued at $15 for use at www.amazon.com if your child choose to supply his/her email address. The principal investigator will email the gift certificate directly to your child's email address.

Who will know about my child's participation in this research? Any information about your child obtained from this research will be kept as confidential (private) as possible. All records related to your child's involvement in this research study will be kept in a secure web server following University Standards and Policies. Your child's name will not be on the survey questionnaire. A study ID number will be assigned randomly to each participant. The only place that your child's name appears is on this consent form, which will be kept in a locked file from the completed questionnaire.

Who will have access to identifiable information related to my child's participation in this research? In addition to the investigators listed on the first page of this consent form, the following individuals will or may have access to identifiable information related to your child's participation in the research study.

Authorized representatives of the University of Pittsburgh Research Conduct and Compliance Office may review your child's identifiable research information for the purpose of monitoring the appropriate conduct of this research study.

In unusual cases, the investigator may be required to release identifiable information related to your child's participation in this research study in response to an order from a court of law.

Participant's Initials_____

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For how long will the investigators be permitted to use and disclose identifiable information related to my child's participation in this research study? The investigators may continue to use and disclose, for the purposes described above, identifiable information related to your child's participation in this research study for 5 years.

Is my child's participation in this research study voluntary? Your child's participation in this research study, to include the use and discloser of your child's identifiable information for the purposes described above, is completely voluntary. Whether or not your child participates in this research study will have no effect on his/her current or future relationship with the University of Pittsburgh

May I withdraw, at a future date, my consent for my child's participation in this research study? You may withdraw, at any time, your consent for your child's participation in this research study. To formally withdraw your consent for your child's participation in this research study you should provide a written and dated notice of this decision to the principal investigator of this research study at the address listed on the first page of this form. Your decision to withdraw your consent for your child's participation in this research study will have no effect on your current or future relationship with the University of Pittsburgh.

Participant's Initials_____

****

VOLUNTARY CONSENT:

The above information has been explained to me and all of my current questions have been answered. I understand that I am encouraged to ask questions, voice concerns or complaints about any aspect of this research study during the course of this study, and that such future questions, concerns or complaints will be answered by a qualified individual or by the investigator(s) listed on the first page of this consent document at the telephone number(s) given. I understand that I may always request that my questions, concerns or complaints be addressed by a listed investigator. I understand that I may contact the Human Subjects Protection Advocate of the IRB Office, University of Pittsburgh (1-866-212-2668) to discuss problems, concerns, and questions; obtain information; offer input; or discuss situations in the event that the research team is unavailable. By signing this form I agree to participate in this research study. A copy of this consent form will be given to me.

I understand that, as a minor (age less than 18 years), the child's name below is not permitted to participate in this research study without my consent. Therefore, by signing this form, I give my consent for his/her participation in this research study.

_____   _____

Parent's Name (Print)   Relationship to Participant (Child)

_____   _____

Parent's Signature   Date

_____

Parent's Email Address

****

ASSENT:

For children ages 14-17 or children less than 17 who are developmentally able to sign his/her name:

This research has been explained to me, and I agree to participate.

_____   _____

Signature of Child-Subject   Date

_____

Printed Name of Child-Subject

_____

Participant's Email Address

****

VERIFICATION OF EXPLANATION

I certify that I have carefully explained the purpose and nature of this research study to the above-named child in age appropriate language. He/she has had an opportunity to discuss it with me in detail. I have answered all of his/her questions and he/she has provided affirmative agreement (i.e., assent) to participate in this study.

_____

Principal Investigator's Name (Print)

_____   _____

Signature of Principal Investigator   Date

****

CERTIFICATION of INFORMED CONSENT:

I certify that I have explained the nature and purpose of this research study to the above-named individual(s), and I have discussed the potential benefits and possible risks of study participation. Any questions the individual(s) have about this study have been answered, and we will always be available to address future questions, concerns or complaints as they arise. I further certify that no research component of this protocol was begun until after this consent form was signed.

_____   _____

Printed Name of Person Obtaining Consent   Role in Research Study

_____   _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent   Date

APPENDIX D

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Section I Experiences and learning the Ethnic Culture

Think about the cultural activities your adoptive parents are providing to you or had provided while you were growing up. For each item below, please *rate how important you think each development activity is to your parent.* For example, if your parents felt that "learning American presidents" is (or was) *very important*, you would choose "4" on the 1 to 5 scale. Please rate each item.

Not at all Important	*Slightly Important*	*Moderately Important*	*Very Much Important*	*Extremely Important*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

Learning values and traditions of my birth culture……   1   2   3   4   5

Appreciating the fine arts, such as music
and dance, of my birth culture……………………   1   2   3   4   5

Learning the history of the people of my birth country   1   2   3   4   5

Feeling pride in my racial/ethnic heritage……………   1   2   3   4   5

Including traditions of my birth culture,
such as ethnic holidays, in my family celebrations……   1   2   3   4   5

Teaching what to do when a non family member
uses racist language………………………   1   2   3   4   5

Learning the language or dialect of my birth culture…   1   2   3   4   5

Talking about race and racism openly within the family   1   2   3   4   5

Not at all Important 1	Slightly Important 2	Moderately Important 3		Very Much Important 4		Extremely Important 5

Visiting my country of birth………………………   1   2   3   4   5

Be fluent in the language of my birth country………   1   2   3   4   5

Establishing relationships with children
from my birth culture……………………………………   1   2   3   4   5

Establishing relationships with adoptees
from different racial and ethnic background…………   1   2   3   4   5

Seeking support and advice from adults of my
race/ethnicity about how to cope with prejudice
and discrimination…………………..   1   2   3   4   5

Living in an integrated neighborhood
with neighbors who reflect my race and ethnicity….   1   2   3   4   5

Learning about racial differences……………………   1   2   3   4   5

To be proud of my skin color…………………………   1   2   3   4   5

Educating me about the realities of
prejudice, bias, racism, and discrimination…………   1   2   3   4   5

Teaching me a variety of coping strategies from
which to choose when faced with prejudice or bias…   1   2   3   4   5

Go to schools that have a diverse student
body in terms of race and ethnicity…………………   1   2   3   4   5

Attending culture camps too frequently……………..   1   2   3   4   5

Section II Experiences and learning the American Culture

Learning about American history……………………..   1   2   3   4   5

Learning the American attitude of valuing
healthy self-esteem…………………………………   1   2   3   4   5

Learning about American values and traditions……...   1   2   3   4   5

Celebrating religious holidays such as Christmas
and/or Chanuka……………………………………… 1 2 3 4 5

Learning to love my adopted country………………… 1 2 3 4 5

Learning about my adopted parents' ethnicity……….. 1 2 3 4 5

Knowing my extended family……………………….. 1 2 3 4 5

Enjoying American music………………………….. 1 2 3 4 5

Form close relationships with people
outside of the family…………………………………… 1 2 3 4 5

Feeling proud of American heritage………………… 1 2 3 4 5

1) Rate the amount of emphasis that your adoptive parents placed on learning the values and heritage of your birth country.

Not at all   *Just the right amount*   *Too much emphasis*

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Section III. Your Ethnic Identity

International adoptees usually come from different ethnic backgrounds than those of their adoptive parents. An important aspect of their identity is feeling comfortable with their own ethnic background. Each statement below describes feelings about ethnicity. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement by clicking a number on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Please read each item carefully.

Strongly Disagree   Disagree   Agree   Strongly Agree
1   2   3   4

I have spent time trying to find out more about my
ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs……….. 1 2 3 4

I am active in organizations or social groups that include
mostly members of my own ethnic group…………………… 1 2 3 4

I have a clear sense of my ethnic background
and what it means for me…………………………………….. 1 2 3 4

I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my
ethnic group membership……………………………………. 1 2 3 4

I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to……….   1   2   3   4

I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group…………   1   2   3   4

I understand pretty well what my ethnic group
membership means to me………………………………………….   1   2   3   4

To learn more about my ethnic background, I have often
talked to other people about my ethnic group…………………..   1   2   3   4

I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and
its accomplishments……………………………………………….   1   2   3   4

I participate in cultural practices of my own group,
such as special food, music, or customs………………………..   1   2   3   4

I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group………   1   2   3   4

I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background……………   1   2   3   4

I have been teased or insulted because of my ethnic background   1   2   3   4

I have experienced negative reactions from others
    about my skin color……………   1   2   3   4

Please check the one choice that best describes you.

There are many different ways in which people think of themselves. Which ONE of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?

_____1. I consider myself basically an Asian.

_____2. I consider myself basically an American. Even though I have an Asian background and characteristics, I still view myself basically as an American

_____3. I consider myself as an Asian-American, although deep down I always know I am an Asian

_____4. I consider myself as an Asian-American, although deep down, I view myself as an American first.
_____5. I consider myself as an Asian-American. I have both Asian and American characteristics, and I view myself as a blend of both.

Section IV. Feelings about your Adoptive Family

Please use the following scale to indicate how much you agree with the following statements.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*

I feel a strong attachment towards my adoptive family 1   2   3   4   5   6

I feel somewhat disconnected from my adoptive family 1   2   3   4   5   6

On the whole, I am satisfied with my adoptive status 1   2   3   4   5   6

I have never felt completely part of my adoptive family 1   2   3   4   5   6

I feel as close to my parents as others do   1   2   3   4   5   6

Section V. Feeling Different

Please use the following scale to indicate how much you agree with the following statements.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*

I feel I am different from the majority in the culture 1   2   3   4   5   6

I feel a sense of incompleteness
Because of my adoptive status   1   2   3   4   5   6

I don't know what ethnic group I belong to   1   2   3   4   5   6

I feel isolated because of my adoptive status   1   2   3   4   5   6

I have a clear sense of who I am
as an adopted person   1   2   3   4   5   6

I feel I don't belong to either American
or to my birth culture.   1   2   3   4   5   6

I feel accepted by the people of my own ethnic group. 1   2   3   4   5   6

Section VI. Feelings About Yourself

Please record the appropriate answer for each item, depending on whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with it.

Strongly Disagree	*Disagree*	*Agree*			*Strongly Agree*
1	**2**	**3**			**4**

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself…………………….   1   2   3   4

At times I think I am no good at all………………………….   1   2   3   4

I feel that I have a number of good qualities……………. ….   1   2   3   4

I am able to do things as well as most other people…………   1   2   3   4

I feel I do not have much to be proud of…………………….   1   2   3   4

I certainly feel useless at times…………………………..   1   2   3   4

I feel that I am a person of worth…………………………..   1   2   3   4

I wish I could have more respect for myself……………….   1   2   3   4

All in all, I am inclined to think that I am a failure………..   1   2   3   4

I take a positive attitude toward myself…………………….   1   2   3   4

Section VII. Life Complains and Problems

Following are the list of problems people sometimes have. Please read each one carefully, and click a number that best describes HOW MUCH THAT PROBLEM HAS DISTRESSED OR BOTHERED YOU DURING THE PAST 7 DAYS INCLUDING TODAY. Click a number for each problem and do not skip any items.

Not at all All Extremely	*A little Bit*	*Moderately*		*Quite a Bit*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

HOW MUCH WERE YOU DISTRESSED BY

1. Nervousness or shakiness inside………………………   1   2   3   4   5

2. Faintness or dizziness…………………………………..   1   2   3   4   5

3. Trouble remembering something……………............. 1   2   3   4   5

4. Feeling easily annoyed or irritated…………………… 1   2   3   4   5

5. Pains in heart or chest………………………............. 1   2   3   4   5

6. Feeling afraid in open spaces or on the streets………. 1   2   3   4   5

7. Poor appetite………………………………………… 1   2   3   4   5

8. Suddenly scared for no reason………………………... 1   2   3   4   5

9. Temper outbursts that you could not control………... 1   2   3   4   5

10. Feeling blocked in getting things done………………. 1   2   3   4   5

11. Feeling lonely……………………………………….. 1   2   3   4   5

12. Feeling blue………………………………………....... 1   2   3   4   5

13. Feeling no interest in things……………………....... 1   2   3   4   5

14. Feeling fearful………………………………………. 1   2   3   4   5

15. Your feelings being easily hurt……………………... 1   2   3   4   5

16. Feeling that people are unfriendly or dislike you….. 1   2   3   4   5

17. Feeling inferior to others…………………………… 1   2   3   4   5

18. Nausea or upset stomach……………………………. 1   2   3   4   5

19. Trouble falling asleep………………………………. 1   2   3   4   5

20. Having to check and double check what you do…… 1   2   3   4   5

21. Difficulty making decisions………………………… 1   2   3   4   5

22. Feeling afraid to travel on buses, subways, or trains... 1   2   3   4   5

23. Trouble getting your breath………………………… 1   2   3   4   5

24. Hot or cold spells…………………………………… 1   2   3   4   5

25. Having to avoid certain things, places, or
      Activities because they frighten you……………… 1   2   3   4   5

26. Your mind going blank……………………………	1	2	3	4	5
27. Numbness or tingling in parts of your body…………	1	2	3	4	5
28. Feeling hopeless about the future………………….	1	2	3	4	5
29. Trouble concentrating……………………………….	1	2	3	4	5
30. Feeling weak in parts of your body………………….	1	2	3	4	5
31. feeling tense or keyed up……………………………	1	2	3	4	5
32. Feeling very self-conscious with others……………..	1	2	3	4	5
33. Feeling uneasy in crowds, such as shopping or at a movie…………………………………	1	2	3	4	5
34. Spells of terror or panic……………………………..	1	2	3	4	5
35. Getting into frequent arguments…………………….	1	2	3	4	5
36. Feeling nervous when you are left alone…………..	1	2	3	4	5
37. Feeling so restless you couldn't sit still……………	1	2	3	4	5
38. Feelings of worthlessness……………………………	1	2	3	4	5
39. Feelings of guilt……………………………………..	1	2	3	4	5

Section VIII. General Beliefs about my Life

Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings. If a statement has more than one part, please indicate your reaction to the statement *as a whole*. Indicate your answer by clicking a number.

Strongly Agree	*Moderately Agree*	*Agree*	*Disagree*	*Moderately Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*

About Friendship

There are a lot of different kinds of people. I'm still
exploring the many possibilities to find the
right kind of friends for me…………………………1   2   3   4   5   6

There are many reasons for friendship, but I choose my
close friends on the basis of certain values and similarities
that I've personally decided on…………………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

My parents know what's best for me in terms of
how to choose my friends………………………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

I don't have any real close friends, and
I don't think I'm looking for one right now…………..1   2   3   4   5   6

I only pick friends my parents would approve of……1   2   3   4   5   6

I've tried many different friendships and
now I have a clear idea of what I look for in a friend…..1   2   3   4   5   6

I don't have any close friends.
I just like to hang around with the crowd………….. 1   2   3   4   5   6

I really don't know what kind of friend is
best for me. I'm trying to figure out exactly
what friendship means to me…………………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

About Dating

I haven't really thought about a "dating style".
 I'm not too concerned whether I date or not…………1   2   3   4   5   6

Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of
dating relationship I want now……………………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

I don't think about dating much.
I just kind of take it as it comes…………………..   1   2   3   4   5   6

I'm trying out different types of dating relationships.
I just haven't decided what is best for me……………1   2   3   4   5   6

I only go out with the type of people my parents
expect me to date………………… ………………. 1   2   3   4   5   6

My preferences about dating are still in the
process of developing. I haven't fully decided yet… 1   2   3   4   5   6

I've dated different types of people and now
know exactly what my own "unwritten rules"
for dating are and who I will date……………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

I date only people my parents would approve of…   1   2   3   4   5   6

About Recreation

I sometimes join in recreational activities when asked,
but rarely try anything on my own…………………1   2   3   4   5   6

While I don't have one recreational activity I'm really
committed to, I'm experiencing numerous leisure outlets
to identify one I can really get involved in………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

Sometimes I join in leisure activities,
but I really don't see a need to look for
a particular activity to do regularly…………………1   2   3   4   5   6

I've always liked doing the same recreational
activities my parents do and haven't ever
seriously considered anything else……………………1   2   3   4   5   6

After trying a lot of different recreational activities
I've found one or more I really enjoy doing
by myself or with friends………………………… .1   2   3   4   5   6

I've been experiencing a variety of recreational
activities in hopes of finding one or more
I can enjoy for some time to come…………………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

All of my recreational preferences I got from
my parents and I haven't really tried anything else…1   2   3   4   5   6

I have chosen one or more recreational activities to
engage in regularly from lots of things and
I'm satisfied with those choices……………………1   2   3   4   5   6

About Roles for Men and Women

There's so many ways to divide responsibilities in marriage,
I'm trying to decide what will work for me……… 1   2   3   4   5   6

My ideas about men's and women's roles are identical
to my parents'. What has worked for them will obviously
work for me………………………………………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

I've never really seriously considered men's and
women's roles in marriage.
It just doesn't seem to concern me……………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

My ideas about men's and women's roles come
right from my parents and family.
I haven't seen any need to look further………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

I've spent some time thinking about men's and
women's roles in marriage and I've decided
what will work best for me…………………………1   2   3   4   5   6

I've been thinking about the roles that husbands
and wives play a lot these days, and
I'm trying to make a final decision……………… 1   2   3   4   5   6

There are many ways that married couples can
divide up family responsibilities. I've thought
about lots of ways and now I know exactly
how I want it to happen for me……………………..1   2   3   4   5   6

Opinions on men's and women's roles seem
so varied that I don't think much about it……….. 1   2   3   4   5   6

Section IX. Social Environment

Thinking about your social environment, what percentage of the people in each of the **4** categories share your ethnicity, i.e., belong to your specific ethnic group

None (less then 10%)	**Very few** (Less than 25%)	**Some** (About 50%)	**Many** (More than 75%)	**A lot**
1	2	3	4	5

In your neighborhood………….........................1   2   3   4   5

High School………………………………….1   2   3   4   5

_____Not applicable

Close relationships with friends……………….1   2   3   4   5

Relationship with others………………………1   2   3   4   5

Section X. General Background Information

Please answer the following general descriptive information questions about yourself.

Please indicate your gender

_____1) Male
_____2) Female

Current age: _____

Your age at adoption: _____

Your Country of origin:_____

Your ethnic group: _____

Your adoptive mother's ethnic group:_____

Your adoptive father's ethnic group:_____

Are you currently living with your adoptive family?

_____1) Yes

_____2) No

Which designation most closely describes the community where your family currently resides?

_____Urban   (approximate population of 50,000 or more)
_____Large town   (approximate population of 10,000-50,000 people)
_____Samll town   (approximate population of 2,500-10,000 people)
_____Rural or farm (approximate population of less than 2,500 people)

Before your adoption, what was your preadoption setting:

_____Foster care
_____Biological families
_____Orphanages
_____Multiple placements
_____Other
_____Don't know

In your adoptive family, how many sisters and brothers do you have: _____

If yes, of these, how many are adopted:_____

Are you currently employed?

_____1) Yes
_____2) No
_____3) Student

If yes, what best describes your occupation during most of your working years:

_____Professional
_____Manager/Administrator/proprietors
_____ Sales
_____ Clerical/Service
_____ Farm
_____ Skilled Labor
_____ Unskilled Labor
_____ Housewife
_____ Other (Please specify):_____

Please indicate your marital status:
_____Married
_____Separated
_____Divorced
_____Widowed
_____Never Married/Single
_____Domestic Partnership
_____Other (Specify)_____

Please indicate your **highest** degree of educational attainment:

_____Did not finish high school

_____ Graduated from high school or equivalent (GED)

_____ Attended some college but did not graduate

_____ Earned a certificate through a business school or college

_____ Graduated with a 2 year associates degree

_____ Graduated with a four year bachelors degree or higher

_____ Advanced degree, post graduate.

What was the level of education of your adoptive father?

_____Some High School

_____ Completed High School

_____ Some College

_____ Completed College

Please specify major:_____

5._____ Some graduate work

6._____ A graduate degree:

     Degree and Major:_____

7._____ Don't Know

What was the level of education of your adoptive mother?

_____Some High School

_____ Completed High School

_____ Some College

_____ Completed College

Major:_____

_____Some graduate work

_____ A graduate degree:

Degree and major:_____

_____Don't Know

Degree and Major:_____

Last, can you please tell us how you found about this research project?

_____e-mail "listservs"

_____Friends/relatives

_____Adoption related websites

_____Search Engines

_____Adoption newsletter and magazines

_____Other (Specify)_____

Thank you very much for your assistance with this important study.

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