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Bicultural Socialization Among Adoptive Families

Where There Is a Will, There Is a Way

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Although bicultural competence has been viewed as an advantage for immigrants and other ethnic minorities in American society, we do not know whether bicultural socialization is similarly advantageous for children in families formed through international, transracial adoption. This study examines what factors enable adoptive Chinese children to achieve modest levels of bicultural competence. The data are from a longitudinal survey of parents who adopted children from China in the 1990s. Results indicate that parental attitudes toward bicultural socialization, parental social networks of Chinese adults, and the racial composition of the community all affect children's levels of Chinese cultural competence, while documenting how bicultural socialization can occur even when parents and children do not share a common birth culture. The implications of the findings for adoption agencies and professionals are also discussed, as well as the need for future research as the first cohorts of children adopted from China become adolescents.

Keywords: *transracial adoption; international adoption; family socialization; ethnic identity; adopted children*

As the United States becomes increasingly racially and ethnically diverse, the bicultural socialization of foreign-born children will continue to be a relevant area of interest. Previous immigration research suggests that parental attitudes, community context, and social networks are enabling factors in

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bicultural socialization. However, it remains to be demonstrated whether similar patterns will be found among intercultural families formed through international and transracial adoption. In view of the fact that the vast majority of adoptive parents are racially European Americans and were raised in the dominant culture, is it possible for them to provide bicultural socialization to their ethnic minority children, notwithstanding their generally positive attitudes toward connecting their children to their birth culture? By middle childhood, will the children have achieved even modest levels of bicultural competence? What are the costs and benefits of bicultural socialization? This research examines the first two of these research questions, while deferring the third to the future.

This article begins with a review of the literature about bicultural socialization and competence in the context of international transracial adoption. Next, we propose several hypotheses concerning the determinants of adopted children's cultural competence during middle childhood, and test them using data from questionnaires administered to parents and supplemented by county data from Census 2000. The article concludes with a discussion of the findings, their implications for adoption agencies and professionals, and directions for future research.

Theoretical Background

The Case of International Transracial Adoption

Transracial adoption can occur through domestic or international adoptions. Our focus in this article is on the latter type. In the United States, the majority of transracial adoptions are between European American parents and racial minority children. In addition, 85% of American transracial adoptions are international adoptions (Lee, 2003c). A multiplicity of factors, such as war, poverty, and social conditions abroad has led to the availability of children for international adoption. European Americans began to consider international adoption during the 1960s and 1970s, in part as a result of the difficulty of domestic same-race adoption and the controversy surrounding domestic transracial adoption (Lee, 2003c; for a history of adoption also see Lee, 2003c).

Today Americans regularly adopt children from more than 40 nations, although the majority of international adoptions come from Asian nations (Lee, 2003c). Inter-country adoptions increased from 5% to 15% of all U.S. adoptions between 1992 and 2001 (U.S. Department of Health and Human

Services, 2004). According to the U.S. Department of State, the top country of origin for intercountry adoptions in recent years is China. Between 1994 and 2005, Chinese adoptions increased from 9.4% to 34.8% of all international U.S. adoptions annually (U.S. Department of State, 2006). The vast majority of parents adopting Chinese children are European American, have at least a college education, have higher than average levels of income, are childless, and are in their late 30s or early 40s (Register, 1991; Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001; Tessler, Gamache, & Liu, 1999).

In most immigrant and minority families, parents help to transmit their own ethnic identity as part of bicultural socialization (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; Howard, 2000; Phinney, 1990; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006).¹ But in addition to whatever informal education they provide, the influence of these parents is also based on their sharing of race, physical similarities, and cultural heritage. As a consequence, in seeking to explain differences in ethnic identity in immigrant families, it is difficult to separate children's bicultural socialization from identification with their own parents. In the case of minority children adopted internationally by European American parents, however, bicultural socialization is not so confounded with parent-child similarities. The physical differences between adoptive parents and their adopted children are immediately visible, which is a clear sign of the child's adoptive status. Such differences facilitate the testing of causal hypotheses related specifically to bicultural socialization.

Initially at least, these parents and children do not share the same cultural background. If parents want to help their child remain connected to his or her cultural heritage, it may require that parents also become knowledgeable about their child's birth culture, if not culturally competent in it (Friedlander et al., 2000; Vonk, 2001). Through their own self-conscious efforts, some American parents with children adopted from China seek to acquire a cultural knowledge about China (Adams, Tessler, & Gamache, 2005).

This article explores the unique case of children adopted from China by European American parents. The families in our sample adopted children who were still in infancy when they were adopted (mean age at time of adoption was 8½ months).² Adopted at such a young age, these children will likely experience little difficulty achieving American cultural competence, as previous research suggests (Friedlander et al., 2000). For this reason, we focus on whether these Chinese-born children can achieve Chinese cultural competence with only minimal exposure to Chinese culture.³

Socialization and Bicultural Competence

Socialization is the process by which people learn the attitudes, values, and behavior of their culture. The main agents of socialization include the family, school, and the community. One crucial part of the socialization process is the inculcation of the vital competencies, or a set of skills, necessary to function in that culture (Ogbu, 1981). Parents and other child-rearing agents are obligated to transmit these culturally specific competencies to their children and consequently future generations (Ogbu, 1981). Therefore competence is "the ability to perform culturally specific tasks that are appropriate for adult economic, political, and social roles" in a given society (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990, p. 355).

In the multicultural United States, however, competence is often necessary in more than one culture. For immigrant and biracial families, rather than assimilation into the dominant culture, cultural competence in two cultures has increasingly become the goal (Rotherham & Phinney, 1987; Tessler et al., 1999). Bicultural socialization is the means by which children "acquire the norms, attitudes and behavior patterns" of two ethnic groups (Rotherham & Phinney, 1987, p. 24). Bicultural socialization has two general functions: to socialize children in the dominant culture to clarify their role in the larger society, as well as to socialize them in their birth culture, which is often different from that of the rest of society (Tessler et al., 1999). Through bicultural socialization, children attain competence and are able to negotiate between the two cultures (de Anda, 1984).

Many professionals encourage parents to engage in bicultural socialization because it has been associated with children's positive psychological outcomes, such as higher self-esteem, more positive racial and ethnic identities, higher educational achievement, and overall higher levels of adult adjustment (Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Lee, 2003c; Phinney, 1990; Rotherham & Phinney, 1987; Westhues & Cohen, 1998). However, very little is known about whether adoptive parents actually follow up on such advice, and if they do integrate bicultural socialization into their lives, what consequences it may produce.

Previous Research on Bicultural Competence

Research in the area of bicultural competence is scattered among a wide variety of disciplines (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Although "biculturalism studies lag behind theory" (Mellor, Kath, & Bulger, 2003, p. 98), bicultural theory also needs further development, especially in the field of social

sciences. The literature that does exist on bicultural competence is often published for professionals in the fields of education, social work, medicine, mental health, and other human services. The goal of this type of literature is to educate and train professionals on how to become biculturally competent.

Aside from the literature aimed at human service professionals, there is an uneven mixture of academic research on bicultural competence. Previous research has tended to focus on immigrant and biracial families and strategies they employ to help their children adapt to the majority society (Harrison et al., 1990; Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003). Of that research, very few studies measure bicultural outcomes encompassing both assimilation to mainstream culture and knowledge of cultural heritage (Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003). Moreover, most previous research in this area is dominated by assessments of the emotional, behavioral, academic, and medical outcomes of adoptees, the majority of whom are in adolescence or adulthood, or in very early childhood (Friedlander et al., 2000; Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001; Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001).⁴ Finally very little research has examined family influences on the development of bicultural competence in intercultural transracial adopted children (for exceptions, see Lee, 2003c; Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001). The current study was designed to fill these gaps in the literature on bicultural socialization.

Components of Bicultural Competence

Following other research, we define bicultural competence as consisting of three components: knowledge of cultural values, ability to communicate, and a sense of being grounded in the culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Though this model identifies a broad set of skills, it is important to note that competence is not a dichotomous construct but actually is a "multilevel continuum" (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 396). Individuals are not competent; they are more or less competent. A brief explanation of these three concepts will illuminate the complexities of bicultural competence.

The knowledge of cultural beliefs and values includes an awareness of the history, institutions, and everyday customs of a culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993). This awareness might come from exposure to a cultural community in the United States (e.g., a Chinese immigrant association), the learning of unique traditions through cultural artifacts, and/or visits to the culture of origin. In addition, families may celebrate holidays, attend cultural events and exhibits, engage in language lessons, and/or hire an ethnic or co-ethnic caretaker. Whereas many international transracial adoptive

families might provide exposure to cultural events, most do not take the next step of inculcating the belief system of the child's birth culture. Most Chinese adoptive families, for example, do not emphasize the Chinese value of family dependence, but instead focus on the American value of individualism (Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001; Tessler et al., 1999).

Communication ability indicates an individual's capability to communicate verbally and nonverbally to members of a given culture. This ability could emerge from formal language lessons, informal exposure to phrases and words, or the ability to practice interacting with people from one's birth culture. Communication skill is a key building block to developing a positive bicultural identity. Indeed as language competence is established, the stronger an individual's ethnic identification becomes (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). Finally, communication competence is also dependent on being able to communicate appropriately in a multiplicity of contexts.

The last component, groundedness, constitutes an establishment of durable social and support networks in both cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993). To cope with the stresses of a bicultural life, one must have the skills to establish and utilize support networks. In the context of adopted children, parents can help build these networks by providing access to their own social networks, thus providing a culturally relevant environment for their children (LaFromboise et al., 1993). These networks provide a system of culturally sanctioned supports and constraints that encourages academic achievement and leads to positive mental health outcomes (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

Factors Shaping Bicultural Competence: Parents, Communities, and Networks

One test of bicultural socialization is how much culturally relevant knowledge children obtain. Despite their importance, the factors affecting children's bicultural competence have received little study. A number of different factors might affect the level of bicultural competence internationally adopted children achieve, including the importance parents place on bicultural socialization, the demography of their communities, and the characteristics of their social networks. Parental beliefs and attitudes are important determinants of a broad array of things that children internalize (Harrison et al., 1990). Although the link to cultural learning has not been investigated, parental attitudes about bicultural socialization do predict children's engagement in bicultural activities (Friedlander et al., 2000; Lee, 2003b). Children

are more likely to participate in birth-culture activities to the extent that their parents' beliefs and attitudes are positive (Lee, 2003b).

Many parents encourage bicultural socialization as a way to prepare their children for lives as racial and ethnic minorities (Lee, 2003b, 2003c). Research suggests that such awareness of racial and ethnic differences, in addition to bicultural competence, promotes positive psychological development for children (González, Umaña-Taylor, & Bámaca, 2006; Lee, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

Although bicultural socialization has typically been considered a family-centered activity, and a reflection of parental commitment, it occurs in a broader social and cultural context. Because contact with immigrants from children's birth countries is likely to increase levels of bicultural competence, the ethnic, racial, and cultural composition of the community is also important (Friedlander, 1999; Friedlander et al., 2000; Harrison et al., 1990; Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006). If parental social networks in the surrounding community facilitate this contact, children are more likely to develop the skills necessary for bicultural competence. In this way communities can play a crucial role in the bicultural socialization process of children (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov, & Sealand, 1993; Earls & Buka, 2000; Furstenberg, 2001; Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000; Wilson, 1987).

The degree of "fit" between adoptive families and their community context may also affect children's identity development (Grotevant, Dunbar, Kohler, & Lash Esau, 2000). When adopted children of color raised by European American parents live in predominantly European American communities, the children may develop a weaker ethnic identity, as well as some confusion about their race and ethnicity (Friedlander et al., 2000; Lee, 2003c). International racial and ethnic minority adopted children often struggle with what Lee calls "the transracial adoption paradox" (2003c, p. 711). This paradox entails the conflicting experiences of being racial minorities in society, while being identified and treated by others, and sometimes themselves, as if they are a part of the racially dominant culture because of their adoption into a European American family (Lee, 2003c).

Much research about the role of communities has focused on economically depressed areas and strategies of intervention within them (Shonkoff & Meisels, 2000; Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000). Other research has focused on how ethnic socialization can help prevent downward class mobility and/or poverty for immigrant children (Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). Yet middle- and upper-class families face different community issues than their poor and working-class counterparts. Engaged in a

process of “concerted cultivation,” many middle- and upper-class parents encourage their children’s participation in adult-organized leisure activities that require significant travel time away from the home. In contrast, their less privileged peers center their unstructured leisure activities within the home and informal neighborhood play (Lareau, 2002). Therefore middle- and upper-class children spend more of their time in the larger community, not the neighborhood. Overall, most community studies tend to neglect the unique populations of upper-middle-class intercountry transracial adoptive families, especially when the parents belong to the dominant cultural racial group, although their children do not.

Communities also enable network formation. A personal social network is composed of people outside the immediate family who participate in activities and interactions of an emotional and/or material character with members of the immediate family (Cochran & Brassard, 1979). Parents’ social networks can also be considered a form of social capital, a resource that can improve children’s education and developmental outcomes as well as strengthen their ties with communities of their birth culture (Bourdieu, 1986; Killian & Hegtvedt, 2003; Sheldon, 2002; Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

For young children, the chief means of exposure to a variety of people is through the parents’ social network. These social networks can influence the child directly or indirectly, as mediated by the parent(s). The people with whom the child has frequent contact provide direct influence by serving as role models and by setting the groundwork for the child’s own personal social network in the future (Cochran & Brassard, 1979). Indirectly, social network members function as models for parenting behavior and provide socialization techniques for the parents (Cochran & Brassard, 1979; MacPhee, Fritz, & Miller-Heyl, 1996). In addition, compared to working-class and poor children, middle- and upper-class children have significantly more interaction with adults (Lareau, 2002). Therefore children from more privilege backgrounds will have more opportunities for their own social network formation.

Empirical research reflects the existence of network influences on child development. One of the key components necessary for the positive psychosocial development of internationally adopted children is exposure to positive role models from their birth countries (Friedlander, 1999; Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001). In their analysis of Vietnamese adult children and their immigrant parents, Killian and Hegtvedt (2003) found that when immigrant parental social networks contain more people of their ethnicity, children’s networks are much more likely to also be ethnically based.

Another significant network characteristic is the size of the social network, which is recognized as an important measure of network strength (Bourdieu, 1986; Cochran & Brassard, 1979). For example, parental social network size is positively correlated with parental involvement at home and school (Sheldon, 2002). In addition, parental satisfaction with network support is positively associated with parental self-efficacy and more effective child-rearing practices (MacPhee et al., 1996).

Hypotheses

The previous review of the literature suggests several hypotheses, which are enumerated below.

Much of the research reviewed argues that parental attitudes and beliefs toward the process of bicultural socialization predict the development of children's bicultural competence. Therefore,

Hypothesis 1: Parental beliefs in the importance of Chinese bicultural socialization increase children's levels of Chinese cultural competence.

Much research suggests that opportunities for bicultural socialization are more likely to occur in communities with a sizeable population of people with the same racial background. Therefore,

Hypothesis 2: Residence in a community with a significant Asian population facilitates Chinese cultural competence.

Finally, research also suggests that parental social networks that include role models from the children's birth culture influence adoptive children's development in direct and indirect ways. Therefore,

Hypothesis 3: Parental social networks of Chinese adults promote children's Chinese cultural competence.

Method

Sample, Design, and Data Sources

The data for this study are part of a longitudinal study of families with children from China (Adams et al., 2005; Tessler & Gamache, 2003a, 2003b;

Tessler et al., 1999). These data provide a valuable opportunity to examine how bicultural socialization occurs in practice, including how parental attitudes and intentions are translated into their children's actual learning of cultural knowledge.

Although a random sample of all parents who adopted from China would have been ideal, the Privacy Act prohibited the Immigration and Naturalization Service from releasing individual-level information about foreign adoptions. Therefore the researchers contacted a national organization of Families with Children from China (FCC),⁵ which allowed the researchers to place a link to the study website on the FCC's website (Tessler et al., 1999). The remaining portion of the sample was obtained through notices in FCC newsletters and word of mouth. (For possible bias resulting from sample selection, please see the Discussion section.) Although the majority of the sample was initially obtained through Internet contact, all sample questionnaires were distributed through the postal mail service.

At Time 1 (T1) in 1996, parents were surveyed about their attitudes toward bicultural socialization when their children's average age was 2. Parents were surveyed again at Time 2 (T2) between October 2001 and May 2002. At this follow-up, the average age of the children was 7. The current analysis focuses on the experiences and attitudes of the one parent per household who originally contacted the researchers to volunteer for the study. A total of 327 of these parents returned questionnaires at both T1 and T2. These questionnaires are the central source of data about parents, their families, and their children.

The response rate for the T2 follow-up survey was 92% of the original participants, clearly indicating a strong level of commitment to the study. Very few significant differences existed between the nonrespondents and respondents at T2 (Adams et al., 2005). Most importantly, respondents and nonrespondents did not differ on their attitudes toward bicultural socialization, as measured in 1996.

In addition to the survey data, we also draw on county data from Census 2000 to describe the demography of the communities in which these families live.⁶ Census tract information was extracted from a combination of three different websites: the United States Census, the United States Postal Service, and the online mapping site, MapQuest.⁷ Census 2000 established the following categories of race: White, Black/African American, American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander, and some other race.⁸ For each racial category, an ethnic category must also be chosen: Hispanic or non-Hispanic. These data are published on the U.S. Census Bureau website. Once a family's census tract was established

based on addresses at T2, it was then linked to demographic information for the corresponding county.

Sample Description

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the households, parents, and children in the study sample. The sample of parents appears to be fairly homogenous. The parents are almost all of European ancestry. Proportionately more of the parents answering the survey were women (83.5%) than men (16.5%). As mentioned earlier, co-parent survey data are not included in this analysis. The higher representation of men in the co-parent data and among nonparticipants in the survey probably accounts for the higher representation of women in the primary sample.⁹ Nearly three fourths of the parents (73%) were currently married. An additional 5% reported living with a partner. About 8% were divorced, 12% were never married, and about 2% reported being widowed or separated. Based on marital status data, we inferred single-parent status on 22% of the parents who were neither married nor living with a partner. Ninety-three percent of those who were married at T1 reported also being married at T2.

The average age for mothers at T2 was 47; the average age for fathers was 48.¹⁰ All of the children were daughters, and as noted above, their average age was 7. Thus, on average, a 40-year age difference existed between the responding parent and the adoptive child.¹¹ Just less than one third of the daughters had at least one sibling adopted from China. Approximately one third had siblings who were biologically related to their adoptive parents or who were adopted either domestically or from other countries. The remaining 34% were single-child households.

Parental education and household income levels were well above the national median. Twenty-seven percent of the parents reported more than 20 years of schooling. Approximately 31% of the respondents reported family income between US\$50,000 and US\$89,000, whereas 60% reported household incomes greater than US\$90,000.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable of this analysis is an index variable consisting of 8 questions out of a total of 24 about children's Chinese cultural competence that were included in the T2 questionnaire. Using "yes" or "no" response alternatives, parents were asked about their daughter's cultural learning, behavior, and self-esteem. A factor analysis of these 24 questions showed

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Independent Variables

Variable	<i>n</i>	Category	Frequency	
Household income, year 2000	327	1 (< \$30,000)	1.83	
		2 (\$30,000-\$49,999)	7.95	
		3 (\$50,000-\$89,999)	31.19	
		4 (\$90,000-\$129,999)	26.61	
		5 (\$130,000-\$149,999)	7.34	
		6 (\$150,000-\$199,999)	13.76	
		7 (\geq \$200,000)	11.31	
Gender	327	Male	16.85	
		Female	83.5	
Siblings from China	327	At least one other adopted Chinese sibling	32.4	
		No other adopted Chinese sibling	67.6	
Marital status	326	Single parents: Widowed, separated, divorced or never married	22.4	
		Dual parents: Married or living with a partner	77.6	
Number of parents' adult friends of Chinese ethnicity	326	0 = 0	23.0	
		1 = 1 or 2	41.1	
		2 = 3 or 4	20.9	
		3 = 5+	15.0	
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Index of parental importance of Chinese socialization ^a	327			
Time 1		2.94	0.53	1.27-4
Time 2		3.05	0.53	1.14-4
Child age	327	7.03	1.34	5-13
Parent age	327	47.48	4.55	32-61
Parental education in years	327	17.54	2.23	10-20
European American population in county, year 2000 (%)	319	78.30	15.24	21.28-98.69
Asian population in county, year 2000 (%)	319	5.17	5.84	0.05-46.01
African American population in county, year 2000 (%)	319	8.93	10.07	0.05-64.34

a. 1 = *Not all important*, 2 = *a little important*, 3 = *somewhat important*, 4 = *very important*.

Table 2
Dependent Measure: Children's Chinese Cultural
Competence Index ($n = 317$)

Practice	Frequency (%)
Learned some Chinese words and phrases	91.1
Learned to count in Chinese	72.6
Learned to sing Chinese songs	68.3
Learned to recognize some Chinese characters	65.4
Able to speak some Chinese	64.5
Learned to distinguish between the four tones in spoken Chinese	34.0
Able to write her name using Chinese characters	20.5
Able to read aloud in ping yin	14.8
Cronbach's alpha	.82
<i>M</i>	.54
<i>SD</i>	.28

that responses to 8 of them clustered around a single factor representing cultural learning, focused mainly around acquired Chinese language skills and cultural knowledge.

These 8 questions asked parents about whether their daughter had learned to count in Chinese, learned some Chinese words and phrases, learned to distinguish between the four tones in spoken Chinese, learned to recognize some Chinese characters, learned to sing some Chinese songs, whether she was able to write her name using Chinese characters, to read aloud in ping yin, and to speak some Chinese. Mastery was indicated by affirmative responses to each question, which ranged widely across the eight items from a low of 20.5% to a high of 91.1%. On average, children learned about half of the eight competencies. Descriptive statistics for each item are shown in Table 2.

In constructing the summary scale, the values of the individual items were summed together and divided by eight to create an average numeric value of Chinese cultural competence. The Cronbach's alpha of this index variable is .82, indicating a moderate degree of internal consistency. Although we previously identified three components of bicultural competence, the dependent measure will focus mainly on only one of those components—the ability to communicate. Much previous research in this area has indicated how central this component is to ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 2001).

Independent Variables

The descriptive statistics for the independent variables used in the analysis have already been identified in Table 1. Three of these variables are central to the analysis: parental attitudes about Chinese cultural socialization, Asian population percentage in counties, and the number of parents' Chinese friends. In this section we provide further detail about each of these variables.

The first independent variable was parental beliefs about bicultural socialization, which were hypothesized to have a significant effect on children's Chinese cultural competence. The survey asked parents to what degree they wanted their children to participate in certain Chinese cultural events and to learn Chinese history and language. The 22 questions, along with the response categories (1 = *not at all important*, 2 = *a little important*, 3 = *somewhat important*, and 4 = *very important*) are shown in Table 3.

Responses to each question were summed and then divided by 22 to create an average score. The summary index of parental attitudes at T1 had a mean score of 2.94, which increased at T2 to 3.05. Although parents' responses are highly correlated over time ($r = .63$), the tendency for parents to regard these examples of Chinese socialization as somewhat more important at T2 than at T1 was statistically significant ($p < .001$).

The second independent variable, the percentage of Asians living in the families' counties of residence, served as a measure of co-ethnic community presence. We hypothesized that the larger the Asian presence, the stronger children's Chinese cultural competence because of increased chances of contact with people of Chinese descent.¹² The adoptive families lived in counties that were 78.3% European American, 5.2% Asian, and 8.9% African American. These averages mask considerable dispersion, as the ranges indicate. For example, the Asian population percentage ranged from .05% to 46%. National population percentages were 75.1% European American, 3.6% Asian, and 12.3% African American (Grieco & Cassidy, 2001). Therefore European Americans (+3.2%) and Asians (+1.6%) were overrepresented in the sample counties, whereas African Americans were underrepresented (-3.4%).

The third key independent variable measures the number of adult friends of Chinese descent that parents reported having at T2. Parents were asked: "How many of your adult friends are of Chinese ethnicity?" Twenty-three percent of parents reported "none," whereas 41% reported "1 or 2," 21% reported "3 or 4," and 15% reported "5 or more." Responses to this question provided an estimate of the network size of Chinese adults in the parental

Table 3
Parental Importance of Chinese Socialization
at Time 1 and Time 2

Survey Question	Time 1	Time 2
How important is it to you that your daughter ^a		
learns to count in Chinese?	2.85	2.96 [†]
learns some Chinese words and phrases?	3.15	3.24
is exposed to Chinese culture?	3.79	3.78
likes Chinese food?	2.27	2.44**
celebrates the Chinese New Year?	2.94	3.20***
celebrates the mid-Autumn Festival?	2.44	2.46
keeps her Chinese name?	2.56	2.75**
listens to Chinese music?	2.31	2.27
listens to Chinese stories written to give a moral?	2.67	2.60
becomes friends with other Chinese children?	3.41	3.40
has Chinese artifacts around the home?	3.29	3.33
learns about ancient Chinese history?	3.09	2.99*
learns about modern Chinese history?	3.30	3.23
visits China as a child?	1.90	2.75***
visits China as a teenager?	2.98	3.45***
learns about the area of China from which she came?	3.51	3.51
visits a Chinatown in the United States?	2.93	3.17***
watches Chinese movies or videos?	2.30	2.53***
learns to appreciate classic Chinese poems?	2.18	2.17
learns about Chinese values and traditions?	3.26	3.23
is proud of her Chinese heritage?	3.90	3.90
is aware that she looks like other Chinese people?	3.54	3.66**
Summary index (average)	2.94	3.05***

Note: *N* values may vary from item to item slightly because of variations in missing data.

a. The survey contained four response categories: 1 = *not at all important*, 2 = *a little important*, 3 = *somewhat important*, 4 = *very important*.

[†]*p* < .10. **p* < .05. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001, two-tailed.

social network. We predicted that the size of parental social networks composed of Chinese adults will facilitate Chinese cultural competence among the adopted children by providing adult role models and promoting knowledge of the birth culture.¹³

Control Variables

In testing the study hypotheses, we also wanted to control for other potential sources of variation in bicultural competence. The following variables

served as controls: the education of the parents at T1, the income of the household at T2, the gender of the parent, the child's age, parental age, the presence of another Chinese sibling, single-parent status, and the county percentages of European Americans and African Americans.

Parental education levels are positively correlated with the promotion of children's learning in a variety of ways, including visits to libraries and museums and providing educational materials (Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000). Parents' education at T1 is measured as years of school completed. The impact of this measure on cultural competence may be attenuated by the lack of variance because 86% of the sample had completed at least 16 years of education, the equivalent of a college education—a statistic much higher than the national average.

Household income plays a vital role in determining the availability of resources such as money, time, and access to learning opportunities (Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000). Although this predominantly wealthy sample is far from representative of most American families, we still expected household income to have a positive effect on children's Chinese cultural competence. Measured as a 7-item ordinal variable, household income could range from 1 (*less than US\$30,000*) to 7 (*more than US\$200,000*).

Gender affects how a parent will engage in the socialization process. Traditional gender roles delegate most of the responsibility of caring for the children to mothers (Tessler et al., 1999). Secondly, mothers tend to have more knowledge of family activities than fathers (Lareau, 2000). Thirdly, parents tend to know more about their children when they are of the same sex, so that the mothers in this sample will likely know more about the daughters in this sample than the fathers (Crouter, Helms-Erikson, Updegraff, & McHale, 1999). In addition, women's duties also tend to include maintaining customs that connect ethnicity and family (Killian & Hegtvædt, 2003). Little is known, however, about how parents might transmit ethnic culture that is not their own, as is the case with transcultural adoption. Parent's gender was constructed as a dummy variable, with 1 representing *female* and 0 signifying *male*. Gender of the parent is of only limited interest in the current analysis because co-parents, who were disproportionately men, were often not surveyed.

Child age may influence the frequency and the type of cultural activities in which children are engaged, and thus the cultural competence they acquire (Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001). Additionally, parental emphasis on the birth culture can often change as child age increases (Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001). As a result of cognitive development, older children may have a greater capacity to participate in a fuller range of activities related to bicultural socialization.

On the other hand, older children who are involved in a myriad of extracurricular activities may have less time to be involved in Chinese cultural activities. Peer pressures experienced by older children may also result in a waning of bicultural interest. With the children averaging 7 years of age at T2 (95% of them were between 5 and 9 years old), this issue cannot be fully explored using the current data. A more definitive test of the interrelationships between child age, bicultural practices, and cultural competence can be executed when the study cohort enters adolescence.

Parental age may also be one of many factors influencing bicultural outcomes. As parental age increases, children experience greater developmental progress (Berry & Barth, 1990; Groze, 1986; Moore, Pauker, & Moore, 1984). Older parents, who tend to have greater autonomy in their careers than younger parents, may have more time to support their children's exposure to Chinese culture. This greater autonomy may also allow parents to spend more time with their children, whereby they can foster practices of bicultural socialization necessary for high levels of Chinese cultural competence. On the other hand, older parents tend to experience reduced energy in general, which may limit the cultural support they are able to provide, especially in bicultural activities that take place outside of the home. Both the child's age and the parent's age were measured in years.

We also control for second and third adoptions from China. The presence of another Chinese sibling in the household would likely strengthen Chinese cultural competence as a result of sibling bonding and additional reinforcement provided by the parents. The causal influence may also reverse in so far as the accumulation of bicultural knowledge within the family may be one factor leading parents to adopt a second child from China. Whatever the direction of causality, having a sibling from China is expected to be associated with cultural learning.

Another family structural variable is single parenthood. Single-parent status has been linked to increased risk of a variety of negative developmental outcomes compared with children who grow up in two-parent families (Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000). On the other hand, some research focusing specifically on adopted children found no significant differences in child outcomes between one- and two-parent families (Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001). The lack of a consistent pattern is not surprising considering the many variables that are confounded with single parenthood, some of which may enable bicultural learning, whereas others may have the opposite effect. Single parenthood for adoptive families is also quite different than that of biological families because of the high cost and elaborate planning necessary to adopt. Single parents who adopt internationally also tend to have more resources

than single parents in the general population. Single-parent status was constructed as a dummy variable with single parent representing any response other than “married” or “living with a partner.”

We reasoned that the control variable, the percentage of European Americans living in the counties at T2, would likely have an effect on Chinese cultural competence. Previous research found some ethnic identity confusion resulting from adoptive minority children living in communities in which European Americans were in the large majority (Friedlander et al., 2000; Lee, 2003c). This variable was constructed using the same methodology as the above-mentioned variable measuring the percentage of Asians living in the county. The percentage of African Americans living in the counties at T2 was also included to see if other non-European Americans would increase bicultural competence. This variable was derived in the same way as the other county percentage variables. To avoid multicollinearity, we included the percentage of African Americans and the percentage of European Americans in separate regression models.

Results

First, we turn to bivariate results related to the stability and changes in parents' attitudes toward bicultural socialization between T1 and T2. Table 3 compares parents' responses at T1 and T2 for 22 individual items. We note that for more than half of these items, responses at T1 and T2 were not significantly different. Thus, overall parental attitudes about the importance of Chinese cultural socialization for their children were quite stable over time. For those items with significant differences, most of them indicated a strengthening of positive attitudes.

Table 3 shows the diverse set of questions that parents answered, some focusing on cultural exposure, with others focusing on language skills. It is important to note the ways in which parents placed more importance on some aspects of socialization than others. For example, parents rated “learns to appreciate classic Chinese poems” among the least important aspects of bicultural socialization, although they rated being “aware that she looks like other Chinese people” among the most important. One difference that was unexpected was the greater priority parents gave to certain variables, such as learning Chinese songs as compared to keeping their child's Chinese name. The seemingly relative unimportance of Chinese names may have been due to the fact that the question did not include both first names and middle names, the latter of which are often Chinese.

Parents' prioritization of different aspects of Chinese culture, language, and values may also be reflected in the content of whatever cultural competencies their children acquire. Such prioritization may affect not only what cultural competencies children acquire but may also affect their self-perception, and consequently their racial and ethnic identity. In fact, the de-emphasis of seemingly minor skills such as appreciation for classical Chinese poetry may potentially lead children to experience some ethnic identity confusion when they compare themselves with nonadopted Chinese children who may be much more culturally competent. The inconsistency between having a Chinese phenotype, yet an American name, is a further source of concern, as it may make it more difficult to negotiate "the trans-racial adoption paradox" (Lee, 2003c, p. 711).

Further analysis of the differences between T1 and T2 attitudes used Census 2000 data to control for the proportionate representation of Asians in the community. Respondents were sorted into two categories based on whether their community fell above or below the sample median on the percentage of Asians. The observed differences of T1 and T2 attitudes are similar to those reported above. In both types of communities, those with higher than average Asian representation and communities with lower than average Asian representation, attitudes were either unchanged or tended to increase slightly over the 5-year interval between surveys. The observed similarities in attitudes occurred even though there was a higher commitment overall in communities where Asians comprised a larger proportion of the population. Thus, controlling for the percentage of Asians did not appreciably alter the results presented in Table 3.

We also examined the independent and interactive effects of all the independent variables, constructed as dummy variables for purposes of this analysis, on parents' attitudes toward bicultural socialization at T2. An analysis of variance revealed significant main effects both for parents' commitments at T1, $F = 54.08$, $p < .001$, and the percentage of Asians in the community at T2, $F = 5.52$, $p = .02$. However, the interaction between these two independent variables was not statistically significant, $F = .10$, indicating that the effects of the two independent variables were not conditional on one another.

Next we examine the multivariate results predicting cultural competence using ordinary least squares regression. We expected that children's cultural competence would result primarily from parents' encouragement and involvement in bicultural socialization, the ethnic diversity of the community in which the family lived, and the presence of adults of Chinese ethnicity within parents' friendship networks. The results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4
Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting
Children's Chinese Cultural Competence

Variable	Model 1 (<i>n</i> = 316)	Model 2 (<i>n</i> = 308)	Model 3 (<i>n</i> = 308)	Model 4 (<i>n</i> = 307)
Parental importance of Chinese socialization at T1	.1410*** (.029)	.1468*** (.029)	.1443*** (.029)	.1152*** (.029)
Child age	.0125 (.011)	.0127 (.012)	.0117 (.012)	.0013 (.011)
Parent age	.0116** (.003)	.0115** (.004)	.0112** (.004)	.0107** (.003)
Parental education	.0014 (.007)	.0001 (.007)	.0002 (.007)	.0034 (.007)
Household income, year 2000	-.0200 (.010)	-.0253* (.011)	-.0276** (.011)	.0372*** (.010)
Siblings from China	.0724* (.032)	.0650* (.032)	.0637* (.032)	.0450 (.031)
Single-parent status	-.0375 (.039)	-.0552 (.040)	-.0613 (.040)	-.0613 (.38)
Parent's gender	.0914* (.042)	.1002* (.042)	.1013* (.042)	.1094** (.040)
European American population in county, year 2000 (%)		-.0022* (.001)		
Asian population in county, year 2000 (%)			.0068* (.003)	.0028 (.003)
African American population in county, year 2000 (%)			.0014 (.001)	.0006 (.001)
Number of parents' adult friends of Chinese ethnicity				.0983*** (.016)
Constant	-.5511** (.207)	-.3431 (.226)	-.5256* (.208)	-.4589* (.196)
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.1322	.1484	.1526	.2476

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

p* ≤ .05. *p* ≤ .01. ****p* ≤ .001.

Model 1 is a basic model consisting of parents' attitudes, controlling for selected background characteristics. The results of Model 1 show that parents' attitudes toward Chinese socialization, assessed 5 years prior, are a very significant determinant of children's Chinese acquired cultural competence assessed at T2. The next strongest predictor is parental age, in that the older the parent the more culturally competent the child tends to be. In addition, having a sibling from China and having a mother rather than a father complete the parental questionnaire had significant and positive effects on children's cultural competence.

Model 2 introduces the percentage of European Americans to the regression equation. The results indicate the strength of the influence of community composition net of other predictors of cultural competence. An increased presence of the racial majority group, indicated by a higher population percentage of European Americans, was associated with decreased children's Chinese cultural competence. In interpreting this finding, it should be noted that counties with higher percentages of European Americans are also more likely to have lower percentages of Asians, as well as lower percentages of other minorities. The correlation between the percentage of European Americans and the percentage of Asians is negative and substantial ($r = -.62$), as one would expect.

Model 3 examines the county percentages of the Asian and African American populations without the confounding influence of the percentage of European Americans. As expected, the Asian population percentage has a positive and statistically significant effect on Chinese cultural competence, supporting Hypothesis 2. The surrounding Asian population likely provides additional opportunities for participation in Chinese cultural practices. The African American population percentage has a nonsignificant effect, suggesting that overall racial diversity does not support ethnic socialization. Instead it is the presence of one's own ethnic group that tends to be crucial to ethnic socialization.

Model 4 adds to the predictive model the number of parents' adult friends who are Chinese. Examination of the results shows that when the parental networks variable is included in the regression equation, the percentage of Asians is no longer significant. Instead, it is replaced by the variable measuring the number of parents' Chinese friends, which in this model is highly significant. This finding suggests that the effect of Asians in the community may be indirect, and that its importance may lie in enabling parents to acquire social networks that include Chinese people. Thus social support deriving from Chinese and perhaps other ethnic role models in communities

with more Asians appears to have been the key mechanism enabling adopted children to learn about Chinese language and culture.

In general, and consistent with the hypotheses, these results highlight the important role that all three variables play in the process of bicultural socialization. These variables—the importance that parents placed on Chinese socialization, the size of the Asian population in the county of residence, and the number of parents' adult friends of Chinese descent—as well as the controls, explain about one quarter (24.8%) of the variation in children's Chinese cultural competence.

Discussion

The Chinese government legalized foreign adoptions in 1992, in part as a response to the accumulating number of abandoned infant girls in orphanages, which was taxing China's child welfare system (Huang, Yu, Ou, & Jiang, 2005). The United States is currently one of 16 countries adopting infant children from the People's Republic of China (China Center of Adoption Affairs, 2005). The United States accounts for approximately 55,000 adopted Chinese children (U.S. Department of State, 2006). The Chinese government requires that prospective adoptive parents come to China to finalize adoptions. As a result, adoptive parents see firsthand the birth culture of their future children (Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001; Tessler et al., 1999).

The dissemination of knowledge about Chinese culture has been reinforced through the mass media. With few exceptions, the coverage of Chinese adoptions in the American media has been very positive, celebrating the adoptions as a form of cultural exchange and as a humanitarian gesture. The vast majority of the children adopted from China have found a welcome home in American society (Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001; Tessler et al., 1999).

During the early and mid 1990s, when the sample for the current study was recruited, it was widely believed that the Chinese were selecting the healthiest children for foreign adoption. The existence of an extensive foster-care system, working in tandem with orphanages, may have been an additional factor contributing to the preadoption health and functioning of the children. Research on child outcomes, though still quite limited, indicates that the children have adjusted very well in their families and in American society more generally. The vast majority of the children exhibit the catch-up effects in height, weight, and overall health and functioning that is characteristic of international adoptees all over the world (Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001; Tessler et al., 1999).

Tessler, Adams, Houlihan, and Groza (2004) have compared mother–daughter relationships several years postadoption in a matched sample of Chinese and Romanian adoptees. Although most of the mother–daughter relationships were rated very positively, mothers with children adopted from Romania tended to report more strain in these relationships than mothers of children adopted from China. This difference appeared to be due, in part, to a between-country difference in age at adoption, as the children from Romania were older at the time of adoption. Age at adoption was a strong predictor of mother–daughter relationship functioning in the Romanian sample, but was unrelated to relationship functioning in the Chinese sample.

Whereas Tessler et al. (2004) attributed these differences to variations in age at adoption and institutional exposure, an alternative interpretation is that they were due to a greater emphasis on bicultural socialization within families with children adopted from China. Parents' commitments to bicultural socialization may have enabled the development of more positive family environments in the Chinese group. Communicating an acceptance of differences based on race and ethnicity may have had the paradoxical effect of bringing mothers and daughters closer to one another (Kirk, 1964, 1988).

Next we discuss the results of the hypotheses as formulated in the current study. The first hypothesis predicted that parental beliefs in the importance of Chinese bicultural socialization would increase children's levels of Chinese cultural competence. In contrast to most other research on the relationship between attitudes and behavior, the causal order is clear because parental attitudes were measured 5 years before the measurement of children's cultural competence. In addition, multivariate analyses controlling for several other independent variables failed to reduce this attitudinal effect, further supporting the causal interpretation. On the other hand, positive parental attitudes toward bicultural socialization may have led parents to possibly exaggerate their children's cultural competence, and as a result inflated somewhat the correlation between attitudes and behavior.

Hypothesis 2 stated that the higher the proportion of Asians in the family's community of residence, the greater the child's Chinese cultural competence. The results of the multivariate analyses support this hypothesis, showing that children tend to have higher levels of Chinese cultural competence in communities with higher percentages of Asian people. In addition, this community influence appears to be additive with the influence of parents' attitudes, as both are independent sources of variance in the measure of children's cultural competence. These findings are consistent

with previous research indicating that parents are not the only source of ethnic culture transmission for second-generation immigrants. Living in communities with large populations of birth-country immigrants is also a necessary factor (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

There is a possibility of self-selection based on parental attitudes. Parents who had positive attitudes about Chinese cultural socialization at T1 may have chosen to move before T2 into communities with higher percentages of Asians. Less than 10% of the total sample moved to increase access to bicultural socialization. The correlation between parental attitudes at T1 and the Asian population percentage at both T1 and T2 is .04 and .06, respectively. Neither correlation was statistically significant; therefore, the possibility of self-selection is highly unlikely. The Asian population percentage at T2 and parental attitudes at T2, however, have a statistically significant correlation of .11. This finding indicates that it is more likely that community characteristics were a cause rather than a consequence of parents' attitudes toward bicultural socialization.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that parental social networks of Chinese adults would promote children's Chinese cultural competence. Whereas immigrant parents can easily establish networks with other people like themselves, transcultural adoptive parents must work harder to network with adults who are knowledgeable about Chinese culture. When parents are able to connect with these adults and form friendships, these ethnic role models appear to act as enablers of their children's socialization into Chinese culture. Parents for whom Chinese socialization is more important are also more likely to have Chinese friends.

Limitations

As a result of the methods used at T1 for sample recruitment, significant overrepresentation of families with positive attitudes toward bicultural socialization may have occurred. Despite this potential bias, however, a broad variation in attitudes and levels of parental commitment is still evident. As suggested by the title, this research is more about understanding those specificities in families who begin with some interest in bicultural socialization, rather than about families in general who adopt children from China. Therefore, though the results can only be generalized with caution, this sample is appropriate for this research question.

There are several other important caveats. The levels of children's Chinese cultural competence still fall far short of full cultural competence. Compared to children born and raised in China, these American children obviously have

very low levels of cultural competence. For these adopted children, however, even a modest level of cultural learning may be significant in terms of future developmental benefits yet to be assessed. Future research might compare the bicultural competence levels of Chinese adoptees to those of children raised by Chinese American parents.

Secondly, the measure of the Chinese friend networks of the parents is a limited variable, because network size is only a small part of understanding the significance of networks. Considering the simplicity of this measure, however, the significance of this variable is quite impressive. Parents also engage in another kind of networking with families who belong to FCC. Because we only had data on FCC membership and had no data on parents' specific activities in FCC, we did not include this variable in the analysis. In addition, FCC membership was only correlated with children's competence levels at .12, whereas the correlation for the number of parents' Chinese friends was .39. Therefore, networking with Chinese adults appears to have a significantly stronger effect on children's Chinese cultural competence than networking with other Chinese adoptive families. Future research needs to examine children's cultural competence using a greater number and complexity of network variables, including patterns of interaction with other families with children adopted from China.

Thirdly, for a sample this small, the county level is in some ways too large a unit of analysis for population percentages. Using such a broad measure, however, there are still significant population effects for the percentage of Asians and the percentage of European Americans. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the mostly upper-middle-class children in this sample are likely to participate in activities that are not centered near the home, but instead exist in the surrounding community (Lareau, 2002). If resources for Chinese cultural socialization exist nearby, they are more likely to exist within the larger community rather than the neighborhood. Therefore county-level analysis seems appropriate for this population.

Fourthly, the variable measuring the county percentage of Asians does not isolate Chinese representation. As mentioned earlier, about one fourth of those who marked *Asian alone* on the U.S. Census also marked *Chinese alone*, which would only further minimize the already small Asian population (Barnes & Bennett, 2002). In addition, using the population variable for those who marked *Asian alone* is a more useful measure of Asian community visibility, which perhaps may facilitate positive ethnic identity development.

In addition, the use of a nonstandardized scale to measure cultural competence is also a significant limitation of the study. On the other hand, the scale performed reasonably well in terms of its psychometric properties.

Finally, we were also concerned about reliance on parents as a key source of data. Parents' memories may prove inaccurate about their own attitudes and commitment, as well as about their children's knowledge and behavior. Furthermore parents may tend not to see the abilities of their daughters in a realistic way, as a result of parental desires for their children's success. In addition, because the majority of parents were mothers, knowledge of children's skills and the reporting of those skills may be affected by the gender of the parent. At the next phase of this longitudinal study, however, the children will be old enough to be interviewed directly. At that time, it will be possible to examine how important Chinese cultural socialization is for them.

Conclusion

This research has examined how parental attitudes, the community, and social networks play a role in the ethnic socialization of children who have different racial, cultural, and national backgrounds from their parents. Those parents who were most successful in helping their children achieve some Chinese cultural competence lived in communities with higher than average Asian populations and were able to network with persons of Chinese descent. Compared to many children of immigrants, these adopted children only achieved modest levels of cultural competence. It is possible, however, that a relatively low threshold of cultural learning may be sufficient for the development of a positive ethnic identity among children whose parents are of the dominant ethnic group.

These findings also have important implications for adoption agencies and adoption professionals who interact with potential intercultural transracial adoptive parents. Transracial adoptions require extra parental effort to expose children to their birth culture. It is vital that adoption professionals inform parents about the significance of establishing a parental social network of Chinese adults, as well as the advantages of living in a neighborhood with higher proportions of Asian people. Additionally, professionals may want to provide parents with resources about how to connect with local Chinese and/or Asian communities. These parental efforts will expose adopted children to role models with similar ethnic and racial backgrounds, which will likely help foster children's positive bicultural identities.

At the same time, adoption professionals should be aware of the many caveats that underlie the theory of bicultural socialization. A bicultural identity that enables children adopted from China to feel secure in their

own ethnicity and cultural background may, in fact, support future psychosocial development. There are many contingencies, however, that can interact with this process, including divorce, death of a parent, moving to a different neighborhood (especially if the move involves fewer bicultural opportunities), the attitudes of siblings, and relations between the United States and China. Children's interest in bicultural socialization may also be linked to stages in child development. Adolescence, in particular, may be associated with declining interest in bicultural socialization, and, for some youth, an active rebellion against it. Even disinterest in bicultural socialization during adolescence does not rule out a resurgence of interest later in the life course (Tessler & Gamache, 2006).

In conclusion, this research suggests that "where there is a will" to achieve bicultural socialization, indeed "there is a way." When parents maintain positive attitudes about the importance of bicultural socialization and establish social networks of Chinese adults, their children are more likely to achieve modest levels of Chinese cultural competence. Though living in communities with an Asian presence may set the stage for bicultural socialization, it is parental ethnic networks that enable children's Chinese cultural competence by providing crucial role models. Future research using both qualitative and quantitative methods is needed to determine whether, and by what mechanisms, children's cultural competence continues to develop into adolescence.

Notes

1. Ethnic identity, when defined at all, is often defined in multiple and contradictory ways. See Howard (2000); Phinney (1990); Phinney et al. (2001); and Sanders (2002) for reviews of this topic.

2. Age at the time of adoption has been considered one factor affecting adopted children's future development, in that increased institutional exposure can lead to increased chances of developmental problems (Judge, 2003; Roberts et al., 2005; Tessler et al., 2004). Research suggests that Chinese children are adopted at a younger age than some adoptees from Eastern European nations, such as Romania (Judge, 2003; Tessler et al., 2004).

3. By middle childhood, only 18% of these daughters had visited China in their lifetimes.

4. In addition, much of this research focuses on Korean adoptees, a unique population resulting originally from war. Parents of Korean children often have different relationships to bicultural socialization because of the historical context of the adoptions and they were not required to visit Korea in order to adopt (Evans, 2000; Lee, 2003c; Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001).

5. The Families with Children from China (FCC) provides parents of Chinese adopted children with a formal network through which to access valuable resources and to meet other families like their own (Families with Children from China, 1999).

6. The U.S. Census Bureau reports every decade on the racial composition of every state, county, and census tract in the United States. Although there are problems with the Census Bureau's methods of categorization, Census data is the most reliable and accessible national data set of this kind.

7. For post office box addresses, we used the tract information for the corresponding post office location. Families who lived outside the United States or had a military address (FPO addresses) were excluded because neither type of address can be linked to a U.S. Census tract.

8. In Census 2000, 97.6% of all respondents reported only one race. Rather than including the very minute percentage of multiracial respondents, this analysis is limited to the "one-race" percentages for the various racial groups (Grieco & Cassidy, 2001).

9. In addition to the current sample of 317 parents, an additional 149 co-parents were surveyed. When including these co-parents with the study sample, there are 30.9% men (144) and 69.1% women (322).

10. According to Census 2000, the average age of adoptive parents with children under 18 years of age is 43.1 years, whereas it is 38.0 years for biological parents (Kreider, 2003).

11. To simplify the data collection, data were only gathered about one child per family. Parents with more than one child adopted from China were instructed to answer questions based on the first child adopted from China. Usually, but not always, this child was the oldest.

12. Although this variable represents all people who checked *Asian alone* on the Census website, the population who checked *Chinese alone* as a subgroup within *Asian alone* was too small to be useful. On a national scale, approximately 23% of those who checked *Asian alone* were *Chinese alone* (Barnes & Bennett, 2002).

13. The number of parents' Chinese friends and the degree of contact that their daughters had with adults of Chinese descent in the home, neighborhood, and school has a one-to-one correlation of .55.

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