

PARENTAL PRACTICES AND BIRACIAL ASIAN CHILDREN'S
RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

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DEDICATION

For Jeff, umma, and appa, thank you for your unconditional love.

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ABSTRACT

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Although there is a dramatic increase of Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals in the US, there is a lack of research of this population. Using phenomenology, the purpose of this research was to delve into the lived experiences of Asian and Caucasian interracial couples as they raise their biracial children, in terms of racial socialization. A total of 10 couples participated, and thematic analysis was used to analyze the data. Six themes and 11 subthemes were found. The importance of early education of racial socialization on a family level was highlighted to provide a healthy pathway for children to develop their racial/ethnic identity.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Since the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Loving v. Virginia* (1967) that prohibiting interracial marriage was unconstitutional, the number of interracial marriages in the United States has rapidly increased (Gaines et al., 2015; Rockquemore, 1998). While only 3% of all new marriages in 1967 were between interracial couples, the number grew to almost 17% by 2015 (Pew Research Center, 2017a). Additionally, the number of biracial individuals in the United States is increasing. Whereas only 5% of the newborn population in 1980 was multiracial, it grew to 15% in 2015 (Pew Research Center, 2017b). Gaither et al. (2014) claimed that among Americans under the age of 18, the biracial population—those who are born to two monoracial parents belonging to two different racial groups—has increased by 46% since 2000, which means that biracial children are the fastest growing youth group in the nation. Furthermore, the biracial population in the United States is projected to be tripled by the year 2060 (Pew Research Center, 2015).

According to the Pew Research Center (2017c), there are over 20 million Asians in the US today, and this number is still growing. The Asian population in the US increased over 70% between the years 2000 and 2015, indicating that Asian is the fastest growing ethnic group in the nation and is projected to surpass Hispanics by 2055. According to Passel et al. (2010), over 70% of Asians who are interracially married chose

a Caucasian partner. Thus, a significant portion of this rapidly increasing number of interracial marriages represents marriages between Asians and Caucasians specifically. As a result, the number of Asian-Caucasian biracial children is also projected to rise in the future. In fact, the Asian-Caucasian biracial population had already increased by almost 80% from 2000 to 2010, marking a new record of 1.6 million in the nation (Chong & Kuo, 2015).

Rationale for the Study

Despite the fact that the biracial population is increasing, and more Americans endorse ethnic and racial diversity in this country (Pew Research Center, 2018), the research on biracial individuals is limited. Specifically, studies on biracial individuals with Asian heritage (i.e., one of the biological parents is of Asian descent) is even smaller in quantity (Chong & Kuo, 2015). While the most previous research focused on Black/White biracial individuals, the current study attempted to understand Asian-Caucasian biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development from the perspective of their parents. Research on biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development is especially important because understanding the process of racial/ethnic identity development is a crucial part of discovering "self," as well as constructing coping strategies within the systems of institutionalized discrimination and racism (Ferguson, 2016). Moreover, racial/ethnic identity provides the base of social development that further influences biracial children's group membership and social relations with in- and out-group individuals (Csizmadia et al., 2014; Gaither et al., 2014). With limited

knowledge and understanding about Asian-Caucasian biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development, there will only be limited resources for their psychological well-being.

While the number of Asian-descent biracial individuals in the United States is increasing rapidly, not enough research covers the racial/ethnic identity development of Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals (Chen et al., 2019; Chong & Kuo, 2015). Particularly, unique challenges that Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals face include (a) overcoming positive racial stereotypes that are driven from the model minority stereotypes (Chong & Kuo, 2015; Smith et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2011); (b) cultural gaps (Cheah et al., 2013; Vargas & Kemmelmeier, 2013; Yi, 2013); and (c) being accepted as Asian by their Asian community (Ahn, 2015; Chen et al., 2019; Trieu, 2019). With these factors covered in the literature review section, the understanding of the Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals' racial/ethnic identity development was expanded, which can contribute to better comprehend the underrepresented community in the United States.

Purpose of the Study

The way in which monoracial parents interact with their biracial children can shape how the biracial children develop their racial/ethnic identity, as children first gain social experiences through immediate family interactions while parents use parental practices that reflect their cultural values (Oliveira & Murphy, 2015; Otto, 2016). Currently in the United States, the number of interracial marriages between Asian and Caucasian is increasing, as is the Asian-Caucasian biracial population (Chong & Kuo,

2015; Passel et al., 2010). Those monoracial parents may feel that their child-rearing experiences are unique, as their parental practices involve both American and Asian cultures in which their biracial children develop their racial/ethnic identity. The purpose of this research is to delve into the lived experiences of interracial couples as they raise their biracial children, and their views on how their biracial children develop racial/ethnic identity.

Research Question

In order to explore the parents' child-rearing experiences with Asian-Caucasian biracial children, the current proposal aims to answer the following research question: What are the monoracial parents' lived experiences in guiding their Asian-Caucasian biracial child's racial/ethnic identity?

Qualitative Methodology

The current study uses a qualitative approach. Specifically, phenomenology was used to describe the lived experiences of monoracial, interracially married parents who are raising biracial children. According to Saldaña (2015), phenomenology is the description of lived experiences in which researchers are allowed to look into people's shared stories. The unique experience of interracially married Asian-Caucasian couples who self-identify as monoracial will be recorded and analyzed to find common themes of how monoracial parents of biracial children perceive their parenting styles and customs as socializing agents who guide their offspring's racial/ethnic identity development.

Definition of Key Terms

Biracial: an individual who uses two races to define her or his racial identity (Csizmadia & Ispa, 2014).

Cultural socialization: transmission of values, behaviors, attitudes, and language that parents bring from their home country and attempt to pass onto their children who are being raised in the United States (Supple et al., 2018).

Ethnic identity: one's identification with a particular culture and is not exclusive because one can identify with more than one cultural group (Herman, 2004).

Ethnicity: Socially constructed categories that include demographic terms such as common language, national origin, and culture (Quintana, 2007). Since the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' evolve and change in the cultural context of their use (Quintana, 2007), the present proposal will combine the meanings and usages of these two terms.

Monoracial: an individual who identifies her/himself using one racial group (Gaither et al., 2014).

Race: Genetic categories that make up one's biological ancestry (Herman, 2004).

Racial fluidity: the state of being able to malleably switch racial identity depending on the sociocultural context, regardless of whether or not the biracial individual wants to (Wilton et al., 2013).

Racial identification: the occurrence when a third person (including parents and teachers) racially classifies a biracial person (Brunsma, 2005).

Racial identity: the group one names when asked to identify oneself racially (Herman, 2004).

Note: Because the contemporary usage of the term racial identity and ethnic identity reflect socially and culturally constructed meanings (Quintana, 2007), in this study, the term racial/ethnic identity are combined together.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

With the United States Supreme Court ruling in *Loving v. Virginia* (1967), there was an increased recognition and acceptance of biracial children in the United States (Gaines et al., 2015) in which *biracial* refers to an individual who racially identifies oneself with two racial groups (Csizmadia & Ispa, 2014). Moreover, the rapidly growing number of not only Asian individuals in the United States but also Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals in the United States calls for attention to the factors for racial/ethnic identity development, especially from parents' perspective of providing appropriate parental practices. Because parents are children's first teachers in life, and their socialization practices shape and direct children's perspectives including their own racial/ethnic identity (Ingram & Chaudhary, 2014), it is essential to explore how parents are engaged in biracial children's racial/ethnic identity developmental trajectories.

According to Ingram and Chaudhary (2014), the way children choose their self-identity including racial/ethnic identity, as well as how comfortable they feel with that identity, heavily depends on the way in which their parents provide socialization experiences. The types of messages children receive from their parents about different racial and ethnic groups, cultural knowledge about their in-group, racial discrimination and inequality become foundational information to construct their own racial/ethnic identity. Moreover, the way in which parents communicate about race and race-related issues to their children guide how they develop their racial/ethnic identity. This includes

parents educating their children about what biracial status is and encouraging them to accept their biracial status. Hence, the role of the parents is vital to biracial youngsters who otherwise may struggle while exploring their own racial/ethnic identity.

Theoretical Approach

One of the classic theories on the developmental trajectory of biracial individuals' racial identity development is Poston's (1990) biracial identity development model. Poston argued that biracial individuals' racial identity development happens through five stages: 1) personal identity, 2) choice of group categorization, 3) enmeshment/denial, 4) appreciation, and 5) integration. The first stage involves the biracial individual developing their own, unique personal identity that is independent of being biracial. According to Poston, developing one's own personal identity is a crucial part because overall self-esteem, as well as psychological well-being, depends on this factor. In the second stage, those biracial individuals feel and experience pressure from their family members, peers, or social group members to choose their racial-ethnic identity. Here, they have two choices: either to choose their biracial identity by accepting both of their parents' background, or to choose a dominant identity of a parent. Poston added that when making the decision, there are several influential factors—status factor, social support factor, and personal factors such as language and appearance.

As biracial individuals experience more pressure and stress about their racial identity, they will be in the third stage of enmeshment and denial. Here, those individuals feel guilty, confused, and frustrated with having to choose one identity (Franco et al.,

2016; Poston, 1990). They feel frustrated that they are not able to express themselves fully. In the fourth stage, they start to appreciate their biracial identity and be able to broaden their reference group. Individuals may start to learn more about both of their heritages and be involved in cultural activities. Finally, in the integration phase, biracial individuals embrace their biracial identity and accept themselves as a person with both backgrounds.

A contemporary approach elaborating biracial children's racial identity development is Rockquemore and Laszloffy's (2005) Continuum of Biracial Identity (COBI) model. Rockquemore and Laszloffy claimed that biracial individuals may locate themselves at any place on a racial/ethnic identity spectrum. At each end of the spectrum, the biracial individual may identify her/himself as a singular race/ethnic person. The COBI model further states that a biracial individual may also self-identify anywhere in between, including blended identity with an emphasis on one of the two racial/ethnic groups. In other words, an Asian-Caucasian biracial individual may identify herself or himself as Asian, biracial with Asian emphasis, biracial with Caucasian emphasis, or Caucasian. In the process of racial/ethnic identification, social interaction and parental racial socialization form the role of validation or rejection, which influences the biracial individual's perception on her or his racial/ethnic identity. Hence, Rockquemore and Laszloffy emphasized that the biracial individual's pathways in determining their racial/ethnic identity should be closely examined.

In the COBI model, Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) argued that any racial identification can be healthy or unhealthy depending on the pathway onto which the individual was guided. In other words, although it is possible that two biracial people reach the same racial identity, their pathways could have been healthy or unhealthy. What determines what is healthy or unhealthy is whether the individual accepted the journey. In fact, the COBI model asserts that “healthy racial identity for mixed-race people is less about which racial label a person chooses and more about the pathway individuals travel toward their identity” (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005, p. 18). This model also emphasizes that “no way is any better, more correct, or more valuable than another” (p. 4). Instead, the pathway in which the biracial individual travels while constructing their racial/ethnic identity is what deserves the attention. For example, it is possible to have singular identification through denial when (1) one fits phenotypic characteristics of one racial group and (2) has a hostile relationship with one parent and racializes one’s negative feelings. On the other hand, biracial identification is possible through denial as well. Some individuals may adopt the biracial identification when in fact they desire to have a singular identity, but their physical appearance does not allow them to have single-race self-identification. In other words, they adopt the biracial identity because that is their next best option.

As such, unhealthy pathways create a great amount of distress to individuals while they are going through the journey of finding their racial/ethnic identity. Factors that contribute to such negative pathways include ideological racism, institutional racism,

and individual racism (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). According to Rockquemore and Laszloffy, 1) ideological racism describes the belief that there are differences in biological, intellectual, and cultural competency in different racial groups. In history, racial/ethnic discrimination was allowed under ideological racism (e.g., eugenics) and legalized racial segregation. 2) Institutional racism describes practices, policies, procedures, and culture of social institutions that discriminate certain racial/ethnic groups from equal access, opportunities, and treatment. In the U.S., institutional racism is seen in the education system, economic system, criminal justice system, and media. 3) Lastly, individual racism describes discriminating behaviors that happen on an individual level, which can happen intentionally and unintentionally. All three types of racism contribute to how parents of biracial individual as well as the biracial individuals themselves perceive their racial/ethnic identity.

Similar to Rockquemore and Laszloffy's (2005) discontinuous spectrum of racial/ethnic identity, Root (1990) claimed that the issue with most biracial identity development theories was the assumption that achieving fully integrated biracial status is the only desired result for biracial individuals. Rather, Root argued that there are four positive resolutions for biracial individuals for their racial/ethnic identity development: (1) acceptance of the identity society assigns, (2) identification with both racial groups, (3) identification with a single racial group, and (4) identification as a new racial group. The acceptance of the identity society assigns is when the biracial individual agrees to self-identify with a group that others have already assigned, usually the parents and

immediate family members. In other words, the biracial individual is already racially identified by other people and agrees with the identity. According to Root, identification with both racial groups describes when the biracial individual identifies with both groups, usually with social support from the family members. The socialization process includes both cultures and customs, allowing the biracial individual to experience both cultures. Identification with a single racial group describes when the biracial individual chooses one of two groups and identifies with that one specific identity. Here, the biracial individual independently chooses one racial identity without much pressure from her or his social groups. Lastly, identification as a new racial group is a resolution for those who choose a new racial group which is from neither of her or his given heritages. The individual may still use racial fluidity when identifying herself or himself, but mostly engaged with a new group.

Synthesis of Theories

The Biracial Identity Development model (Poston, 1990) and the COBI model (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005) each thoroughly describes the trajectory of biracial individuals' racial identity development. Rockquemore et al (2009) pointed that within the biracial population, racial identity development may not be a linear process where a single outcome is predicted. Further, spatial, cultural, and social contexts are critical to form the journey of discovering their identity. After all, both models emphasize the importance of the individual's cultural and social environment and how the biracial individuals interact as well as respond to their surrounding.

Hence, it is reasonable to acknowledge that biracial individuals experience one or more elements from both models. For instance, a biracial individual may have a strong personal identity (e.g., female, Catholic, etc.) as described in the first stage of Poston's (1990) theory, which can be more salient than her identity as a biracial individual. This same individual may racially identify herself as Asian during childhood as described in Rockquemore and Laszloffy's (2005) theory but further develop her racial identity as biracial. Rockquemore et al. (2009) argued that racial identity may change over time. By acknowledging that the elements of both theories can be applied, understanding realistic trajectories of racial identity development will illuminate some of the unique challenges that Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals experience.

Unique Challenges for Asian-Caucasian Biracial Individuals

Fighting Positive Stereotypes

Although the United States is becoming more accepting of racial diversity (Pew Research Center, 2018), racism and discrimination are still relevant to Asians in the U.S. (Chong & Kuo, 2015; Wang et al., 2011). Particularly, positive racial stereotypes towards Asian Americans, also known as the model minority myth (Chong & Kuo, 2015), may be an obstacle for mixed-race Asians to talk about their struggles. Statistically, Asians do demonstrate high academic performance. Over 50% of Asians of 25 years old or older have a bachelor's degree compared to 30% of all Americans this age (Pew Research Center, 2017c). However, Wang et al. (2011) argued that although Asians in the United States are stereotypically perceived as having achieved success, they are not often

thought of as the target of racism. In fact, Asian Americans still face both overt (e.g., physical and verbal harassment) and subtle (e.g., being ignored for service, asking where she or he is really from) racism. Moreover, Asian Americans as well as Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals' psychological stress and struggles may be ignored due to the positive stereotype. More specifically, the idea of the model minority can overlook and ignore the psychological wellbeing in regards to racism, particularly subtle racism and microaggressions (Ong et al., 2013; Wang et al., 2011).

The fact that Caucasian Americans belong to the mainstream in the United States, and the fact that Asians are viewed as the model minority, which may additionally contribute to the perception that Asian/Caucasian biracial children are privileged. According to Smith et al. (2014), the social distance between Asian and Caucasian has been reduced over the past two decades. The term social distance was first coined by Bogardus (1925) to describe how people in one social category including racial groups are willing to be closely associated with members of another category. Today, social distance is used as a scale to measure the acceptability of interracial relationships, racial diversity in work environments and neighborhoods, and other affiliations (Smith et al., 2014). The interactions between Asians and Caucasians have significantly increased since 1985, as the gap between Caucasians and Asians in education and income is smaller than that of Caucasians and other racial groups (Pew Research Center, 2012). This implies that Asian/Caucasian biracial youth may be at risk of not being heard because the pressure of 'doing well' prevents them from talking about their issues.

Cultural Gaps

Individualism and Collectivism

Although the social distance between Asians and Caucasians has become shorter over time, the cultural gap between Asians and the mainstream in the United States still remains. One of the most apparent differences is the emphasis on individualism in the US., while collectivism is valued in Asian countries (Vargas & Kemmelmeier, 2013). According to Vargas and Kemmelmeier, collectivism refers to the practice in which individuals are interdependent and embedded within their social contexts, encouraging self-sacrifice for the sake of the group. On the other hand, individualism describes the practice of individuals operating as unique and autonomous beings who aim for self-relevant goals. Traditionally, Asian values emphasize the importance of group membership as well as self-sacrifice for the sake of a communal success. Vargas and Kemmelmeier's meta-analysis compared collectivism and individualism across various ethnic groups in the United States. They further categorized the two distinct concepts by incorporating two additional dimensions: horizontal and vertical status. The horizontal status describes equal social status among the members in society while vertical status refers to unequal positions among the social members. Thus, in a horizontal collectivist (HC) society, the self is perceived as equal to other in-group members and social harmony is highly valued. A vertical collectivist (VC) society describes when the self is hierarchically positioned within an in-group, even if this means that the members of society sacrifice personal desires for the goals of their in-group. Horizontal individualism

(HI) describes a model of selfhood that is autonomous and independent, which in turn advocates personal uniqueness and social equality. Lastly, vertical individualism (VI) describes the autonomous self that strives through competition and believes in class differences.

In their meta-analysis, Vargas and Kimmelmeier (2013) found that (a) overall, Caucasians were most likely to support individualism compared to other ethnic groups in the United States; (b) for Asian Americans, HC and VC were least positively correlated (though still statistically significant) while HC and HI were most correlated; and (c) for both Caucasians and Asian Americans, HI and VI were highly correlated. These results respectively imply that (a) the value of individualism in the United States is highly regarded within the Caucasian group; (b) for Asian Americans, collectivism is valued while equal-status is also desired; and (c) both Asian Americans and Caucasians endorsed individualism regardless of the social status. The last finding was intriguing, as Asians were expected to support collectivism. However, while Asians' shared experience of oppression developed the sense of in-group dependency, they also recognize the value of personal achievement and individual competition, especially in education, in order to succeed as a racial minority in the United States.

Vargas and Kimmelmeier (2013) also described cultural discontinuity, the assumption that "actors in culturally diverse societies are socialized into both the mainstream culture (e.g., via schools) and their ethnic/racial cultures (e.g., via families and neighborhoods)" (p. 197). Thus, cultural discontinuity can be another unique

challenge that Asians-Caucasian biracial individuals may face, as they may feel that they need to choose one orientation, if not to find a balance. In fact, choosing individualism versus collectivism in social settings can be a stressor to Asian Americans. Burt et al. (2018) examined first and second generation Asian American college students' cortisol awakening response and found that acculturation, a process that pertains to practicing values and self-identifying actions in more than one culture, is a complex and multidimensional mechanism that can be a stressor to the racial minority groups. They also stated that a person with strong individualist self-construal relies on self-actualization and fulfillment of personal needs while a person with collectivist self-construal focuses on social norms and harmony. In this study, the authors found that the first- and second-generation Asian students were different in terms of cortisol awakening response, which means that generational status (i.e., the degree of acculturation in the United States) was a significant factor for their psychological well-being. Thus, for Asian-Caucasian biracial children, the cultural orientation to which they feel more attached can influence how they feel about themselves, as well as their physiological response to stress.

Emphasis on Education

One of the most widely known and culturally significant elements in Asia is the extensive emphasis on education (Cheah et al., 2013; Pak, 2013). Chua (2011) coined the term 'tiger' parenting, which describes the parenting method that is strict and controlling in order to guide her daughter get accepted to Harvard. S. Kim (2013) reviewed Chua's

work that the culture is a major factor because collectivistic and interdependent values reinforce Asian and Asian American parents to manage their children to excel academically and bring honor to the family. Indeed, the strong emphasis on education and high academic standards contributed to the idea of the model minority. According to Yi (2013), private, supplemental education (PSE) is a multi-billion dollar industry that is centralized in East Asia, particularly in South Korea (hereafter, Korea). It is not uncommon for high school students and even middle school students in Korea to return home at midnight after a full-day at their school and studying at PSE centers following after. As immigrants from Asia settle in the US., the culture of intense studying came along. Yi reported that the Orange County in California where the Korean population is high, the total number of PSE centers surpassed the number of churches in 2009. These PSE facilities offer various curriculums including languages, math, science, full-day summer courses, and full-day SAT preparation courses. About 40% of these students are Korean and the rest includes Chinese, Indians, and Caucasians.

The intensive studying training offered by the PSE centers reel up students' academic achievement, which complies to the highly competitive society in Asia due to the cultural context of educational attainment being equivalent to social status (Yi, 2013). Although the awareness towards negative outcomes of extreme academic training (e.g., higher risk for depression and higher academic-induced stress) is being increased, the deeply rooted culture of intense schedule for students is still in practice. J. Kim et al. (2018) delved into Asian immigrant parents' networks and empowerment as factors that

contributed to their children's academic performance. While there are studies that reported the relationship between Asian immigrant parents' value of education as well as high expectations and their children's academic performances, other predictions projected that Asian parents' social networks play a significant role in their children's success. They argued that parent networks work as ethnic and social capital, which relieves the possible language barrier the parents may have experience and thus enables the parents to use the information to guide their children. In fact, Kim et al. stated that despite the overall high academic achievement among Asian students, their parents are least likely to consult with school counselors when their children struggle with academic progress or for general communication, possibly due to the language barrier.

Because Asian parents are overall highly invested in their children's academic performance and achievement, this cultural practice may clash with the mainstream American philosophy of childrearing, which may view it as too harsh (Cheah et al., 2013). In the US., authoritative parenting style is idealized and the most commonly seen—parents to be highly demanding while also highly responsive and warm (Pak, 2013). Chua (2011) stated that the mainstream parenting style focuses more on the children's psyche and their self-esteem, which weakens their will to strive for academic success. According to Chua, authoritative parenting style is too indulging. After her publication, Chua's statements received backlash and caused heated debates in the U.S. society (Pak, 2013). Parents' perception on which parenting style leads to children's success (i.e., authoritative vs. authoritarian) may influence the way they interact with

their children. Therefore, Asian-Caucasian biracial children with an Asian parent who is an advocate of the tiger parenting style may struggle with academic stress and pressure.

Being Accepted as ‘Asian’

Phenotypical Appearances

One of the most difficult challenges that biracial individuals face is the concept of hypodescent, a system by which a biracial person is racialized to the group with the lower social value, also known as the one-drop rule (Herman, 2004). While this is still true for Asian-Caucasian biracial youth, another conflict may arise by the reverse. According to Chen et al. (2019), biracial Asian individuals are often questioned for the authenticity of their identity as Asian. In many cases, they are not “approved” as Asian by their fellow Asian community. One of the factors that influences Asians’ negative perception towards mixed-race Asian individuals include phenotypical characteristics (i.e., mixed Asian individuals do not *look* Asian), which can be seen as a lack of commitment to Asian groups.

As for why Asians may categorize mixed-Asian individuals as outgroup members, Chen et al. (2019) stated that increased permeability between Asians and Caucasians in the United States (i.e., less social distance between Asians and Caucasians due to Asian Americans' intermediate social status) makes Caucasians less likely to exclude Asian-Caucasian biracials from their in-group. For example, because Asians share more phenotypical characteristics and social status with Caucasians compared to Blacks, Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals have a greater chance to "pass" as

Caucasian compared to Black-Caucasian biracials. Chen et al. (2019) reasoned that this phenomenon would make Asian Americans expect that Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals would be categorized as Caucasian.

The trend in Asian that the social contextual meaning of “whiteness” is regarded as superior also obstructs for Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals to be treated equally. According to Ahn (2015), East Asian countries such as Korea, Taiwan, and Japan have racially homogeneous history, and thus, the awareness for mixed-race Asians has gained its attention relatively late, including the mass media. In the case of Korea, the idea of ‘pure Korean blood’ is culturally important and half-Koreans historically receive discrimination (Ahn, 2015; Kim, 2016). Ahn (2015) reported that although there was an increased number of births of mixed-race Koreans after the Korean War since the 1950s, the notion of ‘otherness’ prevented those individuals to be fully socially accepted. Those Asian-Black biracial individuals received even more discrimination, also due to the rule of hypodescent. According to Ahn, it was not until the early 2000s when Asian-Caucasian celebrities gained popularity that opened the general public’s heart not only to accept biracial individuals but also idealize Asian-Caucasian for their “cosmopolitan whiteness”—the notion that Caucasian individuals are desirable, high class, and elegant. Ahn stated that the increasing popularity of Asian-Caucasian models and celebrities in Korean media reflects white supremacy and views Caucasian individuals as exotic. Thus, during the process of racializing, Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals may be viewed as the ‘other’ group as opposed to fellow Asians. The cultural context of ‘otherness’ creates

barriers for Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals to be fully accepted in the society that emphasizes collectivism.

Social Group Membership

The second reason for why Asians may perceive Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals as outgroup members is that classifying oneself as Caucasian may bring more social advantages. According to Chen et al. (2019), Asian Americans perceived discrimination and disadvantage they experience in the United States were the factors for them to reason that having a Caucasian identity is beneficial. As hypothesized, the researchers found that when Asian Americans perceived that Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals would want to be identified as Caucasian, they categorized them as outgroup members. This argument aligns with Ahn's (2015) report that while the Caucasian group is regarded as higher and desired, it is perceived as an outgroup.

Further, Asians perceive mixed-Asian individuals as those who identify themselves as biracial, which creates a notion that biracial Asians may not always be loyal to the Asian community because they have two potential group memberships (Chen et al., 2019). Chen et al. argued that this can be perceived as potentially disloyal behavior to the Asian community, as collectivism and group membership are emphasized among Asians. The perception of 'otherness' does not quite stop there; in worse cases, internalized racism can hurt those Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals who racial/ethnically identify themselves as Asian. According to literature, internalized racism creates division among Asian Americans and hinders unification (Pyke & Dang, 2003;

Trieu, 2019). According to Trieu (2019), negative identity terms such as “banana” and “twinkie” describe individuals who are Asian on the outside and white on the inside. These terms are usually used to mock and degrade when Asian-looking individuals are “too assimilated” into the mainstream American culture, which is an extension of the idea that Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals are not fully accepted by Asian Americans in a cultural sense (Pyke & Dang, 2003; Trieu, 2019).

Parents’ Racial/Ethnic Identity and Biracial Children

The degree to which a monoracial parent of a biracial child feels connected to her or his own racial/ethnic background influences the child’s development (Campbell et al., 2019). Campbell et al. stated that when the parent with a strong minority identity is overly invested ethnicity-specific social capital, it can leave both the parent and the child isolated from the mainstream society, which in return negatively impacts the biracial child. On the other hand, when the parent has a strong majority identity, the child is more likely to have stronger majority-group language skills (e.g., American English), better knowledge about majority-groups, and higher degree of cultural integration in the mainstream culture. In other words, the monoracial parents are a strong agent for their biracial child’s socialization.

Similarly, Chong (2013) argued that how an Asian parent views her or his racial status in the mainstream society (e.g., racism, discrimination, stereotypes) can be projected on to her or his mixed-Asian child’s identity because she or he symbolizes such racial tension. If the Asian parent is an immigrant who has gone through the assimilation

process, Chong claimed that the Asian parent is more likely to have gone through a selective assimilation process where her or his Asian roots (e.g., social, economic, and identity) can selectively become resources in the mainstream society, as Asian Americans are an "in-between" group in the racial hierarchy. As such, how Asian parents evaluate their racial group can shape whether they want to socialize their mixed-Asian children to recognize their Asian identity.

For example, Supple et al. (2018) stated that cultural socialization practiced by parents functions as the primary source for children's experience in developing their racial/ethnic identity. However, the researchers suggested a caveat: generally, the way in which cultural socialization is practiced in the household encourages the children to explore their racial/ethnic identity; however, if the cultural socialization is done forcefully, the children may reject the identity and rather display negative attitudes towards accepting that identity. In this research, Supple et al. explored how parents influenced 93 Hmong American adolescents' racial/ethnic identity. The participants' ethnic identity, family cultural socialization, involved-supportive parenting, perceived acculturation gaps, and conflict with parents were measured. Analysis using path models revealed that cultural socialization was related to knowledge, group activities, and ethnic behaviors that allowed those adolescents to better connect with their heritage. Additionally, when those adolescents perceived that acculturation gaps were high (i.e., compared to their parents), the intergenerational conflict was high as well, which can lead to lower willingness to accept their ethnic affirmation. The implications of this study

suggest that while cultural socialization from the family members is important, positive communication as well as unforceful delivery is crucial.

Monoracial Caucasian parents are more likely to deny race or subscribe to a color-blind approach when raising biracial children (Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). Although this approach is well-intended, it certainly does not reflect the current society, as racism and discrimination are prevalent in the form of both individual racism and institutionalized racism. Vittrup (2018) found that about 70% of Caucasian mothers used a color-blind approach with their children, with reasons being that race is not an issue; they teach their children to treat everyone the same, or that the child is too young to talk about race. Those mothers who were having conversations about race were engaged only when the child initiated. In some cases, mothers believed that their child is color-blind to race, and hence, they did not think it was necessary to bring up the topic. Racial socialization is a critical part of parenting (Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). Nonetheless, with intentions or not, many parents with a majority identity do not engage enough with racial socialization in comparison to parents of other racial/ethnic groups (Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017; Vittrup, 2018).

Themes on Parental Practices and Biracial Children's Racial/Ethnic Identity

With an increasing number of biracial births in the United States, research on biracial children as well as parents' racial/ethnic socialization is growing rapidly (Hughes et al., 2006). So far, literature on parents' racial and ethnic socialization has covered cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism and

silence about race. Hughes et al. categorized these themes into two opposite parenting approaches: including race as an important aspect in child's development, and overlooking it as a way to avoid difficult conversation or conflict. Cultural socialization and egalitarianism reflect how race and racial/ethnic identity are incorporated in parenting practices, while promotion of mistrust and silence about race represent parents who are sending either negative or indifferent messages about race and issues concerning race.

Hughes et al. (2006) stated that cultural socialization is especially significant in assisting biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development and it may occur via various types of activities including celebrating cultural holidays or events, exposing children to culturally relevant music, books, or stories. Generally, cultural socialization is associated with racial/ethnic pride and cultural appreciation. Since healthy experience of developing racial/ethnic identity is crucial for children's psychological and social well-being (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005), providing positive cultural experience for biracial children is important. As such, examining how parents of biracial children engage their children with racial socialization can be a factor to predict the biracial child's racial/ethnic identity development trajectory. Below are common parental practices that guide biracial children to discover their racial/ethnic identity.

Spoken Language at Home

Language is more than words; it constructs cultural values, ideas, and provides logic frames for the speakers. Being engaged in such cognitive processes enables

individuals to make sense of the world and self, including identity development (Davis & Moore, 2014). For biracial individuals, the level of in-group knowledge allows them to be connected with their ethnic community (Chong & Kuo, 2015). For multicultural households where more than one language is being spoken, family members' use of a non-English language in the house can guide biracial children's racial identity (Brunsma, 2005; Davenport, 2016). For Asian-Caucasian biracial children, speaking an Asian language provides a strong cultural and ethnic attachment to the minority race, as language is a powerful tool to feel group membership. According to Kim (2016), biracial individuals may feel a need to "prove their insider status" (p.49). Also, while facing racial discrimination and stereotypes from the majority group, biracial individuals may feel that knowing the Asian language will make them feel more connected to the Asian community, which further makes them racially/ethnically self-identify as Asian.

Davenport (2016) found that Asian-Caucasian biracial children whose first language was English were about 2.5 times more likely to identify themselves as Caucasian and 5 times more likely to identify themselves as biracial when compared to non-native English speakers. Thus, if the parents' goal is for them to identify as Asian, the use of an Asian language can be an important parental practices as the language to be spoken at home is usually determined by the parents (Brunsma, 2005; Davenport, 2016).

Language proficiency has been examined in the case of Hispanic individuals in the United States, and the ability to speak Spanish is deeply associated with the individual's racial/ethnic identity (Araujo-Dawson & Quiros, 2014; Arredondo et al.,

2016; Davis & Moore, 2014). Indeed, Davis and Moore (2014) stated that the preservation of "American identity" is often associated with 'English Only' movements, which are organized around white privilege and power. In other words, language use in the US. cannot entirely be about language but rather an individual's identity, specifically racial/ethnic identity. For this reason, strong ethnic pride usually is accompanied with being able to speak one's ethnic language (Arredondo et al., 2016; Kim, 2016).

Arredondo et al. (2016) examined language use and ethnic/cultural pride. Using a mixed-method approach, they found that Spanish-English bilingual individuals who had Spanish-speaking parents had (a) cultural pride; (b) appreciation for diversity; and (c) a sense of group membership to the ethnic community. Indeed, these three factors positively contribute to the trajectories of multicultural individuals to construct their ethnic identity. Those individuals feel closer to their parents and ethnic community, simply by being able to speak the language. Therefore, it is implied that language proficiency is positively correlated with biracial children's likelihood to accept their identity as biracial. Conversely, another study found that a Black-Hispanic biracial individual did not feel as a part of a Hispanic community because she did not speak Spanish (Araujo-Dawson & Quiros, 2014). The researchers interpreted that speaking Spanish at home is an indicator of connection to the Hispanic community and acceptance of inclusion.

On the other hand, Araujo-Dawson and Quiros (2014) stated that parents may also encourage their biracial children to speak English with the intention that their children

would experience less racism or discrimination if they speak English as their first language. In other words, parents' perceived level of racism or discrimination may shape that speaking English as their first language brings benefits. Davis and Moore (2014) made similar arguments that in the United States, speaking Spanish instead of English is more than just about languages; because the Spanish language has been racialized, its users are considered as 'non-American.' Even if the individual speaks English, if a heavy accent is detected, their perceived treatment is unfair and discriminating. This phenomenon can drive parents to encourage their biracial children to speak perfect English as a method to combat against racism or discrimination (Chong, 2013).

Social Environment

As much as knowing an Asian language provides the emotional connection to biracial children, integrating cultural activities in social relationships and socializing with peers from the same racial/ethnic group also represent part of the process of obtaining biracial identity. While racial fluidity provides more freedom to biracial children to be able to blend in both groups they belong to, Gaither (2015) stated that when close social group members, such as family members, racially prime the biracial child (i.e., racial identification), then the biracial child is more likely to stick to that particular racial group. For example, Pauker et al. (2013) found that priming a Black/White biracial individual with Black identity affected that person's quicker face perception and memory accuracy for in-groups and priming a Black/White biracial individual with White identity had the same effect for in-groups. This finding suggested that how biracial children interact with

their close social groups and what kind of messages they are getting from the social environment (i.e., racially primed) will affect the way the biracial individuals view themselves.

Furthermore, other research shows that the types of social groups they spend more time with (e.g., peer groups and friends) influence how biracial individuals construct their racial/ethnic identity (Chong & Kuo, 2015; Gaither, 2015). Chong and Kuo (2015) argued that mixed-Asian individuals are capable of understanding the unique socio-political and cultural forces that are upon the Asian population in North America (e.g., immigration laws and policies, politicians' negative attitudes towards Asian immigrants, etc.), which can be another driving force to identify oneself as Asian, to demonstrate support and racial pride.

At the same time, internal oppression can encourage biracial children to abandon the Asian identity and only take the other racial identity if the other racial identity is considered as more powerful (Chong & Kuo, 2015). For example, Asian-Caucasian biracial children might experience social pressure to choose Caucasian identity over Asian identity or biracial identity because of racial socialization that "whiteness" is regarded as higher in the social context, and that being Caucasian is associated with higher social status, success, and privilege (Gaither et al., 2013).

On the other hand, Kim (2016) indicated that Black-Korean biracial individuals who are living in Korea, a country with a conservative cultural environment with a heavy emphasis on "pure Korean blood," face strong racism for being partly Black. In this case,

having the Asian racial identity is considered “higher” than having the Black racial identity in Korea. Therefore, the question of which social environment the parents of biracial children should provide for their children becomes a crucial component for racial-ethnic identity development. Such racial socialization practices include having the children experience cultural or ethnic events, teaching them cultural knowledge and history, and promoting ethnic pride (Hughes et al., 2006). Such family context and environment for biracial children’s racial identity development are processed through theoretical frameworks of bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1994), as this theoretical assumption acknowledges the importance of social interaction as well as the surrounding environment.

Open Communication about Race

A recurring theme in the literature on racial identity development for biracial children is the importance of the parental practice of having open communication with their children about race (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Some multicultural households do not talk about race because it is painful or uncomfortable, or simply because the parents do not know how to approach the topic (Gaither, 2015). When there is lack of open communication in the home environment, biracial children may experience frustration, behavior problems, lower academic achievement, lower self-esteem, and feelings of social exclusion (Gaither, 2015; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Without proper racial socialization primarily from the family, biracial

children are more likely to be receptive of ideological racism, institutional racism, and individual racism from other routes such as media (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005).

Discussing race involves parents talking about their own race and racial identity while preparing their biracial children for potential negative experiences, including racism, discrimination, stereotypes, racial prejudices, and inequality in society, as well as appropriate social preparations to help them navigate this social environment (Ferguson, 2016; Hughes et al., 2006). While talking about race and what it means to be a biracial individual, parents may also talk about racial pride and promote egalitarian messages in order to increase self-worth for their biracial child (Hughes et al., 2006; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Furthermore, frequent and positive communication about race between biracial children and their parents is highly correlated with biracial children's stronger sense of self-esteem, higher rates of academic achievement and lower rates of disciplinary problems (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005).

Multiple research findings have revealed that biracial children whose parents initiate open communication about race are less likely to experience an identity crisis or feeling confused (Gaither, 2015; Hughes et al., 2006; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). In fact, the more open the parents are in discussing race with their biracial child, the easier the child's racial identity exploration becomes (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). Parents who engage in open communication about race also send positive messages to their biracial child, which increases racial awareness and decreases racial ambiguity (Rollins &

Hunter 2013), as a biracial child is more likely to face unique challenges to find her or his identity (Ferguson, 2016).

Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) stated that two unique factors complicate the process for parents of biracial children to have open communication about race: (1) the current U.S. society has politicized race which has created the social environment for mixed-race children to perceive that there is no clear community for them to engage in positive and cohesive racial socialization, and (2) it is difficult for the parents to understand the life of a mixed-race individual because as monoracial individuals, parents have not gone through any of the struggles that their biracial children face. Therefore, there must be deliberate efforts by the parents to provide appropriate socialization for their better development.

As one of the healthy ways of race socialization strategies that parents of biracial children can use, Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) suggested that parents have honest education about race with children. Open discussion as well as communication about realities of race is necessary, as race touches upon mixed-race children's lives daily. While parents are having discussions about race with children, the children learn the art and skills of how to talk about race, including when and how to confront discrimination, as well as when and how to withdraw from racial talk.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The aim of the current study was to explore what interracial married monoracial parents (Asian and Caucasian, specifically) experience in regards to parenting practices that they perceive as guiding factors for their age 3 or older biracial child's racial/ethnic identity development. For this project, phenomenology was used as the approach. According to Saldaña (2015), phenomenology describes lived experiences—the essence and essentials of experiential states, natures of being, and personally significant meaning of concepts. Daly (2007) also elaborated that phenomenology allows the researcher to see the world through another's eyes and being able to gather their subjective experiences by being naive. Therefore, phenomenology is the appropriate genre to explore what interracial married parents experience as they raise their biracial child.

In order to explore how interracial married monoracial Asian and Caucasian parents characterize their Asian-Caucasian biracial child in terms of her/his racial/ethnic identity development, a semi-structured interview was conducted with each couple to explore the following research question: What are the monoracial parents' experiences in guiding their Asian-Caucasian biracial child's racial/ethnic identity?

Participants and Recruitment

In order to be eligible to be a part of this project, the participants must:

- a) Identify her/himself as East Asian or Caucasian/white.

- b) Be interracially married to an individual who identifies her/himself as East Asian or Caucasian/white.
- c) Have at least one biological child age 3 or older, as children as young as 3 years old are able not only to categorize people by race but also express racial biases (Hirschfeld, 2008; Winkler, 2009), in addition to start forming racial identity and group preferences (Gaither et al., 2014).
- d) Be willing to be interviewed with their spouse.
- e) Reside in the United States.
- f) Have access to Internet for online interview via Zoom.
- g) Be at least 18 years old.
- h) Speak English.

The recruitment process included word-of-mouth, snowballing, and using social media (e.g., Facebook posts; see Appendix A). Purposeful sampling method was used. As phenomenology seeks to find common themes across participants' experiences, 10 couples were recruited to participate.

All recruitment methods included my email address for participants to contact me. Each couple who qualified for the project was scheduled via email for an online interview. Participants were informed to contact me at any time, including during the interview session, for any questions they may have.

Ethical Considerations

Prior to conducting this research, an application to conduct research was submitted to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Texas Woman's University. After the IRB approval was granted, I started recruiting participants primarily online on social media (i.e., Facebook) and via word-of-mouth. To those who contacted me showing interest in participating, I explained the purpose of the study and sent the informed consent (see Appendix B) via email to those who agreed to take part in the study. I communicated clearly to the participants that they were able to discontinue the study at any point during the project. All participants' information (e.g., informed consent) was kept confidential. All electronic data and participant information was secured with a passcode. All printed data and participant information was stored in a locked cabinet to which only I have access. Potential risks involved that the participants may be emotionally impacted because the conversation during the interviews involved highly personal and emotional content. To minimize this risk, I attempted to protect the participants' emotional safety by reminding them that they may withdraw from the study whenever they want, and that they are expected to only share to the extent in which they feel comfortable. Also, the participants received information about therapy and counseling opportunities upon completion of the interview (see Appendix D).

The Researcher as a Person

I am interested in parental influence of Asian/Caucasian biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development because I started to question how my Caucasian

partner and I are going to shape our future children's racial/ethnic identity development. I grew up in southern Texas where over 85% of the population was Hispanic. Being one of only two Asian students in the entire school became very traumatic to me as I experienced racism, discrimination, language barrier, cultural differences, in addition to a terrible homesickness. As my English proficiency improved, I gained confidence in social relationships, but deep down there still was the unresolved identity crisis.

From this experience, I understand how frustrating it is to have an identity issue, and I thought my role as a parent someday will be very important. My role as the principal investigator included recruiting the participants, creating the informed consent form, explaining the purpose of the research, answering any questions from potential participants, conducting the interview, recording the interview, analyzing the data, and member checking. Pezalla et al. (2012) stated that the role of a researcher as the instrument is a crucial piece of a qualitative study because the characters of the researcher heavily contribute to the collection of empirical materials. I am aware that my attitude could make a big difference in how much the participants were willing to share their stories. Therefore, I understand that my empathetic attitude, tone, and gestures worked as factors for how much the participants felt heard in addition to providing resources and information for participants when they had questions about the literature, process of the study, and the results of the study.

Bracketing

My biases include that the parents of Asian-Caucasian biracial children are interested in their children's racial/ethnic identity development and that their parenting practices reflect what racial/ethnic identity means to the parents. I also assume that the parents' own racial/ethnic identity characterizes how they raise their biracial children, as racial/ethnic customs including spoken language at home, food, calling their child by their Asian name, frequently visiting Asian grocery places or restaurants, etc., give diverse experiences to the children.

In order to set aside my biases, I used the approved interview guide in an attempt to not prime participants' responses. Follow-up questions were available to deepen the conversation with participants; however, open-ended questions were mostly used to shed light on their true experiences of raising an Asian-Caucasian biracial child. This approach set aside my personal assumptions and biases.

Research Procedure

Upon the approval from the IRB, I posted the recruiting text (see Appendix A) on my social media (i.e., Facebook), and colleagues from my professional network also shared it with their network. When potential participants contacted me with questions and showed interested in participating, I ensured that they were eligible to participate. Once potential participants' eligibility was confirmed, I sent both the spouses the informed consent and demographic questionnaires (see Appendix B), asked for the preferred date and time for a Zoom interview. Once the meeting time was determined, the Zoom link

was sent to each participant. Participants were reminded to read and sign the informed consent via Adobe prior to the Zoom interview. Any participant who did not complete the informed consent at the beginning of the online conferencing gave verbal consent to be audio-recorded. All participants returned the signed informed consent.

At the beginning of the interview, I briefly introduced myself again, explained the purpose of the research, reminded them that they were being audio-recorded and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point. The participants were reminded that they were allowed to ask any questions at any moment. The interview proceeded according to the semi-structured interview questions (see Appendix C). After each interview, I sent each couple a follow up email to thank them for participating and attached therapy/counseling referrals (see Appendix D).

Data Collection

The data was collected through in-depth interviews with the participants. All interview sessions were held on Zoom, an online conferencing service, while being audio-recorded for transcribing purposes. Both spouses were interviewed at the same time to capture the dynamic between them. All interviews were conducted in English. Interviews were in a semi-structured format where the interview questions were ready and asked to the participants (see Appendix C), but it also let the participants be free to describe their experiences. For example, I asked follow-up questions after hearing an interesting response to a question that was already prepared. Each interview lasted approximately 60 minutes.

Using the auto caption feature of Panopto, recorded audio files were transcribed. Each transcribed file was then reviewed for accuracy. The names of the participants and the Asian-Caucasian biracial children were removed from the transcribed texts prior to data analysis. Field notes were also taken during and after each interview. The field notes included keywords, any significant facial expressions or vocal tones with contexts, as well as my thoughts and reactions during and after each interview.

Data Analysis

Each interview was audio recorded using the software Voice Recorder. The recorded audio files were transcribed via the auto captioning feature provided by Panopto. In the transcriptions, husbands were indicated as H and wives were indicated as W. Asian parents are indicated as A and Caucasian parents as C. The principal investigator was shortened for PI. H and W were numbered in the order of interview dates followed by a dash and the race of the parent (i.e., the first husband (Caucasian) and wife (Asian) I interviewed were indicated as H1-C and W1-A). In each transcribed data, the participants' names were removed. The audio files were not accessible to the public but to myself only. After the initial auto captioning was completed, I re-listened and checked for the accuracy of the transcribed data. Those parts that were incomprehensible were carefully reviewed multiple times; however, some parts were nonetheless marked as inaudible and were excluded from the analysis.

After transcribing the data, thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was conducted. Because the purpose of the research was to find the lived experiences of what

monoracial parents of Asian/Caucasian biracial child go through as parents, common themes from their stories were derived. According to Braun and Clarke, thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns within data. One of the biggest strengths of this method is that it allows the researcher to be flexible while still taking the context into account. As thematic analysis requires thorough understanding of the context of the data, a constructive method of coding strategies was needed. Saldaña (2009) defined that a code is “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (p. 3). Braun and Clarke’s (2006) description also aligns that a code recognizes a feature of the data that is interesting to the researcher and refers to the most basic element of information that can be reviewed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon. On the other hand, a theme is described as a repeating pattern in which the essence of data is extracted.

Trustworthiness and Rigor

Triangulation of Data

The triangulation strengthened the trustworthiness of the research by managing the legitimacy across the literature, data, and method (Daly, 2007). Triangulation was done by comparing the findings of the collected data with existing literature as well as the theories introduced. When a big gap was detected, further investigation was executed to see why.

Throughout the data analyzing process, triangulation was conducted to control the rigor of the research. According to Daly (2007), different kinds of triangulation (data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theoretical triangulation, and method triangulation) all contribute to the credibility of the outcome. The rigor of the research is stronger as more data sources are included in the study. For example, data triangulation was used. More specifically, I used thematic analysis as the analytic method, extracted themes were compared to existing literature. Parts of Poston's (1990) biracial identity development model and Rockquemore and Laszloffy's (2005) COBI model were also used to analyze the extracted themes.

Member Checking

Prior to data collection, participants were asked if they were willing to be contacted again for member checking. The data interpretation was shared with selected participants who agreed to be contacted for member checking to confirm the meaning of their message after data was analyzed. They read the interview summary and either confirmed the content or further clarified their responses. This process was necessary to prevent misinterpreting the intention of the participants. For this reason, this process reduced the risk of researcher bias getting in the way of what participants felt or experienced. In other words, although the purpose of the research and research questions might have reflected my biased perspective on the topic, the member checking process screened the intention of the participants. The accuracy, credibility, and transferability were kept through the member checking process.

Expert Reviewer

One of the most effective and efficient ways to strengthen the trustworthiness of the research is including expert reviewers in the study. Also known as the peer-review process, my academic advisor, who is an expert in the related field, reviewed the research and provided feedback throughout the process. Because the expert also has expertise in the field of research, detailed and critical feedback were obtained. From theoretical background to methodological procedures, the expert reviewer strengthened the trustworthiness of the research.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study was to delve into the lived experiences of parents of Asian-Caucasian biracial children and how their perceived parenting practices may have guided biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development. In this current research, the following research question was explored: What are the monoracial parents' experiences in guiding their Asian-Caucasian biracial child's racial/ethnic identity?

Participants

The study consisted of 1-hour online interviews via Zoom with 10 eligible couples, totaling 20 individuals. The 10 Asian parents identified themselves as Chinese, Japanese, Hongkonger, Korean, and Taiwanese. Seven of the 10 Asian parents were female. The 10 Caucasian parents identified themselves as American, Dutch, Polish, and Swiss-German. Of the 10 couples, only one husband indicated that his current marriage was his second marriage—all other couples indicated that their current relationship is their first marriage. No couple had a child from their previous marriages. Participants ages ranged from 30 to 59 ($M = 40.5$, $SD = 7.39$ for the mothers, and $M = 45.5$, $SD = 5.42$ for the fathers).

Data analysis

Phase 1: Familiarizing Myself with Data

I analyzed data using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of thematic analysis. To start with the first step, I printed the entire dataset and organized the data by stapling each interview. I read each dataset and familiarized myself with the data. As I read through the entire dataset, I noted my thoughts, key words, and interesting remarks on how each spouse responded to the interview questions. Colored pens were used to differentiate my thoughts while reading. According to Braun and Clarke, active and repeated reading enables the researcher to be immersed in the data to search for meanings and patterns. This phase was helpful for me to remember each couple and their dynamics during the interview.

Phase 2: Generating Initial Codes

After the first phase, the entire dataset was read another time, and initial codes were generated based on the semi-structured interview questions. During this process, systematic scrutinization and equal attention to each data item took place to collate relevant data. Colored pens were used to organize the initial codes. The initial codes briefly summarized how the participants responded to the interview questions and relevant comments in addition to the semi-structured interview questions. Using colored-pens, the initial codes were color-coded and were organized on a separate document for references.

Phase 3: Searching for Themes

In this phase, themes were identified as collated codes fell into potential themes. Some sub-themes emerged, as the coding process was taking place. During this phase, the entire dataset was read multiple times to ensure the participants' responses fell into appropriate themes or subthemes. As thematic analysis allows the researcher to have flexibility in terms of coding data when context is accompanied (Braun & Clarke, 2006), some of the same responses were coded differently according to a theme. In other words, some responses fell into multiple themes at the same time (see Table 1). Patterns in participants' responses became clearer; however, some codes were still categorized as miscellaneous. At the end of this phase, candidate themes emerged.

Phase 4: Reviewing Themes

Fourth, themes were reviewed by checking if each theme was in relation to both the coded extracts and the entire dataset. This process also ensured reliability (i.e., if coded data constantly matched each theme) and validity (i.e., if coded data accurately represented my dataset) of the data. Because the entire dataset was read multiple times, this phase clarified the purpose of the research and illuminated the lived experiences of the participants. Themes were refined, and some were collapsed into each other. Data within themes shared coherent content that captured the essence of the context (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Miscellaneous codes were either refined or removed.

Table 1*Examples of a single response with multiple themes*

Participant Responses	Themes
PI: Do you connect your children with Asian peers and friends?	-Racial/ethnic diversity in the area
W3-A: Like, we are not in a Chinese church. We are not. Are there Chinese churches in this area? There probably are. But you know, they don't go to Chinese school on Saturday. You know, at their school, there was a child who was biracial—the father was English and mother was Vietnamese. But they also happen to be along the same lines in terms of parenting and expectations and things like that. So it's not like we chose them because they were biracial, it just happened that like our parenting styles and our understanding of behavior aligned.	-Passive racial socialization with Asian peers -Parenting style and children's peer relationship
H5-A: One of [biological daughter]'s teammate made a racist comment about a girl in school who I think was biracial—yeah there's a Chinese name. And this is a person that we as a family are very friendly with the girl made the racist comment, so we had a long conversation with [biological daughter] about how she would talk to her teammate about how that was not appropriate behavior. [Biological daughter] actually took it too far. Basically, cut her off, but now they talk again.	-Parents recognized the issue -Racial socialization -Parents had open discussion on race -Racism against biracial Asian

Phase 5: Defining and Naming Themes

Fifth, themes were named (see Table 2). Each theme was refined and defined, ensuring that each theme represented the essence of the participants' story. In this phase, identified themes accurately represented the lived experiences of parents of Asian-Caucasian biracial children. While each theme uniquely tells the story of the participants,

each is also relevant to each other and to the entire dataset holistically. Subthemes also serve the purpose of a theme within a theme. Subthemes provide a structure to a larger theme that is more complex (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Table 2

Names and definitions of the themes

Themes	Subthemes	Definitions
1. Emphasis on Child's Individual Identity		The parents' perception and guidance of the child's independent identity as an individual, which is detached from the fact that she or he is Asian-Caucasian biracial.
2. Child's Racial/Ethnic Identity	a) Parental perception b) Parents' report on child's perception	Identification of the Asian-Caucasian biracial child in terms of race/ethnicity.
3. Spectrum of Bicultural Parenting Practices	a) High b) Medium c) Low	The magnitude of bicultural practices (i.e., the intensity of using both Asian and mainstream American culture) within the household.
4. Child's Socialization of Race	a) Child's understanding of race b) Active c) Passive	The discussion on race, racial socialization, discrimination, stereotypes, and racism on the family level.
5. Cultural Differences	a) In-laws b) Between spouses c) Language differences	Incidents that the family has experienced due to the cultural differences between the Asian and the mainstream cultures.
6. Child's Appearance		Interesting incidents that the family has experienced regarding the physical appearance of the Asian-Caucasian biracial child.

Phase 6: Producing the Report

Finally, reports produced based on the aforementioned processes of the six steps (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The final analysis provided a concise, coherent, logical, and non-repetitive story. The final report shed light on the lived experiences of monoracial parents in terms of guiding their Asian-Caucasian biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development.

Findings

The purpose of the research was to delve into the lived experiences of parents who are raising their Asian-Caucasian biological children. A total of six themes and 11 subthemes were found.

Theme 1: Emphasis of Child's Individual Identity

The participants were overall focused and dedicated in believing that the development of their biracial child's independent, individual identity was crucial. To the parents, the fact that their child was Asian-Caucasian biracial is a part that make up who they are; however, they did not see it as the central identity. The parents saw their child as an individual who has her or his unique personality and is able to explore the world unbound to their racial/ethnic background. The majority of the couples (i.e., 6 couples) stated that their children are aware of their biracial identity but do not think too much of it. The parents shared that their children acknowledge and understand their biracial identity; however, this fact is not often brought up in their everyday life. Instead, the

parents were passionate that they were more invested in developing the unique individuality of each child. For example, H2-C shared

We have clearly defined Texas is a very multicultural place. So we are not raising our children to be American. We are raising them to be Texan. We are raising our kids to be Texas, unapologetically. We are not raising them to be American (H2-C).

Another couple also shared that in their family, their religious belief was more important than the racial/ethnic identity or ethnic cultural practices.

H3-C: I think there's definitely more emphasis on Judeo-Christian values. And then race comes after that.

PI: I see. So faith is more important and that's more central value than the racial or ethnic identity. Is that correct?

H3-C: It's definitely—yeah it's definitely something we spend much more effort and time on.

The parents overall perceived their child as an individual who has her or his own individual characteristics before she or he was registered as biracial. Particularly, W6-C shared:

I guess they are just into kid stuff and she'll say 'Mommy, I'm a princess.' Or like the other day, she said 'I'm a superhero.' And she really wanted me to tie a blanket around her neck like a cape kind of thing. They're just little girls, more into little kids stuff like colors and dolls and you know (W6-C).

Theme 2: Child's Racial/Ethnic Identity

Research has shown that children as young as 3 years old understand the concept of race, including their own and others (Hirschfeld, 2008; Winkler, 2009). All parents expressed that they perceive their child(ren) as Asian-Caucasian biracial. They usually put both Asian and White/Caucasian on official documents such as in the doctor's office or school when they were allowed to choose multiple racial categories. Only a few parents shared that they were not allowed to choose multiple racial categories—Couple 4 chose "Other" if they were not allowed to choose multiple racial categories, Couple 8 chose "Asian," Couple 10 chose "Other." All parents stated that their children see themselves as Asian-Caucasian biracial; however, a few parents (Couples 4, 6, and 7) shared that their child(ren) do not think too much of their racial/ethnic identity just yet.

Subtheme 2a: Parental Perception

It's fairly straightforward. I don't feel any ambiguity about it—they are biracial (H1-C).

I don't consider them Asian American, but they are not European Americans.

They are not white only, but they are not necessarily Asian (W3-A).

I feel that he is not just white or just Asian, because he is both (W4-A).

Subtheme 2b: Parents' Report on Child's Perception

They will say they are half Polish and half Asian (H3-C).

I think both half Asian and Asian-American. I think she feels both, identify with both types of groups (H5-A).

I think she'd say "My dad is white, my mom is Korean" (W8-A).

Theme 3: The Spectrum of Bicultural Parenting Practices

Three subthemes (High, Medium, and Low) for levels of integrating Asian culture were detected within this theme of the spectrum of bicultural parenting practices. Most parents were engaging with both Asian and the mainstream cultural practices in their households; however, the magnitude of how much of both cultures were involved varied. Bicultural parenting practices included Asian language learning, enjoying ethnic food, connecting their child with Asian peers, giving their child an Asian name, teaching their child about Asian culture, history, customs, etc.

Subtheme 3a: High Level of Asian Culture Socialization

The couple who fell on the high end of the bicultural spectrum was actively practicing bicultural parenting practices that emphasized Asian culture. The daily activities for the children were heavily centered around Asian practices (e.g., language learning, engaging with other Asian family friends). Parents had clear reasons for why they provide Asian practices to the children:

I would say we lean more toward the Asian, and the feeling is like we're surrounded by the United States and so that we have to make more of an effort to like really maintain the Asian aspect of our culture. You know, linguistic ability and cultural fluency. So for instance my wife, everyday at three in the afternoon, there's an online Chinese reading group where it's like a group of Chinese moms and their kids get together and read poetry and stuff. We live in the U.S., so

[child] is going to be naturally be acculturated—it's not like she's not gonna know about pizza and hamburger and baseball games, right? But if we don't make an effort to maintain the Asianness, that's not something she'd naturally, organically pick up. And we want her to be able to feel comfortable to go back to China, if we wanted to move back to China. [H1-C turns his camera to a blackboard with Chinese letters written on it] These are some stuff around the house, and my wife really makes a great effort to represent Chinese culture around the house and practice writing (H1-C).

In the Chinese community, I'll use her Chinese name and in the rest of the community, I use her English name. Most of our daughter's friends are either totally Chinese or half Chinese at least. She doesn't really have any non-Chinese friends. (W1-A).

Subtheme 3b: Medium Level of Asian Culture Socialization

Most couples fell into this category. They were using a mix of both Asian and mainstream culture in their household where the children were able to experience both Asian and American culture. The Asian parent of these couples were either a 1.5 generation—who were born in a different country but arrived in the US as children or teenagers (Chan, 2017), or second-generation Asian American. The participants shared that they usually incorporate the combination of Asian and mainstream culture because they based their practices on their upbringing. Parents also made decisions on which Asian practices to keep or follow based on what they liked. The selective bicultural

practices derived from how the parents themselves were familiar with Asian culture, as the Asian parents on the middle of the spectrum were fairly familiar with both Asian and mainstream culture. For a few couples, the reason to include both cultures was so that the children were exposed to cultural diversity, which was not the experience the husbands had. Generally, parents appreciated the concept of cultural diversity and they were encouraging their child(ren) to experience different parts of the world, including Asian culture.

So we do a very Americanized version of sweeping the grave. You know, Lunar New Year, we do a very Americanized version of the loon festival. We get a lot of Chinese food. I think we are still pretty conscious of teaching our kids about how to advocate and representative ourselves as minority (H5-A).

I see mostly mainstream American themes. But the holidays, you know, of course New Year's Day, that was all Korean. And Mom and Dad both celebrated their 60th birthday. That was very much a Korean thing. And we would cook Korean at least once or twice during the week and it wasn't a conscious that we were going to eat Korean twice a week. We had Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny...and Christmas was a big deal. You couldn't quite assume why we had to do all that. It was like 'Well, because I was raised with those things, they need to have that. They need to have the Tooth Fairy and the Easter Bunny' (W9-C).

We're trying to combine both cultures as much as possible (H9-A).

I was raised in the country and honestly, before I met [W4-A], I would eat just American style food, I would not adventure much, I had never flown on a plane before I met her. I literally stayed in this bubble on the East Coast. I was deprived of a lot of things that would have been really fun. So I want him to open his mind to things like that, and not be boxed in (H4-C).

How to be selective when combining both cultures depended on which elements from a culture the couple wanted to keep. For example, W3-A expressed:

I think in some ways there's conflict between an Asian background and Christianity. You know, like Buddhism and ancestor worship is contrary to Christianity. So there's some traditions in the Chinese culture that are along those religious lines that we choose not to partake in.

And W4-A shared:

There is something that I try to avoid as an Asian parent—not being a tiger mom, not to focus too much on academic progress. As a person that was raised by a Korean parent, if he does really well in school, I'd try to not get too excited. (Laugh). So that I don't focus on the academics as much as the typical Asian parents do. I try to remind him that grades aren't everything.

Subtheme 3c: Low Level of Asian Culture Socialization

Couples who did not incorporate a lot of Asian culture in their child rearing did so because they themselves were not very familiar with Asian culture or mostly engaging with the mainstream culture.

We teach some Japanese stuff sometimes, with chopsticks and being polite at the table. I want to say there is a bit of both in there, but it's not anything customized like really traditional Japanese. It's just what we can at the moment, it's Americanized Japanese, basically (W6-C).

We speak English and we decided we could make an effort to teach them different languages, but then they had language delay (W7-A).

Yeah, we initially thought that we might teach them Korean as well. But when it became clear that actually they had enough trouble learning English, we thought that there was no point. Like, we wouldn't want to make their lives more complicated by doing that.... We do not decide to create a cultural direction as such in terms of the education of our children. We don't really have any development direction we took, so I don't think that there's any practices that put us more in line with the particular racial direction in terms of bringing them out (H7-C).

Definitely more mainstream, because that's how I was raised. They don't speak Korean. I feel like they're learning more about Korea and its culture through Taekwondo, which is almost better because they're more receptive to learn from somebody else than their parents (W8-A).

[Engage in] mainstream American. You know, my kids like to make the Asian joke "What's an Asian F on a report card? It's the B." So they know that I have certain expectations for them and in some ways, it drives them. But I think in the

end, I wouldn't say we are that strict in terms of academic performance and that not like some Asian families (W10-A).

Theme 4: Child's Socialization of Race

This theme demonstrates how well the Asian-Caucasian biracial children understand the concept of race, based on the reports from the parents. In the process, the parents shared how frequent and how deeply they have conversations about race as well as the patterns of their approach when socializing their children about race issues. Parents with older children (7 and older) were better able to share stories related to their understanding of race compared to the parents with younger children (ages 3.5-6 years old).

Subtheme 4a: Child's Understanding of Race

Couple 1's older child was 4 years old. The husband shared that his daughter understands other people's race fairly well and that she initiates communication even with strangers. This couple was very active in incorporating Asian culture in their household, constantly communicating and being engaged in the Asian community.

If she sees people out there she will start speaking to them in Chinese, which creates funny situations sometimes if they were Vietnamese or Koreans. She does notice and asks, "Is that person Chinese?" and I say "I don't know." (H1-C)

Couple 4's child is also 4 years old. The couple shared that the concept of race has not yet registered with the child.

He hasn't noticed and I don't think it really is registered just yet. Just last year, he had a little thing from his school where there was a picture of a very generic white background, black outline of a face. And it was him learning colors, saying my eyes are whatever color, my hair is whatever color. And he literally just wrote down what the actual color was on the paper, which was white. His face was white because the paper was white (W4-A).

On the other hand, older children (age 7 and up) were more aware of the concept of race and racism.

So [biological child] has been learning to identify. She had a really insensitive assignment in middle school, which is one of the first times I think she really identified something is not cool. Her social studies teacher wanted them to do a research on their families. European Middle Ages' family crest. Well, that left all the Black kids in the family and she would say, "All the Asian kids looked at each other like this is a stupid assignment." (W5-C)

[Daughter], the oldest, I think she very much was very proud of being Korean and Asian. And she liked that identity. Very fiercely proud of who she is (W9-C).

Subtheme 4b: Active Conversation and Socialization

Couple 5 shared their active participation in socializing their children with the concept of race and being firm about how to stand up. H5-A shared:

When I was growing up, Asians were so deferential, and they don't want to create fuss. The advice was just to ignore that. And then I found that I actually helped the other person off the hook. When someone makes a racist comment towards me, mostly I just don't want to feel bad about myself so I push back on that comment immediately. If people would make racial comments and I heard them, I would turn around and go back to them and confront them and the kids would be with me. I did that like three times with [biological daughter] and twice with [adopted daughter]. And [W5-C] does very similar things. I think the most important thing we try to show them is the pride of being Asian-American and also the strategy and how not to suffer the psychological downside of being a minority in America. In addition, because I'm involved in Asian-American stuff, I've been slowly communicating to them about discrimination against Asian-Americans in the law. That's something I have focused over the years. As a minority American, you treated somewhat differently, having a professional life. I just want to communicate that to them, I don't feel like that's a positive or negative thing. It's just like you live in America. This is a fact of life. You have to understand those facts.

(H5-A).

I also think it's important that they learn not only about discrimination at Asian-Americans, but about discrimination in America in general and about the struggles of people of color in our culture across the board. And that their struggle

is also their struggle and that they have a role both in experiencing that, but also working against it (W5-C).

Social issues, such as the Black Lives Matter movement, often became the topic for the family to discuss race and racism as indicated by Couple 5 and Couple 10:

I think she was mostly irritated that we took that experience and talked to her about like "No, it's not just you. Kids with African last names can't do the assignment." It's kids who have African ancestry, who have white people's last names from slavery. We now have to go to the school and talk to them about how this is not an appropriate assignment. So I think in teaching her that "What happens with her, with her sister? With Asian people" is connected to a broader struggle for people of color. I think that we can see that now and her understanding of herself and her role--she's also a really activist kid anyway. And she's really involved with Black Lives Matter and focusing on that more recently. And I think that is because we've brought in the context outside of just Asian. There are struggles for people of color in America in general (W5-C).

When the whole Black Lives Matter movement happen and George Floyd was killed in Minneapolis, we tried to explain to our children on the perspective. We did not think they understood how in some ways a Black community would feel oppressed by a white community in positions of authority. So we watch certain movies and then talk about it and have them underline where the black man was

imprisoned for a murder that he never committed. And the reason why a black person would run away even when confronted by police and they may not be guilty, why they would be fearful and present a certain way? I don't think they understand. Even though they are biracial, I don't think they've ever experienced the prejudice that maybe a black person has. And for them to understand that perspective, we feel like we need to actually have those conversations (W10-A).

The routines or norms in the family also provided opportunities for the family to have conversations about race/ethnicity. For Couple 3, frequent traveling outside of the US. was expected, and thus, children were able to experience cultural diversity on a more authentic level.

I think the conversations definitely have started through school or like these things we see in the news, or there's conversation at school. So then those naturally come home. We also frame them in terms of privilege. You know, 'You have a lot of privilege that some other people might not have. So what do you do with that?' This is how those conversations are framed because they are in a very diverse school. I think they've had the opportunity to have friends who don't look the same as them, so in some ways, they think they see it like that. You know, other people are treated differently or they have different background, things like that. We travel a lot with kids. We spend a lot of time doing missions work in other countries. So their concept of race and ethnicity is, I think, much broader than how it's typically constructed in the U.S. (W3-A).

Couple 9 gave their children Korean middle names but only used for the Korean side of the family with a purpose. As parents, they knew that calling their children by their full name indicated that they were in trouble. They tried not to have their children associate negative feelings towards their Asian identity.

We didn't really use their middle names. When I was growing up, if you were in trouble, your mother said your first and your middle name (Laugh). I knew you were in trouble. So I never wanted to do that with my kids because I didn't want them to resent their middle name or associated with they are in troubles. That was something I was careful not to do (W9-C).

Subtheme 4c: Passive Conversation and Socialization

On the other hand, some couples still engaged in racial socialization and conversations about race in a passive manner as they talked about it when the topic emerged from time to time. These couples recognize cultural diversity and respect it; however, they were less likely to actively discuss race. For example, W7-A and H7-C both have the background of living in South Africa and the United Kingdom. When living in South Africa as an Asian-Caucasian couple, they were both the racial minority in that society.

And we did talk about Black Lives Matter. And I think that that's happening and the racial problems, as far as he knows, race is a more likely American White and

American Blacks having some kind of issues. Sometimes political, but nothing that every single person inherently possesses (W7-A).

Other couples also shared that the topic of race, particularly the Black Lives Matter movement was mentioned; however, deep conversation did not happen. The parents were aware that the racial tension in the US. was an issue.

Um, we have had very limited discussion about Black Lives Matter because it's all over the news, and we're trying to teach our kids to be sensitive, but only what they can take. We understand that kids don't see color right now, at least not the way we see color. I think I see color a lot like a child does it, just a different... I actually see culture as being different (H2-C).

I know there's a video about that where the teacher's gonna bring it up and they're gonna have more questions, especially with the Black Lives Matter movement, I of course want them to be more educated and more aware about that. But it's just going to have to be like I'm going to take it a step at a time. Right now, they're just little kids. And I want them to enjoy being a child for a little bit (W6-C).

Theme 5: Cultural Differences

All couples shared that they did not have particular challenges or issues with their Asian-Caucasian biracial child(ren) per se. However, interesting stories were also shared in terms of cultural differences they experienced among the family members. Most of the misunderstanding happened between one of the spouses and the in-laws.

Subtheme 5a: In-Laws

In China when you have a baby, they have this concept of 40 days after the baby is born, you don't even leave the house. So when my mom came to visit, it was like a week after the baby was born. My wife was just staying in the bedroom. And from my mom's point of view, she feels like my wife is being rude—hiding and avoiding my mom when it's just in China, you would just have people waiting on you hand and foot and you wouldn't even get out of your bed for the first couple weeks. So that caused some friction, actually. Yeah... that was kind of hard (H1-C).

[W2-A]'s mother who lived with us for a short period of time, always spank the children. Um, it has caused major problem. She doesn't do her schooling by not beating them. The worst it ever got...[W2-A] and her mom got in a very verbal altercation and her mother wanted to make it physical, and this is America and no one is allowed to hit my wife. My mother in law grabbed my oldest daughter by the arm and held her, spun in the air by her arm, and the arm had been dislocated trying to take a coat off. You can't hit my wife, you really can't hurt my children. And I removed my child from her grasp and she picked up something in an attempt to attack me, which is even dumber. She kept hitting until she figured out that assaulting me is not a smart idea. And I separated my wife and children from her and didn't let her back in the house until she was so hurt that she was left on the ground crying for an extended period of time (H2-C).

Subtheme 5b: Between Spouses

Spouses had different expectations for their children. They referred the differences in opinions to the cultural differences. Both W2 and H9 who are Asian parents expressed that they were more interested and concerned about their children's academic progress while their Caucasian spouses expressed they were less worried about grades.

Schools are so incredibly important. The current generation in China, test scores mean everything. So in China they have a test called the [Chinese word], which decides which school you can get into. And so [W2-A] thinks that translates here like she thinks if your kids go to a good school here, they get to go to Harvard. And I keep telling her if your kids go to a bad school but they are the best students, they get to go to Harvard (H2-C).

He had to work so hard when he came here to learn English and to study so hard that getting As was the thing. He hardly ever got a B and he couldn't understand why our kids did not have that drive. He was almost blaming me because the kids didn't have that drive. And it's like "Well, you know, they are their own people. They have to find that from the inside themselves." And he thought we should be able to force that on them because that's Korean culture (W9-C).

Subtheme 5c: Language Differences

Even though couples themselves did not have much trouble understanding each other, some couples expressed that the language differences worked as a barrier for their child to communicate with the Asian side of the family.

Because they [W4-A's family] are all in Korea, I'm the only one here. So [son] does not get to spend time with my parents as much and when I do call them, he doesn't speak the language just yet. I do wonder if he spoke Korean then they would actually be able to have conversations (W4-A).

My parents are very sad that kids can't speak Korean, which is not my problem (laugh). I'm not gonna spend extra hour or two everyday trying to teach them Korean. I can't make myself (W7-A).

Theme 6: Child's Appearance and Treatment

While all couples shared that they did not have difficulties with their Asian-Caucasian biracial child(ren) themselves due to their biracial identity, a common issue they brought up was that the parents have faced comments coming from others regarding the biracial children's look and the treatment they received. Parents shared that they did not appreciate how their appearance was objectified/fetishized, or that they were being forced to be categorized as one racial group by "passing" (i.e., Caucasian).

When we were in China for [older daughter]'s first year and a half of life, something that I worried about a little was that people fetishize foreigners a bit. All these sayings "Oh, mixed-race children are better looking than normal

children.” On one hand, it’s a nice thing but I don’t want her to internalize that too much. Someone could be saying while looking at her “Oh, mixed children are so beautiful” (H1-C).

When we had our oldest son, he was at a daycare in one end of town that was socioeconomically less. He was known as the white kid because all the other kids were Hispanic and Black. But then when we moved him to a different school that was more affluent, he was the Asian kid because the other school was more Caucasian. So it was interesting. That was when our oldest was 1 to 2 years old, he was really young. This was my first experience as a parent and seeing how my kid, who is the same kid, is being viewed differently depending on the setting that he was in (W3-A).

When we were in Southeast Asia and then we were all in Vietnam together. The people in those countries just were very warm and friendly but it was like a Justin Bieber concert when they walked somewhere and young girls would grab them and sit them down and have their photos taken with them. And adults would do the same thing and they would just come up and take selfies. We were like "What's going on?" And it was because they were biracial. Everyone was interested like, "Oh, this is your son, your wife is Asian." Or they would see the two of us and be like "Oh this is what your child looks like. This is what a biracial child looks like." I mean, they weren't treated like humans. They were treated like objects that they had affection (H3-C).

[People at a doctor's office] would look at [the children] confused sometimes, because they're white but they do have the eyes with the cute tilt. So they look at them and be like "Oh, they are Japanese?" and I'm "Well, their dad is Japanese." Because they're blond, blue eyes. They're biracial and I want people to know that even though they may look a certain way, they're still Japanese and some people will look at them and get confused, which is why they said "Oh, let's just put it Caucasian because the doctor might get confused" (W6-C).

Overall, she looks white—her upper bone structure and she got lighter brown hair. She passes as white. So she was trying to put on makeup following the makeup description on the back but that was not like her eyes at all. And so I looked up how to put makeup on Asian eyes. She did not want to identify as having Asian eyes, so I wanted to be positive about it, I was trying to say, "Listen, first of all, having Asian eyes isn't a bad thing. You just pass as white, your eyes are actually shaped like Asian eyes." That was really an opportunity to talk to her about that this isn't a bad thing. Being different isn't the bad thing (W5-C).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The current research attempted to answer the research question: What are the monoracial parents' lived experiences in guiding their Asian-Caucasian biracial child's racial/ethnic identity? Based on thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), a total of six themes and 11 subthemes were found and analyzed. In this chapter, each theme as well as subtheme is discussed in relation to the literature review. This chapter also discusses the implications of the findings, limitations of the research, directions for future research, and conclusion.

Theme 1: Emphasis on Child's Individual Identity

Most participants expressed that they value their Asian-Caucasian biracial children's unique individual identity, aside from the fact that they are biracial. The biracial identity was a part of who they are; however, most participants shared that this identity alone does not and cannot describe the biracial children on a bigger scale. In fact, some couples shared that their other identities (e.g., religious beliefs, cultural identity) were more centralized than being Asian-Caucasian biracial. This finding aligns with the first stage of Poston's (1990) biracial identity development model.

An interesting response from a couple highlighted how important it was for their family to have a strong cultural identity (e.g., Texan). Even though being Texan is, by definition, also being American, this couple distinguished Texan from being American and emphasized the Texan identity over other identities. The husband shared that his

family has been exclusively in the state of Texas since the end of the 1600s and that his family has been in Fort Worth since the birth of the city. The long history of the family in an area appears particularly special to his family, and keeping the unique Texan culture is more meaningful and special than being identified as Americans. His comments “I’m not an American; I’m a real Texan,” and “We are not raising our children to be American; we are raising them to be Texan” strongly suggest that having a unique identity aside from a racial/ethnic identity is crucial to the family.

According to Poston (1990), young biracial children develop the sense of self that is independent from the biracial identity. Idiosyncratic characteristics are the base of the individual identity, which allows the biracial individuals to explore their identity as many biracial individuals are sensitive to social context (Gaither, 2015). Poston (1990) also claimed that constructing the personal identity is crucial for the individual’s self-esteem and self-worth. Further, having a higher self-esteem and self-worth can work as a resilience factor when the biracial individual experiences stigmatization due to a negative attitude toward the racial/ethnic group (Quintana, 2007). Therefore, it is important that the parents of the Asian-Caucasian biracial children provide enough resources, guidelines, and parenting practices that allow the children to explore and construct their own personal identity prior to and in conjunction with, developing a positive racial/ethnic identity.

Theme 2: Child's Racial/Ethnic Identity

Parents reported on both their own perceptions of their child's racial/ethnic identity, as well as how they felt their children perceived their racial/ethnic identity. All parents agreed that their biological children are Asian-Caucasian biracial. This acknowledgement is crucial as family socialization is the first form of communication that biracial children receive as they develop the sense of self as well as race (Campbell et al., 2019; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). While the parental messages on racial identification of the biracial children could influence how the biracial children racially/ethnically self identify in the future (Campbell et al., 2019), the process must not be in a forceful way (Supple et al., 2018).

Since all parents agreed that their children are Asian-Caucasian biracial, the concept of hypodescent (Herman, 2004) did not apply to the research participants. Whereas Black-Caucasian biracial children are often identified as Black children, all parents in the current study acknowledged that their children were both Asian and Caucasian. This result could indicate that the social distance between Asian and Caucasian is shorter than of Black and Caucasian, as Chen et al. (2019) argued that the social distance has become shorter between Asian and Caucasian. However, this finding could conversely reflect that the understanding and perception of races in our current society are still hierarchical.

Research has shown that children as young as 3 years old are able to recognize not only their own race but also other people's races (Hirschfeld, 2008; Winkler, 2009).

However, the parents of the youngest children (3.5 years old twins) in this study shared that their children did not seem to comprehend the concept of race yet, and the parents thought they were too young to introduce or educate about race. Another couple whose child was 4 years old expressed that even though their son factually knows that he is both Asian and Caucasian, the meaning of race has not yet been registered, and therefore, he may not understand what it means to be biracial in the United States. Further, the majority (6 couples) expressed that while they all acknowledge that their children are Asian-Caucasian biracial, their biracial identity was not an important subject in their household. This pattern may indicate that parents believe if the children do not talk about it, they must not be thinking of it.

Unlike many parents' perception that their children are not aware of their or other people's races, studies have found that children's understanding of race develops sooner than what most parents think. According to literature, 3-month-old infants already show preference when looking at own-race individuals versus other-race individuals (Anzures et al., 2013; Lingras, 2021). By 6 months, they associate happy music with own-race faces while associating sad music with other-race faces (Lingras, 2021), and by 8 months, infants rely on own-race adults for learning opportunities. The social preferences continue to develop as children construct their racial/ethnic identity along with gender identity (Lingras, 2021).

Although racial recognition and preferences develop at early age (Anzures et al., 2013; Hirschfeld, 2008; Lingras, 2021; Winkler, 2009), parents in this study expressed

that their children are not yet thinking of race. This is similar to previous findings by Vittrup (2018) where white parents reported that the topic of race was not an emerging issue in their family, their children were too young to discuss race, and they would only discuss race if their children initiated the conversations. Thus, the reason for the parents to believe that their children are not yet thinking of race could be simply because there is no conversation initiated by their children. In other words, parents are prone to believe that conversations about race and racial socialization are not necessary until their children are “old enough” or demonstrate their interest on the subject. Comments like “They haven’t asked me ‘Why does she look like that?’ has not gone to that point yet,” “They are too young. I don’t believe they yet have the concept of race” imply that parents assume children of that age are not yet capable of comprehending race. While race is often not an everyday issue for White families in the US., it is for many racial minority individuals. Therefore, it is worth noting that this pattern was shown in Asian-Caucasian interracial families.

On the other hand, parents of older children (7 and older) were able to share how their children viewed themselves. These older children undoubtedly had an understanding of race and their own racial/ethnic identity. Whether the children strongly identified themselves with the Asian identity or not, the parents of the children all agreed on the importance of education on racial diversity. The parents of the older children expressed that their understanding of race was conscious. Those older children also recognize other people’s races and raised questions and issues. According to Poston (1990), those older

children are able to choose with which group they want to be associated. Positive socialization is crucial for individuals in this stage to develop their racial/ethnic identity in a healthy way (Ingram & Chaudhary, 2014; Quintana, 2007).

Theme 3: Spectrum of Bicultural Socialization

Parents in this study reported varying levels of bicultural socialization. Only one couple indicated that they engaged in high levels of Asian culture socialization. According to Campbell et al. (2019), parents who engage in active socialization with Asian culture would have a better chance for their child to later self-identify as Asian. Parental socialization not only plays a crucial role in shaping biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development (Hughes et al., 2006), but also the direction of the racial/ethnic identification (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). According to Rockquemore and Laszloffy's COBI model, a healthy journey to find one's racial/ethnic identity is more important than what racial/ethnic category the individual finally chooses. Given that the couple in this study respected and acknowledged that their children are Asian-Caucasian biracial and believed that extra effort needs to be made in order to maintain the "Asianness" of the children in the mainstream culture, the couple has high racial/ethnic sensitivity, which is likely to lead the children to have a healthy pathway to explore their racial/ethnic identity. The couple had plenty of cultural resources and a social network that enabled them to educate their children about Asian heritage. The couple also described that the knowledge and racial socialization in Asian culture are practical skills that the children would need in the future, as indicated by the following

quote: “I think we came out of a very practical point of view, like the life skills and the ability to function in both cultures.” The children of the couple had many Asian or mixed-Asian peers, which is another factor that is likely to contribute to the children’s trajectory when constructing their racial/ethnic identity (Renn, 2008).

The majority of the participants engaged in medium levels of Asian culture socialization. They were combining both Asian and the mainstream cultural practices. Participants’ reasons for this approach included opportunities to learn about different culture other than the mainstream culture and wanting to promote positive racial/ethnic association. Overall, the couples were integrating both cultures in a way that fit the family’s social context and situation. For example, one couple were open and positive about introducing Korean culture to their children; however, the language exposure was low because there was not a large enough Korean community around them. Even though the Asian parent was not able to structurally teach the Korean language, the children grew up knowing basic phrases and food ingredients. The parents let their children be culturally exposed as best as they could within the situational boundary.

According to the COBI model, the most important element in the development of racial/ethnic identity is whether the individual accepted the journey (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). Therefore, blended practices of the Asian and mainstream cultures in the household are more likely to allow the biracial children to comfortably experience both cultures. One couple shared that trips to China, Chinese language school for children, practicing selective traditions of Chinese culture, and talking openly about

being of minority status most likely helped their children develop the sense of racial/ethnic socialization.

Numerous articles have emphasized the importance of racial socialization for biracial youth's positive experience while developing racial/ethnic identity (Brunsma, 2005; Gaither et al., 2014; Hughes et al., 2006). Family socialization is the primary form of racial socialization (Brunsma, 2005). By practicing bicultural socialization, biracial children are more likely to self-identify as biracial when enough social support and healthy socialization is provided (Root, 1990).

The couples who engaged in low level of Asian culture socialization were not strongly familiar with Asian culture. Two of the Asian parents shared that they themselves did not have a strong Asian upbringing due to the fact that one was adopted by a Caucasian family at the age of 3 months old and the other was moved to a children's home in a predominately white area where Chinese culture was nonexistent. Since both mothers did not have an Asian cultural background growing up, they stated that they were not able to pass down the Asian cultural practices for their children. As parental involvement may lead to social resources and access to the minority group (Campbell et al., 2019), the low level of bicultural socialization is more likely to lead the biracial children to identify as the majority group.

Theme 4: Child's Socialization on Race

Parents in this study perceived that the older Asian-Caucasian biracial children had a better understanding of the concept of race compared to the younger children. They

reported that their children recognized other people's race and asked questions about it. One couple reported that their 4-year-old was curious about other people's races and attempted to interact with other Asians even though they were strangers. Another couple reported that their middle school child was able to recognize issues at school when an inappropriate school assignment was given. These anecdotes indicate that the children are clearly aware of the concept of race.

However, other couples also shared that their children do not yet understand race. For example, one couple shared that although their 4-year-old child factually knows that he is Asian and Caucasian biracial, the topic of race is not often brought up. Similarly, the parents of 3.5-year-old twins shared that their children seem to be not aware of the concept of race as they have not clearly communicated about their own or other people's race/ethnicity. Again, this finding demonstrates parents' perception on their children's understanding of race, which may justify the parents' decision to delay having proactive discussion on race, racism, and racial discrimination. How parents initiating conversations about race is important because the ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) practices generally offer (a) cultural socialization, (b) preparation for bias, (c) promotion of mistrust, and (d) egalitarianism (Hughes et al., 2006). According to Hughes et al. (2006), cultural socialization refers to parental practices of teaching children about their racial/ethnic heritage and promoting cultural traditions as well as racial/ethnic pride. Preparation for bias describes parental effort to discuss the reality of racism and discrimination with their children while also practicing how to cope with them.

Promotion of mistrust involves emphasizing the necessity for wariness when interacting with others in interracial groups. Finally, egalitarianism involves teaching children to emphasize individual qualities over racial group membership, which resembles the colorblind approach.

One commonality among four of the couples was that they had intentional conversations about race and actively engaged in racial/ethnic socialization. Even though one of the Asian parents did not have strong Asian upbringing, she was passionate about talking about race and racism with her children. These couples were actively discussing privilege and racism with their children, including the Black Lives Matter movement. Racial equality meant something personal for those couples. A Caucasian mother shared that had she married a Caucasian man and been raising Caucasian children, she would still be interested in eliminating racism in general, but maybe not be able to think about it on a personal level. She expressed that she feels a big responsibility to raise kids who understand their personal history, family history, and their place in their world. She added that she feels responsible for her children to feel good about personal as well as family heritage. Comments like these imply that the parents provide emotional support and cultural tools not only to fight against racism but also racial/ethnic pride to be resilient (Hughes et al., 2006; Ingram & Chaudhary, 2014).

Some parents indicated they were engaging in more passive racial/ethnic socialization. They talked about race and racial issues when the topic was brought up; however, no initiating gestures were made prior to such concerns. Although the parents

still understood and agreed with the importance of racial/ethnic diversity, conversations about race occurred only when the topic was explicitly brought up (e.g., the Black Lives Matter movement). The Asian parents indicated they did not have enough Asian cultural context to socialize their children in the culture. Ingram and Chaudhary (2014) stated that parents who accept the children's biracial identity but initiate racial/ethnic socialization less frequently may hold the view that there is no reason to have immediate conversation about race. Nonetheless, Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) suggested that having active racial/ethnic socialization provides healthy pathways for biracial youths to find their racial/ethnic identity.

Theme 5: Cultural Differences

Several participants shared stories about cultural differences that had led to conflicts within their home. For some, the conflicts were with their in-laws. Conflicts with in-laws are not unique to interracial couples (Leslie & Young, 2015), but those couples who shared their anecdotes reported the conflicts that were due to cultural differences. For example, one couple expressed that the postpartum care culture in Asia is not widely known to the mainstream culture in the US., and the Caucasian husband's side of the family misunderstood his Asian wife's intention. As Song et al. (2020) reported, the postpartum care is culturally significant to Asian mothers as it is traditionally believed that the proper care is necessary for fast recovery after a childbirth and the mothers' health. Each Asian country has different postpartum care beliefs; in the case of this couple, they were practicing the postpartum care at home according to Chinese

tradition, in which the mother stays confined while minimizing physical movement and activities and following strict dietary regime (Tien, 2004). The differences in postpartum practices created conflicts between the couple and the in-laws, which is a unique issue that interracial couples experience.

This experience can influence how the parents approach their children's racial/ethnic socialization practices. Because the Asian parent experienced cultural differences and conflicts with their Caucasian American in-laws during the postpartum care, it may inflict more challenges for the couple as they attempt to maintain Asian heritage and traditions for the children if the conflicts with the in-laws continue. Depending on how the couple handles the conflicts with the in-laws, the family dynamics and relationships between their children and the in-laws may be influenced (e.g., the Asian-Caucasian biracial children may feel distant to their Caucasian American grandparents if the couple continues to have trouble with them and thus not interacting with them as much).

The differences in cultural backgrounds led to conflicts between spouses as well. Two couples experienced different expectations from their children in terms of education. Both Asian parents expressed that they prefer their children to be academically successful, while their Caucasian spouses were less concerned about this. One of the couples shared that they eventually came to an agreement through communication, and the conflict is no longer ongoing. Literature emphasizes the importance of open communication and socialization of race with children (Hughes et al., 2006). According

to Leslie and Young (2015), interracial couples not only have typical marital issues but also unique challenges they may need to overcome due to cultural differences and social acceptance. Therefore, an additional note should be made that open communication between interracial couples is just as important to decrease marital issues.

Parents in this study varied widely in the importance they placed on teaching their children the Asian parent's native language. Being able to speak an ethnic language may be an important factor for biracial individuals to acknowledge their racial/ethnic heritage (Arredondo et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2006). Thus, being able to speak an Asian language can be an indicator for Asian-Caucasian biracial children to be accepted by the Asian community and the biracial individuals' self-efficacy to identify as Asians. Two Asian mothers shared that if their children spoke better Korean, they would be able to communicate with their families in Korea, particularly the grandparents. While some couples were actively involved in the Asian language education for their children, other couples were mainly keeping English as the primary language at home.

Language connects people and enables communication among them (Arredondo et al., 2016; Cashman, 2005). As literature has found, being able to speak an Asian language enables the Asian biracial individuals to feel group membership (Cashman, 2005; Hughes et al., 2006); thus, the parents' continuous interest in educating the language is advised.

Theme 6: Child's Appearance

Some participants shared that they have heard comments from others in regard to the biracial children's physical appearances. Two couples expressed that they felt their children's appearance was objectified and fetishized. One Caucasian parent further expressed that she was rather frustrated that other people identified her children as Caucasian and disregarded their Asian identity because they have blond hair and blue eyes. Another parent also shared that her son was often mistaken as Latino, which made her upset because she did not appreciate how others were quickly judging him only based on his look. Phenotypical characteristics of biracial children often influence how the biracial individuals are seen and judged by others (Chen et al., 2019; Renn, 2008). Chen et al. (2019) stated that Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals (as opposed to Black-Caucasian biracial individuals) have more phenotypical overlap, which allows Asian-Caucasians to "pass" as Caucasian. A Caucasian parent also shared that her children, especially daughter, passes as Caucasian when interacting with people. One Caucasian parent expressed that it upsets her when others overlooked the Asian side of her children. Another Caucasian parent shared that it did not bother her when other people judged her children based on their look because the reaction was mostly positive. For example, her children received comments like "Your children are beautiful because they are half and half."

One interesting comment from an Asian parent highlighted how the same child who is Asian-Caucasian biracial can be perceived differently in different social

surroundings where in the socioeconomically less affluent area, he was regarded as a Caucasian child at the daycare in which there were more Black and Hispanic children; in the more affluent area where the school was predominately Caucasian, the same child was viewed as an Asian child. This example demonstrates that race is a social construct, which represents cultural understanding of racial groups. In the US., there are two opposite perceptions towards Asian Americans: (1) Asian Americans are believed to be a privileged group as they have higher educational attainment and income (Pew Research Center, 2012) and are less likely to live in poverty (Pew Research Center, 2017c); (2) Asian Americans are still considered as an outgroup as they often become the target of racism and discrimination (Chong & Kuo, 2015; Wang et al., 2011). Due to these polarizing views on Asian American, the Asian-Caucasian biracial youth may struggle with making sense of their position in society when they are quickly judged by their look.

How the phenotypical characteristics of Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals are perceived by others can influence the self-esteem of the biracial individuals, as negative perceptions can work against them while they may experience difficulties from being accepted by the community (Chen et al., 2019). Further, Renn (2008) argued that when biracial individuals experience negative ecological influences from the person-environment process, they are more likely to be uncomfortable with their racial/ethnic identity. This argument aligned with Rockquemore and Laszloffy's (2005) COBI model that emphasized the implications of unhealthy pathways to find the racial/ethnic identity.

Implications

As the number of Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals is rapidly increasing in the United States, a deeper understanding is needed to better serve this understudied community (Chong & Kuo, 2015). The implications of the findings include continuous effort to promote cultural diversity, color-conscious education in lieu of a color-blind approach, and racial awareness in the home environment, as parents work as the primary agent for biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development as well as racial socialization (Brunsma, 2005; Supple et al., 2018).

Research has shown that Caucasian parents are more likely to take the color-blind approach when racially socializing their children (Chong, 2013; Vittrup, 2018). According to Hughes et al. (2006), parents who endorse the color-blind approach believe that the race of an individual should not be noticed. While they are well-intended, the messages do not reflect the reality of racial minority individuals who experience racism, discrimination, and leave their children unprepared for possible mistreatments. While a color-blind approach assumes that race does not matter and underplays the power of race in the current social and cultural climate (Kohatsu et al., 2011), a color-conscious approach acknowledges the unequal dynamics among racial groups both on individual and public level (Killian & Khanna, 2019). According to Vittrup (2018), parents who have color-conscious attitudes engage in discussing discrimination and inequality, mentioning skin color, and exposing their children to other cultures. Therefore, color-conscious parents are more likely to take proactive actions while color-blind parents are more likely to take reactive actions when the topic of race emerges in their household.

The importance of a color-conscious approach does not only apply to households with biracial children. Killian and Khanna (2019) emphasized the power of color-conscious racial socialization in families with transracially adopted children. Critics have been arguing that Caucasian families are less equipped to provide proper racial socialization (i.e., color-conscious education) when adopting non-Caucasian children who are more likely to be racially marginalized. Killian and Khanna also found that some Caucasian parents paid little to no attention to race/ethnicity before the adoption but shifted their approach significantly postadoption. Yet, some parents still failed to address issues with race because they did not see the skin color of their adopted children, understand the complexities of race in the US., or wanted to confront the difficulties of realities. All of the factors above lead the parents to take a color-blind approach when socializing their children, which is more likely to hinder the children to be prepared for racism.

Moreover, teacher trainings and professional development need to address the impact of social environment in classrooms, as messages from teachers can be as powerful as parental practices (Chan, 2017; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). Teachers should increase classroom activities that promote cultural and racial awareness, encourage open discourse among students to increase racial sensitivity, and provide support when students are combating racism or prejudice. Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) argued that teacher attitudes and behaviors mattered because how they are treated

can influence how biracial children self-represent (e.g., racial identity, language usage, etc.).

As Bronfenbrenner (1994) discussed, the home and school environment are salient components of a child's development as these comprise the microsystems of the child. The child's racial/ethnic identity and social environment (her or his microsystem) influence the connection between the microsystems (her or his mesosystem) because of the way the child's social environment responds to the child's identity. The type of racial socialization has an impact on how biracial individuals, especially the youth, construct their own racial/ethnic identity (Araujo-Dawson & Quiros, 2014). For this reason, the findings of the current research can provide guidelines for educational structures and lesson plans for better interaction in classroom settings, including the regions with a low Asian population.

Limitations

The current research was conducted through phenomenology which looks at the lived experiences of the participants (Saldaña, 2015). While this method was appropriate to capture the parents' experiences of raising Asian-Caucasian biracial children, the 1-hour interview which recapitulates the highlights of the parents' experiences may have a limitation to provide the full context of the biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development.

The purpose of the current research was to delve into monoracial East Asian and Caucasian parents' experiences of raising Asian-Caucasian biracial children. The Asian

continent is the largest continent of all, including part of Russia, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and many other countries. Thus, Asia is both ethnically and culturally diverse. The current study specifically focused on East Asian-Caucasian biracial individuals, and therefore biracial children of other Asian heritage, other racial minorities, and biracial children of other racial minority groups were not included. It is hoped that a deeper examination of East Asian-Caucasian biracial children and their parents' experiences of childrearing contribute to a better understanding of this growing community.

Directions for Future Research

Future research should examine the environmental influences and socialization experiences of biracial individuals and their racial/ethnic identity development. Qualitative longitudinal studies can capture the racial/identity development trajectories more closely, along with the biracial individuals' perceptions towards racial identities. The environmental influences may include the region in which the biracial individual resides, racial/ethnic diversity level of the school, school events and activities that promote racial diversity and awareness, etc.

Another direction for future research is to focus on the lived experiences of interracial married couples who received negative social support or experienced negative perceptions of their relationship and how their experience potentially guides racial socialization for their biracial children. This can also examine how racism and negative attitudes towards interracial relationships may prep parents to racially socialize their children to combat racism.

Finally, future research should examine the factors that influence interracial couples, especially Asian-Caucasian couples to posit color-blind approaches when this pattern was previously detected in Caucasian families. Further research should also investigate whether the reduced social distance between Asian and Caucasian in the US. (Smith et al., 2014) is related to this phenomenon.

Conclusion

The current study aimed to delve into experiences of Asian and Caucasian monoracial parents who are raising their Asian-Caucasian biracial children and how they perceive their children's racial/ethnic identity development. The findings highlighted the importance of racial socialization as well as frequent discourse about race, as children who have supportive parents are likely to find healthy pathways to construct their racial/ethnic identity (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). For biracial children, positive experience while exploring their racial/ethnic identity is an important component for their self-esteem and overall psychological well-being (Ong et al., 2013; Poston, 1990; Wang et al., 2011). Hence, the main takeaway from the current study is the significance of color-conscious racial socialization in multiracial households, as this method helps biracial youth to learn about the racial realities in the nation, cope with stressful situations, and combat racism and discrimination. With parents' effort in color-conscious racial socialization, the biracial youth in the US. will not only experience healthy pathways to find their racial/ethnic identity but may also contribute to the color-conscious society that the future awaits.

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Appendix A

Social Media Post for Recruitment

Hi everyone, my name is Haemin Kim, I am a doctoral student looking for participants to interview for my dissertation. The purpose of the study is to delve into parents' experience and parental practices of raising Asian-Caucasian biracial children. In order to participate in the study, a participant must:

- Identify her/himself as East Asian or Caucasian/white.
- Be interracial married to an individual who identifies her/himself as East Asian or Caucasian/white.
- Have at least one biological child age 3 or older.
- Be willing to be interviewed with their spouse.
- Reside in the United States.
- Must have access to Internet for online interview via Zoom.
- Must be at least 18 years old.
- Must speak English.

If you meet these criteria and are interested, please email Haemin Kim at hkim14@twu.edu to schedule an online interview. The interview will last no more than 60 minutes. Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Potential risks include emotional distress, loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, and internet transactions. Thank you so much for your time.

Sincerely,

Haemin Kim, M.S.

Appendix B

Informed Consent Form and Demographic Questionnaire

TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title: Parental Practices and Biracial Asian Children's Racial/Ethnic Identity Development

Principal Investigator: Haemin Kim, M.S..... hkim14@twu.edu / 956-789-8253

Faculty Advisor: Brigitte Vittrup, Ph.D.....bvittrup@twu.edu / 940-898-2624

Summary and Key Information about the Study

With a rising number of interracial marriages between Asian and Caucasian and population of mixed Asian in the United States, the purpose of this study is to delve into the lived experiences of interracial couples as they raise their biracial children, and their views on how their biracial children develop racial/ethnic identity. Participants must be monoracial East-Asian and Caucasian parents raising a biracial child age 3 or older. The total time commitment for this study will be about 45 to 60 minutes. The greatest risks of this study include potential loss of confidentiality and emotional discomfort. Using thematic analysis, the transcribed data will be analyzed to generate themes of parental practices that shape the Asian-Caucasian biracial children's racial/ethnic identity development.

Voluntary Participation

Your decision to participate in this study is completely voluntary, and you have the right to refuse or withdraw from the study at any point.

Procedures

With your consent, the Principal Investigator (PI) will proceed to schedule an interview appointment. The interview will take place online via Zoom, a video conferencing service. While the entire interview will include visual and audio, only the audio will be recorded using a separate voice-recorder. The purpose of the recording is for data analysis. Only the PI will have the access to the recorded files. With both spouses present, the PI will ask questions about your basic background/demography in regards to race and ethnicity, parental perception of your child's racial/ethnic identity, and your experience of raising a biracial child. Follow-up questions may also be asked based on contexts of the interview conversation. It is expected that the interview will last 45-60 minutes.

Potential Risks

Potential risks involve emotional discomfort due to the topic being discussed, loss of time, and loss of confidentiality. To minimize these risks, you are reminded that you may refuse any question you do not feel comfortable answering, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. For any emotional discomfort or stress that you may experience during the interview, you will also receive information about therapy and counseling opportunities upon completion of the interview via email. Confidentiality will be protected to the extent that is allowed by law. There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, electronic meetings, and internet transactions.

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All electronic data and participant information will be secured with a passcode. Any printed data and participant information will be stored in a locked cabinet to which only the PI will have access. All participant information and the recorded audio files will be destroyed upon completion of the data analysis. Your audio recording and/or any personal information collected for this study will not be used or distributed for future research even after the researchers remove your personal or identifiable information.

The researchers will try to prevent any problem that could happen because of this research. You should let the researchers know at once if there is a problem, and they will try to help you. However, Texas Woman's University does not provide medical services or financial assistance for injuries that might happen because you are taking part in this research.

Participant Benefit

By participating in the study, you may help increase our understanding of monoracial parents' experiences of raising biracial children and how they perceive their child's racial-ethnic identity development. If you would like to know the results of this study, the PI will email them to you.*

Questions Regarding the Study

An email will be sent with an attachment of informed consent (a PDF form). You will initial, sign, and date - electronically via Adobe PDF- and email it back to the PI. You can keep a copy of the signed electronic form. If you have any questions about the study, you should ask the researchers. Their contact information is at the top of this form. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research or the way this study has been conducted, you may contact the TWU Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at 940-898-3378 or via email at IRB@twu.edu.

Acknowledgement

I have read the foregoing information. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study. I understand that I will be given a copy of this signed Consent Form.

Name of Participant (print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

*Please provide an email address if you would like to know the results of this study.

Email: _____

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Mother

Age: _____

This is my: (choose one)

First marriage

Second marriage

Third or beyond marriage

I do:

Have kid(s) from previous marriage(s)
marriage(s)

Not have kid(s) from previous marriage(s)
marriage(s)

Any of the previous marriage(s):

Father

Age: _____

This is my: (choose one)

First marriage

Second marriage

Third or beyond marriage

I do:

Have kid(s) from previous

Not have kid(s) from previous

Any of the previous marriage(s):

Was an interracial marriage
Was not an interracial marriage

Was an interracial marriage
Was not an interracial marriage

Income: (choose one)
Less than 20,000

Income: (choose one)
Less than 20,000

20,000 – 39,999

20,000 – 39,999

40,000 – 59,999

40,000 – 59,999

60,000 – 79,999

60,000 – 79,999

80,000 – 99,999

80,000 – 99,999

100,000 – 124,999

100,000 – 124,999

125,000 or more

125,000 or more

Prefer not to answer

Prefer not to answer

Member Checking

Member checking is a way to ensure the credibility of the research by confirming the responses of the participants with them. Please check the box if you are willing to be contacted to confirm the interpretation of your responses.

☐ I am willing to be contacted for member checking.

Initials

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Appendix C

Semi-structured Interview Questions

Background/demographic information	1. How would you describe your race/ethnic identity? (Ask each participant)
	2. (For Asian parent only) Do you identify yourself as first, second, or third generation Asian American? If you are first generation, how old were you when you moved?
	3. How would you describe racial diversity of your neighborhood and your child's school?
	4. Do you mind sharing if you have other kids and also if they are biracial or monoracial?
Parent Perception	1. When asked to indicate your child's race/ethnicity on surveys or official documents, what do you list it as? In other words, how do you describe your child's race/ethnic identity? Why?
	2. How do you think your child describes her/himself? How do you know?
Experience	1. Did you and your spouse discuss racial socialization practices prior to the birth of your child?
	2. Do you raise your child in a way that emphasizes more Asian cultural practices, or mainstream American practices? Please describe. Why have you chosen this approach?
	3. Do you talk about race, racism, and/or racial discrimination with your child? How? If not, why not?
	4. Which parental practices do you engage with that you think characterize your child's racial/ethnic identity?
	5. In your experience, is there any issue that you can share in terms of raising a biracial child?
Follow up questions	1. Do you call them by their Asian name, if they have one?
	2. Do you speak an Asian language at home?
	3. Do you cook or feed Asian food and/or visit Asian grocery/restaurants?
	4. Do you connect your child with Asian peers?
	5. Do you teach them Asian culture/history/customs?

Appendix D

Counseling/Therapy Referrals

Counseling/Therapy Referrals

1. Jewel Love, MFT. Specializes in interracial couples counseling. Provides online counseling sessions. <https://www.interracialcouplescounseling.com/>
2. Colleen Andre, LMHC. Various specialties including interracial couples. Provides online counseling sessions. <https://lifecounselingsolutions.com/orlando-trauma-and-teen-counseling-meet-colleen/>
3. Hawanya B. Miller, LMFT. Specializes in interracial couples counseling. Provides online counseling sessions. <https://movetowardchange.com/about/>