

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: ETHNIC-RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION IN CHINESE IMMIGRANT PARENTS: ETHNIC-RACIAL IDENTITY AS A MEDIATOR

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Ethnic-racial discrimination against Chinese people have been prevalent, resulting in great stress to Chinese families. The current study was aimed of revealing the intergenerational associations between parental racism-related stress and perceived Sinophobia messages in the media, parental ethnic-racial identity (ERI), parental ethnic-racial socialization (ERS), and children's psychological difficulties and examined the mediation roles of parental ERI and ERS as well as the effects of contextual factors (i.e., neighborhood racial diversity and perceived Chinese density). This study relies on a longitudinal study funded by National Science Foundation RAPID grant to understand Chinese American children's and parents' experience with discrimination and adjustment during COVID-19, and only data collected between March to May, 2020 (Time 1) and January to April, 2021 (Time 2) were used in this study. The subsample consists of 294 Chinese immigrant parents (Mage = 44.28, SD age = 6.18, ages ranged from 29 to 63 years, 79% female). The results showed that parental racism-related stress during COVID-

19 at Time 1 had significant indirect effects on parental lower use of avoidance of outgroups at Time 2 and higher maintenance of heritage culture practice at Time 2 via parental ERI greater private regard at Time 2. Parental perceived Sinophobia in the media at Time 1 had significant indirect effects on child's lower psychological difficulties at Time 2 via parental higher use of maintenance of heritage culture practice at Time 2. Parental racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1 had significant indirect effects on child's higher psychological difficulties at Time 2 via parental higher use of avoidance of outgroups practice at Time 2. Additionally, the multi-group analysis was used to compare the mediation model differences between neighborhoods with low and high general racial diversity and perceived Chinese ethnic specific density. With regard to neighborhood general racial diversity, only for the high neighborhood general racial diversity group, parental racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1 positively and parental ERI private regard at Time 2 negatively predicted parental use of avoidance of outgroups practices; Parental use of avoidance of outgroups practices positively predicted child's psychological difficulties at Time 2. For perceived neighborhood Chinese ethnicity specific density, no significant model differences were found between perceived high and low Chinese density groups. Practical implications, limitations, and future directions of these findings were discussed.

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IN CHINESE IMMIGRANT PARENTS:
ETHNIC-RACIAL IDENTITY AS A MEDIATOR

by

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	ii
List of Tables.....	iv
List of Figures.....	v
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review	7
Theoretical Models.....	7
The Integrative Model	7
The Rejection Identification and Rejection-Disidentification Models.....	8
Racial Discrimination against Chinese Americans during COVID-19	9
Chinese American Parents’ Racial-Ethnic Discrimination and Children’s Adjustment.....	10
Chinese American Parents’ Ethnic-Racial Identity	11
Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization	14
Dimensions of Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices	14
Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization of Ethnic-Racial Minorities	16
Parent- versus Child-Reported Ethnic-Racial Socialization.....	20
Factors Influencing Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization	20
Links between Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Children’s Psychosocial Well-Being.....	23
Relations between Chinese American Parents’ Racial Discrimination, Ethnic- Racial Identity, and Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization.....	26
Parental Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Influencing Ethnic-Racial Socialization	26
Parental Ethnic-Racial Discrimination and Ethnic-Racial Identity	28
Parental Ethnic-Racial Identity and Ethnic-Racial Socialization	32
The Role of Neighborhood Ethnic Density and Racial Diversity	33
Neighborhood Ethnic Density and Racial Diversity Shaping the Links between Parental Ethnic-Racial Discrimination, Ethnic-Racial Socialization, and Child’s Psychological Well-Being	34
The Current Study	37
Chapter 3: Method	41
Procedure	41
Participants	41
Measures.....	43
Racism-Related Stress during the COVID-19.....	43
Perceived Sinophobia in the Media	44
Ethnic-Racial Identity.....	44
Ethnic-Racial Socialization	45
Child Psychological Difficulties.....	46
Perceived Neighborhood Chinese Density	46
Racial Diversity Index	46
Family Socioeconomic Status	47
Analytical Approach.....	48

Missing Data.....	48
Path Analysis	48
Multi-Group Analysis.....	49
Chapter 4: Results.....	51
Prevalence of Racism and Sinophobia	51
Preliminary Analyses of Change over Time.....	51
Mediation Analysis.....	56
The Multi-Group Analysis.....	58
Chapter 5: Discussion.....	61
Parental ERS Practices	62
Chinese Immigrant Parental Messages about Bias Preparation	64
The Importance of Parental ERI.....	68
Parental ERI Private Regard as a Mediator	68
Parental ERI Centrality Changes.....	70
The Importance of Contextual Factors	71
Implications	73
Limitations and Future Research.....	76
Appendices	78
Measures.....	78
References	83

List of Tables

Chapter 3

Table 1 Participants' Demographic Information

Chapter 4

Table 2 Mean, Standard Deviation (SD), and Correlation among Variables of Interest

List of Figures

Chapter 2

Figure 1 Hypothesized Model on Parents' Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Experience, ERI, ERS, and Child Outcomes

Chapter 4

Figure 2 The Relations Between Parental Perceived Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Experience and Parental Ethnic Racial Identity

Figure 3 The Relations Between Parental Perceived Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Experience and Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices

Figure 4 The Relations Between Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices and Child's Psychological Difficulties

Figure 5 The Mediation Model

Figure 6 The Effects of Neighborhood Racial Diversity

Chapter 1: Introduction

Discriminatory experiences are prevalent in the daily lives of ethnic minorities (Schmitt et al., 2014). *Ethnic-racial discrimination* is considered to be differential, typically unfair treatment due to membership in a marginalized ethnic/racial group (Yip, 2018). Ethnic minorities usually experience *racism-related stress*, which is defined as psychological responses specifically resulting from direct or indirect exposure to racism (Liang et al., 2004). In the United States, discrimination against Asian Americans has a long history, ranging from the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 to anti-Asian immigration and naturalization laws passed as late as 1935, and from the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II to discrimination in housing, education, and employment (Litam, 2020; see Young & Takeuchi, 1998, for review).

Like other Asian American minority groups, Chinese Americans also experienced a long history of exclusion and discrimination in the United States. Currently, the discrimination against Chinese Americans is pervasive, and COVID-19 has made the situation more severe (Cheah et al., 2020). For example, according to AAPI Hate National Report, close to 10,905 hate incidents targeted on Asian Americans were reported from March 19, 2020 to December 31, 2021, a dramatic increase over the previous year, and Chinese Americans continue to report the most hate incidents (42.8%) of all ethnic groups (Horse et al., 2022). A study among Chinese American parents (n = 543) and their youth (n = 230) showed that during COVID-19, 50.9% of parents and 50.2% of youth experienced in-person

discrimination and 31.7% of parents and 45.7% of youth experienced direct racial discrimination at least once online (Cheah et al., 2020). Moreover, the U.S. media is increasingly filled with messages of *Sinophobia*, defined as the intersection of fear and hatred of China (Billé, 2015; Haft & Zhou, 2021), including the use of terms like “Chinese virus,” “Kung Flu,” and “Ching Chong” (Schild et al., 2020; Litam, 2020). Recently, researchers have suggested that first-generation immigrants are even more vulnerable to Sinophobia in the United States (Gao, 2022). In this regard, Chinese Americans, especially, immigrants, experience direct or vicarious ethnic-racial discrimination daily during the current pandemic.

Research has shown that the deleterious effects of discrimination are extensive, not only affecting Chinese Americans’ economic and occupational prospects (e.g., bamboo ceiling; Yu, 2020), but also their physical health and mental health (Mereish et al., 2012; Yip et al., 2021). During COVID-19, an increasing number of studies have shown the link between racial discrimination and mental health difficulties. For example, Chinese American college students reported significantly higher racism-related anxiety during COVID-19 compared to their Chinese counterparts before COVID-19 (Haft & Zhou, 2021). In Chinese American families, parents’ experience of racial discrimination during the pandemic not only predicted their own mental health difficulties but also their youth’s anxiety symptoms and internalizing symptoms (Cheah et al., 2020). However, few studies have used longitudinal data to explore the impact of Chinese parents’ ethnic-racial discrimination on children’s adjustment during COVID-19 and the mediators underlying this mechanism or potential moderators.

Racism-related stress may influence one's *ethnic-racial identity* (ERI), which refers to individuals' beliefs and attitudes about their ethnic-racial group, including beliefs about others' views and the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). A study showed that Asian Americans' COVID-19 blame attributions toward China predicted increased physical distancing between other Asians at work as well as higher levels of U.S. identification (Gardner et al., 2021). Additionally, studies have shown that Chinese Canadians' experience with racial discrimination was positively related to their Chinese identity but negatively related to their Canadian identity (Lou et al., 2022).

Guided by Garcia Coll and colleagues' integrative model (Garcia Coll et al., 2006), for children of color, parents play an important role in children's *ethnic-racial socialization* (ERS), which consists of behaviors, practices, and social regularities that communicate information and worldviews about race and ethnicity to children (Hughes et al., 2006). Parental ERS practices play a central promotive and protective role in children of color's developmental competencies. ERS is considered to be one of the most important processes through which parents of color interact with their children, helping them negotiate between their ethnic culture and the mainstream American culture (Hughes et al., 2006). Parental ERS practices assist children in identifying values and behaviors associated with group membership, foster their resilience in the face of ethnic-racial discrimination, and therefore influence their psychosocial adjustment (Wang et al., 2020). Both parental ethnic-racial discrimination experience and ERI influence how parents talk about race and ethnicity in families (Benner & Kim, 2009; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Parents who

have experienced ethnic-racial discrimination and place a high value on race and ethnicity are likely to encourage their children's cultural and ethnic awareness (Hughes et al., 2006).

Additionally, researchers have suggested that ERS practices among Asian American parents may differ from those of Black or Hispanic parents due to Asian American history and culture, but Asian American ERS practices are relatively underrepresented in the literature (Kiang et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2020). According to the Pew research center, 71% of Asian American adults were born outside the United States compared with only 17% of all American adults (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Asian parents with immigrant backgrounds may experience unique challenges that influence their ERS practices, such as preparing children to speak English without an accent to avoid racial discrimination, maintaining transnational ties to family in Asia to promote cultural pride, socializing children to understand that parents have made important sacrifices to come to the United States, and encouraging children to integrate into the mainstream culture (Juang et al., 2016; Mistry et al., 2016). Compared to other parents of color, Asian Americans are more likely to pass on cultural heritage and help children become integrated into mainstream American culture, but less likely to prepare their children for bias, especially in terms of teaching coping strategies for discrimination (Wang et al., 2020). Moreover, the salient anti-Chinese context during COVID-19 may pose additional challenges to Chinese parents who are trying to talk to their children about racial/ethnic discrimination in society and prepare them to navigate in racialized contexts, while

promoting ethnic pride (Ren et al., 2022). Therefore, it is imperative to study Chinese American parental ERS practices during the pandemic.

Moreover, most research on ERS focus on individual factors that might contribute to these socialization experiences. However, contextual factors may also influence parental socialization practices. *Ethnic density* is defined as the residential concentration of racial-ethnic minorities in a neighborhood (Bécares et al., 2018). Neighborhood *diversity* or *racial composition* refers to “the representation and relative size of different racial and ethnic groups within a population, where diversity is maximized when all groups are represented in an area and have equal shares of the population” (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2020, August). Previous studies have indicated that parents may adjust their ERS socialization practices to fit their context, and neighborhood ethnic density or racial diversity may shape the effects of ethnic-racial discrimination on ethnic-racial minorities’ adjustment, such as family engagement in various ERS practices (Seaton & Yip, 2009; Syed & Juan, 2012). Additionally, previous studies have suggested that the effects of ethnic density or racial diversity within a neighborhood may depend on the level of ethnic-racial discrimination and ethnic groups (Seaton & Yip, 2009; Syed & Juan, 2012). However, this question has not been addressed among Chinese Americans.

Overall, there have been few studies on Chinese American parents’, especially immigrant families’ ERS practices, particularly during the pandemic. Additionally, although a review study showed that parental ERS practices are shaped by parents’ characteristics (e.g., parental ethnic-racial discrimination experiences and stress and ERI) and by characteristics of the contexts in which parents and children operate

(e.g., neighborhood ethnic density and racial diversity; Hughes et al., 2006), less is known about how these factors influence Chinese parental ERS practice, and no longitudinal studies have explored the relations. Based on the integrative model (Garcia Coll et al., 1996), I proposed to study how Chinese parents' ethnic-racial discrimination predicted their ERI, ERS practices, and child's psychological well-being over time, and whether parents' ERI mediated the relations between their experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination and ERS practices. In addition, I examined whether those relations would be different between families residing in neighborhoods with low versus high densities of ethnically Chinese individuals specifically, and neighborhoods with low versus high densities of individuals of different race-ethnicities generally. The findings from this study filled gaps in the literature about ethnic-racial discrimination, ERI, and ERS among immigrant Chinese families as well as provided insight into how Chinese parents can better support their children to cope with ethnic-racial discrimination during COVID-19 and beyond.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Theoretical Models

The Integrative Model

Garcia Coll and colleagues (1996) described an *integrative model* illustrating the adaptive developmental capabilities of children of color and the ways in which multiple systems of support promote healthy growth within a racially segregated society. This integrative model views the family as a key context shaping children's development. Taking cultural practices and contextually tailored involvement as assets for families of color, the integrative model argues that ERS is crucial to children of color's development. Parents' ERS intentionally shapes the lens through which children of color navigate their racialized contexts by assigning meaning to their racial/ethnic group membership, informing beliefs about other groups and their own in-group members, and tailoring their overall expectations about intra- and inter-race/ethnic interactions (Hughes et al., 2006).

Additionally, the integrative model suggests that for parents of color, their experiences with racism, prejudice, and discrimination, and the stress associated with these experiences influence their ethnic-racial identity (e.g., values and beliefs about their ethnic-racial group), which in turn shapes the family processes, including parents' choices about how to socialize their children. Moreover, the context of the neighborhood plays a significant role in parenting. Parents of color often employ ecologically adaptive socialization practices (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). For example, parents may modify their messages about race and ethnicity to their children

depending on neighborhoods' racial diversity and ethnic group density (Juang et al., 2006; Witherspoon et al., 2022).

The Rejection Identification and Rejection-Disidentification Models

According to the *Rejection-Identification Model* (RIM; Branscombe et al., 1999), racial discrimination can lead to an increased sense of belonging to a discriminated group, resulting in a stronger in-group identification. This model has its roots in social identity theory, which suggests that social identities are salient for marginalized groups (Tajfel, 1981). If acceptance by the dominant racial group is considered unlikely, seeking a sense of belonging to their in-group can be a strategy chosen by people of color to feel accepted and included (Branscombe et al., 1999). A sense of belonging makes people feel valued and supported and enables them to cope with the negative consequences of being a member of a marginalized social group and ultimately promotes one's psychological adjustment (Jetten et al., 2012).

In contrast, the *Rejection-Disidentification Model* (RDIM) posits that when minority group members face injustice and discrimination from the majority group, their identification with the superordinate national group decreases (disidentification), leading to negative attitudes toward the majority group and decreased psychological well-being (Jasinskaja-Lathi et al. 2009). A number of studies have demonstrated that ethnic-racial minorities distance themselves from the majority group in response to perceived racial discrimination (Hutchison et al., 2015; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2012; Wiley et al., 2013; Stuart et al., 2020).

Taken together, racial discrimination experiences may increase ethnic-racial minority identification and decrease majority identification. One study has tested

RIM and RDIM during COVID-19. For example, Chinese Canadians revealed that during the pandemic, their personal discrimination experience was negatively correlated with Canadian identity, and group discrimination was positively correlated with their Chinese identity (Lou et al., 2022). The present study is guided by the integrative model (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) and the RIM (Branscombe et al., 1999) to examine the relations between Chinese parents' ethnic-racial discrimination experience and child's adjustment outcomes.

Racial Discrimination against Chinese Americans during COVID-19

Chinese Americans have a long and rich history of immigration to the United States, as they were the first Asian ethnic group to immigrate to the United States in significant numbers. From the early years of immigration, Chinese Americans have faced racial/ethnic discrimination. For instance, they are the only group in U.S. history to have been excluded from immigration based on their ethnic background (i.e., Chinese Exclusion Act, 1882). Although there are no longer such explicit and formal discriminatory practices in place, contemporary evidence suggests that discrimination toward Chinese Americans is still pervasive (e.g., model minority stereotype). Furthermore, the outbreak of COVID-19 in the United States since March 2020 has refueled racism toward Chinese people. For example, the Stop AAPI Hate report found that 502 out of 1,843 racist incidents against Asian Americans between March 19, 2020 and May 13, 2020 specifically mentioned "China" or "Chinese" by perpetrators (Borja et al., 2020).

Not only do incidents of racism, discrimination, and violence against Chinese people frequently occur in person, but U.S. media or social media are flooded with

anti-Chinese messages during COVID-19 (Schild et al., 2020). Data analysis of 222,212,841 tweets and 16,808,191 posts from Twitter and 4chan imageboards revealed a significant increase in the presence of racial slurs that targeted Chinese people, and besides “Kung-flu,” “chink” was the most popular Sinophobia slur and increased substantially after Donald Trump referred to COVID-19 as “Chinese virus” (Schild et al., 2020). Chinese or China are portrayed as a realistic and symbolic threat to the United States (Croucher et al., 2020), and a strong sense of Sinophobia is growing in the United States. Sinophobia makes people feel Chinese people are ‘reasonable’ targets that they can directly show frustration, anger, fear, and aggression (Abrams, 2021 April). Researchers have found that both direct racial discrimination and negative portrayals of the Chinese ethnic group in media and social media contribute to Chinese people’s mental health difficulties, such as anxiety and depression (Cheah et al., 2020; Haft & Zhou, 2021).

Chinese American Parents’ Racial-Ethnic Discrimination and Children’s Adjustment

Based on the integrative model, ethnic-racial discrimination experienced by parents of color is related to their children’s adjustment. For example, daily discrimination experienced by parents of color (e.g., perceived discrimination when applying for a job) was positively related to their children’s psychological difficulties (Tran, 2014). During COVID-19, Chinese American parents’ in-person direct racial discrimination was associated negatively with their children’s self-reported psychological well-being and positively with children’s self-reported anxiety symptoms and internalizing problems (Cheah et al., 2020). A longitudinal study among 444 Chinese American families showed that parental experiences of

discrimination at Time 1 were associated with adolescents' cultural misfit, negative attitude toward education, and discrimination at Time 2 (four years later) through parental ERS practices (e.g., discrimination preparation) and perpetual foreigner stress at Time 2 (e.g., ethnic identity stress; Benner & Kim, 2009). This finding indicated the significant role of parental ERS practices and ERI stress in the intergenerational transmission of discrimination, which calls for more research among Chinese American parents (Benner & Kim, 2009).

Chinese American Parents' Ethnic-Racial Identity

Ethnic identity is the sense of belonging to an ethnic group derived from the knowledge of the group, the preference for the group, and participation in the group (Cokley & Chapman, 2008). Racial identity involves developing racial salience (i.e., race as an integral part of one's self-concept); racial centrality (i.e., feeling connected to one's racial identity); positive racial regard (i.e., positive feelings about one's racial group); and a racial ideology (i.e., beliefs and attitudes related to racial membership) (Sellers et al., 1998). Researchers (i.e., Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) have recommended against distinguishing racial identity from ethnic identity and consider them as a single construct: ethnic and racial identity (ERI). For Chinese Americans, ethnic identity and racial identity are closely related concepts that often overlap in the literature. Both ethnic identity and racial identity are associated with similar experiences that shape one's claims about belonging to a particular group, as well as feelings, beliefs, and attitudes about that group membership (Schwartz et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Conceptualizing ethnic and racial identity as a meta-construct is necessary for understanding and measuring experiences that are not

uniquely ethnic or racial and informs one's identity as a member of a particular ethnic-racial group (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Thus, the term ethnic-racial identity (ERI) is used in the current study. ERI is a multidimensional construct that encompasses both the importance of ethnicity/race to one's identity and one's feelings about being a member of an ethnic or racial group (Sellers et al., 1997; Yip, 2018).

Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) differentiated between the process of ERI and the content of ERI. In developmental models, the focus is primarily on the process of ERI development and how it changes over time. The process of ERI traces the genesis and evolution of ERI in childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). The process mainly consists of exploration and resolution: *Exploration* refers to the process of investigating one's ethnic-racial group and its significance in one's life; *Resolution* refers to a sense of clarity about the meaning of one's ethnic-racial group membership (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). On the other hand, the content of ERI focuses on the importance and meaning of ethnicity or race for people of color in their daily life, which can be conceptualized into three dimensions: (a) *centrality*, referring to the importance of race/ethnicity membership to one's self-concept or self-definition; (b) *private regard*, assessing one's positive evaluations of their ethnic-racial group; and (c) *public regard*, including beliefs about how those of other ethnic-racial groups in the broader society perceive one's own ethnic-racial group (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Sellers et al., 1997, 1998; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In this study, I focused on ERI content among Chinese Americans because researchers implied that the ERI content is core, "as it decodes the meaning-making system that

guides the person's everyday choices in life", especially for adults with a relatively developed ERI (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, *p.*30).

In general, empirical research suggests that the content of ERI are important psychological resources when dealing with adverse life events, such as racial discrimination (e.g., Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Yip et al., 2022). Currently, most studies about ERI have focused on adolescence and emerging adulthood, with far less attention to adulthood (Schwartz et al., 2014). Across ethnic-racial groups, studies among adolescents and undergraduates have shown that higher ERI centrality is associated with positive outcomes for people of color (e.g., better academic and emotional peer support, as well as greater resilience to discrimination; Chavous et al., 2008; Hoffman et al., 2019). Both positive private and public regard make people feel good about belonging to their own ethnic-racial groups and hold high self-esteem, which are associated with psychological adjustment (e.g., better school belonging and engagement; Medina et al., 2019) and reduce the negative effects of racial discrimination (Yip et al., 2022).

Although the ERI model was originally developed based on African Americans, the model and related measures have been adopted for studies among Chinese Americans (e.g., Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Yip, 2005). For example, for 6th-grade Chinese American students, positive private regard was associated with higher self-esteem. In addition, positive public regard also buffered the relation between peer ethnic discrimination and depressive symptoms (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008). Informed by the integrative model (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) and limited empirical research among African American parents (i.e., Thomas & Speight, 1999; White-Johnson et

al., 2010), I hypothesized that Chinese American parents' ERI would have a significant impact on their ethnicity and/or race-relevant experiences and messages within their families. Due to Chinese American families' unique experiences during the pandemic, it is essential to study Chinese American parents' ERI.

Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Parents of color play a critical role in socializing their children and fostering the development of culturally distinct assets and psychological repertoires for navigating marginalized ecologies (Hornby, 2000; Wang et al., 2020). It is common for ethnic and racial minority parents to actively pass down cultural traditions and beliefs to their children for parents' own inherent values (Huguley et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2020). The concept of ERS involves transmitting values, beliefs, norms, and information about one's ethnicity and race, which has been considered a vital cultural asset for youth of color (Hughes et al., 2006). The term of ERS practices has been used to capture two distinct socialization processes: racial and cultural socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). Studies on ERS has identified two common socialization goals for parents of color: ensuring youth retain a positive view of their own group (i.e., cultural socialization) and preparing children to deal with racism and discrimination (i.e., bias preparation; Hughes et al., 2006).

Dimensions of Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices

ERS practice is a multidimensional construct consisting of various kinds of parental messages, activities, and behaviors. Hughes and colleagues (2006) classified

parental ethnic-racial socialization into four broad categories: cultural socialization, bias socialization, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism.

Cultural socialization, namely pride and heritage socialization, conveys messages of cultural pride and emphasizing the sharing of ethnic and cultural heritage. For example, parents or families celebrate cultural holidays, cook traditional foods, discuss the historical achievements of same-race members, encourage children to speak family native language, bring children to cultural museums, and expose children to culturally relevant books, artifacts, music, and stories (Hughes et al., 2006; Huguley et al., 2019).

Bias socialization or preparation for bias involves parental efforts to promote children's awareness of racial discrimination within children's ecological environment or the larger sociohistorical context. Parents may convey messages that either proactively discuss or reactively process experiences with racism and discrimination and/or teach their children to cope with discrimination events (Hughes et al., 2006). Additionally, there are different operationalizations of bias socialization. For example, parents may simply promote awareness of potential bias and discrimination versus teaching children how to deal with discrimination. Another further differentiation is that parents may teach children to respond to their discriminatory experiences versus prepare for future encounters of discrimination (Huguley et al., 2019). However, these different forms of preparation for bias socialization are not well documented in the literature, especially among Asian American families.

Promotion of mistrust refers to parents' encouragement of children or youth to avoid and distrust interracial interactions (e.g., friendships and dating) and institutional engagement (Huguley et al., 2019). Parents of color are likely to express caution or warn children about members of other racial groups (Aldana & Byrd, 2015), and they may encourage their children to maintain social distance from peers of other ethnic groups. Compared with bias socialization, promotion of mistrust does not include strategies dealing with racial discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006).

Finally, *egalitarianism* includes strategies that emphasize the common human qualities among different groups of race/ethnicity and also mainstream values or norms, which in some cases include cultural assimilation and sacrifice of native culture expressions (Hughes et al., 2006). Parental egalitarian strategies center values and habits for success, downplay the role of race in society, encourage the adoption of mainstream culture norms (e.g., paying attention to English accent, dominant styles of dress), promote color-blind beliefs, and omit racial discussions altogether (Aldana & Byrd, 2015).

Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization of Ethnic-Racial Minorities

Parents' engagement in ERS varies across ethnic groups and may be a result of differences in socio-historical contexts and generational immigration histories (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; French et al., 2013; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). Parents of color, particularly African American parents, are generally more likely to engage in high levels of ethnic-racial socialization than White parents (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Huguley et al., 2019). It has been estimated that 60% of all families of color use ERS, and in African American families, the proportion is as high as 90%

(Hughes et al., 2006). In general, African American and Latinx parents are more likely to discuss race-related experiences with their children and to use more preparation for bias and cultural socialization than Asian parents (e.g., Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; French et al., 2013; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014; Hughes et al., 2006). The frequency of ERS practices in Asian American families has not been estimated through meta-analysis studies. Asian American parents' ERS practices include both implicit and explicit socialization practices (Juang et al., 2016). Compared with directly discussing racism with children, Asian American families may prefer indirect and nonverbal communication (Hwang, 2011). Cultural socialization is the most common form of ERS among Asian American families (Juang et al., 2017). Asian parents also are likely to facilitate their children's integration into American culture (e.g., helping children to speak English comfortably without accent) and promote cultural pluralism (e.g., discussing the importance of racial/ethnic diversity with children; Juang et al., 2016). Generally, compared with cultural and bias socialization practices, promotion of mistrust and egalitarianism practices have been less studied, and few studies have compared these practices across racial groups (Huguley et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2020; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Additionally, although there are four main ERS practices, those practices are not used equally across different ethnic minority groups.

Chinese American Parents' Ethnic-Racial Socialization. Studies have suggested that Asian Americans usually consolidate many ethnic groups under an "Asian American" pan-ethnic umbrella, which masks the unique experiences of each specific ethnic group (Yip et al., 2021). Previous studies suggest that Chinese parents'

ERS practices may vary from other Asian minority groups due to a variety of factors, such as historical context, religious beliefs, distinct cultural values and traditions, language, and phenotype (Kiang et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2020). For example, for south Asians (e.g., Indians), religion is a very important part of their ethnic culture while the majority of Chinese people are atheists and Chinese philosophy is based on Confucianism. The majority of Chinese American families encourage their children to speak Chinese at home to maintain Chinese heritage (Chen et al., 2021) but also help children to speak English without an accent to avoid racial discrimination (Juang et al., 2016). In addition, Chinese Americans are experiencing a unique situation as a result of Sinophobia in the United States. According to Stop AAPI Hate reports, individuals of Chinese heritage account for the largest proportion of those reporting hate incidents (Horse et al., 2022). Therefore, it is important to specifically examine Chinese American parents' ERS practices.

According to the extent studies, for Chinese American families, cultural socialization seems to be the primary ERS practice (e.g., native language speaking), while bias socialization/preparation for bias is relatively less employed (Alvarez et al., 2006; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014; Hughes et al., 2009; Huguley et al., 2019). For example, a study with 6th graders and their mothers showed that Chinese mothers reported engagement in cultural socialization as frequently as African Americans while preparation for bias was less frequently used compared with African American and Latina mothers (Hughes et al., 2009). In contrast, another survey and interview study revealed that Chinese parents are more likely to apply egalitarian socialization methods rather than cultural socialization compared with African American or Latino

parents (Harding et al., 2017). Although the results seem to be ambiguous, the different practices may have the same underlying cause. Chinese families are likely to attribute racial discrimination and microaggressions to their status as foreigners (e.g., immigrants) and lack English language and culture knowledge, and as a result, they rationalize such experiences as acceptable (Benner & Kim, 2009; Harding et al., 2017; Hughes et al., 2009).

Chinese parents, especially immigrants, may believe that their children can avoid negative stereotypes if they speak English well and succeed in school, and thus, Chinese parents prepare their children for bias or discrimination by discussing what their children have to do in school in order to achieve the same level of success as other children (e.g., work hard on academics and adapt to mainstream culture; Benner & Kim, 2009; Hughes et al., 2009). Some Chinese mothers may even downplay their heritage with their children, believing that doing so increases the chances of their children assimilating and succeeding in the U.S. educational system and working environment (Harding et al., 2017). Additionally, a recent study showed that in response to COVID-19 discrimination, Chinese American parents used maintenance of heritage culture and cultural pluralism most frequently, followed by awareness of discrimination and awareness of COVID-19 discrimination practice (e.g., telling children that they may be called names by other people because of the COVID-19 outbreak), and used avoidance of outgroups and minimizing Chinese connection the least often (e.g., telling children that they should hide their Chinese heritage because of the COVID-19 outbreak; Ren et al., 2022). In light of the uniqueness of Chinese American ERS practices, more studies are needed.

Parent- versus Child-Reported Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Previous studies suggested that it is essential to be attentive to whether parental ERS practices are measured with parents vs. youth as the reporter (Wang et al., 2020). Generally, parental ERS has generally been measured using Likert scale-based responses from parents or youth (Yasui, 2015). Research indicates ERS is reported differentially by parents and youth. For example, a study among 6th graders and their mothers showed that mothers' reports of cultural socialization and bias socialization were only weakly or moderately correlated with youth's reports ($r = 0.22$ and 0.33 , respectively; Hughes et al., 2009). Generally, parent-reported ERS practices more closely reflect parents' intentions and delivered messages, while youth-reported practices indicate the socialization they perceived or received, which are more closely linked to youth-reported developmental outcomes (Yasui, 2015). Furthermore, as socialization also occurs through implicit or nonverbal mechanisms, parents may not always be aware of the extent to which they provide ERS to their children (Wang et al., 2020; Yasui, 2015). It is also possible that youth compare the frequency and prevalence of parental ERS practices with peers from other ethnic groups, which may affect their report (Hughes et al., 2009). To explore parents' engagement in ERS, I used parent reported ERS practices in the current study.

Factors Influencing Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Parental ERS practices are shaped by individual and group characteristics and by characteristics of the contexts in which parents and children live (Hughes et al., 2006). In this section, I mainly focus on three most commonly investigated demographic factors in the ERS literature: children's age, family socioeconomic

status (SES), and parents' immigration status. These contextual variables were discussed in the following section.

Children Developmental Levels. Studies have indicated that parents adapt their ERS practices in response to their child's cognitive development stage (Hughes et al., 2006; Ren et al., 2022). A common belief is that young children (e.g., 3 to 6 or 8 years old) are not cognitively mature enough to understand race or social category, and parents of young children are likely to convey messages about cultural socialization (e.g., celebrating traditional holidays and reading books about family culture) rather than talking about racial issues, even though they are aware of the importance of discussing racial discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Priest et al., 2014; Suizzo et al., 2008). Due to increasing exposure to interracial group interaction or racial bias among pre-adolescents and adolescents and their readiness to seek racial identity (Harter, 2006), the intent, content, frequency, and impact of parental ERS practices have changed dramatically (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Priest et al., 2014).

Parents are likely to employ a variety of ERS practices with older children. For example, in addition to cultural socialization, African American parents of 9- to 14-year-old children reported more frequently employing preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust than parents of 4- to 8-year-old children (Hughes & Chen, 1997). In addition, a recent study of Chinese American parents echoed the previous pattern. During COVID-19, Chinese American parents' use of maintenance of heritage and cultural pluralism remained constant across children ages 4 to 18 years, use of avoidance of outgroups increased significantly from children ages 4 to 8 years,

which then remained constant from children ages 8 to 15 years and did not significantly decrease from 15 to 18 years. In addition, the use of awareness of discrimination practices increased significantly from children ages 4 to 14 years and then remained stable among children aged 14- to 18-years-old (Ren et al., 2022). Therefore, I controlled for children's ages in this current study.

Family Socioeconomic Status. Based on the integrative model (García Coll et al., 1996), family SES shapes parental ethnic-racial socialization as well. Parents with different socioeconomic, occupational, and educational history backgrounds may have very different perspectives about ethnicity and race, and in turn may employ ERS practices differently. High-SES families are more likely to engage in ERS than low-SES families (Hughes et al., 2006). Additionally, cultural socialization was more common in parents with higher incomes than in parents with lower incomes (Dunbar et al., 2015). A qualitative study among preschool Black children and their parents showed that working-class families were more likely to promote egalitarianism, but messages about preparation for bias were only observed in the middle-class families (Doucet et al., 2018). Thus, family SES is highly related to parental ERS, which needs to be controlled when exploring family socialization.

Immigration Status. Family immigration status also influences parental ERS practices (Mistry et al., 2016). Generally, immigrants are more likely to engage in bias preparation and cultural socialization (such as discussing racial discrimination with their children and communicating with them in native language and teaching them about native customs) than their counterparts of the same race who have lived in the United States for a longer period of time (Hughes et al., 2006). However, Chinese

immigrants may encourage their children to adapt to mainstream culture. Instead of discussing bias directly with their children or teaching coping skills, Chinese immigrant parents remind their children of discrimination indirectly by telling them what their children should do in order to achieve the same level of success as other children (Benner & Kim, 2009; Harding et al., 2017; Hughes et al., 2009). In contrast to first generation immigrants, some studies have indicated that second or third generation Chinese Americans are more open and willing to discuss racial discrimination with their children (Juang et al., 2018). As a result, the immigration status of Chinese parents was considered, as most of the parents in this study were immigrants.

Links between Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Children's Psychosocial Well-Being

The integrative model suggests that ethnic-racial socialization plays a central promotive and protective role in children of color's psychosocial development (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Children of color in racially segregated societies are regularly exposed to racial stressors, such as negative stereotypes, institutional racism, and interpersonal prejudice, which harm their psychosocial development and wellbeing (Neblett et al., 2012). Parents of color play a central role in fostering their children a positive perspective toward their ethnicity and preparing them to deal with racism, which finally influence their psychosocial well-being (Wang et al., 2020). A meta-analysis study of 102 studies have showed that overall parental ethnic-racial socialization was associated with their children's self-perceptions, interpersonal

relationship quality, and internalizing symptoms (Wang et al., 2020). In spite of this, different ERS practices result in different outcomes for children.

Cultural socialization has been found consistently and positively associated with children's academic, social, and mental health outcomes (Daga & Raval, 2018; Neblett et al., 2012; Wang & Huguley, 2012). During parental cultural socialization, parents emphasize the positive aspects of the history and traditions of one's ethnic group and hope to enhance children's ethnic-racial identity and promote a positive self-concept (e.g., feeling valued and worthwhile) along with higher self-esteem and self-efficacy, which is important for children of color who frequently face ethnic-racial discrimination (Wang et al., 2020). For example, a longitudinal study among Mexican-oriented youth demonstrated that parent-reported cultural socialization during the 5th grade positively predicted youth ethnic identity in the 7th grade, which then predicted youth's prosocial behaviors in the 12th grade (Streit et al., 2021). For African American adolescents, their perception of parental cultural socialization correlated with greater ethnic-racial identity affirmation-belonging (i.e., positive feelings and sense of belonging to one's ethnic-racial group), and youth who reported higher affirmation-belonging also reported higher resistance to peer pressure to engage in problem behaviors (Derlan & Umaña-Taylor, 2015). In Asian American adolescents and emerging adults, perceived cultural socialization positively predicted optimism and sleep quality and negatively predicted depression and delinquency (Liu & Lau, 2013; Xie et al., 2021).

Parental bias preparation has also been found to impact children's adjustment, however, the association has been inconsistent in the literature. For example, a

longitudinal study among Filipino American and Korean American youth showed that preparation for bias was positively related to suicidal ideation (Park et al., 2021). Another study showed that for African American, Latino, and Asian American undergraduate students, parental preparation for bias was positively associated with depressive symptoms (Liu & Lau, 2013). In contrast, one study among African American mothers and children demonstrated that mothers' preparation for bias predicted children's greater self-regulation when mothers reported high support and moderate suppression in response to children's distress, while preparation for bias predicted children's lower self-regulation when mothers were highly supportive yet low on suppression responses to distress (Dunbar et al., 2021). The effectiveness of bias socialization on promoting psychological well-being depends on many factors, such as bias socialization measurement, parent-child relational quality, parenting practices, and children's age (Wang et al., 2020).

Promotion of mistrust messages, which emphasize potential threats and dangers associated with interracial relationships, may increase children's stress when interacting with members of other racial groups and in turn, contributes to children's mental health difficulties (Wang et al., 2020). For example, among South Asian American emerging adults, perceived promotion of mistrust was positively related to model minority pressure and adjustment problems and negatively related to life satisfaction (Daga & Raval, 2018). Another study among undergraduates of color (African American, Latino, and Asian American) showed similar results. Perceived promotion of mistrust was linked to greater pessimism and less optimism, which led to greater depressive symptoms (Liu & Lau, 2013). Moreover, Chinese American

adolescents who perceived a high level of promotion of mistrust from parents were more likely to suffer from the effect of COVID-19 racial discrimination on their internalizing difficulties (Cheah et al., 2021).

Parental egalitarianism, namely messages promoting mainstream values or norms and deemphasizing racial group characteristics, is seldom studied, especially its effect on children's psychological well-being. The existing studies showed that for Black college students, egalitarianism was linked to poorer mental health outcomes (Barr & Neville, 2014) and increased Latino children's socioemotional distress (Calzada et al., 2012). Additionally, when Black adolescents perceived their neighborhood as high quality (e.g., safe), egalitarianism was associated with better self-esteem, but not when they felt their neighborhood was low-quality (Lambert et al., 2021).

Although many empirical studies have revealed the relations between parental ERS and children's psychological outcomes, most studies have focused on African American or Latino families, and much less research has been conducted on Chinese American families. Due to Chinese distinct cultural values and traditions, findings from other ethnic-racial groups are unlikely to generalize to Chinese Americans, and so it is vital to examine how Chinese parents' ERS practices affect their children.

Relations between Chinese American Parents' Racial Discrimination, Ethnic-Racial Identity, and Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Parental Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Influencing Ethnic-Racial Socialization

For ethnic/racial minority parents, racism, racial discrimination, and prejudice can be an everyday life event. With the current COVID-19 pandemic, the situation is

even worse for Chinese American parents. According to the integrative model, ethnic-racial discrimination experiences influence how parents of color discuss and cope with ethnic-racial related issues and discrimination stress within the family (e.g., ERS; Garcia Coll et al., 2006). For example, racial discrimination experiences were associated with higher levels of bias preparation and mistrust promotion among Filipino and Korean American parents (Woo et al., 2020). Benner and Kim (2009) found a similar pattern that Chinese American parents' discrimination experience positively predicted preparation for bias with their adolescents four years later. However, another study showed that although African American and Latino parents' experiences with institutional racism were associated with a higher level of preparation for bias, this was not true for Chinese American families (Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014). Additionally, interpersonal racism was associated with a higher level of cultural socialization for African Americans and Latinos but a lower level of cultural socialization for Chinese parents (Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014).

The inconsistency may indicate that for Chinese American families, the relations between parental racial discrimination and parental ERS practices may be unique and are worth examining. Findings of African American and Latino parents may not be applicable to Chinese American parents. Additionally, different sources of racial discrimination (e.g., interpersonal or institutional discrimination) may have different effects on Chinese parents' ERS practices. As studies focusing on Chinese American families are very limited, it is important to examine these relations. Moreover, it is unclear how Chinese American parents' experiences of discrimination

may influence their ERS practices, and more studies are needed to elucidate the underlying mechanisms.

Parental Ethnic-Racial Discrimination and Ethnic-Racial Identity

Based on the integrative model, parents' experiences of racial discrimination impact their cultural adaptation that is shaped by their ethnic-racial history (e.g., cultural, political, economic histories) and the contextual demands imposed by the promoting and inhibiting environments (Garcia Coll et al., 2006). According to the RIM framework, racial discrimination may lead to a stronger sense of ethnic group belonging and greater identification with one's ethnic group (Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten et al., 2012). As being discriminated against by the dominant or other racial groups, seeking a sense of belonging to one's ethnic-racial group is a method to feel accepted and valued, which is essential for coping with discrimination (Jetten et al., 2012). Thus, exposure to racial discrimination may contribute to the importance of ethnic-racial identity to one's concept (i.e., ERI centrality) as well as positive attitudes and feelings toward one's ethnic-racial group (i.e., positive private regard). For example, for multiracial people, perceived racial discrimination predicted higher solidarity (e.g., "I feel solidarity with multiracial people") and ingroup homogeneity (e.g., "multiracial people have a lot in common with each other;" Giamo et al., 2012). Among British Muslim young adults, perceived Islamophobia (religious discrimination) was directly associated with a stronger Muslim identity, and personal discrimination was associated with a weaker British identity (Stuart et al., 2020).

Additionally, racial discrimination during COVID-19 was positively related to Chinese Canadians' Chinese identity but negatively related to their Canadian identity

(Lou et al., 2022). However, a longitudinal study of Chinese American adolescents showed perceived discrimination predicted negative ethnic affect (i.e., private regard) four years later but the relation became nonsignificant from middle adolescence to emerging adulthood (Hou et al., 2015). Another study among adolescents also showed that peer ethnic-racial discrimination was associated with negative private regard a year later (Del Toro et al., 2021), suggesting a contradictory framework, *the looking glass self* (i.e., individuals' self-concept reflects how they believe others view them; Cooley, 1902). These inconsistent results may be due to the immigrant status and the age of participants (adults vs. adolescents).

In contrast, according to the *identification-attribution model* (Gonzales-Backen et al., 2018), when an individual's ethnic identity develops, he or she becomes more aware of the stigma against one's ethnic group and more likely to attribute negative social experiences to ethnic discrimination. In exploring ethnic identity, people may develop a deeper understanding of discrimination and the history and reality of ethnic-racial stratification. People who have a strong and positive sense of ethnic identity are more aware of their own significance as well as ethnic-racial discrimination. Gonzales-Backen et al. (2018) found that recent immigrant Latino adolescents who reported more frequent ethnic exploration perceived more ethnic-racial discrimination one year later, but earlier discrimination did not predict later exploration. Some studies among African American adolescents and undergraduate students have shown that people with higher levels of centrality were more likely to perceive higher levels of ethnic/racial discrimination (Scott, 2004; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). But studies among Chinese American adolescents showed inconsistent results,

such as private regard (e.g., reversed items “I do not feel comfortable being Chinese”) predicting lower levels of discrimination four years later (Hou et al., 2015). Mexican origin adolescent mothers who reported higher discrimination reported lower resolution later on, but the earlier resolution did not predict later discrimination (Zeiders et al., 2019). The identification-attribution model is primarily examined in research involving youth and adolescents, rather than adults. In addition, research findings do not consistently support the model, and more longitudinal empirical studies are needed.

Moreover, some researchers have proposed that the relation between racial discrimination and ERI can be conceptualized as bidirectional, rather than unidirectional (Yip, 2018). According to ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1992), adolescents’ ERI development occurs interactively within the context of ethnic-racial discrimination, and thus, ERI development and the perception of ethnic-racial discrimination may be interrelated and influence one another (Yip, 2018). For example, Cheon and Yip (2019) found reciprocal within-person longitudinal associations between racial discrimination and resolution for Asian American adolescents, but not for exploration, private regard, or centrality. Another three-wave longitudinal study among Black, Dominican American, and Chinese American adolescents showed that the relations between ethnic-racial discrimination and exploration and public regard were reciprocal, however, a similar pattern was not found between ethnic-racial discrimination and resolution and private regard (Del Toro et al., 2021). The varied results of the current studies indicate more longitudinal empirical studies are needed to examine the bidirectional perspective. Furthermore,

this perspective is rooted in the development of ERI among adolescents and may not be applicable to adults, who tend to have a more stable ERI.

In summary, there has been a mixed relation between perceived racial discrimination and ERI. Notably, these studies differ from each other in critical ways, including sample characteristics (ethnic-racial background, immigrant status, stage of adolescence, adolescents vs. adults) and study design (cross-sectional vs. longitudinal), and analytic approach (Del Toro et al., 2021). While current studies have provided empirical support for a number of existing frameworks to conceptualize the relation between ethnic-racial discrimination and ERI, the identification-attribution model and bidirectional perspectives mostly analyze the development of ERI in adolescents, and the majority of empirical studies are based on youth. Thus, the identification-attribution model and bidirectional perspectives may not be applicable to adults.

Furthermore, the integrative model suggests that parents of color's ethnic-racial discrimination experiences influence their ERI (e.g., attitudes and affect about their ethnic-racial group) as well as ERS practices within families (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Given that the anti-Chinese sentiment toward Chinese American families during COVID-19 is unanticipated and pervasive, it is urgent to examine how racial discrimination and racism-related stress impacted Chinese parents' ERI, which in turn influences ERS practices and children's outcomes. Therefore, the RIM framework is appropriate in the current study. As a result of growing instances of racial discrimination during the COVID-19 and Sinophobia in the media, Chinese Americans are well aware that they are being perceived negatively by other ethnic-

racial groups (i.e., negative public regard). Therefore, in the current study, I mainly focused on ERI centrality and private regard and hypothesized that ethnic-racial discrimination would predict more ERI centrality and private regard.

Parental Ethnic-Racial Identity and Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Parental ERI shapes the frequency and content of ERS messages, since parents who place greater values on race and ethnicity are often more determined to teach their children racial, cultural, and ethnic knowledge (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents' attitudes, beliefs, and feelings regarding their ethnic-racial group are related to variation in their ERS practices (White-Johnson et al., 2010). In the limited number of studies conducted on African Americans, parents who did not consider their race as central identity and those who had negative attitudes toward their race were less likely to engage in racial socialization (Thomas & Speight, 1999). The parents with a higher level of private regard for being African American were more likely to give their children racial socialization messages (Thomas et al., 2010). Parental racial centrality and private regard were positively associated with ethnic pride and racial barriers messages within families (White-Johnson, 2010). A recent study based on Latino mothers found that private regard positively predicted familism (i.e., prompts specific to familism values and practices) and preparation for bias (Kulish et al., 2019). Inferred from the integrative model and empirical studies on African American and Latino parents, Chinese American parental ERI content (i.e., centrality and private regard) are supposed to predict ERS practices as well, but more studies are needed to examine the relation.

In sum, the integrative model and empirical studies suggest that Chinese American parents' racial discrimination experience influences their ethnic-racial identity, which in turn shapes their ERS practices in the family. In other words, parental ERI may mediate the relation between parental ethnic-racial discrimination experience and ERS.

The Role of Neighborhood Ethnic Density and Racial Diversity

The ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1992) highlights that an individual's experience is shaped not only by one's immediate surroundings but also by the larger social context in which he or she lives. For people of color, ethnic density and neighborhood racial diversity are strongly related to their racial discrimination experience and adjustment. For example, a review study demonstrated that neighborhood ethnic density was associated with less discrimination in a majority of the associations (56%; Pasco et al., 2021), and Chinese Americans adults perceived more discrimination if they lived in a neighborhood with few Chinese people (Goto et al., 2002). Another review study showed that for each 10% increase in own ethnic density, the risk for psychosis and suicidal ideation dramatically decreased among adults (Bécares et al., 2018).

Additionally, neighborhood racial composition can be viewed as a proxy indicator of racial diversity (Hughes et al., 2006), which may increase intra-race/ethnic interactions, thereby influencing perceived ethnic-racial discrimination. For example, the percentage of White individuals within a neighborhood is positively associated with the racial discrimination experienced by African Americans within that neighborhood (English et al., 2014). African American youth perceived more

cultural racism when their schools were more racially diverse (Seaton & Yip, 2009). During the COVID-19 pandemic, American adults from highly ethnically diverse neighborhoods were 35% less likely to experience racism compared with those living in the least ethnically diverse neighborhoods (Su et al., 2022).

Neighborhood Ethnic Density and Racial Diversity Shaping the Links between Parental Ethnic-Racial Discrimination, Ethnic-Racial Socialization, and Child's Psychological Well-Being

Ethnic density and racial diversity in neighborhoods have been found to shape the effects of discrimination on the adjustment of Chinese Americans as well as other ethnic-racial minorities. For example, Syed and Juan (2012) found that objective Chinese density in the community moderated the association between discrimination and psychological distress among Chinese American adults depending on the level of racial discrimination. More specifically, Chinese people living in high Chinese density neighborhoods reported the lowest psychological distress when faced with low levels of racial discrimination compared to Chinese people living in average or low Chinese density neighborhoods; however, when they experienced a high level of racial discrimination, their psychological distress was greater than their counterparts living in average or low Chinese density neighborhoods. These findings indicate that high Chinese density in the neighborhood may act as a protective factor when people encounter low levels of racial discrimination, but as a risk factor when people encounter high levels of racial discrimination.

Discrimination may be a very disruptive experience for Chinese Americans living in communities with many other Chinese, as it threatens a core aspect of their lives (i.e., connection to community or collectivism; Syed & Juan, 2012). Inferred

from a review study among youth of color, ethnic density may play a unique role in shaping the complex intergenerational relations between racial discrimination and adjustment within Chinese Americans families (Pasco et al., 2021). The reasons include Chinese Americans are a part of the largest immigrant pan-ethnic group in the United States (Asian American; Tseng et al. 2016), Chinese Americans families have their own unique historical context of experiencing discrimination (e.g., model minority stereotype), and they have been labeled as “perpetual foreigners” (Kiang et al., 2016, *p.* 996).

As for racial diversity, studies have shown that neighborhood/school racial diversity exacerbated the effects of collective/institutional racism in school on African American youth’s self-esteem (Seaton & Yip, 2009). Another study demonstrated a similar pattern, where school racial diversity exacerbated the negative effects of racial discrimination stress on academic efficacy among Black youth (Morris et al., 2020). However, Seaton and Yip (2009) also found that higher levels of collective/institutional racism were linked to lower life satisfaction in a low diversity setting, but this association did not significantly change in high diversity settings. Thus, racial diversity may act as a buffer in the association between racial discrimination and life satisfaction. To explain these inconsistent results, the researchers (Seaton & Yip, 2009) indicated that on the one hand, the high diversity settings may increase the likelihood of negative interactions among the various racial-ethnic groups and the perception of unfair treatment due to comparison to other ethnic-racial groups. On the other hand, for people of color, low neighborhood diversity may signal racially segregated contexts with limited community resources

(e.g., inadequate schools and health facilities; Garcia Coll et al. 1996), resulting in a reduced quality of life (Seaton & Yip, 2009). However, due to a lack of research on Chinese Americans, it remains unclear how neighborhood racial diversity may shape the effects of racial discrimination among Chinese Americans.

In sum, neighborhoods (e.g., ethnic density and racial diversity) are crucial contexts for the development of children of color that deserve further consideration. Previous studies suggest that neighborhood ethnic density and racial diversity may shape the transmission of discrimination across generations within families and parents of color are likely to employ ecologically adaptive socialization practices that equip their children with tools to buttress their ability to contend with racial-ethnic marginalization (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Suizzo et al., 2008). In an interview study, Juang et al. (2018) found that when Asian American parents lived in a high Asian density area where they perceived racial discrimination threats to their families were less likely, these parents diffused the need to engage in high racial socialization. When living in a predominantly White context, Asian American parents who grew up “isolated” (with few others who looked like them) actively prepared their children to become aware of being different and sought out diverse neighborhoods and schools (Juang et al., 2018). Despite these important findings, it is still not clear how the associations between parental discrimination experience, ERI, ERS practices, and child’s psychological well-being vary in low versus high Chinese density and racial diversity neighborhood contexts, and more empirical studies are needed, particularly during COVID-19, when Chinese American families faced increased discrimination.

The Current Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the longitudinal relations between Chinese American parental ethnic-racial discrimination (i.e., perceived racism-related stress during COVID-19 and perceived Sinophobia in the media), ERI (i.e., centrality and private regard), ERS (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, becoming American, and avoidance of outgroups), and child's outcomes (i.e., parent-reported child's psychological difficulties), see Figure 1. In addition, I explored whether the hypothesized mediation model differed for families living in low versus high Chinese density and racial diversity neighborhoods. More specifically, I sought to investigate the following research questions (RQs):

RQ1: Do parental ethnic-racial discrimination experiences at Time 1 predict parental ERI at Time 2?

Hypothesis 1.a. I hypothesized that parental perceived racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1 would predict greater parental ethnic identity centrality and positive private regard at Time 2.

Hypothesis 1.b. I hypothesized that parental perceived Sinophobia in the media at Time 1 would predict greater parental ethnic identity centrality and positive private regard at Time 2.

RQ2: Do parental ethnic-racial discrimination experiences at Time 1 predict parental ERS at Time 2 after controlling for family SES at Time 1 and child's age at Time 1?

Hypothesis 2.a. I hypothesized that parental perceived racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1 would predict more maintenance of heritage culture,

awareness of discrimination, becoming American, and avoidance of outgroups socialization strategies at Time 2.

Hypothesis 2.b. I hypothesized that parental perceived Sinophobia in the media at Time 1 would predict more maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, becoming American, and avoidance of outgroups socialization strategies at Time 2.

RQ3: Does parental ERS at Time 2 predict child's psychological difficulties at Time 2 after controlling for parental ethnic-racial discrimination experience at Time 1, parental ERI at Time 2, family SES at Time 1 and child's age at Time 1?

Hypothesis 3.a. I hypothesized that maintenance of heritage culture strategies at Time 2 would predict less child psychological difficulties at Time 2.

Hypothesis 3.b. I hypothesized that awareness of discrimination strategies at Time 2 would predict more child psychological difficulties at Time 2.

Hypothesis 3.c. I hypothesized that becoming American strategies at Time 2 would predict less child psychological difficulties at Time 2.

Hypothesis 3.d. I hypothesized that avoidance of outgroups strategies at Time 2 would predict more child psychological difficulties at Time 2.

RQ4: Does parental ERI at Time 2 mediate the association between parental ethnic-racial discrimination experience at Time 1, parental ERS at Time 2, and child's psychological difficulties at Time 2 (see Figure 1)?

Hypothesis 4.a. I hypothesized that parental perceived racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1 would predict more parental ethnic identity centrality at Time 2; in turn, more parental ethnic identity centrality at Time 2 was expected to

predict more maintenance of heritage culture, more awareness of discrimination, less becoming American, and more avoidance of outgroups socialization strategies at Time 2.

Hypothesis 4.b. I hypothesized that parental perceived racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1 would predict positive private regard at Time 2, and positive private regard at Time 2 was expected to predict more maintenance of heritage culture, more awareness of discrimination, less becoming American, and more avoidance of outgroups socialization strategies at Time 2.

Hypothesis 4.c. I hypothesized that parental perceived Sinophobia in the media at Time 1 would predict more centrality at Time 2, and positive private regard at Time 2 was expected to predict more maintenance of heritage culture, more awareness of discrimination, less becoming American, and more avoidance of outgroups socialization strategies at Time 2.

Hypothesis 4.d. I hypothesized that parental perceived Sinophobia in the media at Time 1 would predict positive private regard at Time 2, and positive private regard at Time 2 was expected to predict more maintenance of heritage culture, more awareness of discrimination, less becoming American, and more avoidance of outgroups socialization strategies at Time 2.

RQ5: Does the hypothesized model differ for low versus high racially diverse neighborhoods? (An exploratory research question)

Hypothesis 5. Although this was an exploratory research question, I hypothesized that parents living in high racially diversity neighborhood would have a

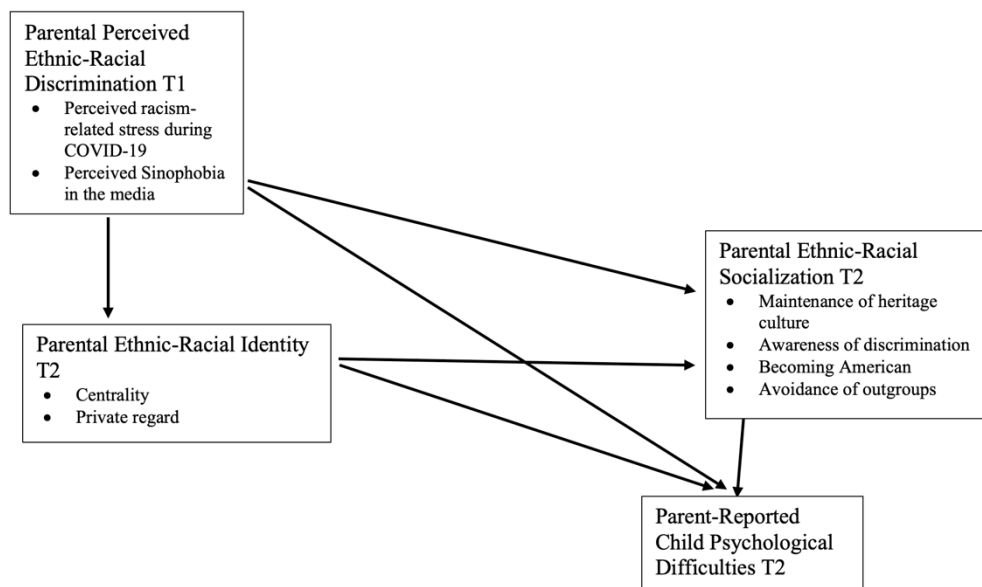
stronger link between parental racial discrimination experience and ERS practices than parents living in low racially diverse neighborhood.

RQ6: Does the hypothesized model differ for perceived low versus high Chinese density neighborhoods? (An exploratory research question)

Hypothesis 6. Although this was an exploratory research question, I hypothesized that parents living in perceived low Chinese density neighborhoods would have a stronger link between parental racial discrimination experience and ERS practices than parents living in perceived high Chinese density neighborhoods.

Figure 1

Hypothesized Model on Parents' Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Experience, ERI, ERS, and Child Outcomes



Note. T1 = Time 1, T2 = Time 2.

Chapter 3: Method

Procedure

The data were collected as part of a larger longitudinal study funded by a National Science Foundation RAPID grant to understand Chinese American children's and parents' experience with discrimination and adjustment during COVID-19. Only data from parents were used in this dissertation. Participants were recruited via telephone calls and flyers emailed to community and religious organizations in the United States, as well as social media (Facebook and WeChat). Links for the survey were sent to interested parents by email or through the fliers. The participants provided consent for themselves and completed the online surveys using Qualtrics at two time points (Time 1: between March to May, 2020; Time 2: between January to April, 2021). The measures were available in English, simplified, or traditional Chinese using the back-translation method. Participants received e-gift cards (\$20 at Time 1 and \$25 at Time 2) as compensation for their participation. Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Maryland, Baltimore institutional review board.

Participants

The participants comprised 502 individuals who identified as ethnically Chinese and resided in the United States ($M_{\text{age}} = 43.67$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 6.46$, ages ranged from 28 to 63 years, 79% female). All participants were parents to at least one 4- to 19-year-old child ($M_{\text{age}} = 11.99$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 3.84$; 47.4% girls) and the other parent of the child also identified as ethnically Chinese. Participants completed the survey at Time 1 in the Spring of 2020. Additionally, 294 of the 502 (58.57%) Chinese American

parents ($M_{age} = 44.28$, $SD_{age} = 6.18$, ages ranged from 29 to 63 years, 79% female) also completed the surveys at Time 2 (Spring 2021). Thus, the final sample of parents who completed surveys at both timepoints was 294. Among these 294 parents, 81.3% ($n = 243$) were mothers and 18.7% ($n = 56$) were fathers. There were no significant differences between parents at Time 1 and Time 2 across parents' age, gender, and education level, or children's age ($\chi^2(327) = 315.971$, $p = .659$).

In the current sample, 96.6% ($n = 284$) of the participants were first-generation immigrants and 3.1% ($n = 9$) were second-generation immigrants. First-generation parents had lived in the United States for an average of 17.57 years ($SD_{years} = 9.32$). Parents were highly educated with 62.2% holding a Master's degree or above, 22.1% had a Bachelor's degree, 5.0% had some college, and 10.4% had a high school, or less degree. Participants' demographic information are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Participants' Demographic Information

Demographic Information	Number of Participants (Total = 294)	Percentage of Participants
Parental role		
Mother	243	81.3%
Father	56	18.7%
Parents' Highest Degree		
Master's degree or higher	183	62.2%
Bachelor's degree	65	22.1%
Some college or less	44	15.0%
Parents' Immigration Status		
First generation	284	96.6%
Second generation	9	3.1%
Years living in the United States		
1-5 years	36	12.2%
6-10 years	35	11.9%

11-20 years	137	46.6%
21-30 years	70	23.8%
31-40 years	11	3.7%
>40 years	1	0.3%
Children's Gender		
Boy	155	52.7%
Girl	139	47.3%
Children's Age		
4-9 years	84	26.4%
10-15 years	153	49.1%
16-19 years	52	16.6%

Measures

Racism-Related Stress during the COVID-19

This measure was created by the project researchers by adapting two existing scales: the *Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory* (AARRSI; Miller et al., 2012) and the *Racial and Ethnic Microaggressions Scale* (REMS, Nadal, 2011) to capture racism-related stress due to experiences of in-person direct and vicarious racial discrimination during the COVID-19 (Cheah et al., 2020). Four items were used, “Someone said something negative about Chinese people (for example, their diet) related to the COVID-19 outbreak.”, “Someone said something about avoiding places with Chinese people because of the COVID-19 outbreak.”, “Someone tries to find out if you or your family has been to China since the COVID-19 outbreak.”, and “Someone tries to avoid you because of the COVID-19 outbreak.” Parents rated whether they experienced each type of discrimination and their feelings about each on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *This has never happened to me*, 2 = *This event happened [to me] but did not bother me*, 3 = *This event happened [to me] and I was slightly bothered*, 4 = *This event happened [to me] and I was upset*, and 5 = *This*

event happened [to me] and I was extremely upset). The Cronbach's α of the scale was .979 at Time 1.

Perceived Sinophobia in the Media

Sinophobia in the media in the United States was captured using items created by Cheah et al., (2020) that were adapted from the *Perceived Islamophobia Scale* (PIS; Kunst et al., 2013). The following five items were used, "The U.S. media presents Chinese people as dangerous.", "Chinese people and culture are presented as a threat to American culture in the media.", "The U.S. media spreads a lot of fear about China and Chinese people.", "The U.S. media represents Chinese people as a threat to public health.", and "Chinese people and culture are presented as a threat to American public health in the media." Participants responded to items on a 5-point Likert scale (1= *strongly disagree*, 5= *strongly agree*). The Cronbach's α in the current study was .950 at Time 1.

Ethnic-Racial Identity

The *Multidimensional Model of Black Identity* scale (MIBI; Sellers, 2013) was used to measure participants' centrality and private regard, with items modified to refer to their Chinese ethnicity. The centrality subscale consists of 5 items (e.g., "In general, being Chinese is an important part of my self-image.") to assess the extent to which participants normatively define their Chinese racial group membership or the significance that they place on the Chinese race. The private regard subscale consists of 7 items (e.g., "I am happy that I'm Chinese.") to assess the extent to which an individual feels positively or negatively about being a member of the Chinese racial-

ethnic community. Participants responded to items on a 5-point Likert scale (1= *strongly disagree*, 5= *strongly agree*). The Cronbach's α of the centrality and private regard subscales were .766, .892 at Time 1 and .781, .879 at Time 2.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization

The current study used *Asian American Racial-Ethnic Socialization Measure* (RESM; Juang et al., 2016) to measure Asian American families' cultural socialization and racial socialization. The measure was designed for Asian American families and developed using existing parental socialization data (e.g., Hughes & Johnson, 2001) and focus groups among Asian American college students (Juang et al., 2016). The maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, becoming American, and avoidance of outgroups subscales were used in the current study. The parents rated their engagement on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *very often*). The maintenance of heritage culture subscale assesses the extent to which parents promote children's learning and maintenance of heritage culture at home (9 items; e.g., "How often did you routinely cook Asian food for your children?"). The awareness of discrimination subscale measures how parents promote their children's awareness of racial discrimination (4 items; e.g., "How often did you tell your children to speak in their heritage language?"). The becoming American subscale measures how parents encourage their children to be an American (4 items; e.g., "How often did you tell your children to have close friends who were (non-Asian) Americans?"). The avoidance of outgroups subscale measures how parents avoid intra-race/ethnic interactions (4 items; "How often did you tell your children to

avoid another racial or ethnic group?”). The Cronbach’s α of the four subscales were .742, .864, .725, and .848 at Time 2, respectively.

Child Psychological Difficulties

The *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* (SDQ; Goodman, 1997) was used to assess parents’ perception of their children’s psychological difficulties (i.e., emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity/inattention, and peer relationship difficulties). Sample items include, “Many fears, easily scared.”, “Often lies or cheats.”, “Restless, overactive and can’t stay still for long.”, and “Picked on or bullied by other children.”. The parents rated their children’s psychological well-being on a 3-point scale (0 = *not true* to 2 = *certainly true*). The internal consistency (Cronbach’s α) of the scale was .863 at Time 2. In the current study, I used the total difficulties subscale versus using individual subscales because we wanted to capture the overall psychological difficulties as opposed to specific types of mental health problems.

Perceived Neighborhood Chinese Density

Perceived neighborhood ethnic density was collected by the question “What is the percentage of Chinese people who live in your neighborhood?” Parents were asked to report a subjective percentage on the survey. The average perceived Chinese density was 23.06% (SD = 25.01%).

Racial Diversity Index

National Equity Atlas (2020) provided a *diversity index* score for each county. The diversity index is a measure of the racial-ethnic diversity of residents based on

six major racial-ethnic groups in the United States (White, Black, Latino, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American, and Mixed/other race). The maximum diversity score (1.79) would occur if each group were evenly represented in the region. Data from National Equity Atlas represent five-year averages (i.e., 2015-2019). Queens, New York ranked No.1 out of 430 counties with a diversity index score of 1.5 while Webb, Texas ranked 430 with an index of 0.22. Based on the zip codes reported by participants, I linked each zip code to the county they lived in when they completed the surveys, and each county was given a diversity index score based on the National Equity Atlas 2020. In the current study sample, participants came from 62 different counties, with an average diversity index score of 1.26 (SD = 0.18, ranging from 0.47 to 1.50).

Family Socioeconomic Status

Parents reported demographic information regarding their age, gender, years living in the United States, marital status, immigration situation, education level, and occupation type. Families' SES scores were calculated by adding the weighted education and occupation scores for each head of household and dividing the sum score by the number of household heads per the *Hollingshead Four Factor Index* (Hollingshead, 1975). The scores ranged from 8 to 66 and were converted into 5 strata (higher strata indicating a higher SES).

Analytical Approach

Missing Data

A limited number of the participants skipped a few items. In order to examine whether the missing data had a pattern, Little's MCAR test was performed using the SPSS 26 software. Little's MCAR test is used to test whether the data are missing completely at random (Myers, 2011). The result revealed that the data were missing at random, and there was no pattern in the missing data, $\chi^2(47059) = 10258.328, p = 1.000$. Thus, the full information likelihood (ML) on Mplus 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017) was applied in the following analysis.

Path Analysis

Path analysis with a full information likelihood on Mplus 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017) with 5000 bootstrap was conducted. The model is considered to fit well if the comparative fit index (CFI) $> .950$, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) $< .650$, and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) $< .850$ (Hancock & Mueller, 2013). The path or indirect effect was considered to be significant if the 95% bootstrap confidence intervals (CI) did not contain a zero. Additionally, previous studies have suggested to use coefficient β to evaluate effect size, "For a coefficient b , effect sizes between 0.10–0.29 are said to be only small, effect sizes between 0.30–0.49 are medium, and effect sizes of 0.50 or greater are large." (Nieminen, 2022).

Multi-Group Analysis

I used multi-group analysis to examine how the hypothesized model differs for participants residing in neighborhoods with low versus high perceived Chinese density and racial diversity. I used approximately the 27th and 73rd percentiles as cutoff points to divide the participants into three groups (low: lower than 27th percentile, middle: 28th to 72nd percentile, and high: high than 73rd percentile), which are recommended values for item discrimination when working with “high” and “low” groups (Carretero-Dios et al., 2009). The low perceived neighborhood Chinese density group included participants who perceived that less than or equal to 7% of the residents in their neighborhood were of Chinese decent, while the high perceived neighborhood Chinese density group included participants who perceived that more than or equal to 25% of the residents in their neighborhood were of Chinese decent. The low neighborhood racial diversity group included participants who lived in a county with a racial diversity index score of 1.28 or less (e.g., the racial diverse index score of Anne Arundel county, MD was 1.01). In contrast, the high neighborhood racial diversity group included participants who lived in a county with a racial diversity index score of 1.40 or higher (e.g., the racial diverse index score of Queens, New York was 1.50).

In the multi-group analysis, first, I compared the constrained model and unconstrained model. In the constrained model, I imposed each estimated parameters to be equal across both groups (i.e. low vs. high neighborhood Chinese density or low versus high racial diversity groups). In the unconstrained model, I allowed all paths to be freely estimated for different groups. Second, when there was a significant difference between the constrained and unconstrained models, I calculated the low

and high Chinese density neighborhood and racially diverse neighborhood group models separately. Then, I defined the “Difference” as the specific path loading in the low Chinese density or racial diversity group minus the path loading in the high Chinese density or racial diversity group to compare the differences on each path. After that, I analyzed how the paths of the two groups differed significantly. Additionally, researchers have suggested that one should be cautious and consider model specifications, degrees of freedom, and sample size when using RMSEA as a model fit index (Chen et al., 2008) and RMSEA may be misleading when the model is relatively simple with few degrees of freedom (Kenny et al., 2015). Therefore, as there were only a few degrees of freedom in the model comparison analysis, only CFI > .950 and SRMR < .850 were considered as good model fit (Hancock & Mueller, 2013).

Chapter 4: Results

Prevalence of Racism and Sinophobia

In the current study, 87.76% (n = 258) of parents at Time 1 (March to May, 2020) and 74.15% (n = 218) at Time 2 (January to April, 2021) reported experiencing at least one incident of racial discrimination during the pandemic. About 58.14% (n = 150) at Time 1 and 82.65% (n = 243) at Time 2 reported experiencing racism-related stress (e.g., feeling bothered or upset by the racism). Additionally, 32.88% (n = 96) of parents at Time 1 and 41.50% (n = 122) at Time 2 agreed or strongly agreed that Sinophobia (i.e., the intersection of fear and hatred of China) has been prevalent in the U.S. media. Regarding their ethnic racial socialization practices, parents were most likely to use the maintenance of heritage culture practice, followed by the practices of becoming American, the awareness of discrimination, and the avoidance of outgroups at both time points. Mean, standard deviation, and correlations of interested variables are shown in Table 2.

Preliminary Analyses of Change over Time

Additionally, parental ERI centrality (the importance of their race-ethnicity membership to their self-concept) decreased from Time 1 to Time 2 ($t(292) = -2.183$, $p = .030$), while the private regard (their positive evaluations of the Chinese ethnic-racial group) remained the same ($t(292) = -0.830$, $p = .407$).

Table 2*Mean, Standard Deviation (SD), and Correlation among Variables of Interest*

	Racism-Related Stress T1	Sinophobia in the Media at T1	ERI Centrality T2	ERI Private Regard T2	ERS Maintenance of Heritage Culture T2	ERS Awareness of Discrimination T2	ERS Becoming American T2	ERS Avoidance of Outgroups T2	Child's Psychological Difficulties T2
Racism-Related Stress T1	1.000								
Sinophobia in the Media T1	.433**	1.000							
ERI Centrality T2	.105	.062	1.000						
ERI Private Regard T2	.132*	-.002	.614**	1.000					
ERS Maintenance of Heritage Culture T2	.017	.147*	.316**	.319**	1.000				
ERS Awareness of Discrimination T2	.191**	.187**	.154**	.071	.182**	1.000			
ERS Becoming American T2	.102	.134*	.045	.063	.357**	.368**	1.000		
ERS Avoidance of Outgroups T2	.168**	.148*	-.002	-.191**	.012	.347**	.250*	1.000	
Child's Psychological Difficulties T2	.313**	.254**	-.032	-.183**	-.171**	.117*	.086	.356**	1.000
<i>Mean</i>	2.4073	2.6612	3.9463	4.2245	3.5654	2.382	2.6122	1.2628	8.8296
<i>SD</i>	1.11178	1.15917	0.61046	0.59437	0.67176	0.9816	0.94683	0.53108	6.0129

Note. Racism-Related Stress = Parental Perceived Racism-Related Stress during COVID-19. ERS = Ethnic-Racial Socialization. ERI = Ethnic-Racial Identity. T1 = Time 1. T2 = Time 2.

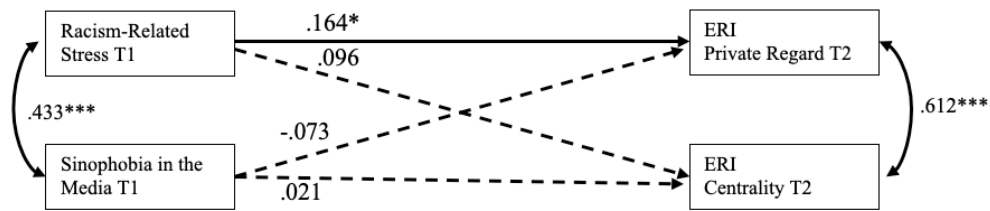
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

RQ1: Parental Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Experience at Time 1 and Parental ERI at Time 2

The model was a just identified model, see Figure 2. Parental perceived racism-related stress during COVID-19 ($\beta = .164$, 95% CI [.040, .288], $p = .010$) but not Sinophobia in the media ($\beta = -.073$, 95% CI [-.198, .053], $p = .255$) at Time 1 predicted more parental ERI private regard (their positive evaluations of the Chinese ethnic-racial group) at Time 2. The effect size was small (Nieminen, 2022). However, neither the racism-related stress during COVID-19 ($\beta = .096$, 95% CI [-.033, .221], $p = .136$) nor Sinophobia in the media ($\beta = .021$, 95% CI [-.105, .147], $p = .749$) at Time 1 significantly predicted ERI centrality (the importance of their racial-ethnic membership to their self-concept) at Time 2.

Figure 2

The Relations Between Parental Perceived Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Experience and Parental Ethnic Racial Identity



Note. Racism-Related Stress = Parental Perceived Racism-Related Stress during COVID-19. ERI = Ethnic-Racial Identity. T1 = Time 1. T2 = Time 2. Solid line = significant path. Dotted line = not significant path.

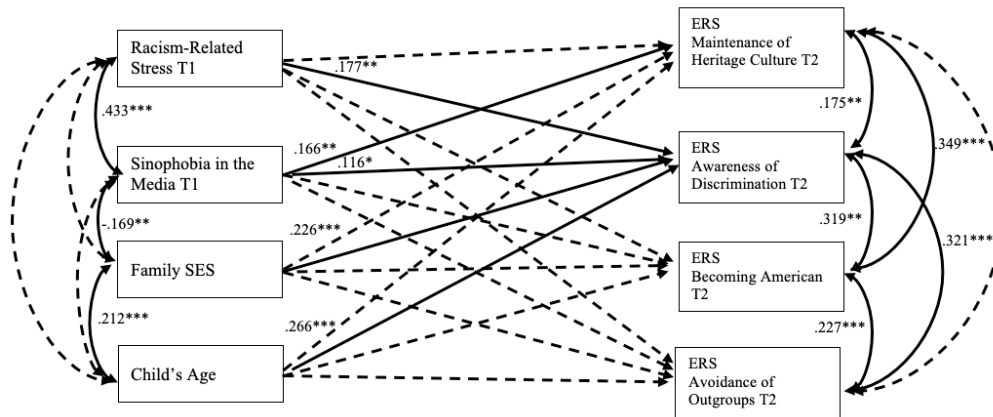
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

RQ2: Parental Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Experience at Time 1 and Parental ERS at Time 2

The model of the relation between parental ethnic-racial discrimination experience at Time 1 and parental ERS at Time 2 (controlling for family SES and child's age) was saturated (just identified model), with $\chi^2 = 0$, $df = 0$, CFI = 1.000, RMSEA = .000, and SRMR = .000, see Figure 3. Parental racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1 significantly and positively predicted their use of awareness of discrimination practices at Time 2 ($\beta = .177$, 95% CI [.062, .292], $p = .003$). Parental perceptions of Sinophobia in the media at Time 1 significantly and positively predicted the use of maintenance of heritage culture ($\beta = .166$, 95% CI [.041, .291], $p = .009$) and the awareness of discrimination ($\beta = .116$, 95% CI [.001, .230], $p = .048$) practices at Time 2 but not the becoming American ($\beta = .102$, 95% CI [-.023, .227], $p = .108$) or the avoidance of outgroups ($\beta = .101$, 95% CI [-.023, .226], $p = .110$) practices at Time 2. The effect sizes were small (Nieminen, 2022).

Figure 3

The Relations Between Parental Perceived Ethnic-Racial Discrimination Experience and Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices



Note. Racism-Related Stress = Parental Perceived Racism-Related Stress during COVID-19. ERS = Ethnic-Racial Socialization. T1 = Time 1. T2 = Time 2. Solid line = significant path. Dotted line = not significant path.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

RQ3: Parental ERS at Time 2 and Child's Psychological Difficulties at Time 2

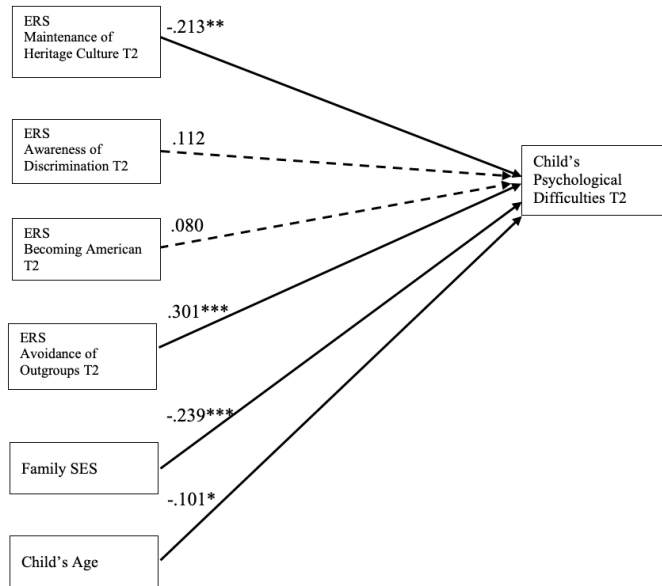
The model of the relation between parental ERS at Time 2 and child's psychological difficulties at Time 2 (controlling for family SES and child's age) was a just identified model, see Figure 4. Parental use of maintenance of heritage culture ($\beta = -.213$, 95% CI [-.333, -.093], $p = .001$) and avoidance of outgroups ($\beta = .301$, 95% CI [.162, .440], $p < .001$) practices at Time 2 were significantly related to child psychological difficulties at Time 2, controlling for family SES and child age.

However, the awareness of discrimination ($\beta = .112$, 95% CI [-.008, .232], $p = .068$) and the becoming American ($\beta = .080$, 95% CI [-.033, .193], $p = .165$) practices at Time 2 were not significantly related to child psychological difficulties at Time 2.

Maintaining heritage culture and avoiding outgroups had small and medium effect sizes, respectively (Nieminen, 2022).

Figure 4

The Relations Between Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices and Child's Psychological Difficulties



Note. ERS = Ethnic-Racial Socialization. T1 = Time 1. T2 = Time 2. Solid line = significant path. Dotted line = not significant path. Correlations among predictors were not shown in the figures in order to make it easier to read.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Mediation Analysis

RQ4: Serial Mediation Analysis

The mediation model linking racial discrimination experience to parent ERI, then to parent ERS, and subsequently to children's psychological difficulties yielded a good fit, $\chi^2 = 16.076$, $df = 7$, CFI = .981, RMSEA = .067, SRMR = .027, using Mplus 7.4 and bootstrap 5000, see Figure 5. The model showed that racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1 had a significant indirect effect on parental use of avoidance of outgroups practices at Time 2 (indirect effect = -.052, 95% CI [-.100, -.005], $p = .030$) via parental ERI private regard at Time 2. When parents experienced more stress related to racism during COVID-19 at Time 1, they were more likely to

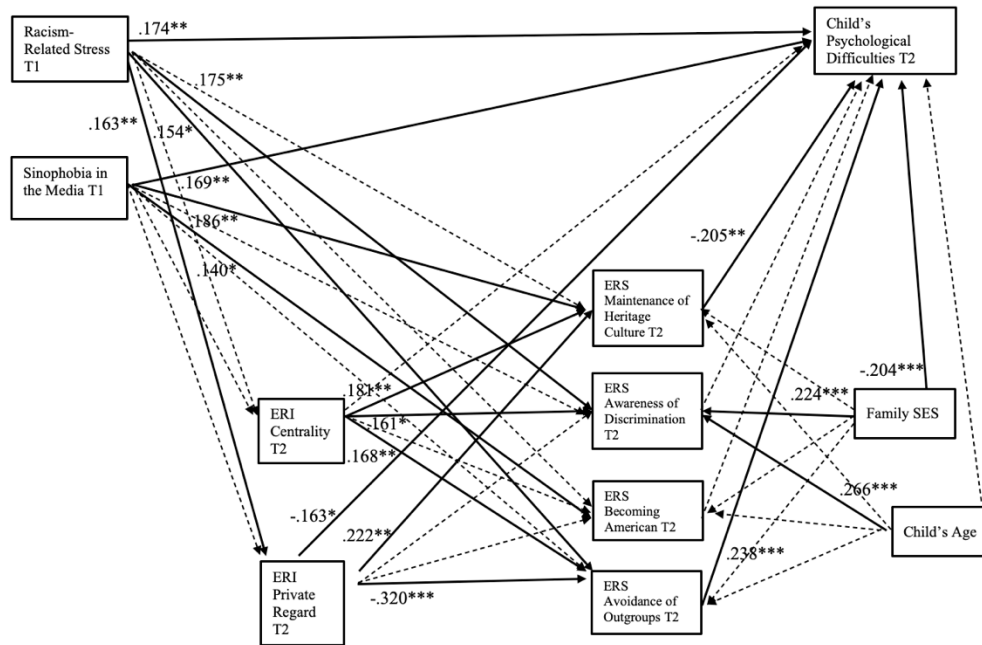
have more positive private regard at Time 2 ($\beta = .163$, 95% CI [.038, .288], $p = .010$), which was related to less avoidance of outgroups practices at Time 2 ($\beta = -.320$, 95% CI [-.455, -.185], $p < .001$). The effect sizes were small and medium (Nieminen, 2022). Although the indirect effect was not significant (indirect effect = .036, 95% CI [-.002, .074], $p = .060$), when parents perceived more racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1, they were more likely to have more positive private regard at Time 2 ($\beta = .163$, 95% CI [.038, .288], $p = .010$), which was related to more maintenance of heritage culture practices ($\beta = .222$, 95% CI [.088, .355], $p = .001$). The effect sizes were small (Nieminen, 2022).

Parental perceived Sinophobia in the media at Time 1 had significant indirect effects on child's psychological difficulties at Time2 via parental use of maintenance of heritage culture practices at Time 2 (indirect effect = -.038, 95% CI [-.072, -.002], $p = .035$). When parents perceived more Sinophobia in the media at Time 1, they were more likely to use more maintain heritage culture practices with their children at Time 2 ($\beta = .186$, 95% CI [.058, .314], $p = .010$), which was related to less child psychological difficulties at Time 2 ($\beta = -.198$, 95% CI [-.335, -.062], $p < .001$). The effect sizes were small (Nieminen, 2022).

Although the indirect effect was not significant (indirect effect = .037, 95% CI [-.005, .078], $p = .083$), when parents experienced more racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1, they were more likely to use avoidance of outgroups practices with their children at Time 2 ($\beta = .154$, 95% CI [.018, .290], $p = .026$), which was related to more child psychological difficulties at Time 2 ($\beta = .238$, 95% CI [.111, .365], $p < .001$). The effect sizes were small (Nieminen, 2022).

Figure 5

The Mediation Model



Note. Racism-Related Stress = Parental Perceived Racism-Related Stress during COVID-19. ERI = Ethnic-Racial Identity. ERS = Ethnic-Racial Socialization. T1 = Time 1. T2 = Time 2. Solid line = significant path. Dotted line = not significant path. Correlations were not shown in figures.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

The Multi-Group Analysis

RQ5: Racial Diversity Differences

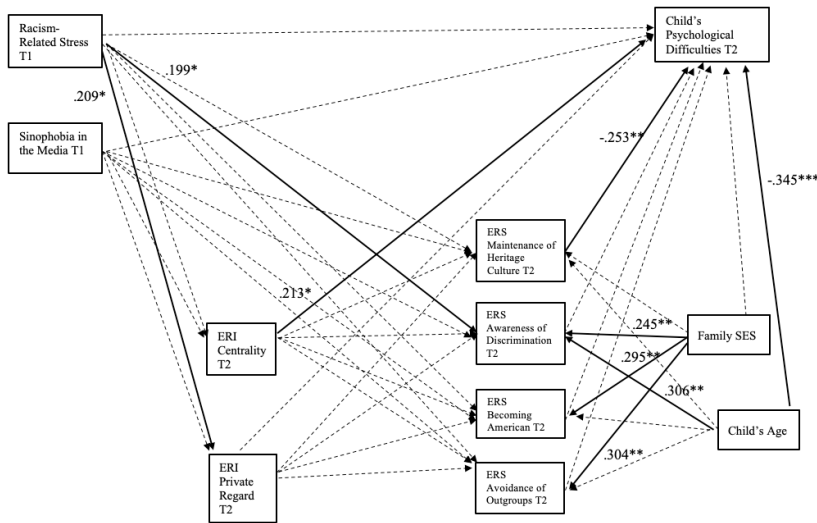
To examine the neighborhoods racial diversity differences, I compared the constrained (restricting each path) and unconstrained models, $\Delta \chi^2 = 66.467$, $\Delta df = 43$, $p = .014$, which indicates significant differences between the low and high racial diversity

neighborhoods. The unconstrained model fit the data well, $\chi^2 = 21.209$, $df = 8$, CFI = .966, SRMR = .038. Three path loadings were significantly different. Parental racism-related stress during COVID-19 at Time 1 positively ($\beta = .295$, 95% CI [.113, .477], $p = .002$) and parental ERI private regard at Time 2 negatively ($\beta = -.446$, 95% CI [-.651, -.239], $p < .001$) predicted parental use of avoidance of outgroups strategies at Time 2 for the high neighborhood racial diversity group, which in turn positively predicted child's psychological difficulties at Time 2 ($\beta = .337$, 95% CI [.183, .490], $p < .001$), but not for the low group (*Difference* = -0.168/ 0.321/ -3.837, 95% CI [-0.303, -0.033]/ [0.032, 0.661]/ [-6.765, -0.909], $p = .014/.030/.010$; see Figure 6). The effect sizes were small or medium (Nieminen, 2022).

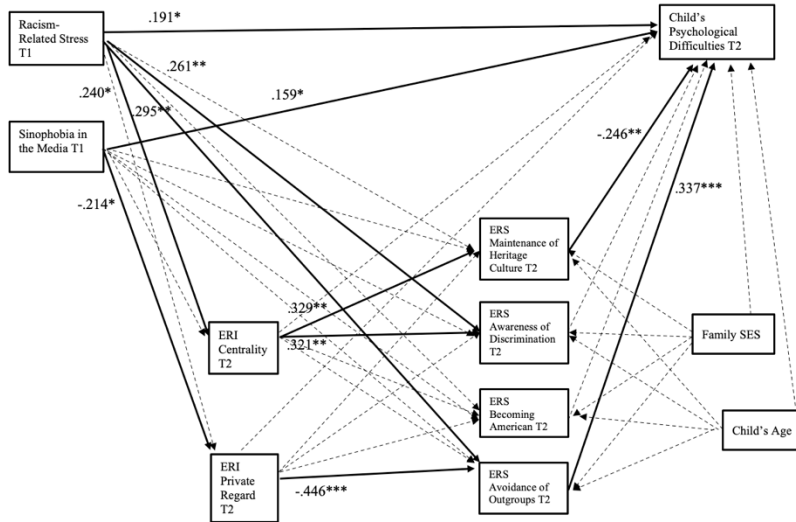
Figure 6

The Effects of Neighborhood Racial Diversity

Low Racial Diversity



High Racial Diversity



Note. Racism-Related Stress = Parental Perceived Racism-Related Stress during COVID-19. ERI = Ethnic-Racial Identity. ERS = Ethnic-Racial Socialization. T1 = Time 1. T2 = Time 2. Solid line = significant path. Dotted line = not significant path. Correlations were not shown in figures. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

RQ6: Chinese Density Differences

For neighborhood Chinese density differences, no significant differences between constrained (restricting each path) and unconstrained models were found, $\Delta \chi^2 = 36.160$, $\Delta df = 37$, $p = .508$, indicating there were no significant model differences between families in the neighborhoods with perceived low and high Chinese density.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The current study has revealed complex intergenerational transmission between parents' racial discrimination experience (i.e., parental racism-related stress during COVID-19 and perceived Sinophobia messages in the media) and children's psychological difficulties. This is the first study to examine the mediation role of parental ERI private regard and clearly identify a link between parental ERI and ERS practices. The findings contribute to the field's limited knowledge of parental ERS practices among understudied Chinese immigrant families, especially practices regarding the socialization of becoming American and avoidance of outgroups, and also highlight the influence of contextual factors (i.e., neighborhood racial diversity) on the associations between Chinese immigrant parental racism-related stress during COVID-19, parental ERI, parental ERS practices, and children's psychological difficulties.

During the first year of the pandemic (from March 2020 to May 2021), the majority of Chinese parents in the current sample experienced racism 87.76% at Time 1 and 74.15% at Time 2 reported at least one incident of racism, and perceived Sinophobia in the U.S. media (32.88% at Time 1 and 41.50% at Time 2). These parents also reported feeling increasingly bothered or upset because of racial discrimination (58.14% at Time 1 to 82.65 at Time 2). This pattern is alarming and consistent with several empirical studies showing that although anti-Chinese sentiment was present before COVID-19, and the pandemic has further fuelled Sinophobia. Researchers have suggested that the wave of Sinophobia has spread far beyond the fear of coronavirus, even after President Joe Biden signed the COVID-19

Hate Crimes Act (Schild et al., 2020; Shen et al., 2022). Researchers have suggested that geopolitics also plays an increasingly crucial role in Sinophobia in U.S. society (Gao, 2022; Li & Nicholson Jr, 2021). According to STOP AAPI HATE report (2022), U.S. politicians blamed China for COVID-19 and described China as a threat to U.S. public health, national security, and economic interests, and inflammatory political rhetoric is reflected in the language used in Asian hate incidents (e.g., one in five incidents involve language that scapegoats Asians and Asian Americans). Additionally, the “triple conflation” phenomenon describes that the health, racial, and political/national statuses of Chinese people become intermingled, which may be more significant for first-generation immigrants (Gao, 2022). Therefore, immigrant Chinese families are profoundly influenced by racial discrimination and Sinophobia in the United States.

Parental ERS Practices

In line with the integrative model (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) and the integrated conceptual framework for Asian American children (Mistry et al., 2016), Chinese parents in the current study play a vital role in shaping their children’s adjustment through parental ERS practices while living within a racially stratified society and dealing with racial discrimination and experiencing racism related stress themselves. Prior studies on ERS in Asian American families revealed that generational/immigrant status plays an important role in what ERS messages are discussed within the family (Simon, 2020). Considering that 95.9% of the parents in the current study were first-generation immigrants, the findings should be discussed in light of this group of immigrant Chinese families in the United States.

Consistent with prior research (Wang et al., 2020), parental maintenance of heritage culture practice was the most common ERS practice among Chinese immigrant parents in the current study. Parental maintenance of heritage culture practice mediated the relation between parental perceived Sinophobia in the U.S. media and child's psychological difficulties. Chinese parents who perceived Sinophobic messages in U.S. media were more likely to promote their children's Chinese heritage, resulting in a decrease in children's psychological difficulties, supporting previous studies in which cultural socialization played a pivotal role in the development of Chinese immigrant children (Kiang et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2020). Although the avoidance of outgroups practices were the least common practices in the study, these socialization messages influenced children's psychological well-being. Racism-related stress positively predicted the use of avoidance of outgroups practices one year later, which in turn was associated with greater adjustment problems in children. Although it may be reasonable for parents to encourage their children to avoid other groups after experiencing COVID-19 racism-related stress in order to protect their children from potential racial discrimination, the current study is among the first to suggest that such avoidance was actually detrimental for Chinese American youth during the pandemic. The avoidance of outgroup socialization may increase children's stress and mistrust when interacting with people of other racial groups (Wang et al., 2020). It is also possible for Chinese American children to become more isolated in their neighborhood and at school as a result of avoiding socializing with other ethnic groups.

The findings suggest that the consequences of parental racial discrimination experience for children's psychological well-being are mediated by parental heritage culture maintenance and avoidance of outgroups practice practices. In addition to highlighting the protective role of socialization messages centered on promoting the maintenance of Chinese immigrant families' heritage culture, the findings also suggest the detrimental effects of avoiding outgroup practices on children's adjustment, when racism poses a constant threat to Chinese immigrant families. Therefore, in order to protect children from psychological difficulties, Chinese immigrant parents should cultivate their children's ethnic-racial pride, promote knowledge of their heritage culture, and encourage them to interact with people from different ethnic/racial backgrounds.

Chinese Immigrant Parental Messages about Bias Preparation

Awareness of Discrimination. Both racism-related stress during COVID-19 and Sinophobia messages in the media positively predicted the awareness of discrimination practice. With an increase of the ethnic-racial discrimination and Sinophobia messages in the media, Chinese immigrant parents in this sample were more likely to raise their children's awareness of racial discrimination. However, the awareness of discrimination was a less frequently used ERS practice compared with the use of maintaining heritage culture and becoming American practices at both time points during increased anti-Asian racism. The findings are consistent with studies among Chinese American parents showing that they were less likely to employ the bias preparation practices in families (Alvarez et al., 2006; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014; Hughes et al., 2009; Huguley et al., 2019). An interview study with 40

immigrant Chinese American parents with elementary-school aged children ages 5–11 years old showed that while parents were concerned about racial discrimination in the context of the COVID-19, 70% of the parents reported not discussing racism with their children or preparing them for possible racial discrimination (Wang et al., 2022).

Four reasons may contribute to this paradoxical behavior. First, immigrant parents may lack knowledge or strategies for preparing their children for racial discrimination. Second, some parents are concerned that conversations about racial discrimination would make their children upset or worried, and in hence, causing harm instead. Third, some parents may view racial discrimination in the United States as an inevitable symptom of the extensive history of bigotry against Chinese Americans and feel powerless to stop it, such as “This kind of discrimination or estrangement will always exist. It always exists; it has always been there [in the U.S. history]. In fact, this kind of prejudice is always there” (Wang et al., 2022, *p.*9). Fourth, some parents also believe their children, especially those in elementary school, are too young to understand race or racial discrimination. In this context, Chinese immigrant parents may be reluctant or feel uncomfortable to discuss racial discrimination with their children or teach them coping strategies to address racism, even though parents and children experience high levels of racism during COVID-19 (Cheah et al., 2020). Previous studies also showed that ethnic-racial minority parents may lack the confidence and efficacy to communicate messages about bias preparation with children and feel challenged to provide balanced messages that attend to children’s developmental readiness, build skills to cope with discrimination,

and do not overinflate distrust for other groups (Hughes et al., 2006; Stein et al., 2021).

Becoming American Messages. At both time points, becoming American ranked as the second most common ERS practice among immigrant Chinese parents, which corresponds with previous studies showing that Chinese parents encourage their children to “be American”, such as to speak English without an accent, have close friends who are American, and adapt to the U.S. mainstream culture (e.g., Juang et al., 2016). Previous studies indicated that Chinese parents who immigrated to the United States are likely to attribute racial discrimination experiences to their status as immigrants (i.e., not born in the United States) and their lack of English language proficiency and knowledge of U.S. culture (Benner & Kim, 2009; Harding et al., 2017; Hughes et al., 2009). “Becoming an American” is based on a common implicit assumption shared by both mainstream White Americans as well as people of color that being American equates to being White (Devos & Mohamed, 2014). Due to the pervasive Sinophobia, some immigrant Chinese parents believe that by assimilating into White American culture, their children can avoid invisible systemic or institutional bias as well as racial discrimination, which enable them to have a chance to succeed in the U.S. society. As a result, the ERS practices Chinese immigrant families employ to encourage their children to become Americans may appear to be an “indirect” form of bias avoidant socialization. However, this practice was not correlated with youth’s psychological well-being. Although no studies have directly examined the relation between parents’ use of becoming American practice and children’s adjustment, some studies have suggested that for Asian American youths’

labeling preference, an American label alone was seldom selected (Kiang & Witkow, 2018). The majority of Asian American youth prefer to use a hyphenated American label, which suggests that these youth likely embraced a bicultural identity orientation in selecting both American and ethnic-related labels in their ethnicity-based self-definitions (Kiang & Witkow, 2018).

Chinese immigrant parents' beliefs about race and ethnic-racial discrimination as well as how they convey messages about racial discrimination to their children seem to be different from the other parents of color, especially African American/Black parents. Parents of African American children are more likely to recognize that one part of their responsibility as parents is to raise their children to be aware of the social status of Black people as well as to protect children from racism and discrimination (Hughes et al. 2009; Simon, 2020). Most African American parents not only help their children to be aware of racial discrimination but many also teach them specific coping strategies (Hughes et al., 2006). Moreover, those coping strategies keep pace with the times. For example, many Black parents have been found to teach their children about encounters with the police, as a result of the many senseless killings of Black youth and adults by police officers. The preparation includes specific verbal and body language, such as announcing movement, moving slowly, and keeping hands visible on the sternwheel of a car or in the air at all times (Simon, 2020).

In contrast, first-generation Chinese immigrant parents may be less likely to have specific strategies for their children to cope with racial discrimination and the increased Sinophobia in United States during the COVID-19 pandemic (Wang et al.,

2022). Furthermore, researchers have indicated that immigrant parents' preparation for bias messages were not always beneficial for ethnic minority adolescents. For example, Benner and Kim (2009) found that more parental preparation for bias messages were associated with more feelings of cultural misfit among Chinese American adolescents. Similarly, when parents used higher levels of preparation for bias with Caribbean Black immigrant adolescents, adolescents' experiences with discrimination were associated with more perceived stress compared with parents who used lower levels of preparation for bias. The different findings may be because the meaning and interpretation of parent messages related to discrimination are different for immigrants who were "not racial minorities in their native country or did not receive preparation for racial bias until they immigrated and learned about the history and context of discrimination within the U.S." (Saleem et al., 2022, p.152).

The Importance of Parental ERI

Parental ERI Private Regard as a Mediator

ERI private regard is a crucial psychological resource for people of color to deal with racial discrimination (Rivas-Drake et al., 2021; Giamo et al., 2012; Lou et al., 2022; Stuart et al., 2020). The results showed that Chinese immigrant parents experienced high levels of racism (74.15% to 87.76% reported experiencing at least one incident of racism) and racism-related stress (58.14% to 82.65% reported being bothered by the racism they experienced) during COVID-19, and this stress was associated with more positive ERI private regard (positive view of the Chinese ethnic group). This finding is consistent with RIM framework (Branscombe et al., 1999),

which suggests that the experience of racism can increase ethnic-racial minority people's sense of belonging to their race and ethnicity. The finding is also consistent with studies conducted during COVID-19 among Chinese immigrants that racial discrimination during COVID-19 toward Chinese Canadians was positively related to their Chinese identity (Lou et al., 2022) as well as studies among other ethnic groups (Giamo et al., 2012; Stuart et al., 2020). Having positive attitudes and feelings toward Chinese ethnicity can help Chinese immigrants cope with racial discrimination and allow them feel accepted and valued and hold high self-esteem (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007).

The current findings also showed that parental private regard mediated parental racism-related stress during COVID-19 and parental ERS practices (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture and avoidance of outgroup) and children's psychological difficulties. The results contribute to the literature on intergenerational links and uncover the key role that parents' ERI private regard plays in their ERS practices and children's psychological well-being in immigrant Chinese families. Moreover, immigrant parents' attitudes and beliefs about their Chinese ethnicity affect how they interpret and respond to race-related stressors within families, influencing how they communicate with their children about race or ethnicity. This finding is consistent with previous studies that parents of color who have high private regard endorse more positive messages about their racial group to their children, such as Chinese culture socialization (Holloway & Varner, 2021; Wang et al., 2020). Additionally, in the mediation model, private regard was negatively correlated with avoidance of outgroup practice and children's maladjustment. As having higher

private regard is linked to positive self-esteem and positive interpersonal functioning (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), the immigrant Chinese parents with higher private regard are more likely to be proud of their Chinese heritage and less likely to promote racial mistrust. Therefore, within the proximal processes of parent–child daily interactions (e.g., parental ERS), Chinese immigrant parents’ strong private regard contribute to children’s psychological well-being.

Parental ERI Centrality Changes

In the context of increasing racism-related stress, Chinese immigrant parents’ ERI centrality declined over time although their private regard remained the same. Though the immigrant parents continued to hold positive attitudes toward Chinese ethnicity, being Chinese seemed to become less significant for their self-concept and it indicates that Chinese immigrant parents may have a stronger desire to blend into the “American mainstream.” A national study (n = 7,149) showed that during the 2016 U.S. presidential election, racialized rhetoric shaped Asian Americans’ centrality (Farrell et al., 2022). Chinese Americans’ American (national) identity centrality increased after post-election relative to pre-election and their Chinese centrality did not change overtime, indicating the relative importance of Chinese versus American identity decreased. In addition, ethnic identity centrality decreased significantly after the election among Korean American respondents as a result of race-related stress. ERI centrality “may serve as a lens through which the objective environment is experienced psychologically” (Yip, 2005, *p.* 1605). As identity centrality epitomizes how individuals understand external messages and experiences, process them internally, and reflect these experiences in their perception of their

social identity (Burke & Stets, 2009), it can be reactive to personal experiences, specific social events, and ongoing social processes (Farrell et al., 2022). Additionally, in the mediation model, parental ERI centrality positively predicted avoidance group practice. As ERI centrality may reflect people's racial discrimination experience (Farrell et al., 2022), immigrant parents may express caution to their children about other racial groups and encourage their children to keep a distance from people of other ethnic groups.

The Importance of Contextual Factors

Chinese immigrant parents in the current sample were likely to live in a community with a high degree of racial diversity, and they likely perceived that there were many other Chinese people living nearby. In the participants' neighborhoods, the perceived Chinese density and the community diversity index were much higher than the national averages. For example, the Chinese American population in the United States is about 1.67% (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021) while in the current study parents perceived 23.06% of residents in their neighborhood were Chinese. Although their perception may not be exactly accurate, it is consistent with previous findings that although the Chinese American population spreads across all 50 states, the largest Chinese populations are likely to be in diverse cities where immigrants have historically clustered (Turner, 2021).

The current study identified racial diversity in residential neighborhoods as significant contextual factors shaping immigrant Chinese families' experience with racism, ERS practices, and their child's adjustment difficulties. Parents who experienced more racism-related stress during COVID-19 were more likely to use

avoidance of outgroups practice, only when they lived in neighborhoods with high racial diversity. In turn, the use of avoidance of outgroups practice was associated with greater adjustment difficulties in children. Those patterns, however, did not apply to immigrant Chinese parents living in low racial diversity neighborhoods. As a study during COVID-19 showed that American adults from highly ethnically diverse neighborhoods were 35% less likely to experience racism than those living in the least ethnically diverse neighborhoods (Su et al., 2022), Chinese immigrants may believe that living in a racially diverse community means being largely protected from racial discrimination. Experiencing racism-related stress in a racial diverse community is very likely to be a disruptive experience and brings parents a great deal of racial stress and worries as their children are more likely to encounter negative interactions with other racial/ethnic groups in a racial diverse environment (Seaton & Yip, 2009). Additionally, parents may compare their experiences with racial discrimination with those of other ethnic-racial groups in the community that do not face such discrimination (Seaton & Yip, 2009), increasing parents' racial distress. Thus, immigrant Chinese parents may encourage their children to keep social distance from people from other ethnic-racial groups when they experience racism-related stress. Consequently, the avoidance of outgroups socialization practice leads to a high level of adjustment difficulties for children, as they are likely to become isolated in a racial diverse environment.

However, Chinese density in neighborhoods does not appear to affect the relations between parental racial discrimination experiences, ERI practices, ERS practices and children's psychological difficulties. I think two reasons may contribute

to this result. First, parents in this study perceived themselves as living in a community with a high Chinese density, and there were no meaningful differences between the high and low groups. Even in the “low Chinese density group,” parents perceived that 7% of the residents were Chinese, which is quite high considering the Chinese American population in the United States is only about 1.67% (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). This large perception difference or inaccurate perception may be due to the fact that Chinese families are likely to meet their daily needs in Chinese neighborhoods and interact with other Chinese families in their daily lives, such as shopping at Chinese grocery stores, eating at Chinese restaurants, or spending time with Chinese friends. Therefore, participants were likely to overestimate the Chinese population in their neighborhoods. Second, there is the possibility that racial discrimination against Chinese people is widespread, regardless of where they live. In addition, previous researchers suggested that it is crucial to reconsider the meaning of neighborhood ethnic density and racial diversity for Asian and Hispanic groups, as greater ethnic density and racial diversity can increase segregation, especially in enclaves that have been steadily replenished by in-coming immigrants (Iceland, 2009).

Implications

The results of this study highlight the significant role that parents, teachers and psychologists/mental health providers, local Chinese/Asian associations, schools, communities, political leaders, and governments may play in combating the negative consequences of discrimination on Chinese immigrant parents’ and their children’s adjustment.

First, the current study showed that for the sake of children's adjustment during the pandemic, Chinese immigrant parents should engage in ERS practices, such as promote Chinese cultural heritage, encourage children to have intra-racial interactions, and teach their children how to cope with potential discrimination proactively. However, many Chinese immigrant parents may lack confidence and efficacy to communicate race/ethnicity and racial discrimination with their children, and they need ERS knowledge and skills (Stein et al., 2021). Local Chinese/Asian associations and schools can provide some workshops or trainings surrounding the importance of ethnic socialization practices. For example, some video-based program (e.g., One Talk at A Time) and role-plays can be used to bolster parents' efficacy and skills (Stein et al., 2021). For the training instructors, it is critical to help immigrant Chinese parents identify myths about racial discrimination and increase their comfort in discussing racial discrimination in families as well as support helpful ERS practices tailored to the needs of families (Wang et al., 2022). Chinese/Asian associations can also provide support for immigrant Chinese families in celebrating Chinese cultural holidays in their communities (Huang et al., 2015). Additionally, teachers should encourage interracial friendships at school (Pica-Smith, 2009), and schools can also provide some opportunities (e.g., school picnics) for Chinese immigrant families to meet and interact with families from other ethnic groups, which increases positive intra-race interactions and promotes children's psychological well-being.

Second, since immigrant Chinese children may benefit from knowledge about race/ethnicity, racial discrimination awareness, and racism-related coping strategies,

schools should advocate for ethnic-racial studies to increase representation of Chinese Americans and other historically marginalized groups within U.S. history and celebrate their achievements (National Association of School Psychologists, 2021). Teachers can provide some ethnic-racial curriculum in their class to help Chinese immigrant students, as well as other ethnic-minority students, learn about their identities and key historical social justice events (Rivas-Drake et al., 2021). Educators can also promote Chinese immigrant youths' racial consciousness. Previous studies suggest that it is critical to cultivate immigrant youth's ability to critically analyze larger systems of oppression, their awareness of systems and policies that perpetuate power disparities as well as their motivation toward engaging in collective action to address the system of oppression (Anyiwo et al., 2020; Rivas-Drake et al., 2021; Watts et al., 2011). In addition, for Chinese immigrant families' psychological well-being, psychologists, school psychologists, or counselors can provide space for the families to voice their experiences of racism experience, identify families' strengths and resilience, and empower them to envision future possibilities (French et al., 2020).

Third, communities and schools should decrease racial discrimination against Chinese families. Communities and schools should create a safe and supportive living and learning environment for Chinese families. Communities and schools should take proactive steps and send clear statements to all families about their community and school values, behavioral expectations, and codes of conduct (e.g., being respectful), and reiterate that Sinophobia and racial discrimination are against the values (National Association of School Psychologists, 2021). Schools should ensure that

there are systems and structures in place for families and students to report racial/ethnic discrimination, and that there are clear consequences for engaging in racial/ethnic discrimination at school (Wang et al., 2022). Additionally, framework of radical healing suggests that psychologists can consider how to provide community-based radical healing, such as focusing on people within holistic, ecological contexts rather than the individual and intrapsychic factors (French et al., 2020).

Fourth, United States is “a multiracial democracy cannot succeed until Asian and Asian American experiences are heard, their voices are considered, and they are safe from harm” (Stop AAPI Hate, 2022, *p.* 15). The U.S. political leaders and governments play critical roles in keeping the Chinese or Asians safe in the United States, and they have power to reduce the harm of political scapegoating (Stop AAPI Hate, 2022). The political leaders and governments should “acknowledge and apologize for the harm; and take affirmative measures to interrupt this centuries-old cycle of blaming communities of color for societal ills” (Stop AAPI Hate, 2022, *p.* 16).

Limitations and Future Research

Several limitations exist in the current study. First, no causal relationships can be determined given the correlational nature of the study. It is also hard to determine the direction of associations between study variables with only two waves of data, although the conceptual model is grounded in strong theoretical frameworks. This is a common challenge in testing mediation models with cross-sectional or two-wave longitudinal data. Although the current study design is suitable for analyzing the relations between the predictor and the mediator or the predictor and the outcome (Selig & Preacher, 2009), it

may limit the interpretation of the relations between the mediators and the outcome. Future research can address the current research questions through the use of a three-wave longitudinal design. Second, only one parent and one child per family were invited to participate in this study. As 81.3% of the parents were mothers, I did not examine paternal and maternal ERS practices separately. According to previous studies, paternal ERS parenting may differ from maternal ERS parenting and have different effects on children's outcomes (McHale et al., 2006). Future researchers should consider collecting data from both fathers and mothers regarding racial discrimination and ERS practices. Third, as a contextual factor, the political climate may also influence immigrant Chinese parents' racism-related stress which was not measured in the current study. For example, studies showed that American adults living in a blue state were 31% less likely to report racism experience compared with those from a red state (Su et al., 2022). In the future, researchers may examine how the political climate shapes Chinese parents' experience of racial discrimination and ERS practices. Fourth, the current study only included parent-reported data. Future studies can collect data on adolescents' viewpoints (both quantitative and qualitative data) about their parents' ERS practices and their own adjustment. Studies have shown that there is a low correlation between parent and youth reports of ERS practices (Hughes et al., 2009).

Appendices

Measures

The COVID Racism Related Stress Scale (adapted from *Asian American Racism-Related Stress Inventory* (AARRSI; Miller et al., 2012) and REMS; Nadal, 2011)

Please use the following scale:

This has never happened to me or someone I know (1)	This event happened but did not bother me (2)	This event happened and I was slightly bothered (3)	This event happened and I was upset (4)	This event happened and I was extremely upset (5)
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	1	2	3	4	5
1. Someone said something negative about Chinese people (for example, their diet) related to the COVID-19 outbreak					
2. Someone said something about avoiding places with Chinese people because of the COVID-19 outbreak					
3. Someone tries to find out if you or your family has been to China since the COVID-19 outbreak					
4. Someone tries to avoid you because of the COVID-19					

The Perceived Sinophobia Scale (adapted from the Perceived Islamophobia Scale; Kunst et al., 2013)

Please indicate your agreement with the following items using this rating scale:

1 Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly Agree
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	1	2	3	4	5
1. The U.S. media presents Chinese people as dangerous.					

2. Chinese people and culture are presented as a threat to American culture in the media.					
3. The U.S. media spreads a lot of fear about China and Chinese people.					
4. The U.S. media represents Chinese people as a threat to public health.					
5. Chinese people and culture are presented as a threat to American public health in the media.					

Multidimensional Model of Black Identity (MMBI; Sellers, 2013)

*Please note that the last item is taken from MEIM (Phinney, 1992)

Answer the questions below about your Chinese group and how you feel about it or react to it. Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

Centrality

	1	2	3	4	5
1. In general, being Chinese is an important part of my self-image.					
2. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Chinese people.					
3. I have a strong sense of belonging to Chinese people.					
4. I have a strong attachment to other Chinese people.					
5. Being Chinese is not a major factor in my social relationships.					

Private Regard

	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel good about Chinese people.					
7. I am happy that I'm Chinese.					
8. I feel that Chinese people have made major accomplishments and advancements.					
9. I often regret that I am Chinese.					
10. I am proud to be Chinese.					
11. I feel that the Chinese community has made valuable contributions to this society.					
12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.					

Racial-Ethnic Socialization Measure (RESM; Juang et al., 2016)

Parents, please complete this survey based on your interaction with your children since January 2020. Use the following scale to indicate how often you do these things:

Never 1	2	3	4	Very often 5
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	1	2	3	4	5
Maintenance of Heritage Culture					
1. How often did you routinely cook Asian food for your children?					
2. How often did your children spend time with relatives who are from your home country?					
3. How often did you tell your children to speak in their heritage language?					
4. How often did you visit stores and professionals (such as doctors, business owners) of your own ethnicity/culture with your children?					

5. How often did you show your children that because you are immigrants you have worked hard to come to this country?					
6. How often did your family celebrate your heritage culture's holidays (Lunar new year, Lantern festival)?					
7. How often did you use "ethnic" media (e.g., newspapers, books, TV shows) when your child is around?					
8. How often did you take your children to visit your home country?					
9. How often did you encourage your children to be proud of your culture?					
Becoming American					
10. How often did you tell your children to have close friends who were (non-Asian) Americans?					
11. How often did you tell your children to spend time with (non-Asian) Americans?					
12. How often did you show your children that you felt comfortable speaking English?					
13. How often did you invite (non-Asian) American people over to your house when your child is around?					
Awareness of Discrimination					
14. How often did you talk to your children about why some people will treat them unfairly because of their Asian background?					
15. How often did you tell your children that people may try to take advantage of them because of their Asian background?					
16. How often did you tell your children that people may limit them because of their Asian background?					
17. How often did you tell your children that they have to work a lot harder in order to get the same rewards as others because of their Asian background?					
Avoidance of outgroups					
18. How often did you tell your children to avoid another racial or ethnic group?					
19. How often did you tell your children to move away from sitting or standing next to a person of another race?					
20. How often did you tell your children that they cannot trust people of other races or ethnicities?					
21. How often did you tell your children that they should not be friends with people of certain racial/ethnic backgrounds?					

Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman, 1997)

Directions: For each item, please mark the box for Not True, Somewhat True or Certainly True. It would help us if you answered all items as best you can even if you are not absolutely certain. Please give your answers on the basis of your child's behavior over the last six months.

- 1 = Not True
- 2 = Somewhat True
- 3 = Certainly True

- 1. Considerate of other people's feelings
- 2. Restless, overactive, cannot stay still for long
- 3. Often complains of headaches, stomach-aches or sickness
- 4. Shares readily with other children, for example toys, treats, pencils
- 5. Often loses temper
- 6. Rather solitary, prefers to play alone
- 7. Generally well behaved, usually does what adults request
- 8. Many worries or often seems worried
- 9. Helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill
- 10. Constantly fidgeting or squirming
- 11. Has at least one good friend
- 12. Often fights with other children or bullies them
- 13. Often unhappy, depressed or tearful
- 14. Generally liked by other children
- 15. Easily distracted, concentration wanders
- 16. Nervous or clingy in new situations, easily loses confidence
- 17. Kind to younger children
- 18. Often lies or cheats
- 19. Picked on or bullied by other children
- 20. Often offers to help others (parents, teachers, other children)
- 21. Thinks things out before acting
- 22. Steals from home, school or elsewhere
- 23. Gets along better with adults than with other children
- 24. Many fears, easily scared
- 25. Good attention span, sees chores or homework through the end

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