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**Ethnic-Racial Socialization (ERS) in Mono-racial Asian American and Pacific Islander  
(AAPI) Families: A 21-Year Systematic Literature Review**

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## **Abstract**

This study systematically reviewed the literature on ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) in mono-racial Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) families in the United States. Following the PRISMA guidelines, we examined what is known about 1) ERS strategies used, 2) child and parent factors related to ERS, and 3) the relation of ERS to child outcomes in mono-racial AAPI families. We included peer-reviewed, original studies published between January 2002 and August 2023, abstracted in Sociological Abstracts, PubMed, and/or PsychINFO, and focused on ERS in AAPI families. Fifty-eight studies met the inclusion criteria. The reviewed studies show that mono-racial AAPI families engage in ERS, but parents' messages tend to focus on positive aspects of ethnicity-race (e.g., ethnic pride) and avoid negative aspects (e.g., discrimination). However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and Black Lives Matter, parents are increasingly willing to address the negative aspects of ethnicity-race, including racism and anti-racism, to prepare their children for a racialized society. ERS is related to AAPI child identity, psychosocial outcomes, ethnic-racial attitudes and experiences, and other outcomes but in a variety of contingent ways. We identify gaps in the literature and recommend future research on ERS in AAPI families.

## **Introduction**

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs), the fastest growing group in the United States (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021), occupy a unique position in the U.S.' racial hierarchy. In the aggregate on some metrics, they are more privileged than Blacks and Latinxs (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). Yet, they face discrimination and stereotyping, and their vast within-group diversity is often overlooked (Song, 2004; Chen et al., 2021; Ramakrishnan & Ahmad, 2014; Budiman & Ruiz, 2021; Monte & Shin, 2022; Shih et al., 2019). There is a need for research on ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) in AAPI families (Museus & Kiang, 2009; Museus et al., 2013; Juang et al., 2017), especially given the COVID-19 pandemic and related anti-Asian hate (Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism, 2020) and Black Lives Matter (BLM) and the associated national racial reckoning. Families are engaging in ethnicity-race-related conversations in new ways (Anand & Hsu, 2020; McDermott & Ferguson, 2022), and research is needed to understand the patterns and consequences in AAPI families.

ERS is the process by which parents teach their children about their own and others' ethnicity-race (Hughes et al., 2006). Research has identified benefits of ERS, especially for children of color, including buffering discrimination's negative effects (e.g., on mental health) and promoting positive outcomes (e.g., self-esteem) (Grindal & Nieri, 2016; Hughes et al., 2006; Ayón et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2020). It has largely focused on four strategies: 1) cultural socialization: lessons about one's own ethnic-racial culture traditions, histories, heritage, and pride, 2) preparation for bias: lessons about the existence of ethnic-racial discrimination and skills to cope with it, 3) promotion of mistrust: lessons about avoiding other ethnic-racial groups, and 4) egalitarianism: lessons about the equality of ethnic-racial groups (Juang et al., 2016; Juang et al., 2017; Priest et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Wang et al., 2020). Juang et

al. (2016) developed ERS measures for Asian Americans, four of which capture the above-described constructs: maintenance of heritage culture, awareness of discrimination, avoidance of other groups, and promotion of equality. Less commonly but also previously explored is pluralism: lessons about the value of diversity (Juang et al., 2016).

Recent research, including studies of white families and AAPI families, has revealed additional ERS strategies (e.g., Juang et al, 2017; Nieri & Huft, 2023). For example, scholars have examined color-blind socialization, such as through avoidance of race talk (Keum & Ahn, 2021) and minimization of racism (Juang et al., 2016), and color-conscious socialization, such as exposure to ethnic-racial outgroups (Hagerman, 2018; Juang et al., 2016) and promotion of anti-racism through lessons about structural racism and activism for equity (e.g., Atkin & Ahn, 2022). In addition, Juang et al. (2016) developed a measure of ERS for Asian Americans, given the high concentration of immigrants in this group, that captures lessons on how to become American.

Juang et al. (2017) reviewed 22 studies of Asian American ERS and found that Asian American parents are engaging in ERS and such socialization influences the children's outcomes in various ways. A contribution of their work is the application to ERS of a critical race perspective. This perspective highlights race, distinct from ethnicity, as a sociopolitical construct based on perceived physical rather than actual biological differences and used to cultivate and maintain power and privilege associated with "whiteness" (Cokley, 2007; Delgado, R., & Stefancic, 2023; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). It also incorporates intersectionality, an analytical framework which reveals how different combinations of social identities produce unique combinations of discrimination and privilege (Crenshaw, 1989). The review by Juang et al. (2017) occurred prior to the pandemic and BLM, and much research has been published in the interim. Thus, there is a need for a current systematic review, one that includes research,

including dissertations, conducted since COVID and BLM. Furthermore, their review combined findings from studies with AAPI-only families with findings from studies with families that had multi-racial heritage. Although research has examined transracial socialization, such as socialization of multi-racial children (e.g., Atkin & Yoo, 2019) or adopted children (e.g., Marcelli et al., 2020), little ERS research on families of color has examined mono-racial AAPI families, those in which both parents and children are exclusively Asian American.

To address the need for a current review and identify areas for future research, we systematically reviewed the literature to determine what is known about 1) ERS strategies used, 2) child and parent factors related to ERS, and 3) the relation of ERS to child outcomes in mono-racial AAPI families. We focused on mono-racial families to enable a single focus on Asian American influence which then allows for comparison to socialization influences in mono-racial families from other ethnic-racial groups or in mixed ethnicity-race families. Furthermore, we aimed to identify findings from the emerging focus of ERS scholars on anti-racism socialization which reflects a critical perspective on race.

## **Methods**

We used the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) (Page et al., 2021) to identify, and extract data from, eligible publications. The search process and final inclusion of studies are detailed in Figure 1. Original empirical articles and dissertations/theses were considered eligible if they were published in English between January 2002 and August 2023, treated ERS as the independent or dependent variable, included AAPIs in the sample, and were referenced in Sociological Abstracts, PubMed, or PsycINFO. Given our focus on mono-racial AAPIs, studies with multi- or bi-racial AAPIs were included only if they separately assessed mono-racial AAPIs. Studies with samples of adopted AAPI children were

excluded unless they were adopted by AAPI parents. We excluded reviews, books, and unpublished works. The search string was: (“ethnic socialization” OR “racial socialization” OR “ethnic-racial socialization” OR “racial-ethnic socialization”) AND (“Asian” OR “Asian American” OR “Chinese American” OR “Indian American” OR “Filipino American” OR “Vietnamese American” OR “Korean American” OR “Japanese American” OR “Pakistani American” OR “Hmong American” OR “Cambodian American” OR “Thai American” OR “Taiwanese American” OR “Laotian American” OR “Bangladeshi American” OR “Burmese American” OR “Nepalese American” OR “Indonesian American” OR “Sri Lankan American” OR “Bhutanese American” OR “Mongolian American” OR “Malaysian American” OR “Okinawan American” OR “Pacific Islander” OR “Native Hawaiian American” OR “Samoan American” OR “Chamorro American” OR “Tongan American” OR “Fijian American”).

All three authors conducted data analysis. We assessed the rigor of the studies’ design and methods and the risk of bias. No conflicts of interest were reported. All the studies, excluding dissertations, were peer-reviewed with clear methods sections and rigorous analyses. No study was rated poor; all were rated as having fair or good rigor. Therefore, no study was excluded from the review.

We summarized each study’s key characteristics, including the citation, research aims, research design (e.g., cross-sectional, longitudinal), method type (e.g., quantitative survey, qualitative interviews, mixed methods), sample description, variables/constructs, analysis type (e.g., regression, thematic analysis), results, limitations, strengths, future research, data provider (e.g., parent, child, both), unit of analysis (e.g., parent, child, both), age of child (e.g., children, teens, young adults), specific AAPI group in sample, and results regarding the nature and extent of ethnic-racial socialization, child and parent factors related to ERS, and child outcomes.

## **Findings**

### *Design and Sample Characteristics of Reviewed Studies*

Table 1 shows the design, method, and sample characteristics for each study. Of the 58 reviewed studies, 43 were quantitative; 13 were qualitative, and two were mixed methods. Nine of the quantitative studies were longitudinal.

All studies included AAPIs, and 17 studies included AAPIs and other ethnic-racial groups. Only one study included Pacific Islanders (Kiang et al., 2022). Although AAPIs include 26 subgroups, the reviewed studies focused on only 14 subgroups, based on explicit naming: Bangladeshi, Burmese, Cambodian, Chinese, Filipino, Hmong, Indian, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Lao, Taiwanese, Thai, and Vietnamese. Other subgroups may have been included and captured as East Asians, South Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander. In the 24 studies that explicitly reported socio-economic status information, the participants were predominantly from middle- and upper-class families; two exceptions were the study by Wang et al. (2023) which involved a predominately low-income sample and the study by Lee et al. (2022) which involved a sample with a broad range of educational attainment. The age of the focal child ranged from 0 to 40 years. Three studies focused on children aged 12 and younger, 15 studies focused on teens aged 13-17, 16 studies focused on young adults (18+), and 24 studies included mixed age groups. Forty-one studies had children provide data, eight studies had parents provide data, and nine had children and parents provide data. Regarding the unit of analysis, 46 studies focused on children, seven studies focused on parents, and five studies focused on parents and children. Regarding child race, the majority of the studies focused on mono-racial children; 10 focused on mono-racial and bi- or multi-racial children. Our review extracted results only for mono-racial children. A majority of studies focused on biological children; four focused on biological and adopted



children. Our review extracted results only for biological children, unless adopted by AAPI parents.

### *Measurement of ERS*

Table 1 shows how each study assessed one or more ERS strategies. The most commonly measured strategies were cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. In the quantitative and mixed method studies, these constructs were measured by scales tailored to AAPIs or for multi-ethnic-racial samples. Several quantitative studies used scales developed for AAPIs. Juang et al.'s (2016) Asian American Perceived Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale (AAPRES) includes versions of cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust as well as other socialization strategies (e.g., becoming American, cultural pluralism). Choi's (2007) measure of cultural socialization is tailored to Filipino American and Korean Americans. Choi and Kim's (2010) measure of cultural socialization is tailored to Korean Americans. Benner and Kim (2009) tailored to Chinese Americans Hughes and Johnson's (2001) measure of preparation for bias. Ren et al. (2022) developed measures of preparation for bias that were related to COVID-19 and tailored to Chinese Americans.

Other quantitative studies used scales for multi-ethnic-racial samples, including the Multiracial Youth Socialization Scale (MY-Soc) (Atkin & Yoo, 2021), Perceived Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Tran & Lee, 2010), Racial Socialization Scale (RSS) (Hughes & Chen, 1997), Perceived Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Johnson, 2001), Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004), Cultural Socialization across Contexts Scale (Wang et al., 2015), and the Socialization subscale of the Racism and Life Experience Scale (Harrell, 1997). The response options ranged from either 1 to 5 or 1 to 6, with higher values indicating greater frequency of or engagement in socialization. One study employed a

single question to capture the frequency of family discussions about ethnic-racial heritage (Brown et al., 2006).

The qualitative and mixed methods studies, like the quantitative ones, revealed information about the strategies of cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust as well as other strategies (e.g., becoming American, anti-racism socialization).

### *Extent and Nature of ERS*

There were consistent patterns across studies about use of the three most commonly assessed strategies. Whether measured in terms of use in the past year or ever while growing up, cultural socialization was more common and more frequent than preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. Several recent studies document, however, how current events in the last five years, including the COVID-19 pandemic, anti-Asian hate crimes, and the national racial reckoning associated with police violence and ensuing protests, have spurred family conversations about ethnicity-race and in particular, discussions of bias, mistrust, and anti-racism (Coard et al., 2023; Lee et al., 2022; Kim, Zhao, & Toomey, 2023; Tian, 2023). Coard et al. (2023) found in their sample, which included Chinese American and Indian American families, that current events created a sense of urgency for parents to engage in preparation for bias and racial–ethnic discrimination conversations. Lee et al. (2022) found that Chinese American youth felt prompted by the Black Lives Matter movement to respond to anti-Black messages from parents. Kim, Zhao, and Toomey (2023) found that the most common change due to COVID-19 in East Asian family conversations about ethnicity-race was an increase in discussion of racism and discrimination in the United States. Tian (2023) found in their study of Chinese American and Indian American parents that parents saw recent events as a wake-up call and came to view as necessary for their children’s well-roundedness racial socialization, including lessons about

the structural position of Asian Americans in society and the role of collective action to protect and advance the Asian American community.

Some studies documented other ERS strategies in AAPI families, such as egalitarianism (French et al., 2013; Patel et al., 2022; Kiang et al., 2022; Kim, Hunt et al., 2023), pluralism (Kiang et al., 2022; Kim, Hunt, et al., 2023; Ren et al., 2022), minimization of race (Kiang et al., 2022; Keum et al., 2023; Kim, Hunt, et al., 2023), exposure to diversity (Park, 2020; Alvarez et al., 2006; Tian, 2023), avoidance of race talk (Keum et al., 2023), becoming American (Juang et al., 2018; Kim, Hunt, et al., 2023; Waters & Kasinitz, 2010), and anti-racism socialization (Tian, 2023). In their qualitative study Rana et al. (2019) identified a behavioral strategy in Sikh families; concerned about discrimination, some parents permitted their boy children not to wear a turban. In their qualitative study of Asian American men, Keum et al. (2023) identified white supremacist socialization, in the form of messages about the superiority of white people relative to Asian people.

Two studies evaluated profiles of ERS. Using the MY-Soc, Atkin and Ahn (2022) identified profiles among Asian American adolescents based on race-conscious socialization (messages associated with anti-racism and preparation for bias), colorblind socialization (messages minimizing racism), diversity appreciation (messages associated with pluralism), and silent socialization (messages to avoid talk of race). For participants' mothers, the race-avoidant socialization profile (20.4% of the sample) had the lowest levels of race-conscious, colorblind, and diversity appreciation messages, and the second highest levels of silent socialization. The race-embracing profile (33.1%) had the highest levels of race-conscious and diversity appreciation messages, moderate levels of colorblind messages, and the lowest levels of silent socialization. The race-hesitant profile (46.4%) involved moderate levels of race-conscious,

colorblind, and diversity appreciation socialization, and the highest levels of silent socialization. For participants' fathers the race-avoidant profile (32.4%) involved less race-conscious, colorblind, and diversity appreciation messages, but high silent socialization whereas the race-embracing profile (67.6%) involved more race-conscious, colorblind, and diversity appreciation messages, and less silent socialization. These profiles reveal that some parents provide inconsistent messaging (e.g., offering color-conscious and colorblind messages). Using the AAPRES, Atkin and Yoo (2021) identified three profiles based on the frequency and content of ERS among Asian American young adults. The guarded separation group (10%) received the most frequent messages about maintaining heritage culture and avoiding outgroups. The passive integration group (43%) received frequent messages about maintaining heritage culture, but few messages about avoiding outgroups or minimizing race. The active integration group (46%) received frequent messages about maintaining heritage culture, few messages about avoiding outgroups or minimizing race, and the most messages about becoming American, treating everyone equally, and respecting diverse cultures. Four other studies evaluated profiles, combining ERS with other constructs: discrimination (Ajayi & Syed, 2014), ethnic-racial identity (Xie et al., 2021; Wu et al., 2020), American identity (Wu et al., 2020), and model minority experiences (Kiang et al., 2019; Xie et al., 2021).

Qualitative and mixed-methods studies provided information on the nature of ERS. Juang et al.'s (2018) study of Asian Americans found that parents engaged in proactive and reactive ERS, at times responding to children's elicitation of socialization and at other times raising issues for discussion with their children. Lee et al. (2022) found that Chinese American families' conversations about the Black Lives Matter movement addressed anti-Black sentiments but did not necessarily make connections between anti-Black racism and anti-Asian racism. Patel et al.

(2022) documented Indian parents' specific avoidance of preparation for bias. Waters and Kasinitz (2010) documented how Chinese parents' efforts to socialize their children to become American conflated Americanism with whiteness and their promotion of mistrust centered on mistrust of Black Americans. Coard et al. (2023) found that some but not all parents felt that personal testimonies of their own experiences of discrimination were a necessary part of preparation for bias. Several studies documented how family socialization occurs in combination with other actors (e.g., peers, media) and other settings (e.g., community contexts, school) (Ahn et al., 2022; Keum et al., 2023; Lee et al., 2022; Sladek et al., 2022).

Ahn et al. (2022) and Keum et al. (2023) examined gendered racial socialization among women and men, respectively, showing how parents socialize about ethnicity-race differently by child gender. Both studies found that some parents encourage silence about gendered racial experiences, the former study identified some parents who prepared their daughters for bias, encouraged them to fight back in the face of discrimination whereas the latter study identified some parents who reinforced gendered racial stereotypes of Asian men, thus minimizing racist discrimination experiences. Tian (2023) found ethnic differences in the nature of ERS.

Comparing Asian Indian Americans to Chinese Americans, they found that the former were more likely to involve skin color in discussions about race and racism. They also found that Asian Indians facilitated cultural socialization through social interaction with co-ethnics whereas Chinese Americans facilitated it through more individual activities, such as music lessons or language instruction.

#### *Child Factors Related to ERS*

The studies showed child gender, age, acculturation, discrimination, and school ethnic-racial composition to relate to ERS. French et al. (2013) found that college-aged women reported

more cultural socialization than men. Ren et al. (2022) found that Chinese American parents employed more cultural socialization (i.e., maintenance of heritage culture) during early adolescence and more messages about concealing one's Chinese heritage due to COVID-19 during middle adolescence with their daughters than sons. Ren et al. (2022) studied how ERS relates to Chinese American children's adjustment during COVID-19 and found that age did not predict their parents' use of maintenance of heritage culture and cultural pluralism. However, parents engaged in more preparation for bias (i.e., awareness of discrimination) with older children than younger children. Choi et al. (2018) found among Filipino American adolescents, greater American assimilation was associated with the lowest level of cultural socialization and, relative to youths with bicultural (Filipino and American) assimilation, less promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias. They also found that among Korean American adolescents, relative to modestly bicultural Korean American youths, youths with little connection to either host (American) or origin (Korean) culture reported less cultural socialization. Wang et al. (2023) found that Asian American 9<sup>th</sup> graders' experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination predicted greater next-day cultural socialization and preparation for bias, suggesting that youth initiate socialization by disclosing experiences to parents. Park (2020) found that Korean immigrant parents of children who attended a school with few Koreans feared their children would lose their Korean heritage and in turn, pursued more cultural socialization.

#### *Parent Factors Related to ERS*

**Parents' discrimination perceptions.** Several studies linked parents' ethnic-racial discrimination experiences to ERS. Benner & Kim (2009) found that the more frequent daily discrimination Chinese American parents experienced, the more they, especially fathers, engaged

in preparation for bias. Kiang et al (2022) found that parents' awareness of COVID-19-related, anti-Asian discrimination was associated with fewer messages minimizing race, and parents' lifetime perceived discrimination was associated with fewer messages promoting equality and cultural pluralism. Woo et al. (2020) found that Filipino American parents who experienced discrimination engaged in more preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust whereas Korean American parents who experienced discrimination engaged only in more promotion of mistrust. Juang et al. (2018) found that second-generation Asian American parents' own upbringing as visible minorities and experiences of discrimination motivated them to expose their children to ethnic-racial diversity. Park (2020) found that Korean immigrant parents' concerns about negative Asian parenting stereotypes caused parents to encourage their children to learn the "white American approach" through exposure to diversity. Ahn et al. (2022), in their study of second-generation Asian American women, found that parents' perceptions and experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination shaped their engagement in preparation for bias with daughters. Parents with less discrimination experience taught their daughters to expect and deal with discrimination by ignoring or remaining silent about it. In contrast, parents with more discrimination experiences taught their daughters to expect and cope with discrimination by talking about it. Tian (2023) found that parents' experiences of discrimination by Black perpetrators was related to a promotion of mistrust of Black Americans and constituted a barrier to parents' pursuit of anti-racism socialization.

Three studies linked perceptions of children's risk for discrimination to ERS. Patel et al. (2022) found that if Indian American parents felt their child was unlikely to experience discrimination, even if they themselves experienced discrimination, they avoided preparation for bias. Waters and Kasinitz (2010) found the opposite: Chinese parents who perceived a high risk

of discrimination engaged in greater preparation for bias. Juang et al. (2018) found that the ethnic-racial composition of geographic residence was related to second-generation Asian American parents' assessment of the discrimination risk and, in turn, socialization. Parents were motivated to expose their children to diversity if they lived in a predominately white context. They felt less need to prepare the child for bias if living in a high-density Asian area.

One study found that socialization was influenced by parents' perceptions of media. Rana et al. (2019) found that Sikh parents who were conscious of negative media stereotyping and concerned about its effect on their child's safety were more likely to culturally socialize their sons to avoid outward identity markers (e.g., the turban). Finally, Waters and Kasnitz (2010) documented how the desire to protect children from discrimination led parents of second-generation Chinese American children to couple their engagement in preparation for bias with a push to succeed through education and employment, viewed as protective against discrimination.

**Parents' ethnic-racial attitudes and literacy.** With regard to racial attitudes, Keum et al. (2023) found that parents' internalized racism (qualitatively measured as idealization of European and white American cultures and/or colorism in Asian communities and broader society) was associated with white supremacist socialization. Kim, Hunt, et al. (2023) found that internalized racism, quantitatively measured, was associated with more frequent socialization in the form of becoming American, minimization of race, pluralism, and promotion of equality (egalitarianism). They also found that parents with high levels of both racial discrimination experience and internalized racism were less likely to engage in minimization of racism whereas parents with high levels of racial discrimination experience but low levels of internalized racism



were more likely to engage in minimization of racism. Lee et al. (2022) found that Chinese American youth described their parents' deeply ingrained anti-Black prejudices as a barrier to discussion about anti-racism. They attributed their parents' perspectives to their parents' own discrimination experiences, homogeneous ethnic social networks, especially among immigrants, and uncritical consumption of both mainstream and ethnic media. Patel et al. (2022) found that Indian American parents' internalization of the model minority myth was associated with greater cultural socialization. Tian (2023) found that parents' desire to expose their child to diversity depended on their perspectives of other ethnic-racial groups which, in turn, was related to social class. For example, some parents feared competition with Black Americans (e.g., Blacks have it easier) while others feared competition with other Asian Americans (e.g., too many Asians means fewer opportunities).

With regard to ethnic-racial literacy, Tian (2023) found that Asian American parents prepared themselves for ERS in a variety of ways, and that such preparation could facilitate anti-racism socialization. Tian documented parents' self-education about Asian American history, connections with parent groups and Asian American groups, and engagement in individual and collective action. These experiences taught and inspired parents who then taught their children about and through other racial groups' advocacy, such as Black Lives Matter. Tian also found that immigrant parents who arrived earlier had come to better understand institutional racism due to current events, coming to see racism as against many groups, including Black Americans, not just against immigrants. Juang et al. (2018) found that second-generation parents perceived themselves, relative to their immigrant parents, to have weaker heritage cultural knowledge and thus, engage in less cultural socialization.

**Other parent factors.** Other factors included parents' gender, and openness to race talk. Regarding gender, Kiang et al.'s (2022) study of Asian Americans found that compared to mothers, fathers reported less cultural pluralism. Similarly, Mehta's (2017) study of Indian immigrant parents found that mothers engaged in more cultural socialization than fathers. Atkin and Ahn (2022) found different socialization profiles (described above) among Asian American fathers and mothers. Juang et al. (2018) found that second-generation parents perceived themselves, relative to their immigrant parents, to have greater openness to race talk and this quality to contribute to greater preparation for bias and anti-racism socialization. Patel et al. (2022) found that Indian American parents were less open to race talk, fearing that talking about racism is harmful to children; thus, they engaged less in preparation for bias.

#### *Parent-Child Factors Related to ERS*

Several studies found that the characteristics of the parent-child relationship and/or interactions related to ERS. Regarding the parent-child relationship, Brown et al. (2006) found that the warmth of relationship was positively related to the odds of family discussions about ethnic-racial heritage. Coard et al. (2023) found that relationship quality facilitated preparation for bias. Lee et al. (2022) found that parent-child language and cultural differences (e.g., immigrant parent, native-born child) could serve as a barrier to dialogue about anti-Black racism and anti-Asian racism.

Regarding interactions, Coard et al. (2023) found that conversation elements, including parents' tone, conversation length (shorter is better), and location and timing (e.g., while sharing a meal, car ride, or youth-preferred activity – e.g., video game), facilitated preparation for bias. Lee et al. (2022) found that parent-child disagreement could cut off dialogue about ethnicity-race

and racism in Chinese American families. Since disagreement with one's elders may be seen as disrespectful and young people are expected to yield to the perspectives of their elders, some youth may disengage from conversations about anti-Blackness and anti-racism when their views, often informed by sources outside the family, differ from those of their parents.

#### *Relation of ERS to Child Outcomes*

Thirty-five studies found ERS to relate to identity (n = 16), psycho-social outcomes (n = 17), ethnic-racial attitudes and experiences (n = 7), and other (n = 4) child outcomes.

**Ethnic, racial, and American identity.** Cultural socialization was positively related to ethnic identity (Daga & Raval, 2018; Elias et al., 2022; Else-Quest & Morse, 2014; French et al., 2013; Gartner et al., 2014; Juang & Syed, 2010; Kim, 2016; Nguyen et al., 2015; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Supple et al., 2018; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006). One study found this relation to be moderated by experiences of discrimination by adults; the relation was stronger when there were higher levels of discrimination (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). One study found this relation to be mediated by past-month positive conversations about race (Elias et al., 2022). Supple et al. (2018) found the relation to ethnic identity affirmation to be mediated by conflict but only at high levels of parent-child acculturation differences. Shein and Zhou (2023) found that among Burmese refugee youth, cultural socialization was positively correlated with bicultural blendedness but not bicultural harmony. Finally, cultural socialization was positively related to racial identity, including centrality and private regard (French et al., 2013), and American identity but only for females (Gartner et al., 2014).

Preparation for bias was positively associated with ethnic identity (Woo et al., 2020; French et al., 2013; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). One study found this relation to be moderated by

experiences of discrimination by adults; the relation was stronger when there were higher levels of discrimination (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). It was also associated with racial identity, specifically more centrality (French et al., 2013). Benner and Kim (2009) found that preparation for bias by fathers, but not mothers, mediated the positive relation between parents' discrimination experiences and adolescents' feelings of misfit with American culture.

Promotion of mistrust was positively related to ethnic identity in three studies (French et al., 2013; Gartner et al., 2014, Kim, 2016). One study found this relation to be limited to foreign-born youth (Gartner et al., 2014). In a fourth study, promotion of mistrust was negatively related to ethnic identity among Filipino Americans (Woo et al., 2020). Promotion of mistrust was positively associated with racial identity, specifically more centrality and less private regard and public regard among Asian Americans (French et al., 2013), and American identity among Korean Americans (Woo et al., 2020).

Egalitarianism was positively associated with ethnic identity achievement, affirmation and belonging, and orientation toward other groups but less ethnic behaviors (French et al., 2013). It was also associated with racial identity, specifically less centrality and greater public regard (French et al., 2013).

Two studies linked ERS profiles to identity outcomes. Atkin and Yoo (2021) found that participants in the active integration profile reported greater cognitive clarity and affective pride regarding their racial-ethnic identity compared to the other profiles (described above). Kiang et al. (2019) found that members of the Culturally Prepared with Low Mistrust profile (characterized by high levels of socialization, discrimination, and model minority stereotyping) reported increases in ethnic belonging, and members of the High Cultural Salience with Marginalization profile (characterized by the highest levels of socialization, discrimination, and

stereotyping) reported greater reductions in ethnic identity exploration compared to members of the Low Cultural Salience profile (characterized by moderate levels of stereotyping and low levels of socialization and discrimination).

**Psycho-social outcomes.** Cultural socialization was associated with fewer socio-emotional and behavioral difficulties in early adolescence (Ren et al., 2022). It was also positively related to self-esteem and social competence, in both cases mediated by ethnic identity (Brown & Ling 2012; Gartner et al., 2014; Tran & Lee, 2010). It was also positively related to well-being, and this relation was stronger for men than for women and mediated by ethnic identity for women, but not men (Nguyen et al., 2015). Three studies found cultural socialization to be negatively related to depressive symptoms. Two of them found this relation to be mediated by greater ethnic identity (Choi et al., 2014; Shen et al., 2022), and one found it to be mediated by greater optimism and less pessimism (Liu & Lau, 2013).

Atkin et al. (2019) found that cultural socialization/pluralism moderated the relation of discrimination to psychological distress, suggesting that it buffers against discrimination effects. In contrast to these findings of desirable effects, Zhang et al. (2022) found cultural socialization to be positively related to racial trauma. Burrola (2013) found that cultural socialization exacerbated the relation of subtle discrimination to anxiety but only among U.S. born adolescents. Wu et al. (2020) found that the positive relation of foreigner objectification to psychological distress was exacerbated by cultural assets profiles, especially those involving high or low levels of cultural socialization and less by the profile involving moderate socialization.

Preparation for bias was associated with greater socio-emotional and behavioral difficulties (Ren et al., 2022). It was also linked to greater pessimism and less optimism and, in

turn, more depressive symptoms (Liu & Lau, 2013). It was associated with less racial trauma (Zhang et al., 2022). Furthermore, it moderated the relation of cross-race friendships to social competence; there was a positive relation for frequent preparation for bias and no relation for infrequent preparation for bias (Tran & Lee, 2011).

Promotion of mistrust was negatively related to social competence (Tran & Lee, 2010, 2011) and positively related to self-esteem (Gartner et al., 2014). It was also linked to greater pessimism, less optimism, and, in turn, more depressive symptoms (Liu & Lau, 2013). Cheah et al. (2021) found that a positive relation of COVID-19-related discrimination to internalizing difficulties existed at high but not low levels of promotion mistrust, and this relation was further dependent on adolescents' sense of harmony with their bicultural identity. Atkin et al. (2019) found that promotion of mistrust moderated the relation of discrimination to psychological distress, suggesting that this socialization exacerbates discrimination's effects. Burrola (2013) found that among US-born adolescents, promotion of mistrust buffered the negative effects of subtle and blatant discrimination on depressive symptoms, but among foreign-born adolescents, this socialization exacerbated the effects. Among South Asian Americans, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust were positively related to adjustment problems, and promotion of mistrust was negatively related to life satisfaction (Daga & Raval, 2018). Some participants felt frustration upon exposure to these two strategies, viewing them as reflecting parents' biases (Daga & Raval, 2018).

Pluralism was associated with fewer socio-emotional behavioral difficulties during middle adolescence (Ren et al., 2022). Avoidance of outgroups was associated with greater social-emotional and behavioral difficulties (Ren et al., 2022). Concealing Chinese heritage due to COVID-19 was associated with greater behavioral difficulties (Ren et al., 2022).

Three studies linked ERS profiles to psycho-social outcomes. Xie et al. (2021) found that members of the Salient profile (characterized by more cultural socialization, less preparation for bias, and stronger ethnic-racial identity) had the best outcomes and members of the Marginal profile (characterized by low levels of cultural socialization and ethnic-racial identity and more preparation for bias) had the worst outcomes. Atkin and Yoo (2021) found that participants in the passive and active integration profiles had greater social connectedness than those in the guarded separation profile. Kiang et al. (2019) found that Culturally Prepared with Low Mistrust profile members had fewer negative emotions, High Cultural Salience with Marginalization profile members had more positive emotions across time than Low Cultural Salience profile members, and Culturally Prepared with Low Mistrust profile members had fewer negative emotions across time compared to Low Cultural Salience profile members.

**Ethnic-racial attitudes and experiences.** Cultural socialization was related to next-day experiences of discrimination (Wang et al., 2023). Among South Asian Americans, cultural socialization was positively related to model minority pressure and pride and model minority achievement orientation (Daga & Raval, 2018).

Kim, Zhao, Wong, et al. (2023) found that among East Asian youth, preparation for bias (measured as awareness of discrimination) moderated the relation of discrimination experience on internalization of the model minority myth. Racial discrimination was positively associated with internalization when awareness was higher, and it was negatively associated with internalization when the awareness was lower. Alvarez et al. (2006) found that greater preparation for bias was associated with more frequent perceptions of racism, and this relation was partially mediated by racial identity schemas. Specifically, the Dissonance schema

(beginning awareness of racism) and the Immersion–Emersion schema (a sense of hypervigilance about racism) mediated the relation to perceptions of direct and collective racism, and the Immersion–Emersion schema mediated the relation to perceptions of daily life racism. In a sample of 12 young adult women from a variety of demographic backgrounds, preparation for bias was associated with critical consciousness and motivation to overcome barriers for some participants (Ahn et al. 2022). Among South Asian Americans, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust were positively related to model minority pressure (Daga & Raval, 2018).

Relating ERS profiles to Asian Americans’ racial attitudes, Atkin and Ahn (2022) found that adolescents who received mothers’ race-embracing socialization reported less anti-Black attitudes compared to those who received mothers’ race-hesitant socialization, and adolescents who received fathers’ race-embracing socialization were more likely to have colorblind racial attitudes compared to those who received fathers’ race-avoidant socialization.

#### **Other outcomes of cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and ERS profiles.**

Cultural socialization was positively related to school engagement and moderated the negative relation of discrimination to school belonging; this relation was stronger for children with low socialization than for children with high socialization (Seol et al., 2016). It was also positively related to same-race friendships (Tran & Lee, 2011). Preparation for bias was associated with, among some young adult women, pessimism and lowered career aspirations (Ahn et al. 2022). Xie et al. (2021) found that members of the Salient ERS profile had better academic outcomes, members of the Moderate profile (characterized by moderate levels of socialization, ethnic-racial identity, and model minority experiences) had better sleep quality and less delinquency, and members of the Marginal profile had the least adaptive outcomes across all domains.



## **Discussion**

### *ERS Measurement and Methods*

A contribution of our review is that it included studies that employed newly developed ERS measures specifically for AAPIs. However, these measures, as well as previously established ERS measures for multiple ethnic-racial groups, employed in the reviewed studies, focused largely on cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. While these strategies are important, we also need to regularly assess other identified strategies, such as becoming American and anti-racism socialization, as in Juang et al. (2018) and Atkin & Ahn (2022), and nonverbal strategies (e.g., Rana et al., 2019). Since two-thirds of AAPIs are immigrants (New American Economy, 2021), greater attention to immigration socialization can build on the reviewed studies focusing on immigrant families and how immigration shapes socialization (Choi et al., 2018; Mehta, 2017; Rana et al., 2019; Park 2020; Juang et al., 2018). Future research on AAPIs can also draw from the lessons on Latinx families' immigration socialization (Ayón, 2018) and examine how and to what extent parents convey messages about nativity, immigration, citizenship, and detention/deportation. It can also draw on lessons from research on Asian American parents' efforts to encourage acculturation and influence children's identities (Kim & Hou, 2016; Shein & Zhou, 2023). In addition to measuring a more complete set of ERS strategies, scholars should consider analyzing profiles of ERS strategies (e.g., Atkin & Ahn, 2022; Atkin & Yoo, 2021) which would enable assessment of messaging coherence and its relation to outcomes (Atkin & Yoo, 2021).

Another contribution of the review is that it involved an exhaustive search for studies on specific Asian American and Pacific Islander sub-groups. As such, it identified quantitative research on Burmese youth and qualitative research on South Asians. However, only one study

examined Pacific Islanders. Furthermore, the studies of Asian Americans did not typically examine within-group diversity. There is a need for studies that assess the diversity among AAPI subgroups, including quantitative research on South Asians. Even studies that examined regional subgroups did not examine within-group diversity. There is also a need for samples with information on, and greater diversity within, socioeconomic status. Finally, longitudinal designs should be employed to rigorously assess causal relations.

### *Extent and Nature of ERS*

Although formal comparison across measures, methods, and samples was not possible in this review, there were consistent patterns across studies about the extent of ERS. AAPI parents in mono-racial families are socializing their children, but not that much, except for cultural socialization. The frequency of socialization in AAPI families appears to be less than that of Black and Latinx families (Ayón et al., 2020; Else-Quest & Morse, 2014; Kim, 2016; Simon, 2021). While AAPI families are willing to talk about ethnicity-race, parents' messages tend to focus on positive aspects (e.g., ethnic pride) (e.g., Atkin & Yoo, 2021; Moua & Lamborn, 2010) and avoid negative aspects (e.g., discrimination) (e.g., Patel et al., 2022; Ahn et al. (2022)). There appears to be hesitancy towards and in turn, some avoidance of discussions about ethnic-racial discrimination and inequities (Atkin & Ahn, 2022; Patel et al., 2022). Failure to engage means that children may not get the coping strategies needed to navigate racialized contexts. Furthermore, they may participate in perpetuating stereotypes about and discrimination against other groups, most notably Black Americans.

There is room for more socialization, such as preparation for bias, given that the reviewed research has demonstrated its benefits, such as better socio-emotional outcomes for children (e.g., Ren et al., 2022). The most recent studies show that AAPI parents are rethinking their

socialization efforts in response to current events, demonstrating greater willingness to address issues of racism and discrimination among Asian Americans and other racial groups (Coard et al., 2023; Lee et al., 2022; Kim, Zhao, & Toomey, 2023; Tian, 2023). This research demonstrates that parents can address the negative aspects of ethnicity-race with their children, especially in the face of great contemporary challenges (e.g., COVID-19) (Atkin & Ahn, 2022; Kiang et al., 2022). However, the findings also suggest that Asian American parents must reckon with their own socialization and engage in ongoing racial learning – as some parents are already doing (Tian, 2023) – in order to ensure that the messages they pass on to their children acknowledge the structural nature of racism and support intergroup solidarity (Tian, 2023).

#### *Child and Parent Factors*

The reviewed studies show that child demographics relate to children's exposure to ERS, and further, there is value in examining intersectional identities (e.g., gender and race) to understand ERS (Ahn et al., 2022; Keum et al., 2023). The studies also show that, among other parent factors, Asian American parents' experiences with and concerns about discrimination and stereotyping play a significant role in socialization, highlighting the unequal parenting burden that AAPI parents, like other parents of color, bear (Park, 2020; Juang et al., 2018). These findings on child and parent factors related to ERS in mono-racial AAPI families are consistent with research on other ethnic-racial groups (Nieri et al., 2023; Priest et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). That said, the broader ERS literature has identified other child and parent factors (e.g., neighborhood, school, and social network ethnic-racial composition and socioeconomic status) that were not assessed in the reviewed studies (Priest et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Several studies in the review allude to the importance of these characteristics in shaping parents' views of their own and other groups, especially as related to racism and discrimination,

and in turn, their ERS practices (Juang et al., 2018; Lee et al., 2022; Park, 2020; Tian 2023). The relation of these other factors to ERS could be explored in future research on monoracial AAPIs. Particular focus should be given to how parents' ethnic-racial identity and attitudes, shaped by the context, inform parents' ERS practices (Kiang et al., 2023). Relatedly, the role of parents' critical consciousness (Christophe et al., 2022) should be explored.

We note that while our focus was on mono-racial families, some of the studies in the review focused exclusively on immigrant parents and others included both native-born and immigrant parents. Despite this, the studies did not assess immigration-related variables (i.e., nativity, generation status, and time in the U.S.) as key correlates or predictors of ERS, perhaps because the focus was often on Asian Americans as a broad group. The result is that these variables were not revealed to be among the parent factors in ERS. That said, the reviewed studies on immigrant parents suggest that parents' ethnic-racial perspectives are influenced by both their experiences in their origin country and the United States (e.g., Juang et al, 2018; Tian, 2023) and thus, are likely to be different from those of native-born parents, especially those whose own parents were also native born (Roth & Kim, 2013). Given that other research documents differences in Asian Americans' racial attitudes by nativity (Tokeshi, 2023) and the review found that parents' ethnic-racial perspectives relate to ERS, we anticipate that there is heterogeneity within mono-racial families based on immigration-related variables. Future research could explore these parent variables and the mechanisms by which they relate to ERS.

#### *Relation of ERS to Child Outcomes*

This review revealed that ERS is related to a variety of mono-racial AAPI child outcomes. Although research on other children of color has found cultural socialization and preparation for bias to be associated with positive outcomes and promotion of mistrust to be

associated with negative outcomes (Umana-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Priest et al., 2014), this review reveals a mixed picture in which these strategies do not consistently conform to the patterns identified in prior research. The reviewed studies document ways in which the strategies are conditionally associated with benefits and costs. There is a need to examine ERS in context and better understand the conditions under which parent messages produce positive outcomes.

An avenue for examining ideal conditions for ERS is highlighted in the work of Coard et al. (2023) and Lee et al. (2022) which documents characteristics of parent-child interactions that facilitate discussions about ethnicity-race. This work suggests that the method of ERS is as important as its content. As such, it can inform interventions aimed at bolstering parents' engagement and effectiveness in ERS. Research in this area can also explore in greater detail how the specific content and delivery of messages relates to what messages children actually receive and the extent to which they internalize those messages. Research on white parents' ERS has shown that parents may not achieve their ERS goals because their messages do not teach what they think they do (Nieri et al., 2023).

A way to contextualize ERS is to examine effects of ERS strategies conditional on other factors (e.g., in quantitative research, moderator analyses: Burrola, 2013; Cheah et al., 2021; Benner & Kim, 2009). Another way is to examine profiles – sets of ERS strategies or ERS combined with related characteristics (e.g., Atkin & Ahn, 2022; Atkin & Yoo, 2021; Ajayi & Syed, 2014; Xie et al., 2021; Wu et al., 2020; Kiang et al., 2019). Furthermore, qualitative research can contextualize ERS's relation to outcomes (e.g., Ahn et al., 2022). For example, such research could assess how the tone of preparation for bias (optimistic: you can overcome it or pessimistic: you may not overcome it), relates to outcomes. It could also assess whether parents' messages about bias include feasible coping strategies to facilitate positive outcomes. Another

way to deepen the understanding of ERS' relation to outcomes is to explore children's processing of and emotional reactions to messages and dialogue (e.g., Daga & Raval, 2018; Lee et al., 2022), especially in the context of messages from other sources and other settings (e.g., Ahn et al., 2022; Keum et al., 2023; Lee et al., 2022; Sladek et al., 2022). Finally, research should explore the mechanisms by which messages translate to outcomes (e.g., Ahn et al., 2022). For example, promotion of mistrust may be beneficial if it translates to behavior that reduces exposure to discrimination (e.g., avoidance of high-risk locations).

Although a few strategies other than cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust were also related to children's outcomes, they received relatively little attention, and some strategies (e.g., exposure to diversity) have not been examined for their impact on children. Furthermore, strategies were not typically examined as a comprehensive set. Future research needs to examine the outcomes of strategies beyond the big three, individually and in tandem with other strategies.

Finally, there is a need to expand the outcomes assessed. Given the penetration of structural racism into national discourse, there is a need to study not only how socialization addresses it but also to what effect. Methodologically, this means attending to how parents' messages about "becoming American" can be racialized, as found by Waters and Kasnitz (2010) and thus, influence the development of attitudes about other ethnic-racial groups. Empirically, it means examining how parents' efforts to protect their children and the Asian American community may affect understandings and treatment of other ethnic-racial groups, interpersonally and structurally. Such research can draw from the lessons on anti-racism socialization literature on white families, which shows that although many parents want their children to avoid being racist, their socialization strategies may reinforce stereotypes and

structural privilege rather than challenge discrimination and inequity (e.g., Hagerman, 2018; Underhill, 2016, 2018; Pineseault, 2015). Thus, future research should build on the studies in this review that examined effects on racial attitudes (e.g., Atkin & Ahn, 2022; Ahn et al., 2022). Furthermore, following Ahn et al. (2022) and Lee et al. (2022), scholars should assess the relation of ERS to children's critical consciousness (Christophe et al., 2022). Furthermore, consistent with a critical perspective, scholars should assess political attitudes, including whether and how AAPI parents may socialize their children to endorse multiracial whiteness, "an understanding of whiteness as a political color and not simply a racial identity – a discriminatory worldview in which feelings of freedom and belonging are produced through the persecution and dehumanization of others" which perpetuates structural inequities (Beltrán, 2021).

#### *Limitations and Future Research*

We employed highly inclusive review criteria but may not have identified all relevant studies. We did not report results by developmental stage, though we recognize that parents' strategies may vary by stage (Priest et al., 2014; Loyd & Gaither, 2018). We examined only parental socialization and child and parent factors, though other socializing agents (e.g. school, peers, etc.) exist (Sladek et al, 2022) and other factors (e.g., neighborhood and school, e.g., Park, 2020) have been identified. Finally, we focused on mono-racial AAPI families. Future reviews on AAPI ERS could examine socialization by development stage, factors other than child and parent characteristics, other socialization agents, and ERS among multiracial children and transracial adoptees.

While this review documents progress to date in learning about mono-racial AAPI ERS, work remains to be done. Longitudinal quantitative designs should be employed to assess causal relations over time. Research should incorporate samples including less studied AAPI subgroups

(e.g., Southeast Asians) and analyses assessing ethnic- and immigration-related subgroup diversity. Studies on AAPIs should examine a broad set of ERS strategies, especially those identified in recent research and least explored. They should assess the predictors and outcomes of these strategies, individually and as sets. Predictors should be expanded to include those identified in prior research but not yet explored with AAPIs (e.g., neighborhood composition). Similarly, outcomes should be expanded to include children's racial and political attitudes and critical consciousness. Models assessing the relation of ERS to outcomes should explore the conditions under which positive outcomes are maximized. Qualitative designs should be employed to elucidate the nuances of the conveyance and receipt of socialization messages and their translation to children's lived experience. These foci are consistent with a critical perspective that situates ethnicity-race in social structure, rather than biology (Juang et al., 2017). Future research should also employ intersectional lens and examine how race converges with other social statuses (e.g., gender, class) to better capture the nuances and complexities of the ERS process.



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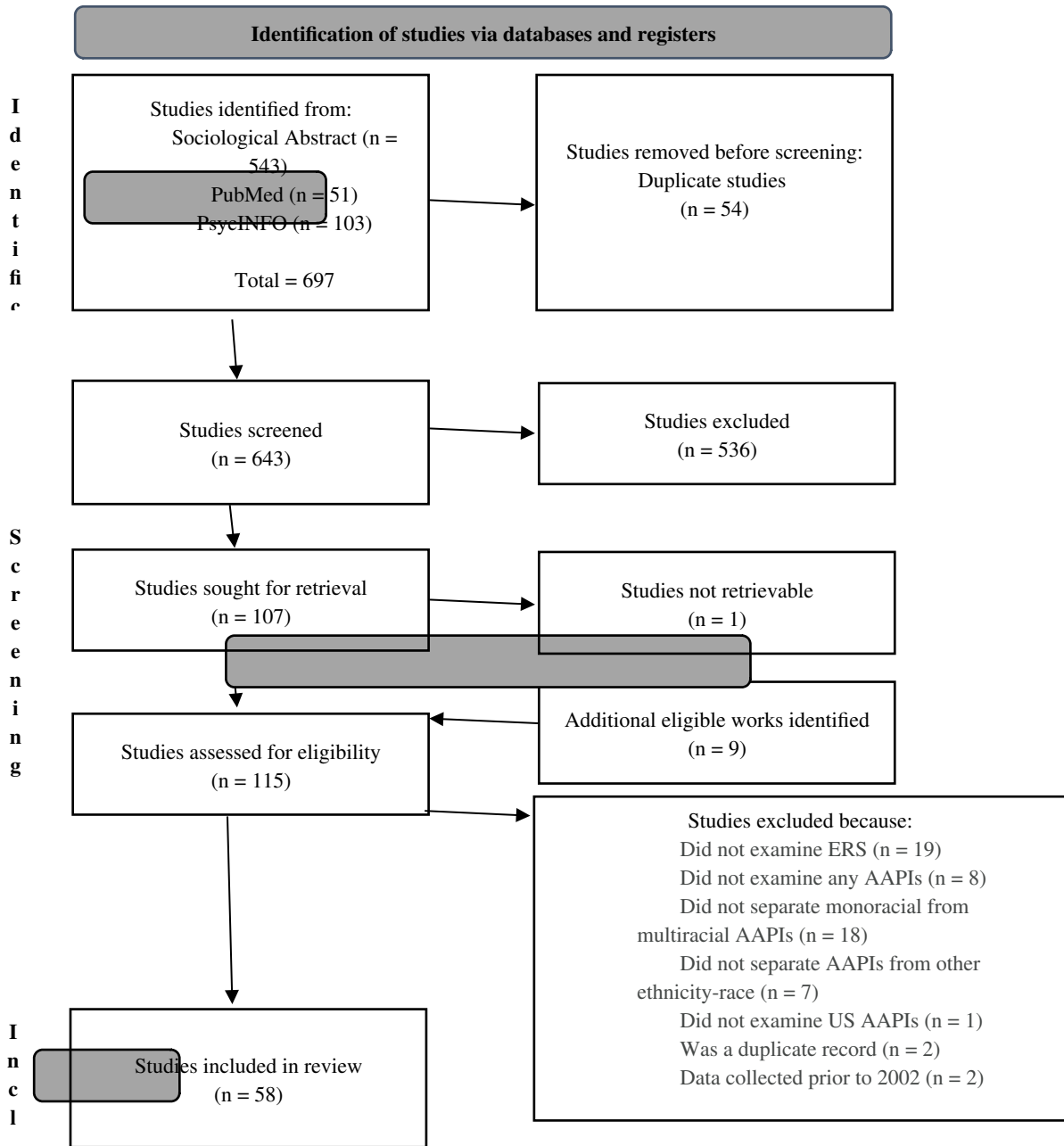


Figure 1. Flow Diagram of Reviewed Studies

**Table 1. Characteristics of Studies Included in Review**

<b>Study</b>	<b>Design and Method</b>	<b>Sample (Age of focal children)</b>	<b>Parental ERS Constructs Assessed</b>
Ahn et al., 2022	Qualitative. Interview.	12 second-generation Asian American women (Filipino, Taiwanese-Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Indian, Chinese) (20-29 years)	gendered racial socialization, including preparation for bias
Ajayi & Syed, 2014	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	295 first-year undergraduate students (Asian/Asian American, Black/African American, Hispanic/Latino, Multi-ethnic, Native American), 187 of whom were Asian American ( <i>Mage</i> = 18.02)	preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust
Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	254 Asian American college students (Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Korean, Multi-ethnic, Bangladeshi, Lao, Cambodian, Indian, Japanese, Thai) ( <i>Mage</i> = 19.9 years)	preparation for bias, exposure to diversity/other ethnic-racial outgroups
Atkin & Ahn, 2022	Quantitative. Cross-sectional online survey.	309 Asian American adolescents (Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipino, Korean, Indian, Japanese, Taiwanese, Pakistani, Hmong, Thai, Cambodian, Malaysian, Singaporean, Bangladeshi, Bengali, Sri Lankan, Laotian) (14-	race-conscious socialization (anti-racism socialization and preparation for bias), colorblind socialization, diversity appreciation (pluralism), silent socialization.

		18 years)	
Atkin & Yoo, 2021	Quantitative. Cross-sectional online survey.	228 Asian American young adults (Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipino, Indian, Korean, Japanese, Multiracial, Multiethnic, Bengali, Cambodian, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Taiwanese, Hmong, Sri Lankan) (18-25 years)	guarded separation socialization, passive integration socialization, and active integration socialization
Atkin et al., 2019	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey	187 Asian American adolescents (Chinese, Multiethnic, Multiracial, Filipino/a, Vietnamese, Asian Indian, Thai) ( <i> Mage = 16.65</i> )	cultural socialization/pluralism, promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias
Benner & Kim, 2009	Quantitative. Longitudinal online survey.	444 Chinese American adolescents ( <i> Mage = 13.0</i> )	preparation for bias
Bozo, Ravels-Macalinao, & Huynh, 2018	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	293 Latina/o and Asian American adolescents, 36.5% of whom were Asian American ( <i> Mage = 17.12</i> )	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust
Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Ezell, 2006	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	17,372 ethnically-racially diverse kindergartners of whom 499 were Asian (age not reported)	Family talk about ethnic-racial heritage
Brown & Ling, 2012	Quantitative. Cross-	114 Asian American young adults (Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipino,	cultural socialization/pluralism

	sectional online survey.	Taiwanese, Japanese, Hong Kongese, Thai, Cambodian, Laotian) (18-25 years)	
Burrola, 2013	Quantitative. Cross- sectional survey. Dissertation.	156 Asian American adolescents and young adults (Chinese, Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, Multiracial, Filipino, Other Asian ethnicities) (14-19 years)	cultural socialization/pluralism, promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias
Cheah et al., 2021	Quantitative. Cross- sectional online survey.	211 Chinese American adolescents and their parents (child age: 10-18 years)	promotion of mistrust
Choi et al., 2014	Quantitative. Longitudinal survey.	291 Korean American families (220 youths, 272 mothers, and 164 fathers) (child age: 11-14 years)	cultural socialization
Choi et al., 2018	Quantitative. Cross- sectional survey.	1,580 Filipino American and Korean American parents and their children (child age: 12-17 years)	cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias
Coard, Kiang, Martin Romero, Gonzalez, & Livas Stein, 2023	Qualitative. Focus groups.	70 parents, 32 of whom were either Chinese American or South Asian, and 68 children, 30 of whom were either Chinese American or South Asian (child age: 12-13 years)	Preparation for bias

Daga & Raval, 2018	Mixed methods: Online survey and interview.	54 South Asian young adults (18-25 years)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust
Elias et al., 2022	Quantitative. Cross-sectional online survey.	1,850 undergraduate students (White, Black/African American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian, Multiracial), 20.8% of whom were Asian American (18-25 years)	cultural socialization
Else-Quest & Morse, 2014	Quantitative. Longitudinal survey.	370 parents and children (White, African American, Latino/a, Asian American), 85 of which were Asian American (child <i> Mage</i> = 16.20)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust
French, Coleman, & DiLorenzo, 2013	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	530 young adults (White, African American, Latino/a, Asian American), 224 of whom were Asian American (18-36 years)	cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias, egalitarianism
Gartner, Kiang, & Supple, 2014	Quantitative. Longitudinal survey.	147 Asian American 8 <sup>th</sup> and 9 <sup>th</sup> grade students (Hmong, Multiethnic, South Asian, Chinese, pan-ethnic, Montagnard, Laotian, Vietnamese, Filipino/a, Japanese, Korean, and Thai) (age not specified)	cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust; preparation for bias
Hughes et al.,	Quantitative.	170 Black, Latino, and Chinese	cultural socialization, preparation for

2009	Cross-sectional survey.	mother-adolescent dyads, 58 of which were Chinese (child age not specified)	bias
Huynh & Fuligni, 2010	Quantitative. Daily diary and cross-sectional survey.	601 Latin American, Asian, and European 12 <sup>th</sup> grade students, 264 of which were Asian American ( <i>Mage</i> = 17.81)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust
Juang et al., 2018	Qualitative. Interview and focus group.	34 second-generation Asian American parents (Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Taiwanese, Hmong, Asian Indian, Laotian, Chinese/Vietnamese) (child age: 3-10 years)	global citizenship socialization (exposure to diversity, egalitarianism, pluralism), racial socialization (preparation for bias, anti-racism socialization), ethnic socialization (cultural socialization), American socialization
Juang & Syed, 2010	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	225 young adults, 77 of whom were Asian American (18–30 years)	cultural socialization
Keum et al., 2023	Qualitative. Interview.	15 Asian American men (Korean, Vietnamese, Chinese, Hmong, Indian, Laotian, Multi-ethnic) (20-40 years)	gendered racial socialization, including white supremacist socialization, avoidance of race talk, and minimization of racism
Kiang et al., 2022	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	200 AAPI parents (East Asian, Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander, South Asian, Multi-ethnic) (child <i>Mage</i> = 13.94)	minimization of race, cultural pluralism, promotion of equality (egalitarianism)

Kiang et al., 2019	Quantitative. Longitudinal survey.	154 Asian American adolescents (Hmong, Multiethnic, South Asian, Chinese, Panethnic, Montagnard, Laotian, Vietnamese, Filipino/a, Japanese, Korean, and Thai) ( <i>M</i> age = 15.56)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust
Kim, 2016	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey. Dissertation.	322 Korean American young adults (18-24+ years)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust
Kim, Hunt, Tsai & Huang, 2023	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	121 Asian American parents (Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean, Multi-ethnic Asian, Filipino, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Japanese, Hmong, and other Asian) (child age: 2-19 years)	maintenance of heritage culture (cultural socialization) becoming American, awareness of discrimination (preparation for bias), avoidance of out-groups (promotion of mistrust), minimization of race, promotion equality (egalitarianism), and cultural pluralism
Kim, Zhao, & Toomey, 2023	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	143 second-generation East Asian youth (11-18 years)	maintenance of heritage culture (cultural socialization), awareness of discrimination (preparation for bias)
Kim, Zhao, Wong, & Toomey, 2023	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	143 second-generation East Asian youth (11-18 years)	maintenance of heritage culture (cultural socialization), awareness of discrimination (preparation for bias)



Lee, Lei, Su, & Zhang, 2022	Qualitative. Interview.	35 Chinese American high school youth (14-18 years)	conversations about race and anti-Black and anti-Asian racism
Liu & Lau, 2013	Quantitative. Cross-sectional online Survey.	670 African American, Latino, and Asian American young adults, 253 of whom were Asian American (17-22 years)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust
Mehta, 2017	Qualitative. Ethnography and interview.	10 Indian mothers and 2 Indian fathers (child age not specified)	cultural socialization
Moua & Lamborn, 2010	Qualitative. Interview.	23 Hmong American adolescents (14-18 years)	cultural socialization
Nguyen et al., 2015	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	970 East Asian and South Asian undergraduate students ( <i>M</i> <sub>age</sub> =19.97)	cultural socialization
Park, 2020	Qualitative. Interview and ethnography.	55 Korean youth, immigrant parents, and teachers (child age: 12-19 years)	cultural socialization, exposure to diversity
Park et al., 2021	Quantitative. Longitudinal survey.	786 Filipino American and Korean American adolescents (12-17 years)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust
Patel et al.,	Qualitative.	15 Indian parents and children	cultural socialization, preparation for

(2022)	Focus group.	(child <i>Mage</i> = 13.6)	bias, egalitarianism
Rana et al., 2019	Qualitative. Ethnography and interview.	12 Sikh parents (child age not specified)	cultural socialization
Ren et al., 2022	Quantitative. Cross-sectional online survey.	500 Chinese American parents (child age: 4-18 years)	maintenance of heritage culture (cultural socialization), awareness of discrimination (preparation for bias), avoidance of outgroups (promotion of mistrust), cultural pluralism, concealing Chinese heritage due to COVID-19, preparation for bias due to COVID-19
Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	308 6 <sup>th</sup> graders, 28% of whom were Chinese American ( <i>Mage</i> = 11.5 years)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias
Seol et al., 2016	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	401 Korean American adolescents, 155 of whom were born to Korean American parents (12-18 years)	cultural socialization/pluralism, preparation for bias
Shein & Zhou, 2023	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	96 Burmese American children and youth (3-21 years)	cultural socialization
Shen et al., 2022	Quantitative. Cross-sectional	675 Korean adolescents, 407 of which resided in the United States ( <i>Mage</i> = 15.24)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust

	survey		
Sladek et al., 2022	Qualitative. Focus group.	98 high school students, 3.7% of whom were Asian American ( <i>Mage</i> = 16.18)	cultural socialization
Supple et al., 2018	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	93 Hmong American middle school students ( <i>Mage</i> = 13)	cultural socialization
Tian, 2023	Qualitative. Interview. Dissertation.	44 Chinese American and Indian American parents (child age: 0-18+)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, exposure to diversity, and anti-racism socialization
Tran & Lee, 2010	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	169 Asian American youth (Hmong, Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, Indian, other or multi-ethnic Asian) (17-19 years)	cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias
Tran & Lee, 2011	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	146 Asian American incoming undergraduate students (Hmong, Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, Indian, other or multi-ethnic Asian) (17-19 years)	enculturation (cultural socialization), promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias
Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006	Quantitative. Cross-sectional survey.	639 adolescents, 86.2% of whom were Asian American (Asian Indian, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Filipino) (13-25 years)	cultural socialization
Wang, Zhang, &	Quantitative. Longitudinal	177 minoritized 9 <sup>th</sup> graders, 10% of whom were Asian American	cultural socialization, preparation for bias

Wadsworth, 2023	survey.	( <i>Mage</i> = 14.48)	
Waters & Kasinitz, 2010	Mixed methods: Phone survey and interview.	3,415 second-generation young adults (Dominican, South American, West Indian, Chinese, and Soviet-origin Jewish), 18% of whom were Chinese (18-32 years)	racial socialization (preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, becoming American)
Woo et al., 2020	Quantitative. Longitudinal survey.	1,580 Filipino American and Korean American parents and children (child <i>Mage</i> = 15.01)	promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias
Wu et al., 2020	Quantitative. Cross- sectional survey.	468 Asian American undergraduate students (18-25 years)	cultural socialization
Xie et al., 2021	Quantitative. Cross- sectional survey, daily diary, and actigraph.	145 Asian American adolescents (Chinese, Korean, Indian, Vietnamese, Filipino, Other Asian) (13-17 years)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias
Yoon et al., 2017	Qualitative. Interview.	13 Chinese and Korean adolescents (14-18 years)	cultural socialization
Zhang et al., 2022	Quantitative. Longitudinal online survey.	133 East Asian young adults (Chinese, Korean, Indian, Vietnamese, “Asian” or “Asian American) (18-30 years)	cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust

