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Family Cultural Socialization Practices among International Adoptive Families

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Abstract

Within the field of international adoption, little research has examined the involvement of fathers in cultural socialization practices. Using secondary data analysis with a sample of 332 international adoptive fathers and mothers, the present study examined international adoptive fathers' cultural socialization practices and compared these practices with those of international adoptive mothers. The results indicated that 1) family cultural socialization practices mainly engaged in by fathers were those that require little to no integration with people of the children's race and/or ethnicity, and 2) fathers' awareness or practices were found to be similar to those of mothers. This study illustrates the importance of continuing research on fathers' beliefs, attitudes, and practices in relation to the race and birth culture of their internationally adopted children.

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Introduction

Since the Korean War, over half a million international children have been adopted by U.S. parents (McGinnis, Livingston, Ryan, & Howard, 2009), with at least twenty thousand being adopted in the last two decades alone (U.S. Department of State, 2015). As the importance of the international adoptive parents' role in their adopted children's ethnic identity formation has been emphasized, research has explored parents' awareness, beliefs, self-efficacy, and practices in cultural socialization (Berbery & O'Brien, 2011; Crolley-Simic & Vonk, 2008, 2011; Johnston, Swim, Saltsman, Deater-Deckard, & Petrill, 2007; Rojewski, 2005; Vashchenko, D'Aleo, & Pinderhughes, 2011; Vonk, 2001; Vonk & Massatti, 2008). However, little research has examined international adoptive fathers' roles, abilities, and involvement in family cultural socialization practices (CSP), with previous research mainly focusing on international adoptive mothers (Crolley-Simic & Vonk, 2008, 2011). Adoptive mothers' CSP have been examined to understand family cultural socialization and have even been used to represent fathers' awareness, beliefs, self-efficacy, and practices in such socialization process.

Family cultural socialization is an important family process that influences children's ethnic identity formation (Cho, Han, & Lee, 2005; Cho & Lee, 2007; Kwon, 2012). In particular, family cultural

socialization initiated by international adoptive parents plays an important role in helping form adopted children's ethnic identity in the United States. Because adoptive parents are not raised in the same culture as the adoptee, and in some cases lack the experience of being an ethnic minority, parenting preparation is required if adoptive parents are to become culturally competent parents (Vonk, 2001). Further recent studies suggest that family CSP should be understood from a multilevel approach. The complexity of CSP appears in the recent relevant research (Bebiroglu & Pinderhughes, 2012; Lee, Vonk, & Crolley-Simic, 2015). More than half of international adoptive families reside in a less diverse community, where the decision-making process between fathers and mothers to incorporate their adopted children's birth culture is likely to form family cultural socialization (Bebiroglu & Pinderhughes, 2012). As stated above, the majority of international adoption research has examined mothers' awareness, knowledge, skills, and practice, and thus the awareness, involvement, and role of the fathers in family cultural socialization is limited. As such, the purpose of this study is to describe family CSP reported by international adoptive fathers and mothers, both together and separately.

Literature Review

Family Cultural Socialization Practices

Cultural socialization practices (CSP) are practices that parents incorporate into their family life that engage their adopted children in their birth culture (Lee et al., 2015). According to the results of Crolley-Simic and Vonk's study, CSP appear to exist on a continuum, from no contact with people from the child's birth culture to greater integration with the birth culture and other diverse populations (Crolley-Simic & Vonk, 2008). No contact reported by international adoptive parents includes practices that engage in involving little to no contact with individuals from the birth culture, such as reading books, enjoying multicultural entertainment (e.g., listening to music, attending ethnic dance concerts, and watching movies), celebrating holidays, preparing and eating cultural meals, and attending culture camps. Requiring somewhat greater integration, some international adoptive families incorporate "visits" to the birth culture in their communities, such as ethnic markets and festivals. Other parents include teaching the child their

birth culture language and traveling to the birth country (Crolley-Simic & Vonk, 2008; Lee, Grotevant, Hellerstedt, Gunnar, & the Minnesota International Adoption Project Team, 2006; Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001; Song & Lee, 2009). Some international adoptive parents provide greater opportunities for integration by living in integrated neighborhoods, enrolling their children in integrated schools, developing and maintaining friendships with people of their children's race and/or ethnicity, and providing same race role models and/or caregivers for their children (Thomas & Tessler, 2007; Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001; Vonk, 2001; Friedlander, 1999; Simon & Alstein, 1992; McRoy et al., 1984).

International Adoptive Mothers' and Fathers' Cultural Socialization Practices

Adoptive mothers have been predominantly represented in the studies of family cultural socialization (Crolley-Simic & Vonk, 2008, 2011; Rojewski & Rojewski, 2001), with few studies showing adoptive fathers' involvement in cultural socialization. However, fathers' involvement might be reflected in studies that reported mothers' practices (Berbery & O'Brien, 2011; Johnston et al., 2007; Vonk & Massatti, 2008). Fathers are also likely to engage in a variety or range of cultural activities or CSP that reflect little to no integration with people of a different race or culture (Vonk, 2001). However, these studies are limited to understanding the family socialization of fathers independently. Furthermore, findings about the relationship between parents' gender and cultural socialization of their children are equivocal. At least one study found mothers' and fathers' perceptions of family adoption adjustment are more similar than different (Bergquist, Campbell, & Unrau, 2003). In other studies, mothers were found to place slightly greater importance on birth culture and diversity, while fathers placed more emphasis on American culture such as celebrating the Fourth of July (Vonk & Massatti, 2008; Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001).

Parents' Demographics and Family Cultural Socialization Practices

Even though researchers have examined parents' demographics in relation to family CSP, the relationship has rarely been shown. In studies that explored such factors, the effect of socioeconomic

status on cultural socialization was included (Shaio & Tuan, 2008; Thomas & Tessler, 2007; Vonk & Massatti, 2008). For example, these studies suggest a positive association of income with international adoptive children's cultural competence (Thomas & Tessler, 2007) and opportunities to explore their birth culture, leading to a strong identification with that culture (Shaio & Tuan, 2008). In addition, little is known about the relationship between the presence of biological children in transracial adoptive families and cultural socialization activities. In one study, however, families with no biological children had international adopted children who appeared slightly more engaged in cultural socialization (Vonk & Massatti, 2008).

Child's Demographics and Family Cultural Socialization Practices

Little is also known about how the children's demographics are related to family CSP in transracial adoptive families. However, the child's birth country/region is connected to the family's cultural socialization (Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001; Lee et al., 2006). Parents of Asian children were slightly more involved in cultural socialization activities than those of European children. Parents of children from Europe reported feeling less pressure to culturally socialize their children, whereas parents of Asian children indicated that their child's appearance was a motivator to prepare them for racism.

The child's gender may affect the parents' interest or motivation in cultural socialization. Parents of male children were slightly more interested in emphasizing American culture such as celebrating Thanksgiving. Also, while both male and female children were engaged in cultural socialization activities, female children were more involved in language learning and male children in family support groups (Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001). The child's age and its effect on CSP are somewhat contradictory. In one study of international adoptive children, the adoptees appeared to be engaged in cultural socialization activities across all ages, with elementary school-aged children being most engaged. In addition, their parents' awareness of the need for cultural socialization increased with the child's age (Scroggs & Heitfield, 2001). However, research also indicates that many parents' interest in CSP diminishes with time. Bergquist and her colleagues' (2003)

study of White parents and Korean-born adoptees also found that the parents' interest in cultural socialization waned over time, whereas Simon and Alstein's (1992) study found that it was most often the children who were less interested in cultural socialization as the years passed.

Adoption−Related Characteristics and Family Cultural Socialization Practices

Based on the findings of their study, Paulsen and Merighi (2009) reported that for international adoptive parents of children with special health care needs, family CSP may be a challenge. In their study of international adoptive families, those who adopted from countries such as Romania and Russia, as compared with other regions in the world, were more likely to have children with medical, psychological, and developmental challenges and were less likely to be involved in cultural activities. Post-adoption experiences or training were related to families' CSP. Adoption support groups or education participation was positively associated with engagement in cultural socialization activities among international adoptive families. Further, online resources were a way to obtain information about adoption and culture (Lee et al., 2006; Vonk & Massatti, 2008; Vonk, Yun, Park, & Massatti, 2007).

Research Questions

Based on the review of relevant literature, the following three questions guided the current study.

1. Are international adoptive fathers aware of family cultural socialization practices?
2. What are the patterns of family cultural socialization practices among international adoptive fathers and mothers?
3. Are the parents' and child's demographics and adoption-related characteristics associated with the father's awareness of family cultural socialization practices?

Methods

Data and Sample

This exploratory, secondary data analysis study used variables drawn from the National Survey of Adoptive Parents (NSAP), a telephone survey of households with adopted children under the

Table 1. Case Selection Process to Obtain the Sample for the Current Study

Step	Variables Examined	Label	Values Selected	# of Selected Cases
1	Type of Adoption	Type of adoption	1=International	545
2	TRANSRACE	Derived – Child race/ethnicity differs from parent(s)	1=Different	441
3	S3_N	What is your relationship to [s.c.]'s other adoptive parent who lives in this household?	1=Spouse 2=Partner	332

age of 18 completed from April 2007 to July 2008. The NSAP sample is representative of the adoptive parents of all adopted children in the United States. Of the 2,089 adoptive parents, 545 adopted children from other countries, including China and Guatemala. The NSAP data are open to the public, including information on the characteristics, well-being, and service utilization of adopted children and their families (Bramlett & Radel, 2010). For the purpose of this study, three variables in the NSAP were screened to obtain only children who were adopted from other countries and who were adopted across race, ethnicity, or culture. Of the international adoptive parents (n=545), 332 (approximately 61%) were included in this current study. The process of case selection is presented in Table 1.

Measures

Demographics

Demographic information was obtained for both parents and children. Parents' demographic variables included *income* and *presence of biological children*. Children's demographic variables included gender and *current age at time of survey*.

Adoption−Related Characteristics

Eight dichotomous response items of the NSAP data (Bramlett & Radel, 2010) were utilized to determine the following eight variables of adoption-related characteristics: (1) *pre-adoption placement*, which indicated the children's birth country; (2) *open adoption agreement*, which measured the status of open adoption; (3) *contact with birth family*, which assessed contact between children and members of their birth family; (4) *special health care needs of child*, which indicated whether children were at risk of having a physical, developmental, behavioral, or emotional condition, and whether they would require health or related services of a type or amount beyond that required by children

generally; (5) *contact with professionals*, which was examined to determine the degree to which professionals were contacted to discuss post-adoption services; (6) *participation in an adoption support group for parents*, which was examined to determine the status of the participation in an adoption support group; (7) *post-adoption education for parents*, which was assessed to identify post-adoption education participation; and (8) *post-adoption utilization of online resources*, which was utilized to determine the usage of post-adoption online resources. More details about the variables are presented in Table 2.

Family Cultural Socialization Practices

To measure family cultural socialization practices (CSP), nine dichotomous response items (no=0 and yes=1; Bramlett & Radel, 2010) were used to measure whether a transracial adoptive family planned to participate or had participated in an adoptee's birth culture and whether they had a range of multiracial/multicultural experiences. The items are as follows: 1) Has your family read books to your child about his/her racial, ethnic, or cultural group or heritage?; 2) Has your family participated in racial/ethnic holidays that reflect his/her race, ethnicity, or culture?; 3) Has your family prepared foods associated with his/her racial, ethnic, or cultural background?; 4) Has your family chosen multiracial or multicultural entertainment such as movies or plays that reflect his/her race, ethnicity, or culture?; 5) Has your family been involved in religious, social, tribal, or recreational groups or activities that reflect his/her race, ethnicity, or culture?; 6) Has your family chosen child care providers, teachers, or other role models similar to his/her race or ethnicity?; 7) Has your family had friends who share his/her racial, ethnic, or cultural background?; 8) Has your family lived in or moved to a place where your child can attend schools that are racially or culturally diverse?; and 9) Has your family lived in or moved to a racially or culturally diverse neighborhood?

Table 2. Adoption–Related Variables for the Current Study

Variable for the Current Study	Variable by the NSAP	Label	Response Set
Pre-adoption placement	C2_NR	Just before being placed with you, where did [S.C.] live?	Nominal
Open adoption agreement	C26	Was there any kind of pre-adoption agreement in which you agreed to provide information about your child to one or both of his/her birth parents or other birth family members?	Dichotomous 0=No, 1=Yes
Contact with birth family	C28	Since the time of child's adoption, have you, [your spouse/partner], or child ever had contact with his/her birth family members?	Dichotomous 0=No, 1=Yes
Special health care needs of a child	CSHCN	Child has special health care needs	Dichotomous 0=No, 1=Yes
Contact with professionals	N1	Did you [or your spouse/partner] ever meet with someone at an adoption agency or post-adoption agency to discuss post-adoption services?	Dichotomous 0=No, 1=Yes
Participation in an adoption support group for parents	N3	Have you or your spouse/partner ever participated in an adoption support group for parents?	Dichotomous 0=No, 1=Yes
Post-adoption education for parents	N18	Following your adoption of your child, did you attend any classes, conferences, lectures or seminars about adoption?	Dichotomous 0=No, 1=Yes
Post-adoption utilization of online resources	N20	Following the adoption of your child, have you or your spouse utilized any web- or internet-based resources like websites, listservs, or chat rooms for information on adoption-related issues?	Dichotomous 0=No, 1=Yes

Data Analysis

This current study controlled for complex sample design using the PSUID and NSAPID variables in addition to the weight variable NSAPWT, which was suggested by the original researchers (Bramlett & Radel, 2010). Descriptive statistics were utilized to present demographics and adoption-related characteristics among international adoptive families. Chi-squares were calculated to compare the nine items of family CSP between fathers and mothers. Binary logistic regressions were performed to calculate odds ratios (ORs) with 95% confidence intervals (CIs) for all international adoptive parents and for mothers and fathers separately to explore the relationships among demographic and adoption variables with family CSP. All statistical analyses were performed using SPSS version 17.0.

Results

Demographics

Table 3 presents the demographic characteristics of international adoptive parents and their children. Among the 332 parents who took part in this current study, approximately 24% (n=81) were fathers. Chi-square analysis revealed that there were no significant demographic differences between fathers and mothers. The majority of the adopted children in both groups were girls (χ^2 (1, n=332)=.956, p=.345). Approximately one third of the children in both groups were adopted from China, 67% were Asian children in the father group and 59% were Asian children in the mother group (χ^2 (1, n=332)=4.507, p=.342).

Adoption–Related Characteristics

Adoption-related characteristics are presented in Table 4. Chi-square analysis revealed there were no significant differences in adoption-related characteristics between international adoptive fathers and mothers. Approximately half of the children lived in an institution before they were adopted (χ^2 (1, n=332)=.731, p=.679). Furthermore, approximately 60% of fathers and mothers contacted professionals for post-adoption services (χ^2 (1, n=332)=.077, p=.781), and utilized online resources to obtain information about adoption (χ^2 (1, n=332)=.357, p=.540).

Family Cultural Socialization Practices Reported by Fathers and Mothers

Results from frequencies and percentages indicated the high level of awareness of family cultural socialization practices (CSP)

Table 3. Demographic Variables of International Adoptive Fathers and Mothers (N=332)

Demographics	Total	Father (n=81)	Mother (n=251)	χ^2 (df)	p
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)		
Parent					
Income (n=308)+++				2.04(3)	.564
−200% FPL+	13(3.2)	3(4.1)	10(4.3)		
−300 % FPL+	33(10.7)	9(12.2)	24(10.3)		
300−400 % FPL+	54(17.5)	9(12.2)	45(19.2)		
400 % FPL+	208(67.5)	53(71.6)	155(66.2)		
Biological children				.55(1)	.521
No	148(44.6)	39(48.1)	109(43.4)		
Yes	184(55.4)	42(51.9)	142(56.6)		
Child					
Gender				.95(1)	.345
Male	109(32.8)	23(28.4)	86(34.3)		
Female	223(67.2)	58(71.6)	165(65.7)		
Age (years)				5.35(2)	.069
0−4	96(28.9)	22(27.2)	74(29.5)		
5−9	110(33.1)	35(43.2)	75(29.9)		
10−	126(38.0)	24(29.6)	102(40.6)		
Birth Country/Region (n=314)				4.50(4)	.342
China	117(37.3)	29(38.2)	88(37.0)		
Russia+Europe	55(17.5)	12(15.8)	43(18.1)		
Latin America++	68(21.7)	13(17.1)	55(23.1)		
Korea	45(14.3)	16(21.1)	29(12.2)		
Asia	29(9.2)	6(7.9)	23(9.7)		

Note. + Federal Poverty Level
++ Latin America includes Guatemala (60%).
+++ Chi−analysis violates cell account.

among international adoptive fathers and mothers. These parents reported that their family highly engaged in the following six of the nine items, which indicate little or no contact with people of the child's race or other culture: reading books (fathers 82.5% and mothers 92.0%) and preparing foods (80.2% and 82.9%, respectively) were the top two, followed by having friendships with people of a different race or culture (77.5% and 74.4%, respectively), participating in and celebrating holidays (72.8% and 69.6%, respectively), choosing multiracial or multicultural entertainment (66.7% and 80.0%, respectively), and participating in religious, social, tribal, or recreational groups or activities (55.6% and 64.8%, respectively).

In addition to the similarity, results from Chi-squares indicated that there were differences in the reports by fathers and mothers on three items of family CSP (Table 5). Fathers were less engaged than mothers in reading ethnic books (χ^2 (1, n=332)=5.9'8, p=.014) and choosing multiracial or multicultural entertainment (χ^2 (1, n=332)= 6.09, p=.014). Furthermore, only 27% of the fathers reported that their family chose people similar to the child's race or ethnicity as child care providers, teachers, or other role models, compared with 42% of mothers (χ^2 (1, n=332)=5.87, p=.015).

Relationships among Demographic and Adoption Variables with Family Cultural Socialization Practices

Binary logistic regressions were performed to examine how adoption-related variables (both of the parents and children) were associated with nine family cultural socialization practice items for all international adoptive families and for fathers and mothers separately. Controlling for parents' income and presence of biological children, the following seven adoption variables were

Table 4. Summary of Adoption-Related Characteristics of International Adoptive Fathers and Mothers (N=332)

Adoption-Related Characteristics		Total n (%)	Father (n=81) n (%)	Mother (n=251) n (%)	$\chi^2(df)$	p
Pre-Adoption Placement	Foster Family	95(28.6)	26(32.1)	69(27.5)	.731(1)	.694
	Institution	186(56.0)	44(53.3)	142(56.6)		
	Other+	51(15.4)	11(15.9)	40(15.9)		
Special Health Care Needs of Child	No	232(69.9)	62(76.5)	170(67.7)	2.260(1)	.164
	Yes	100(30.1)	19(23.5)	81(32.3)		
Open adoption (n=317)++	No	310(98.1)	76(98.7)	234(97.5)	.390(1)	.533
	Yes	7(2.2)	1(1.3)	6(2.5)		
Contact with birth family (n=319)	No	297(93.1)	73(93.6)	224(92.9)	.038(1)	.845
	Yes	22(6.9)	5(6.4)	17(7.1)		
Contact with professionals	No	152(45.8)	36(44.4)	116(46.2)	.077(1)	.781
	Yes	180(54.2)	45(55.6)	135(53.8)		
Participating in an adoption support group for parents	No	202(60.8)	50(61.7)	152(60.6)	.035(1)	.851
	Yes	130(39.2)	31(38.3)	99(39.4)		
Post-adoption parent education	No	213(64.2)	54(66.7)	159(63.3)	.294(1)	.588
	Yes	119(35.8)	27(33.3)	92(36.7)		
Post-adoption use of online resources	No	146(44.0)	38(46.9)	108(43.0)	.375(1)	.540
	Yes	186(56.0)	43(53.1)	143(57.0)		

Note. + Other includes birth parent, birth family, and hospital and so on.
++ Chi-square analysis violates cell account.

Table 5. Summary of Family Cultural Socialization Practices by International Adoptive Fathers and Mothers (N=332)

Items — Has your family …		Total n (%)	Father (n=81) n (%)	Mother (n=251) n (%)	$\chi^2(df)$	p
1. … read books to your child about his/her racial or ethnic or cultural group or heritage? (n=331)	No	34(10.3)	14(17.5)	20(8.0)	5.98(1)	.014
	Yes	297(89.7)	66(82.5)	231(92.0)		
2. … prepared foods associated with his/her racial or ethnic or cultural background?	No	59(17.8)	16(19.8)	43(17.1)	.288(1)	.591
	Yes	273(82.2)	65(80.2)	208(82.9)		
3. … chosen multiracial/cultural entertainment such as movies or plays …? (n=331)	No	77(23.3)	27(33.3)	50(20.0)	6.09(1)	.014
	Yes	254(76.7)	54(66.7)	200(80.0)		
4. … participated in racial/ethnic holidays …? (n=331)	No	983(29.6)	22(27.2)	76(30.4)	.308(1)	.579
	Yes	139(85.8)	59(72.8)	174(69.6)		
5. … been involved in religious, social, tribal or recreational groups or activities …? (n=331)	No	124(29.8)	36(44.4)	88(35.2)	2.232(1)	.135
	Yes	233(70.4)	45(55.6)	162(64.8)		
6. … had friends who share his/her racial or ethnic or cultural background? (n=330)	No	82(24.8)	18(22.5)	64(25.6)	.312(1)	.577
	Yes	248(75.2)	62(77.5)	186(74.4)		
7. … chosen child care providers, teachers or other role models similar to his/her race or ethnicity?	No	204(61.4)	59(72.8)	145(57.8)	5.87(1)	.015
	Yes	128(38.6)	22(27.2)	106(42.2)		
8. … lived or moved where your child can attend schools that are racially or culturally diverse? (n=331)	No	147(44.4)	37(45.7)	110(44.0)	.070(1)	.792
	Yes	184(55.6)	44(54.3)	140(56.0)		
9. … lived in or moved to a racially or culturally diverse neighborhood? (n = 330)	No	205(62.1)	54(67.5)	151(60.4)	1.29(1)	.255
	Yes	125(37.9)	26(32.5)	99(39.6)		

input in these analyses: (1) Open adoption agreement, (2) Contact with birth family, (3) Special health care needs of a child, (4) Contact with professionals, (5) Participation in an adoption support group for parents, (6) Post-adoption education for parents, and (7)

Post-adoption utilization of online resources. In addition, children's age and gender were included in the predictive model. Among the nine practice items, seven were associated with demographic and adoption variables. However, logistic regressions show that the predictive model was not statistically significant and no predictive variables were statistically significant.

Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this initial study is to describe family cultural socialization practices (CSP) reported by international adoptive fathers and mothers both together and separately, exploring transracial issues. The first major finding of this study indicates that fathers are aware of all of the nine CSP. Similar to the awareness of mothers, fathers were greatly aware of family socialization, having the top five and last items in common by frequency of endorsement. The practices that fathers were highly aware of primarily require little to no integration with people from the child's birth culture or race, while the least frequent practice, living in diverse neighborhoods, requires the greatest integration. This finding may not be surprising because previous studies have shown a similar pattern, with the commonly utilized practices requiring the least amount of integration in international adoptive families (Crolley-Simic & Vonk, 2008; Johnston *et al*., 2007; Song & Lee, 2007).

In addition to the finding that fathers' responses are similar to those of mothers, as discussed above, the second finding of this study concerns the possible differences of mothers and fathers' awareness among individual CSP items. Both fathers and mothers are likely to be aware of all nine family CSP items. However, fathers are less likely to be aware of or to be involved in choosing multiracial or multicultural entertainment such as movies, and choosing child care providers, teachers, or other role models similar to the child's race or ethnicity. A more detailed examination of the two items may benefit our understanding of fathers' awareness, knowledge, skills, and practices in family cultural socialization.

Unfortunately, this study found that none of the parents' demographic and adoption-related variables are related to family CSP. Even though this study could not answer the questions on the relationships among demographics, adoption-related

characteristics, and family CSP items, research should continue in order to better understand family socialization in international adoption. The clear differences should be examined with sound measures to examine parents' own CSP.

Methodological limitations should be noted. First, as this study utilized secondary data analysis, only the variables available in the public NSAP data set could be used. This study included only nine items of CSP selected by the original researchers of the national study so it would be too difficult to explain all the possible CSP. For example, Massat, Vonk, and Gregoire (2004) suggested more than 30 possible CSP statements. This limited both the selection of variables and the range of responses, which were especially significant for complex constructs such as CSP. Therefore, examination of a broad range of CSP is needed to have a better understanding of international adoptive families.

The second limitation of this study could be that some questions were ambiguous in their measurement of the CSP of fathers and mothers. The original survey of the data used for this study measured not only the CSP of individuals but also those of their families. For this reason, it could be difficult to interpret whether the individual respondents measured their own practices or those of their families. This ambiguity limited the validity of the measures for the parents' individual awareness, knowledge, and skills. However, in spite of these limitations, there are several notable implications for research.

Despite the limitations stated above, conducting further research on this study's findings by employing qualitative methods could contribute to a more in-depth understanding of not only fathers' CSP but also those of the families. The following research questions deserve future qualitative study: 1) What are mothers' and fathers' racial awareness, beliefs, self-efficacy, and practices in cultural socialization?; 2) How are those components related in mothers' and fathers' cultural socialization?; 3) Are the awareness, beliefs, and practices of both parents equally important in the socialization of their children?; and 4) Are the awareness, beliefs, and practices of both parents (as a unit) important factors to understand children's ethnic identity formation?

In addition, further research could extend the understanding of the similarities and differences between international adoptive fathers and mothers. This current study suggests that some of these

findings require further investigation. More specifically, future research might particularly address the identification of special health care needs of children, along with the balance between the responsibilities of taking care of children with special needs and engaging them in cultural socialization. Other findings reported here require further examination, including the relationships among CSP, children's special health care needs status, and parents' post-adoption experiences. Also, future studies that aim to fill the gap of knowledge on the CSP of fathers, particularly those with male children, may enhance the understanding of the fathers' role in transracial adoptive families. Finally, future multilevel research should include family locations, a possible factor that influences the cultural socialization process of both mothers and fathers.

Lastly, an important implication for policy makers should be noted here. This study confirms that parents seem to be aware of several family CSP. Even though this study could not prove that post-adoption education and online resources are related to parents' awareness of the practice, several previous studies found that such post-adoption support for international adoptive families is likely to influence the decision-making process of adoptive parents. Thus, adoption policies should include trainings for parents to enhance their cultural parenting knowledge and skills. In addition, adoption policies should also include competent social workers to work with international prospective and adoptive parents and children.

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