Ethnic-Racial Socialization, Ethnic-Racial Identity, and Depressive Symptoms in Korean

Adolescents in the United States and China

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Abstract

The United States and China are top two receiving countries of Korean immigrants in modern history. Minority families in ethnically-racially diverse societies, such as the US and China, use various ethnic-racial socialization practices (cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias) to help their children navigate the world, yet research in non-U.S. contexts is scarce. To examine the specificity versus generalizability of ethnic-racial socialization and its implications, this study compared the prevalence of ethnic-racial socialization reported by Korean American ($n = 408$; $M_{age}= 14.76$, $SD=1.91$; 48.30% female) and Korean Chinese ($n = 267$; $M_{age}= 15.24$, $SD=1.66$; 58.90% female) youth. Moreover, this study examined how various ethnic-racial socialization practices relate to the youth's ethnic-racial identity, and subsequently, depressive symptoms. Although Korean American youth reported more frequent ethnic-racial socialization compared to their Korean Chinese counterparts, cultural socialization (but not preparation for bias nor promotion of mistrust) had a comparable negative indirect association with depressive symptoms via ethnic-racial identity across both groups. Thus, although the rates of parental ethnic-racial socialization are context-specific, parental cultural socialization may be similarly beneficial for Korean ethnic-racial minority youth's identity development, and in turn, psychological outcomes, whether in a Western individualistic society or an Eastern collectivistic society.

Keywords: ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic-racial identity, depressive symptoms, Korean, adolescents

Introduction

In ethnically and racially diverse countries, such as the United States (US) and China, parents of ethnic-racial minority families make various efforts to socialize their children over issues regarding culture, ethnicity, race, and intergroup relations. These socialization strategies, known as *ethnic-racial socialization* (Hughes et al., 2006), play a central role in youth's identity development (Huguley et al., 2019) and psychological adjustment (Wang et al., 2020). However, almost all that is known about family ethnic-racial socialization is based on research conducted in the US (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Thus, whether the current knowledge on the nature, frequency, and correlates of parental ethnic-racial socialization is specific to the United States' (U.S.) context or generalizable to other (e.g., an Eastern collectivistic) societal context is unknown. Studying how families of the same ethnic group socialize their youth in different host countries provides a unique opportunity to understand the specificity versus generalizability of the processes and mechanisms of influence involving parental ethnic-racial socialization. This study focused on samples of ethnic Korean youth living in two sociocultural systems: the US, an individualistic society, where Koreans are a visible (i.e., non-White) minority group and China, a collectivistic society, where ethnic minority Koreans can "pass" as the dominant group (i.e., *Han* Chinese). Across the two samples, this study compared the frequencies of youth's perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization and their associations with youth's ethnic-racial identity and psychological adjustment.

Koreans in the United States and China

The diasporic experience of Koreans in the US and China—the top two receiving countries of Korean immigrants in modern history (South Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019)—has been both similar and different. The majority of today's Korean Americans arrived

in the US after the Immigration Act of 1965, which abolished an earlier quota system based on national origin (Chan, 1991). By 2019, there were over 1.9 million Korean Americans residing in the US (59% foreign-born)—a 55% increase compared to the population in 2000 (Budiman, 2021). Korean Americans are dispersed across the country, with Los Angeles, New York, Washington, DC, Seattle, and Chicago being the top five U.S. metropolitan areas with the largest Korean concentrations (Budiman, 2021), where Koreans make up roughly 1-2% of the total populations (Stiles, 2018). As a group, Korean Americans have higher educational attainment than the general population in the US (57% vs 33% with bachelor's or higher degrees among adults 25 and older; Budiman, 2021). Citing their educational and professional success, cultural emphasis on education, strong family bonds, and respect for authority, Korean Americans along with other Asian American ethnic groups have often been referred to as "model minorities" in the public discourse since the 1960s (Sakamoto et al., 2012). However, Asian American adolescents are more likely than their other ethnic-racial counterparts to be the target of physical and verbal harassment by peers at school (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) and are also at greater mental health risk (Benner & Graham, 2013). Research on Asian American adults further suggests that Korean Americans in particular are more vulnerable to both ethnic-racial discrimination and depressive symptoms than other Asian American ethnic groups (Chau et al., 2018).

Turning to Korean Chinese, although migration of Koreans into China has occurred throughout modern history, the most recent wave occurred in mid-20th century after the Japanese occupation of Korea and the Korean war (Piao, 1990). In 2010, there were over 1.8 million Korean Chinese residing in China (also referred to as *Cháoxiǎnzú* in Chinese or *Joseonjok*/*Chosŏnjok* in Korean), which was approximately a 5% decline compared to the year

2000. Most Korean Chinese reside in three Northeastern provinces (Jinlin, Heilongjiang, and Liaoning; National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010), with Yanbian Korean autonomous prefecture of Jilin province having the largest Korean concentration, where Koreans make up approximately 36% of the total population (Yanbian Bureau of Statistics, 2020). Korean Chinese as a group also have higher educational attainment than the general population in China (8.6% versus 4% with bachelor's or higher degrees among individuals six and older; National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2010). Since the 1950s, Korean Chinese have also been similarly depicted in Chinese mainstream media as a "model minority," due to their high cultural emphasis on education and contributions to the economy of Northeastern China (e.g., promoting border trade with North Korea and brokering for South Korean investment; Choi, 2001). Korean Chinese youth have benefited from preferential minority policies, including bonus points in the high-stakes national college entrance exam, which are awarded to officially recognized members of ethnic minority groups in China as an explicit form of affirmative action (Ding et al., 2017). Although Koreans have not been targets of extreme discrimination (e.g., mass violence) by the dominant Han people (Lee et al., 2007), Koreans in China are not exempt from ethnic discrimination. Historically, Koreans have been referred to as "*Gāolì Bàngzi*" in a pejorative sense by Han people (Gao, 2008). Empirical evidence also suggests that some Korean Chinese emerging adults perceive being unaccepted and treated badly, as well as experiencing employment difficulty, due to their Korean heritage and people thinking they do not speak Chinese well (Lee et al., 2007).

Ethnic-Racial Socialization in the United States and China

Against these sociocultural backdrops, Korean families may engage in practices that may help their youth navigate the ethnically and racially diverse and/or stratified society in which

they live. Such socialization practices are referred to as ethnic-racial socialization and are commonly observed in minority families in ethnically-racially diverse societies, such as the US (Hughes et al., 2006). Ethnic-racial socialization is a multifaceted construct including at least three subsets of practices: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust (Hughes et al., 2006). Across diverse ethnic-racial groups in the US, cultural socialization is the most common ethnic-racial socialization practice where ethnic-racial minority parents teach their children about the unique cultural values, traditions, and practices of their group (Hughes et al., 2006). Compared to cultural socialization, preparation for bias is a less frequently observed ethnic-racial socialization practice for U.S. ethnic-racial minorities, which involves parents teaching their children about the ethnic-racial relations in the society in order to prepare them for the potential discrimination from the dominant group (Hughes et al., 2006). Finally, promotion of mistrust, a rarely and least likely reported ethnic-racial socialization practice for U.S. ethnic-racial minorities, indicates a process where parents tell their children not to trust and to be wary of the dominant group (Hughes et al., 2006).

These ethnic-racial socialization practices are particularly important to investigate during adolescence, because adolescence is typically when discussions of bias and wariness of other groups first emerge (Juang et al., 2016), as adolescents are more mature in their social cognition and are better able to detect discriminatory actions than younger children (McKown & Weinstein, 2003). However, the extent to which families of the same ethnic group engage in ethnic-racial socialization practices may be specific to the societal context in which they are embedded (Bornstein, 2017). Compared to Koreans in the US, Koreans in China 1) are presumably more assimilated to the dominant culture due to the historical influence of the Chinese culture (e.g., Confucianism) on the Korean culture and Koreans having lived in the host

country for more generations, 2) can "pass" as the dominant group due to phenotypical similarities across the two ethnic groups and therefore may be less likely to be discriminated against and 3) may be less likely to perceive or express distrust of the dominant group given the sociocultural context where collectivism, conformity, harmony, and ethnic unity are highly emphasized. Indeed, limited empirical research on *Jingpo* and *Dai* (i.e., Thai) ethnic minority youth in China suggests that the commonly observed ethnic-racial socialization strategies, including cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust, may be less frequently practiced in ethnic minority families in China, as parental ethnic-racial socialization goals were more focused on promoting harmony (Yin et al., 2017). Therefore, it is possible that Korean Chinese adolescents may report lower frequencies of ethnic-racial socialization practices by their parents—including cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust—compared to their Korean American counterparts.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Ethnic-Racial Identity

As much as the prevalence of various ethnic-racial socialization practices across different societal contexts is important to understand, what is more crucial is to understand the influences that the processes of parental ethnic-racial socialization have on adolescents' developmental outcomes. One's ethnic-racial identity is a critical aspect of development that is particularly important to investigate during adolescence, as a strong ethnic identity may confer protection for ethnic minority youth's mental health (i.e., fewer depressive symptoms), especially in the face of discrimination (Yip, 2018). The effects of ethnic-racial socialization on ethnic-racial identity may vary by the type of socialization and also across ethnic-racial groups. For example, a recent meta-analysis concluded that cultural socialization was the most beneficial ethnic-racial socialization practice for ethnic-racial identity development ($r = .23$) for U.S. youth of color,

whereas preparation for bias had a weaker relation to youth's ethnic-racial identity ($r = .08$) with greater variability across different study samples (Huguley et al., 2019). In contrast, promotion of mistrust was not a significant predictor of youth's ethnic-racial identity (Huguley et al., 2019).

Furthermore, the same meta-analysis revealed that the average correlation between global parental ethnic-racial socialization and youth's ethnic-racial identity was greater in magnitude for U.S. Latinxs and Asian Americans than for African Americans (Huguley et al., 2019). This unexpected finding (considering the extended history of antiblack racism in the US) was speculatively explained by the researchers as ethnic-racial socialization potentially being a more impactful developmental process for groups with a more recent migration history and higher representations of foreign-born individuals (Huguley et al., 2019). Following this logic, parental ethnic-racial socialization may be a more powerful predictor of youth's ethnic-racial identity in a society where the ethnic group's resettlement is more recent (e.g., Korean Americans) compared to one where they have lived for more generations (e.g., Korean Chinese).

Ethnic-Racial Socialization, Ethnic-Racial Identity, and Depressive Symptoms

Together, ethnic-racial socialization and identity may both directly impact youth's psychosocial adjustment. Cultural socialization is generally considered a protective factor for minority youth's psychosocial adjustment (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020) because positive messages about one's membership in their ethnic-racial group may bolster youth's positive self-evaluations (Neblett et al., 2012). Meanwhile, theoretical perspectives on preparation for bias vary. Some scholars posit that preparation for bias promotes positive adjustment in minority youth in that this strategy prepares them to cope with potential future discrimination thereby protecting them from psychological harm (Atkin et al., 2019). In contrast, others regard preparation for bias as a negative factor for minority youth's psychological adjustment due to

instilling in youth a sense of helplessness (i.e., not being able to control their environment;

Hughes et al., 2009). Finally, the strategy of promoting mistrust is often viewed as a negative

factor for minority youth's psychological adjustment due to its focus on negative messages,

which may disempower youth and even promote intergroup anxiety and hostility (Daga & Raval,

2018).

In light of these theoretical perspectives, a recent meta-analysis synthesized existing

research on ethnic-racial socialization and concluded that, although cultural socialization was not

a significant predictor, preparation for bias had a small but positive association ($r = .06$), and

promotion of mistrust had a modest positive association ($r = .19$) with internalizing behavior

(Wang et al., 2020). Similarly, longitudinal research specifically focused on Korean American

adolescents also found that, at any given time point, higher rates of cultural socialization in

adolescents were related to marginally lower levels of depressive symptoms, whereas rates of

preparation for bias were not associated with reports of depressive symptoms, and higher rates of

promotion of mistrust were associated with more depressive symptoms (Park et al., 2021).

Although extremely limited, empirical research on ethnic minority adolescents in China also

suggests similar links. Specifically, recent research on Tibetan Chinese adolescents showed that,

whereas cultural socialization showed a positive association, preparation for bias and promotion

of mistrust showed an inverse relation with youth's psychological well-being (Yin et al., 2016)

In addition, youth's ethnic-racial identity also predicts their mental health. Theoretically,

formulating a strong and positive ethnic identity is conceptualized to be evidence of adaptive

psychosocial functioning (Phinney, 1990). Supporting this conceptualization, feeling good and

proud about one's ethnicity/race (i.e., positive ethnic-racial affect) has been empirically shown in

another meta-analysis to moderately negatively predict adjustment difficulties, such as

depressive symptoms (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Research specifically focused on Korean American adolescents has found a similar negative link between ethnic-racial identity (i.e., pride) and depressive symptoms (Chang et al., 2015). Although less is known about the link between ethnic-racial identity and psychological adjustment in minority youth in China, recent research on Uyghur emerging adults similarly identified a positive association between ethnic identity and psychological well-being (i.e., self-esteem; Dong et al., 2015).

Moreover, ethnic-racial socialization may have an indirect effect on youth's mental health via youth's ethnic-racial identity. For example, across four ethnically-racially diverse U.S. samples of emerging adults, higher levels of cultural socialization generally predicted higher levels of ethnic-racial identity commitment, which in turn, predicted more positive and less negative psychological adjustment (e.g., depressive symptoms; Nelson et al., 2018). Pathways involving preparation for bias, in contrast, showed an opposite pattern: higher levels of preparation for bias were sometimes related to lower ethnic-racial identity commitment and in turn more mental health problems, although such a mechanism was less robust and not consistently observed across samples (Nelson et al., 2018). Finally, promotion of mistrust did not have a significant indirect effect on youth's mental health via ethnic-racial identity (Nelson et al., 2018). Research on Asian Americans has similarly suggested that cultural socialization was indirectly associated with fewer psychosocial problems via ethnic-racial identity both in emerging adults (Tran & Lee, 2010) and in adolescents (Choi et al., 2014), but pathways originating from preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust were not significant (Tran & Lee, 2010). Although research on ethnic-racial socialization in China is scarce, ethnic identity has been shown to similarly mediate the positive association between cultural socialization and psychological well-being for Tibetan Chinese adolescents (Yin et al., 2016). Thus, similar

mechanisms may be expected for both Korean American youth and Korean Chinese youth, although whether the effect sizes would be comparable is an open question.

Demographic and Conceptual Covariates

In the current investigation, demographic characteristics including adolescents' gender, age, living arrangement, self-reported socioeconomic status (SES), and religiosity (i.e., whether attending church or a place of worship) were controlled for as covariates. Adolescent gender and age are significant correlates of adolescents' identity development (Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002) and mental health outcomes (Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006). Moreover, the absence of one or both parents in the household (Wang et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2018) and low family SES (e.g., Minh et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2016) can have negative effects on youth's mental health outcomes. Furthermore, rates of religious participation are considerably higher among American adolescents than among adolescents in other parts of the world (e.g., Asia; King et al., 2013), and religious involvement is associated with better psychological adjustment and less depressive symptoms in adolescents (Davis & Kiang, 2016; Yonker et al., 2012). Finally, youth's self-reported ethnic-racial discrimination was also controlled for in this study, given the theoretical conceptualization that discriminatory experiences may serve as a catalyst for parental ethnic-racial socialization, especially preparation for bias (Hughes et al., 2006).

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Current Study

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Due to the limited empirical research on ethnic-racial socialization in non-U.S. contexts, it is unknown whether the frequency and correlates of various ethnic-racial socialization practices are specific to the U.S. context or generalizable across sociocultural contexts. Filling this gap, the current study compared the prevalence of parental ethnic-racial socialization reported by ethnic Korean youth residing in the US and China. More importantly, this study

examined whether and how different ethnic-racial socialization practices relate to ethnic-racial identity, and in turn, depressive symptoms among Korean American versus Korean Chinese youth. It was hypothesized that Korean Chinese youth would report lower frequencies of parental cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust than Korean American youth (Hypothesis 1a-1c), given their longer immigration history, less significant phenotypical and cultural differences from the mainstream population, and the collectivistic and harmony-oriented mainstream values. It was further hypothesized that cultural socialization would indirectly predict lower levels of depressive symptoms via ethnic-racial identity in Korean American youth (Hypothesis 2a). Additionally, although no a priori hypotheses were proposed for pathways involving preparation for bias due to the inconsistent literature, it was hypothesized that promotion of mistrust would be a significant predictor of depressive symptoms but not ethnic-racial identity for Korean American youth based on prior research (Hypothesis 2b). Finally, all pathways for Korean Chinese youth were exploratory due to the absence of relevant literature for this population. However, it was conjectured that cultural socialization might be similarly indirectly associated with depressive symptoms via ethnic-racial identity, although the associations between ethnic-racial socialization practices and ethnic-racial identity might be weaker for Korean Chinese youth due to their longer immigration history.

Methods

Participants

The U.S. data were drawn from a large longitudinal panel study of Filipino American and Korean American adolescents and their parents in the Chicago metropolitan area in the US, with the first wave of data collected in 2014. The Chinese project collected parallel data from adolescents in a city within the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture of China in 2019. To

ensure the matching of the respondents, ethnicity, and age, this study only used self-reports from those adolescents who identified as Korean in both projects and only used the first wave of data from the U.S. project. The final analytic samples included 408 Korean American youth (M_{age}= 14.76, SD=1.91; age range: 11.04 to 19.05; 48.30% female; 58.29% U.S.-born) and 267 Korean Chinese youth (M_{age}= 15.24, SD=1.66; age range: 12.50 to 18.42; 58.90% female; presumably all Chinese-born[1]). Of the participating Korean American parents, 61% had at least a college degree, whereas 42% (47%) of the mothers (fathers) of the Korean Chinese families had at least a college or associate degree. Both groups reported speaking more Korean than the society's dominant language at home.

Procedures

Korean American adolescents were recruited from Chicago and surrounding metropolitan areas (four major counties), mostly via phonebooks, school rosters, and ethnic churches and temples (about equal proportions) and small numbers (>10%) via ethnic grocery stores and ethnic community organizations. Both parental consent and adolescent assent forms were collected, and adolescents who completed the survey were compensated $20. Surveys were presented in both paper-pencil and online formats. The questionnaire was available in both English and Korean languages, and most of the adolescents used the English version (85%). The English version of the survey was translated into Korean using a committee translation (Epstein, Osborne, Elsworth, Beaton, & Guillemin, 2015) in which multiple translators made independent translations of the same questionnaire and, at a consensus meeting, reconciled discrepancies and agreed on a final version. The initial version of the survey was pilot-tested with several parents and youth and further revised for clarity before being administered to the family.

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[1] Information on youth's birth place was not collected, but nativity was implied from youth's self-identification as "Korean Chinese," a term used to specifically refer to native-born ethnic minority Koreans in China.

Korean Chinese adolescents were recruited from one middle school (7th-9th grade) and one high school (10th-12th grade). Both were Korean "ethnic schools," where the Korean language was used as the primary medium of instruction. Two classrooms (roughly 30+ students per classroom) per grade level were randomly selected from Grades 7, 8, 10, and 11. A passive consent procedure was adopted, where parental consent and adolescent assent forms were distributed but not returned unless either the adolescents or their parents refused participation. Participating adolescents were given the paper-pencil questionnaire during advisory periods. The Korean language questionnaire used for the U.S. project was adopted for the Chinese project. The questionnaire was only available in Korean. Following local norms, participants were not compensated but were thanked for their time. The research procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Boards of the University of Chicago and Texas State University.

Measures

Cultural socialization. Cultural socialization was measured with three items (e.g., "How much do your parents emphasize speaking Korean?" Choi & Kim, 2010; $\alpha_{US}=.74$; $\alpha_{CN}=.93$; subscript US/CN represents the U.S./Chinese sample). Responses were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) = "not at all" to (5) = "very much." Scores were averaged across items, with higher means representing more frequent cultural socialization.

Preparation for bias. Preparation for bias was measured with five items (e.g., "How often has your parent talked to you about discrimination against people of your ethnic group?" Tran & Lee, 2010; $\alpha_{US}=.81$; $\alpha_{CN}=.87$). Responses were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) = "almost never" to (5) = "almost always." Scores were averaged across items, with higher means representing more frequent preparation for bias.

Promotion of mistrust. Promotion of mistrust was measured with three items (e.g., "How often

has your parent told you to avoid other ethnic groups because of their prejudice against

Koreans?" Tran & Lee, 2010; α_{US}=.86; α_{CN}=.77). Responses were rated on a 5-point scale

ranging from (1) = "almost never" to (5) = "almost always." Scores were averaged across items,

with higher means representing more frequent promotion of mistrust.

Ethnic-racial identity. Adolescents were provided with five statements that described their

ethnic-racial identity and were asked how much each of the statements applied to them (e.g., "I

feel that I am part of the Korean culture." Birman & Trickett, 2001; α_{US}=.78; α_{CN}=.88). Items

were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) = "not at all" to (5) = "very much." Ratings were

averaged across the items to obtain a composite score with higher values indicating stronger

ethnic-racial identity.

Depressive symptoms. Adolescents were also asked how they had been feeling for the past two

weeks. Fourteen statements were provided (e.g., "I feel like crying all the time." Angold et al.,

1995; Greenberg & Kusche, 1990; α_{US}=.93; α_{CN}=.91). Items were rated on a 5-point scale

ranging from (1) = "almost never" to (5) = "almost always." Adolescents' ratings were averaged

across the items to create a composite score, where higher numbers represented higher levels of

depressive symptoms.

Gender. Adolescent gender was coded as (0) = "male" and (1) = "female."

Age. Adolescent age was calculated as the time difference between adolescents' self-reported

date of birth and the survey date.

Two-parent household. Adolescents were also asked to mark all family members that they

currently lived with, and the responses were coded into (1) = "two-parent household" and (0) =

"other living arrangement."

Perceived SES. Adolescents also rated the class that they felt their family belonged to (i.e.,

perceived SES), on a scale ranging from (1) = "lower class (very poor)" to (5) = "upper class (very wealthy)." Despite its single-item form, this measure showed good concurrent validity (i.e., a small negative correlation with youth's depressive symptoms for the combined sample: $r = -.11$, $p = .006$).

Religiosity. Adolescents responded to the question "Do you attend church or a place of worship (e.g. temple?)" and the responses were coded as (0) = "no" and (1) = "yes." Despite its single-item form, this measure showed good concurrent validity (i.e., a small-to-moderate negative correlation with youth's depressive symptoms for the combined sample: $r = -.17$, $p < .001$).

Perceived ethnic-racial discrimination. Perceived ethnic-racial discrimination was measured with one item "I have felt discriminated by Whites/Han people") rated on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) = "almost never" to (5) = "almost always." Despite its single-item form, this measure showed good concurrent validity (i.e., a small-to-moderate positive correlation with youth's depressive symptoms for the combined sample: $r = .21$, $p < .001$).

Data Analysis

Measurement invariance of the key variables was first tested. Measurement invariance indicates that constructs are being understood similarly across groups, and any significant differences are more likely to reflect true differences rather than measurement error or bias (Chen, 2007). All measurement invariance testing was conducted using *Mplus* 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén 1998–2017). Because all items were measured on a 5-point scale, they were treated as ordinal in all measurement invariance analyses. Specifically, multigroup confirmatory factor analyses were conducted separately for each scale and estimated the fit of the configural, metric, and scalar invariance models. Acceptable model fit indices include a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) value of .08 or below and a comparative fit index (CFI) or a Tucker-

Lewis index (TLI) value of .95 or above (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Additionally, a weighted root mean square residual (WRMR) value of 1.0 or below has also been suggested as a general criterion for goodness of fit, although large values are also possible due to its sensitivity to sample size and model specification (DiStefano et al., 2018). Changes in model fit from the configural model to the more parsimonious models were also evaluated, with a decline in CFI greater than 0.01 and a significant χ^2 difference test indicating measurement non-invariance (Chen, 2007). The fit indices of the models and the changes in CFI values were weighted more heavily than the χ^2 difference test results due to the test being too stringent (Pendergast et al., 2015).

Then, using items that showed invariance across groups, composite scores were created by taking the average of item scores for each scale. Next, missing data patterns and descriptive statistics were analyzed for all study variables separately for each sample, and cross-group comparisons of means and proportions were conducted using independent samples t-tests and χ^2 tests. Zero-order bivariate correlations among study variables were also examined separately for each group. Subsequently, separate path analyses were conducted for each group with robust maximum likelihood estimation to investigate a) whether and how parental ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust) predicted youth's ethnic-racial identity and b) whether and how ethnic-racial identity predicted youth's depressive symptoms, controlling for demographic covariates and youth's perceived ethnic-racial discrimination. The same model also examined whether ethnic-racial socialization practices had indirect effects on depressive symptoms via ethnic-racial identity. Finally, Wald tests were conducted using the MODEL TEST command to explore whether the path coefficients could be constrained to equal values across the two groups, with a significant Wald test result

suggesting non-invariance.

Results

Measurement Invariance Tests

Results for the measurement invariance tests are presented in Online Supplementary Table 1. All key variables reached full scalar invariance, except for cultural socialization. Cultural socialization reached metric invariance, and upon allowing the last threshold of the first two items to vary freely, the scale reached partial scalar invariance. Full scalar invariance ensures that both the mean levels of and correlations among the scales can be compared across groups and that any observed group differences cannot be attributed to differences in scale properties (Chen, 2007). Additionally, the composite score of cultural socialization can also be compared across the two groups because the impact of only reaching partial scalar invariance on the accuracy of group comparison is minimal (Millsap & Kwok, 2004).

Missing Data Patterns, Descriptive Statistics, and Zero-Order Correlations

Missing data analyses showed that the percentages of missing values were 0-1.5% for the main variables and 0-2.9% for covariates across both samples, except for religiosity for the Chinese sample (10.5% missing). All missing data were missing completely at random (MCAR). Missing data were handled using full information maximum likelihood estimation in Mplus, which is less biased, more efficient, has greater statistical power, and provides lower and more stable Type I error rates compared to other estimation methods (e.g., listwise deletion, pairwise deletion, similar response pattern imputation (Enders & Bandalos, 2001).

Descriptive statistics for key study variables are presented in Table 1 separately for each group, along with the results for t- or χ^2 tests. Supporting Hypotheses 1a-1c, Korean American adolescents reported significantly more frequent parental cultural socialization, preparation for

bias, and promotion of mistrust than their Korean Chinese counterpart. However, the U.S. sample reported significantly lower levels of ethnic-racial identity and depressive symptoms than the Chinese sample. As for the demographic and conceptual covariates, while the Korean American sample had significantly fewer females, younger adolescents, more two-parent households, and more youth who went to church or a place of worship than the Korean Chinese sample, the youth's perceived socioeconomic status was comparable across the two samples. Moreover, Korean American adolescents reported significantly higher levels of perceived ethnic-racial discrimination compared to Korean Chinese adolescents. To calculate effect sizes, all test results were further converted into Cohen's d, which are also presented in Table 1. Most differences were small (~0.2) to medium (~0.5) in their magnitudes (Cohen, 1988), except for a relatively large (0.65) difference in the proportion of two-parent households and a huge (>2) difference in youth's religiosity (Sawilowsky, 2009).

Zero-order bivariate correlations are shown in Table 2. As shown in the table, cultural socialization had a large correlation with ethnic-racial identity for both Korean American and Korean Chinese youth. In addition, while preparation for bias was not significantly associated with ethnic-racial identity in Korean American youth, there was a small, positive correlation for Korean Chinese youth. Promotion of mistrust was not a significant correlate of ethnic-racial identity for either group. As expected, ethnic-racial identity showed a small-to-medium, negative correlation with depressive symptoms for both groups. Furthermore, both preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust showed a small-to-medium, positive association with depressive symptoms for the Korean American sample, but the correlation coefficients were smaller and nonsignificant for the Korean Chinese sample. Of note, ethnic-racial discrimination showed a small-to-medium correlation with preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and depressive

symptoms for both groups.

Path Analysis Results

 Main path analysis results are presented in Figure 1, and the full results are available in Online Supplementary Table 2. Across both countries, cultural socialization had a large positive association with ethnic-racial identity ($B_{US} = 0.37$; $SE_{US} = 0.04$; $\beta_{US} = .42$; $p < .001$; $B_{CN} = 0.30$; $SE_{CN} = 0.04$; $\beta_{CN} = .46$; $p < .001$; the subscript US/CN represents coefficients for the U.S./Chinese sample). In contrast, neither preparation for bias ($B_{US} = -0.05$; $SE_{US} = 0.05$; $\beta_{US} = -.06$; $p = .30$; $B_{CN} = 0.07$; $SE_{CN} = 0.05$; $\beta_{CN} = .09$; $p = .13$) nor promotion of mistrust ($B_{US} = 0.01$; $SE_{US} = 0.04$; $\beta_{US} = .01$; $p = .79$; $B_{CN} = -0.07$; $SE_{CN} = 0.08$; $\beta_{CN} = -.05$; $p = .41$) was a significant predictor of youth's ethnic-racial identity. In addition, ethnic-racial identity showed a small negative association with depressive symptoms for both groups ($B_{US} = -0.17$; $SE_{US} = 0.06$; $\beta_{US} = -.16$; $p = .002$; $B_{CN} = -0.16$; $SE_{CN} = 0.07$; $\beta_{CN} = -.16$; $p = .02$). Supporting Hypothesis 2a, a significant indirect association was also observed, where cultural socialization had a moderate negative association with depressive symptoms via ethnic-racial identity for both groups ($B_{US} = -0.06$; $SE_{US} = 0.02$; $\beta_{US} = -.07$; $p = .003$; $B_{CN} = -0.05$; $SE_{CN} = 0.02$; $\beta_{CN} = -.07$; $p = .02$).

 Furthermore, no significant direct association was observed between any ethnic-racial socialization practice and depressive symptoms in either group, except for a small positive direct association between preparation for bias and depressive symptoms for the Korean American sample ($B = 0.11$; $SE = 0.04$; $\beta = .12$; $p = .009$). Thus, Hypotheses 2b (i.e., promotion of mistrust having a nonsignificant association with ethnic-racial identity but a significant association with depressive symptoms) was only partially supported. Of note, the covariate perceived ethnic-racial discrimination showed a small-to-medium positive association with preparation for bias ($B_{US} = 0.22$; $SE_{US} = 0.04$; $\beta_{US} = .24$; $p < .001$; $B_{CN} = 0.23$; $SE_{CN} = 0.07$; $\beta_{CN} = .23$; $p = .001$),

promotion of mistrust (B_{US} = 0.19; SE_{US} = 0.04; β_{US} = .23; p < .001; B_{CN} = 0.18; SE_{CN} = 0.06;

β_{CN} = .26; p = .001), and depressive symptoms (B_{US} = 0.17; SE_{US} = 0.04; β_{US} = .22; p < .001; B_{CN}

= 0.13; SE_{CN} = 0.06; β_{CN} = .15; p = .03). Finally, in contrast to the conjecture, Wald test-based

exploratory analysis of structural invariance suggested that all coefficients for the key pathways

were equivalent across the two groups: χ^2 (7) = 4.69, p = .70.

Sensitivity Analysis

Given the partial scalar invariance for cultural socialization, a sensitivity analysis was

conducted using a latent variable (rather than the observed variable) of cultural socialization,

where the factor loadings were constrained to be the same across the two groups and the

intercepts for the first two items were allowed to freely vary. All significant findings from the

path analysis held for the sensitivity analysis. Wald tests of structural invariance again suggested

equivalence of all main pathways: χ^2 (7) = 9.27, p = .23, suggesting robustness of the invariance.

<div align="center">

Discussion

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Parental ethnic-racial socialization is common in minority families and plays a vital role

in minority youth's development (Huguley et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2020). However, empirical

research in non-U.S. contexts is scarce, and it is important to examine whether the extant

knowledge is specific to the U.S. society or generalizable across different sociocultural contexts.

Thus, the current study compared the rates of three parental ethnic-racial socialization practices,

including cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust, among Korean

adolescents living as ethnic-racial minorities in the US versus China and further examined their

influences on youth's identity and psychological outcomes. In line with expectations, all three

practices of ethnic-racial socialization under investigation were more prevalent in Korean

American youth than in Korean Chinese youth. Also consistent with the hypothesis, there was an

indirect association between cultural socialization and youth's depressive symptoms via ethnic-racial identity for both groups, and—in contrast to what was speculated—the magnitude of the indirect association was also comparable across the two groups. However, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust did not serve as protective factors for youth's psychological adjustment, either directly or indirectly.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization in Korean Families in the United States versus China

In line with the expectations, it was discovered that Korean American adolescents reported more frequent ethnic-racial socialization practices from their parents compared to their Korean Chinese counterparts, across all three practices under investigation, including cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Such a finding is consistent with the specificity principle (Bornstein, 2017), which posits that the setting conditions such as cultural fit to the mainstream, and experiences and status in the host country all shape immigrant-origin individuals' behaviors. First, the mean difference in the rates of cultural socialization may be attributed to the relative distinctness of the Korean heritage culture to the mainstream. For example, due to the historical influence of the Chinese culture (e.g., Confucianism), Korean Chinese family values such as filial piety and family hierarchy align well with the mainstream Chinese culture and are likely not perceived to be distinct or alien by the majority group or by the Koreans themselves. Therefore, Korean Chinese parents might not perceive an urgent need for cultural socialization. However, the same cannot be assumed for Korean American families. The parents' lower levels of acculturation coupled with youth's greater exposure to the mainstream culture, a common phenomenon among immigrant families in the US, may prompt the parents to reactively engage in more cultural socialization practices to preserve their heritage culture. Indeed, recent research suggests that Korean American families practice cultural

socialization more often than other Asian American groups that are more acculturated (e.g., Filipino), and the frequency even increases during adolescence (Park et al., 2021).

Second, the difference in Korean families' overall levels of preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust can be attributed to the different levels of perceived ethnic-racial discrimination from the dominant group. Although not the focus of the current study, the study findings did reveal that Korean Chinese youth reported significantly lower levels of ethnic-racial discrimination than Korean American youth (Table 1), and that youth's perceived ethnic-racial discrimination was a significant predictor for both preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. These findings are not only in line with the expectations, but also with the theoretical perspective that pinpoints discrimination as a catalyst for parental ethnic-racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006), revealing the specificity of ethnic-racial socialization processes across different societal contexts depending on the group's discriminatory experiences in the society. Third, the differences in the Korean families' promotion of mistrust may also be attributed to the socio-political differences of the two national contexts. China is a collectivistic country where values such as harmony and conformity are highly emphasized. Literature on cross-cultural comparisons have indicated that individuals from collectivistic societies are more likely to avoid confrontation and may even avoid explicit recognition of conflicts altogether in the context of interpersonal relationships (Bond et al., 1992). Given such a socio-cultural context, issues such as ethnic-racial tensions, including mistrust toward the majority group, could be considered a taboo and may be rarely discussed either publicly or privately.

Interestingly, stark differences were also discovered in demographic covariates, which may have implications for the families' ethnic-racial socialization practices and youth's developmental processes in general. For example, most Korean American adolescents versus

very few Korean Chinese adolescents reported attending church or a place of workshop. The difference in the two groups' religiosity may suggest both socialization and selection effects. Specifically, more Christian Koreans have self-selected to immigrate to the US. Moreover, the two groups of Korean youth are adapting to two very different religious contexts: a dominantly Christian U.S. society versus a largely non-religious Chinese society (State Council of China, 2005). In addition, over 80% of Korean American adolescents versus only slightly over 50% of Korean Chinese adolescents reported living with both parents. Such a group difference in family structure may reflect the difference in the wealth of the two groups, as family structure and family wealth are interrelated (Bernadi et al., 2019). For Korean American families in this study, 63% earned at least $50,000 annually, a middle-class income. Although income data were not collected for Korean Chinese families, the Chinese census data suggest that the average annual per capita disposable income in 2019 was ¥28,158 or roughly $4,083 among urban residents in Yanbian (Yanbian Bureau of Statistics, 2020). It was important to account for these confounding differences, as Korean American adolescents' religiosity was positively associated with their perceived cultural socialization and ethnic-racial identity, whereas Korean Chinese adolescents' religiosity was positively associated with promotion of mistrust. In addition, living in a two-parent household was associated with higher rates of cultural socialization for Korean Chinese youth. Across the two samples, higher rates of religiosity and intact families among Korean American youth relative to Korean Chinese youth also went in tandem with lower rates of depressive symptoms in the former group, suggesting possible protective roles of these factors.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Ethnic-Racial Identity

First, as expected, parental cultural socialization was positively related to ethnic-racial identity in both Korean American and Korean Chinese youth. Findings from the current study

corroborate the conclusions from a recent meta-analysis, which suggested cultural socialization

to be the most beneficial ethnic-racial socialization practice for ethnic-racial identity

development (Huguley et al., 2019). Second, preparation for bias did not significantly predict

youth's ethnic-racial identity in either of the samples. A recent meta-analytic review has reported

that there was a great degree of variability across different samples of ethnic-racial minority

youth in the link between preparation for bias and ethnic-racial identity, although on average

there was a small positive association (Huguley et al., 2019). Scholars have speculated that the

association between preparation for bias and youth's ethnic-racial identity might further depend

on other factors, such as subdimensions of preparation for bias (e.g., proactive vs. reactive) and

subdimensions of ethnic-racial identity (e.g., private vs. public regard; Huguley et al., 2019),

which warrants further investigations in future research. Third, promotion of mistrust was not a

significant predictor of youth's ethnic-racial identity in either sample. This finding is consistent

with the majority of the literature, which has generally suggested a null effect of promotion of

mistrust on youth's ethnic-racial identity in subgroups of Asian American adolescents (Woo et

al., 2020) and meta-analytically across samples (Hughley et al., 2019). Although stronger links

between ethnic-racial socialization practices and ethnic-racial identity were expected for Korean

American youth in comparison to Korean Chinese youth due to Korean American families' more

recent migration to the host country, the magnitudes of the coefficients were found to be

equivalent. Such an equivalence is an important finding in and of itself because it highlights the

generalizability of the benefits of parental cultural socialization for youth's ethnic-racial identity

beyond the U.S. context, where this link has been previously established.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization, Ethnic-Racial Identity, and Depressive Symptoms

In terms of the prediction of youth's mental health, cultural socialization did not have a

significant association with youth's depressive symptoms in either sample. This finding is

inconsistent with the conclusion from a recent narrative review that cultural socialization is a

promotive factor for minority youth's psychosocial adjustment (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020),

but it is consistent with the conclusion from a recent meta-analysis that cultural socialization is

not a significant predictor of internalizing symptoms (Wang et al., 2020). Such a discrepancy

may be explained by a mediation mechanism involving ethnic-racial identity. Although cultural

socialization does not have a direct association with depressive symptoms, this practice may still

confer developmental benefits indirectly by promoting youth's ethnic-racial identity, which in

turn protects against depressive symptoms. Indeed, research on Asian American emerging adults

and adolescents (Tran & Lee, 2010; Choi et al., 2014), as well as ethnically-racially diverse

college students (Nelson et al., 2018), has consistently discovered a similar indirect association

between cultural socialization and youth's psychosocial well-being via ethnic identity. Similarly,

research on Tibetan Chinese adolescents has suggested ethnic identity to be a mediator for the

association between cultural socialization and youth's psychological well-being (Yin et al.,

2016). The current study adds to this literature by demonstrating that similar mechanisms may

exist for Korean ethnic-racial minority adolescents in both the US and China. Of note, the

strengths of the indirect associations were also equivalent across the two samples, highlighting

the sociocultural generalizability of the promotive functions of parental cultural socialization and

ethnic-racial identity in youth's psychological adjustment. These findings support the theoretical

notion that parents' positive messages about youth's ethnic-racial group may bolster youth's

positive self-evaluations regarding such membership (Neblett et al., 2012), and that a strong

ethnic-racial identity, in turn, is adaptive for youth's psychosocial functioning (Phinney, 1990).

Turning to the association between preparation for bias and youth's depressive

symptoms, there was a positive association between the two constructs for the Korean American sample even after controlling for covariates, although the association was not significant for the Korean Chinese sample. However, such a difference in the significance of the association should not be over-interpreted, because the two path coefficients were shown to be equivalent based on the structural invariance test. Thus, findings from the current study support the theoretical perspective that preparing youth for potential future discrimination may instill in youth a sense of helpless (Hughes et al., 2009), rather than protect them from psychological harm (Atkin et al., 2018), as youth may feel a lack of control over their inevitably discriminatory environment. It is worth noting, however, that the empirical literature on the relation between preparation for bias and youth's psychological adjustment has been mixed (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). For example, longitudinal research on Korean American adolescents suggests that rates of preparation for bias and levels of depressive symptoms are unrelated (Park et al., 2021). Turning to the societal context of China, research on Tibetan Chinese adolescents has shown that preparation for bias is inversely related to youth's psychological well-being (Yin et al., 2016). Perhaps, as a recent meta-analysis has summarized, there is a positive but very small relation between preparation for bias and youth's psychological issues (Wang et al., 2020), which might be easily masked or altered by measurement errors and other contextual factors. Therefore, future research may need to carefully design a more nuanced operationalization of this construct and simultaneously assess other family, school, and community contexts to better discern the role of parental preparation for bias in youth development.

Finally, the current study did not find a significant association between promotion of mistrust and youth's depressive symptoms in either sample. Such a finding is in contrast to the literature that has suggested promotion of mistrust to be a risk factor for youth's psychosocial

adjustment, whether for U.S. ethnic-racial minority youth in general (Wang et al., 2020), Korean

American adolescents in specific (Park et al., 2021), or for ethnic minority adolescents in China

(Yin et al., 2016). It is worth noting, however, that the magnitudes of bivariate correlations

between promotion of mistrust and depressive symptoms without covariates were comparable to

what has been suggested by the meta-analytic review (Wang et al., 2020) and that the covariate

ethnic-racial discrimination was a common predictor for not only promotion of mistrust, but also

depressive symptoms. Thus, whereas promoting mistrust against other ethnic-racial groups may

be a negative factor for minority youth's psychological adjustment due to its focus on negative

messages (Daga & Raval, 2018), parents' engagement in this practice might be in response to the

ethnic-racial discrimination their youth received, and such discrimination might be a more salient

risk factor for youth's psychological adjustment than parental promotion of mistrust. In fact,

promotion of mistrust has shown a buffering effect when youth report experiencing racial

discrimination (Park et al., 2021).

Practical Implications

        Results for the current study suggest that parenting strategies that teach youth about their

heritage, cultural values, and language may be beneficial for Korean ethnic-racial minority

youth's identity development, and in turn, their psychological outcomes, whether in a Western

capitalist individualistic or an Eastern socialist collectivistic society. Additionally, findings also

suggest that parenting strategies that are focused on preparing youth for discrimination against

their group or promoting mistrust of other ethnic-racial groups may not be as beneficial and may

even be harmful for Korean ethnic-racial minority youth's psychological health. However,

considering that the latter two socialization practices are closely linked to the youth's perceived

ethnic-racial discrimination, ignoring the family, school, and community contexts and judging

these potentially reactive or adaptive practices as "problematic" may be inappropriate. Instead, creating diverse and inclusive school environments, providing multicultural/diversity training for educators and other adults working with youth, and promoting cooperative learning and prosocial behaviors in youth may be more effective ways to protect youth, as these interventions may reduce or buffer against discrimination (Nishina et al., 2019).

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

The current study is one of the first few that have investigated parental ethnic-racial socialization in a non-U.S. sample. A total of 259 empirical studies were published on this topic in the 2010 decade (presumably in the English language), and only 9 examined non-U.S. samples (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Thus, the current study allowed for the examination of whether the extant theories and empirical knowledge derived primarily from U.S. samples also apply to a non-U.S. context. However, this study is not without limitations. First, this study employed a cross-sectional design, and the directionality of relations cannot be identified using the current data. Longitudinal designs would be preferable to investigate the long-term consequences and mechanisms of influence involving parental ethnic-racial socialization. Second, the measures used in this study were based on adolescents' self-reports only, and it would be ideal to employ a multi-informant design including both parent and adolescent reports to see how the perceptions of different reporters may influence adolescent development. Third, differences in the data collection procedures might have contributed to important distinctions in the characteristics of the participating adolescents. For example, due to the active consent process and monetary incentive (i.e., $20) used in the U.S. study (versus a passive consent process and no monetary incentive for the Chinese study), self-selection might have been at play for the U.S. sample, such that participants who were more interested in the study participated (versus less self-selection for

the Chinese sample).

Fourth, the differences in the community and school ethnic density might have contributed to important distinctions in the participants' perceptions of ethnic discrimination, which is a catalyst for parental ethnic-racial socialization and youth's development of ethnic-racial identity (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, the two samples differed in the co-ethnic density of the geographic locations (1-2% for the Korean American sample and 36% for the Korean Chinese sample) and were differently recruited. It is unclear, for example, how ethnic density impacts ethnic Korean youth's perceptions of discrimination. On the one hand, the limited daily contact with other ethnic groups at school might protect youth from perceiving ethnic discrimination. On the other hand, research on African American college students (Postmes & Branscombe, 2002) and rural-to-urban migrant adolescents in China (Yang et al., 2019) suggests that those in more segregated school settings perceived more discrimination than those in more integrated environments. Thus, the generalizability of findings may be limited to Korean American and Korean Chinese adolescents in other locations with comparable ethnic compositions. Future studies could employ a multi-site design and recruit ethnic Korean youth from locations of varying ethnic densities to investigate how such contextual differences influence youth's perceived ethnic-racial discrimination, parental ethnic-racial socialization, and ethnic identity. Finally, the proposed conceptual model did not fully explain the two groups' differences in depressive symptoms. Future studies should examine if there are additional differences in other developmental processes (e.g., parenting, academic pressure) and investigate whether those differences may explain the observed differences in depressive symptoms across the two groups of youth.

Conclusion

Ethnic-racial minority parents engage in various ethnic-racial socialization practices; yet empirical research conducted in non-US contexts is scarce. To test the specificity versus generalizability of the extant knowledge on ethnic-racial socialization across different sociocultural contexts, this study compared Korean American and Korean Chinese youth's perceived rates of parental ethnic-racial socialization and examined their associations with ethnic-racial identity, and in turn, depressive symptoms. Korean American adolescents reported more frequent ethnic-racial socialization than Korean Chinese adolescents across all three types, including cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Despite the mean differences, cultural socialization was a common promotive factor for youth's ethnic-racial identity, and in turn, youth's mental health for both groups. In contrast, preparation for bias served as a minor risk factor, contributing to higher levels of depressive symptoms, although the effect size was small. Finally, promotion of mistrust did not predict depressive symptoms above and beyond preparation for bias and perceived ethnic-racial discrimination, although it was also a minor risk factor when considered on its own. Thus, it is concluded that, although the rates of parental ethnic-racial socialization practices are context-specific, parental cultural socialization (but not preparation for bias nor promotion of mistrust) may be similarly beneficial for Korean ethnic-racial minority youth's identity development, and in turn, psychological outcomes, whether in a Western individualistic society or an Eastern collectivistic society.

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Table 1.
Descriptive Statistics and Comparisons of Means and Proportions Using Independent Samples *t*-tests and χ^2 tests.

| | *M* (*SD*) or *N* (%) | | | |
	U.S.	China	*t or* χ^2	Cohen's *d*
Covariates				
Female	193 (47.3%)	155 (58.9%)	8.67**	-0.24
Age	14.76 (1.91)	15.24 (1.66)	-3.32***	-0.26
Two-parent household	335 (82.5%)	143 (54.8%)	60.13***	0.65
Perceived socioeconomic status	3.03 (0.70)	3.12 (0.55)	-1.85	-0.14
Religiosity	349 (85.7%)	11 (4.6%)	401.88***	2.65
Ethnic-Racial discrimination	1.91 (0.93)	1.54 (0.88)	5.24***	0.41
Key Variables				
Cultural socialization	3.73 (0.87)	3.24 (1.19)	6.39***	0.51
Preparation for bias	2.13 (0.83)	1.75 (0.89)	5.74***	0.45
Promotion of mistrust	1.50 (0.77)	1.26 (0.59)	4.23***	0.33
Ethnic-Racial identity	4.15 (0.68)	4.38 (0.84)	-4.03***	-0.32
Depressive Symptoms	1.81 (0.73)	2.12 (0.78)	-5.31***	-0.42

Note. **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

Table 2.
Zero-Order Bivariate Correlations Among Study Variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Female	-	.07	.06	.06	-.11	-.04	.13*	-.10	-.26***	.14*	.01
2. Age	.01	-	-.10	-.11	-.09	-.09	-.06	-.06	-.24***	.17**	-.11
3. Two-parent household	.07	-.10	-	.22***	-.12	-.04	.19**	.00	-.00	.09	.03
4. Perceived socioeconomic status	-.03	-.14**	.09	-	-.05	-.15*	.06	-.04	-.03	.04	-.20***
5. Religiosity	.03	-.02	-.02	-.02	-	.00	.06	.10	.26***	.04	.04
6. Ethnic-racial discrimination	.07	.17**	-.01	-.00	.02	-	.03	.23***	.28***	-.09	.21***
7. Cultural socialization	.16**	-.09	.07	.10*	.11*	.03	-	.23***	.07	.44***	-.08
8. Preparation for bias	-.02	.07	.09	.04	-.01	.25***	.30***	-	.32***	.13*	.12
9. Promotion of mistrust	.03	-.02	.04	-.02	-.00	.22***	.11*	.31***	-	-.09	.11
10. Ethnic-racial identity	.14**	-.05	.06	.17**	.13**	.01	.44***	.08	.05	-	-.18**
11. Depressive Symptoms	.06	.24***	.03	-.08	-.03	.30***	-.06	.19***	.15**	-.17***	-

Note. Correlations for Korean American youth (n = 408) are presented below the diagonal, and correlations for Korean Chinese youth (n = 267) are presented above the diagonal.
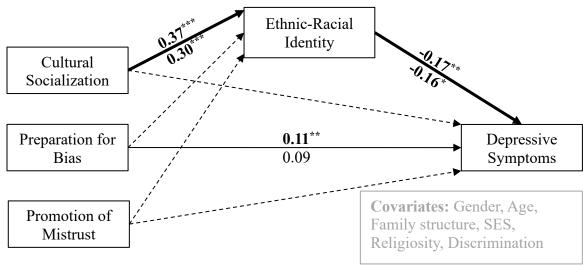$^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$.

Figure 1. Path Analysis Results. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant pathways; solid lines represent pathways that are significant for at least one of the samples; bolded lines represent pathways making up a significant indirect effect. Top numbers are unstandardized path coefficients for the U.S. sample; bottom numbers are unstandardized path coefficients for the Chinese sample. Coefficients not significant for either sample are omitted from the figure. SES=Perceived socioeconomic status.
$^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$

Authors' Contributions

YS conceived of the study, collected portions of the data, carried out statistical analyses, interpreted the results, and drafted the manuscript; HL conducted portions of the statistical analyses and drafted portions of the manuscript; YC participated in the design of the study, collected portions of the data, and edited the manuscript; YH participated in the interpretation of the data and edited the manuscript; KK also participated in the interpretation of the data and edited the manuscript. The manuscript has been reviewed by all authors, and all authors approved the final manuscript.

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Data Sharing Declaration

This manuscript's data will not be deposited.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

Ethical Approval

All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards. The original data collection was approved by the Institutional Review Boards of the University of Chicago and Texas State University.

Informed Consent

Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

Online Supplementary Table 1.
Factorial Invariance Tests for Key Study Variables Across the U.S. and Chinese samples.

Model	χ^2	df	p-value	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	WRMR	Comparison of Nested Models	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	p-value	ΔCFI
Cultural Socialization												
Configural	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	1.000	1.000	0.00		----	----	----	----
Metric	5.60	2	0.06	0.07	1.000	0.999	0.48	Metric against configural	5.60	2	0.06	0.000
Scalar	50.56	10	0.00	0.11	0.997	0.998	1.36	Scalar against configural	50.56	10	0.00	-0.003
Partial Scalar [a]	**16.61**	**8**	**0.03**	**0.06**	**0.999**	0.999	0.79	**Partial scalar against configural**	**16.61**	**8**	**0.03**	**-0.001**
Preparation for Bias [b]												
Configural	26.73	8	0.00	0.08	0.995	0.987	0.58		----	----	----	----
Metric	58.04	12	0.00	0.11	0.987	0.978	0.93	Metric against configural	28.51	4	0.00	-0.008
Scalar	**80.10**	**26**	**0.00**	**0.08**	**0.985**	0.988	1.26	**Scalar against configural**	**56.01**	**18**	**0.00**	**-0.010**
Promotion of Mistrust												
Configural	0.00	0	0.00	0.00	1.000	1.000	0.27		----	----	----	----
Metric	8.62	2	0.01	0.10	0.998	0.993	0.43	Metric against configural	5.23	2	0.07	-0.002
Scalar	**15.71**	**10**	**0.11**	**0.04**	**0.998**	0.999	0.78	**Scalar against configural**	**14.05**	**10**	**0.17**	**-0.002**
Ethnic-Racial Identity [b]												
Configural	25.23	8	0.00	0.08	0.996	0.990	0.58		----	----	----	----
Metric	20.03	12	0.07	0.05	0.998	0.997	0.59	Metric against configural	0.71	4	0.95	0.002
Scalar	**82.78**	**26**	**0.00**	**0.08**	**0.987**	0.990	1.34	**Scalar against configural**	**59.47**	**18**	**0.00**	**-0.009**
Depressive Symptoms [b]												
Configural	503.58	150	0.00	0.08	0.971	0.965	1.46		----	----	----	----
Metric	551.35	163	0.00	0.08	0.968	0.964	1.60	Metric against configural	54.60	13	0.00	-0.003
Scalar	**601.18**	**204**	**0.00**	**0.08**	**0.967**	0.971	1.81	**Scalar against configural**	**153.09**	**54**	**0.00**	**-0.004**

Note. [a] The last threshold for the first two items of cultural socialization was allowed to freely vary across groups, including parental emphasis of "feeling proud of being Korean" and "maintaining Korean traditions and values." [b] The residual errors of the following items were allowed to covary to increase the model fit, with the covariance freely estimated for both groups in all models. Preparation for bias: "Talked to you about expectations others might have about your abilities based on your race/ethnicity" with "Told you that you must be better in order to get the same rewards given to others because of your race/ethnicity." Ethnic-racial identity: "I feel that I am part of Korean culture" with "I think of myself as being Korean." Depression: "I feel like crying a lot of the time" with "I cried a lot" and "I felt I was a bad person" with "I felt I wasn't good anymore." Bolded rows represent the final level of measurement invariance reached.

Online Supplementary Table 2.
Path Analysis Results for Korean American and Korean Chinese Youth.

	United States			China			
	B	*SE*	β		*B*	*SE*	β
Cultural socialization							
(Intercept)	3.44	0.42	$R^2 = 0.06^*$		3.11	0.84	$R^2 = 0.06^*$
Female	0.26***	0.08	.16		-0.32*	0.15	-.14
Age	-0.04	0.02	-.08		-0.02	0.04	-.02
Two-parent household	0.10	0.10	.05		0.45**	0.15	.19
Socioeconomic status	0.11	0.06	.09		0.08	0.15	.04
Religiosity	0.25*	0.11	.11		0.38	0.36	.07
Ethnic-racial discrimination	0.03	0.04	.03		0.05	0.07	.04
Preparation for bias							
(Intercept)	1.19	0.40	$R^2 = 0.07^{**}$		1.62	0.62	$R^2 = 0.07^+$
Female	-0.07	0.08	-.04		-0.13	0.11	-.07
Age	0.02	0.02	.04		-0.01	0.03	-.02
Two-parent household	0.21*	0.10	.09		0.04	0.11	.02
Socioeconomic status	0.05	0.06	.04		-0.01	0.10	-.01
Religiosity	-0.02	0.13	-.01		0.42	0.31	.10
Ethnic-racial discrimination	0.22***	0.04	.24		0.23***	0.07	.23
Promotion of mistrust							
(Intercept)	1.53	0.36	$R^2 = 0.05^*$		1.99	0.48	$R^2 = 0.24^{***}$
Female	0.01	0.07	.00		-0.26***	0.07	-.22
Age	-0.02	0.02	-.06		-0.06**	0.02	-.18
Two-parent household	0.08	0.09	.04		0.04	0.07	.04
Socioeconomic status	-0.04	0.05	-.04		0.01	0.07	.01
Religiosity	-0.02	0.12	-.01		0.68	0.38	.24
Ethnic-racial discrimination	0.19***	0.04	.23		0.18***	0.06	.26
Ethnic-Racial Identity							
(Intercept)	2.16	0.34	$R^2 = 0.23^{***}$		2.07	0.63	$R^2 = 0.28^{***}$
Female	0.10	0.06	.07		0.29**	0.09	.19
Age	0.01	0.02	.01		0.08**	0.03	.17
Two-parent household	0.04	0.09	.02		0.03	0.08	.02
Socioeconomic status	0.13***	0.04	.13		0.00	0.09	.00
Religiosity	0.17	0.11	.09		0.22	0.24	.06
Ethnic-racial discrimination	0.00	0.04	.00		-0.08	0.05	-.09
Cultural socialization	0.37***	0.04	.42		0.30***	0.04	.46
Preparation for bias	-0.05	0.05	-.06		0.07	0.05	.09
Promotion of mistrust	0.01	0.04	.01		-0.07	0.08	-.05
Depressive Symptoms							
(Intercept)	0.95	0.39	$R^2 = 0.18^{***}$		3.82	0.59	$R^2 = 0.13^{***}$
Female	0.10	0.07	.07		0.10	0.10	.06
Age	0.07***	0.02	.18		-0.04	0.03	-.07
Two-parent household	0.08	0.08	.04		0.14	0.09	.09
Socioeconomic status	-0.04	0.05	-.04		-0.28***	0.09	-.20
Religiosity	0.00	0.10	.00		0.17	0.26	.05
Ethnic-racial discrimination	0.17***	0.04	.22		0.13*	0.06	.15
Cultural socialization	-0.03	0.05	-.04		-0.03	0.04	-.04
Preparation for bias	0.11**	0.04	.12		0.09	0.06	.10
Promotion of mistrust	0.07	0.05	.07		0.01	0.09	.01
Ethnic-racial identity	-0.17**	0.06	-.16		-0.16*	0.07	-.16

Note. Full information maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors was used. Covariance among ethnic-racial socialization practices and among covariates were estimated but are omitted from the table.
$^+p < .10$; $^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$.