

The intersection of racial-ethnic socialization and adolescence: A closer examination at stage-salient issues

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Abstract:

The literature on parental racial–ethnic socialization (RES) has established the multiple protective effects of RES on developmental outcomes. Although the majority of this literature examines RES processes in adolescence, with the exception of identity processes this literature has not specifically tackled how these messages intersect with specific adolescent developmental processes. We review the literature on RES processes in non-White adolescents with a focus on the parent–adolescent relationship, risk-taking behaviors, romantic relationships, and different contexts (i.e., extracurricular, work, and social media settings). We propose that developmental science needs to account for how parental RES may not only change in adolescence, but in particular responds to the perceived risks associated with this developmental period and interacts with normative developmental tasks and milestones.

Keywords: racial–ethnic socialization (RES) | adolescents | human development

Article:

Parental messages of racial–ethnic socialization (RES) have long served as foundational to the study of how racial and ethnic minority youth develop competencies (i.e., positive self-esteem and coping) in the face of social stratification and discrimination (Coll et al., 1996; Hughes, Watford, & Del Toro, 2016). Parental RES messages communicated implicitly or explicitly “consist of behaviors, practices, and social regularities that communicate information and worldviews about race and ethnicity to children” (Hughes et al., 2016, p. 4). Indeed, recent reviews highlight the critically important role parental RES plays in preparing diverse youth for an increasingly multicultural world because these practices typically predict stronger racial–

ethnic identity, higher self-esteem, better academic outcomes, and fewer symptoms of psychopathology in non-White youth (Hughes et al., 2016; Priest et al., 2014).

In a widely accepted conceptualization that is consistent with previous models, Hughes et al. (2006) contend that parental RES messages fall into four broad categories: (1) *cultural socialization*, which involves messages promoting ethnic pride and teaching cultural practices, history, and knowledge; (2) *preparation for bias*, which involves teaching youth how to cope with exposure to racial discrimination; (3) *egalitarianism*, which involves an emphasis on messages of racial equality and acceptance of diversity, and (4) *promotion of mistrust*, which focuses on teaching caution and distrust of other groups. Non-White families tend to almost universally endorse providing cultural socialization and egalitarian messages with fewer families endorsing other strategies (Hughes et al., 2016), yet there is a developmental shift that occurs as children age, often warranting parental initiation of more complex messages surrounding preparation for bias and other more race-focused conversations in early adolescence (Hughes et al., 2016; Priest et al., 2014). Whereas the majority of the RES literature focuses on socialization during adolescence (Priest et al., 2014), how these messages intersect with adolescent stage-salient issues has not received wide research attention, with the exception of how parental RES messages influence identity processes (Hughes et al., 2016).

As Hughes et al. (2016) recently highlighted, RES messages are transactional and responsive to contextual demands in different settings, and we argue that adolescence itself marks a developmental period fraught with demands on youth and their parents that likely influence parental RES. As adolescents engage more independently in varied settings (e.g., work, dates, school activities, parties), parents must be responsive to these experiences and guide youth in how to successfully navigate across settings, while simultaneously managing the risks of adolescence (e.g., sex, alcohol, drugs) (Steinberg & Silk, 2002). Parents may tailor their RES messages to specifically address new experiences and concerns. Additionally, cognitive shifts occurring during adolescence may foster renegotiation of the youths' understanding of race, ethnicity, and inequality (Hughes et al., 2016) that impact RES content and transmission.

In an effort to better understand how parental RES messages may be tailored to help adolescents navigate a new developmentally induced contextual landscape, our article will examine the intersection of parental RES messages and specific stage-salient issues considered normative and typical for all adolescent youth. Specifically, we will explore RES and parenting adolescents (i.e., the renegotiation of the parent–adolescent relationship); RES and risky behaviors (i.e., engagement in typical experimentation/risk taking and differential consequences); RES, sexuality and romance (i.e., intimate relationships, interracial dating,); and RES and exploration of new contexts (e.g., extracurricular activities, social media).

As such, our review is not exhaustive of the RES literature; instead, we sought to focus specifically on exemplifying what we already know about this intersection with examples from the literature. We also focus on non-White (including Latinx) populations as this also characterizes the majority of the literature. We acknowledge two critical points. First, the majority of the RES literature has focused on the experiences of Black and/or African American families in the United States (Priest et al., 2014), and thus, while we are hoping to describe a process that is relevant to all non-White youth in the United States, we drew from a literature that

has focused primarily on one racial group. Second, and relatedly, there are likely universal aspects of parental RES that apply to all racial and ethnic minority families, but there are also unique sociopolitical, economic, and historical factors that are specific to each population that we will attempt to take into account. Unfortunately, we cannot tackle these questions in this review, but we note the population in the studies we review below and hope this fosters future work tackling the unique experiences of each group. We also refer readers to two excellent reviews of the RES literature for a more comprehensive review of the state of the RES literature (Hughes et al., 2016; Priest et al., 2014), especially for the intersection of RES with identity processes.

RES and Parenting Adolescents

This section focuses on how parental factors (i.e., parental warmth and control) influence RES processes and the uptake of RES messages by adolescents with attention paid to developmentally salient aspects of parenting that are critical in adolescence (i.e., autonomy granting; legitimate authority). We conclude with a discussion on parental efficacy providing RES messages. The majority of this literature is with African American/Black families, with exceptions noted. In terms of parental predictors of RES messages, at the individual level, parents' own experiences of racial socialization, ethnic-racial identity, socioeconomic class, education, and experiences of discrimination shape the types of messages they provide their youth (Hughes, 2003; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). At the family level, parents who are engaged in warm, supportive relationships with their youth tend to provide them with *cultural socialization* and racial-ethnic pride messages (e.g., McHale et al., 2006; Smalls, 2009, 2010). *Preparation for bias* messages do not consistently demonstrate the same positive relationship and potentially more moderate levels of these messages are associated with more positive parenting practices (Dunbar, Perry, Cavanaugh, & Leerkes, 2015; Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002; Smalls, 2010). It is likely that parents with high levels of warmth and support try to modulate the amount of preparation for bias messages because they may perceive these potentially harmful if delivered too frequently or intensely.

Yet, how aspects of the parent-adolescent relationship influence the impact of RES messages remains unclear. On the one hand, a few studies find that RES messages predict better adolescent outcomes under high levels of positive parenting practices (i.e., warmth, communication) or low levels of negative parenting practices (i.e., harsh parenting, hostility) (Lambert, Roche, Saleem, & Henry, 2015; Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006[Latinx youth]; Tang, McLoyd, & Hallman, 2016), which is consistent with theoretical models that socialization messages are best received in the context of warm parent-child relationships (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Yet, a few studies have found that this protective influence is not as clearly evident (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Lambert et al., 2015; McHale et al., 2006), and this is especially true for African American girls where sometimes positive relationship quality in conjunction with RES messages predict negative psychosocial outcomes (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011). These mixed findings have been more consistent with *preparation for bias* or messages that emphasize racial barriers. Cooper and McLoyd (2011) argued that *preparation for bias* messages may have been less normative for girls compared to boys resulting in girls being less open and receptive to these messages. This proposition is consistent with Hughes et al.'s

(2016) assertion that individual and contextual factors shape how youth understand and internalize parental RES messages.

We extend this argument to highlight that adolescents may be more sensitive to parent–child relationship factors especially for messages associated with *preparation for bias* where the affective undertone may be even more important (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004). For example, racial barrier messages in the context of more democratic-involved parenting style were associated with greater academic task persistence (Smalls, 2010). While the measure in this study included maternal warmth and communication, it also included items assessing trust of the emerging adolescents’ autonomy, which may have been crucial to its protective influence. *Preparation for bias* messages that alert youth to discrimination, but that exist within a parent–child relationship that engenders feelings of autonomy and control may be better received as youth may feel some efficacy in navigating life stressors despite discrimination they may encounter (Lambert et al., 2015).

In the same vein, whether adolescents view their parents as having legitimate authority to provide relevant RES messages may also shape how youth receive parental messages (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). RES messages may cut across domains that are typically considered to be within parental authority (i.e., moral; prudential) and those viewed by adolescents to be more personal (i.e., friendships) as parents attempt to protect youth from potential risks due to their race or ethnicity. Although non-White youth demonstrate greater obedience and respect for parental legitimate authority relative to White youth (i.e., Dixon, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008), non-White youth demonstrate significant within-group differences (Darling, Cumsille, & Martínez, 2007; Smetana, Crean, & Campione-Barr, 2005) that should be understood in the context of RES messages. Making positive attributions to parental RES messages led to a stronger association between RES self-worth messages and ethnic identity (Williams & Smalls-Glover, 2014). Although this study did not examine RES messages specifically to legitimate authority, it suggests that these processes may be important to consider. To our knowledge, no past work has examined the intersection of legitimacy of parental authority of RES messages and their efficacy. This is clearly important, as there is a normative developmental shift in adolescence of questioning parental authority and rules that may influence how youth understand broader socialization messages (Steinberg & Silk, 2002).

Finally, few studies have tackled parental efficacy in providing RES messages. Parents often struggle with how best to deliver RES messages (Coard et al., 2004), especially when these conversations may also raise parental affect in discussions about discrimination. Cultural parental self-efficacy is a new construct that is defined as “the extent to which parents believe they can effectively instill cultural knowledge, values, and pride in their children” (Kiang, Glatz, & Buchanan, 2017, p. 4). In this initial study with Latinx and Asian parents, cultural parental self-efficacy predicted general parenting competence in Latinx but not Asian parents, which the authors attributed potentially due to generational differences in their sample or unique experiences of discrimination in Asian groups (Kiang et al., 2017). This is an important first step in studying a critical construct that likely influences how RES messages are delivered by parents and ultimately understood by youth.

RES and Risky Behaviors

Increased engagement in risky behavior is a hallmark of adolescence, and contributes significantly to parental concerns regarding parenting adolescents (Steinberg & Silk, 2002). Parents of non-White youth are tasked with the responsibility of being vigilant to the potential normative and non-normative adolescent risk behavior that is prevalent during this time, while simultaneously parenting their youth around the added risks that come with being a member of their racial/ethnic group. In this section, we review the RES literature focused on these risk factors as outcomes and how RES messages may be tailored to prevent engagement in risk behavior.

Research has shown that non-White youth have less favorable attitudes towards risk-taking behaviors relative to their White counterparts (Crawford, Pentz, Chou, Li, & Dwyer, 2003), and these attitudes may buffer non-White youth from engaging in risk-taking behaviors such as substance use and abuse (Watt, 2004). Even so, when non-White youth engage in risk behavior the negative ramifications are often far worse for these youth relative to their White peers. The consequence differential is best illustrated among adolescent substance users. While African American youth use substances at lower rates than their White counterparts, African American youth experience greater substance-related consequences (e.g., arrests and interpersonal problems; Witbrodt, Mulia, Zemore, & Kerr, 2014). This is also evident among depressed African American male youth, who show higher rates of criminal offending in large part due to the exacerbating effects of discrimination (Burt, Simons, & Gibbons, 2012). These disparities in the consequences of risk behavior may guide parental RES messages and are important to consider given the historical role that discrimination plays in disrupting socioemotional development and placing non-White youth at risk for experiencing externalizing and internalizing psychopathology (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012).

There is considerable variability regarding the extent to which RES messages may protect adolescents of color from engagement in risk behaviors. These buffering effects may depend on a host of factors, including parent–child relationship quality (Grindal & Nieri, 2016), gender, level of acculturation (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011), and relative frequencies of certain types of RES messages (Choi, Tan, Yasui, & Pekelnicky, 2014). For example, alerting youth to racial biases, discrimination, and racial barriers may be maladaptive to adolescent self-esteem and behavioral outcomes (Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2012), likely if these messages are not balanced with those that promote cultural pride (Davis, Smith Bynum, Saleem, Francois, & Lambert, 2017; Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007; Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyễn, & Sellers, 2009), or if they are delivered in the absence of other strategies for coping with these stressors (e.g., Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2009). Yet, to our knowledge, these studies have not assessed whether and how parents may specifically tailor RES messages to risk behavior engagement and the efficacy of tailoring those messages.

Empirical work examining how RES impacts risk outcomes outside of internalizing and externalizing symptoms has been scant; however, this work has yielded interesting insights regarding association with deviant peers and substance use. Family *cultural socialization* was associated with higher adolescent racial–ethnic identity and affirmation-belonging, which was in turn associated with resistance to peer pressure (Henry, Lambert, & Smith Bynum, 2015). Other work has shown that *cultural socialization* messages were associated with lower substance use

and promotion of mistrust messages were associated with greater substance use (Derlan & Umaña-Taylor, 2015). These associations may occur indirectly according to the extent to which adolescents are exposed to peer attitudes or behaviors that are supportive of substance use (e.g., Grindal & Nieri, 2016). Theoretically, RES messages may serve to bolster a strong self-concept, thereby protecting youth from associating with deviant peers (Neblett, Terzian, & Harriott, 2010).

Although parents' RES messages may serve protective roles for specific risk behaviors, it is unclear whether parents tailor their RES messages to specific risk-taking behaviors. New research suggests that this may be the case; some African American parents do indeed incorporate RES messages into socializing their youth around alcohol use. Specifically, certain message types are differentially associated with youth alcohol use, peer alcohol use, and youth tendency to attend parties where alcohol and drugs are present (R. K. Smith & Hussong, 2016). Further research is needed to better understand how parents may incorporate RES messages into discussions of risk behavior and how this intersection may predict youth outcomes.

RES and Sexuality and Romance

There is a vast amount of research detailing the increased interest in and importance of sexuality and romantic relationships in adolescence. Although romantic relationships in adolescence are normative and generally positive, they can also place adolescents at risk for social and emotional maladjustment (Collins, Welsh, & Furman, 2009). Some studies suggest that youth of color (specifically Black and Latinx) are at an increased risk for sexually transmitted infections, unplanned pregnancy, and intimate partner violence, comparable to their White counterparts (Child Trends, 2011; Voisin & Bird, 2012). Despite these added risks, there is a paucity of research exploring how RES and sexuality socialization intersect with this crucial time in adolescence. Much of the discourse on adolescent relationships is derived from research studies targeting White families (DiIorio, Pluhar, & Belcher, 2003), and little is known about the types of messages non-White parents are communicating to their children regarding sexual health and knowledge, and sexual practices (including dating, sexual attitudes, and the role of social media use). Given the scant research, in this section, we review literature on sexual communication in non-White families and risks for non-White youth to suggest potential targets for future RES research integrating RES and sexual communication. We also review the literature on interracial dating to inform how researchers may need to consider how families negotiate these relationships and communicate RES messages.

A few studies have attempted to elucidate the way in which communication about sexuality occurs in families of color and have found differences in both content and delivery of messages across groups. In Latinx families, messages tend to focus on honoring tradition, beliefs, and cultural values, and are shared through stories about others and personal experience (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001; Romo, Lefkowitz, Sigman, & Au, 2002). For example, for Latina adolescents engaging in a romantic relationship before marriage can be potentially dishonorable to the family. Somewhat differently, in African American families, sexuality socialization tends to take on a more protective stance. For example, parental messages in this group typically emphasize moral reasons for delaying sexual activity, using contraceptives, and the negative consequences of premarital sex, such as pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (Fletcher et al., 2015). A

different pattern of sexuality socialization arises in Asian American families. These families view discussion about sexual topics to be taboo; thus, these messages are scarce and restrictive in nature (Kim & Ward, 2007). Messages are usually focused on menstruation, dating norms and expectations, and dating as a distraction to academic and career success. Understanding how RES intersects with sexuality socialization is key in developing prevention and intervention programs aimed at fostering positive and healthy sexual attitudes and behaviors.

The dating scene has also changed with the increased popularity and availability of social media sites and mobile phones. According to a recent study (NORC, 2017), about 75% of youth aged 13–17 use social media (i.e., Instagram, Snapchat), and Black youth use these media more than their non-Black peers. Additionally, sexting, defined as “youth writing sexually explicit messages, taking sexually explicit photos of themselves or others in their peer group, and transmitting those photos and/or messages to their peers” has become widely popular amongst all youth (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2009). The changing technology and permanence of digital messages and images present new and unique challenges to adolescent communication, which include potential serious psychological and legal consequences. For example, studies have found that social media use and sexting behaviors are a source of risk for sexual behaviors leading to increases in sexual activity, and social and emotional distress (Klettke, Hallford, & Mellor, 2014). Adolescents who “sext” are also more likely to use substances and have lower self-esteem than their peers (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2014). On the legal end, there have been a number of child pornography laws that have been implicated in several cases involving underage youth (Calvert, 2009). Consequences range from felony convictions and youth having to serve years in jail and having to register as sex offenders to parole. Some studies show that Latinx and African American youth are engaging in “sexting” at higher rates when compared to their White peers (Klettke et al., 2014), placing them at greater risk for negative outcomes. Thus, it is critically important for parents of non-White youth to communicate the added risks and consequences of using social media and mobile communication in the context of romantic relationships, but little is known whether parents specifically tailor these messages in the context of broader RES conversations and messages.

As the racial/ethnic landscape in the United States continues to expand so does the number of biracial/multiracial families and interracial/ethnic relations. A recent report by the Pew Research Center (Wang, 2012) using the most recent Census data shows that, compared to just 3.2% in 1980, 8.4% of marriages are interracial, and in 2010, a full 15.1% of all new marriages were interracial. An increase in romantic relationships among adolescents and efforts toward diversity and inclusive environments (particularly within the school context) is far more typical than in generations past. While these efforts exist, there is the concurrent reality that race relations are deteriorating; tensions between racial/ethnic groups are rising; confidence that societal racial problems can be resolved is at an all-time low (Pew Research Center, 2017). Some (particularly adolescents) may view interracial friendships and dating as a sign of hope (i.e., powerful to have a romantic partner of a different racial ethnic background to fight against prejudice and to challenge stereotypes).

There is a paucity of research examining the influential role of parental RES in encouraging, discouraging, and/or managing challenges associated with adolescent interracial romantic relationships. Parents may find RES more complicated when communicating to their adolescent

about interracial romantic relationships than for same-race relationships. For one, interracial relationships differ from the societal norm of relating within one's own racial or ethnic group, thus leaving parents without clear, established guidelines for socialization. Additionally, adolescents bring diverse ideologies and understandings of race and ethnicity to the relationship. Thus, Hughes and Chen (1999) identify a need for “creative, diverse and multiple methods” in order to adequately address racial and ethnic socialization (p. 469). This need may be particularly critical as parents of color attempt to assist their adolescent in developing healthy romantic relations in a racially conscious society where navigating and negotiating the terrain of racism is paramount. Such navigation and negotiation requires management of concurrent and conflictual societal realities, which can include an increase in interracial–ethnic interactions, acknowledging white privilege, and providing youth with an interracial/ethnic interaction protocol. Parents may have anxiety about the prospect of interracial dating, and their views may differ from their children who may be more open to the possibility and lack the awareness of potential difficulties these relationships may hold. Black parents with high racial centrality and nationalism are more likely to be opposed to interracial dating, whereas parents who endorse the humanist ideology are more likely to be in favor of interracial dating (Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink, 2008). In contrast, White parents often believe their children are socially colorblind and race is not an issue necessary to address (Lalonde et al., 2008). This research in conjunction with changing norms on interracial data suggests that it is paramount for future work to examine implicit and explicit RES messages as youth begin to navigate romantic relationships.

RES and Adolescents’ Contexts of Development

Hughes et al. (2016) review identifies the different microsystems that impact adolescents’ racial-ethnic identity (REI) development and socialization processes. These microsystems are comprised of proximal daily contexts which include influences stemming from the school and neighborhood. Importantly, they call for empirical work that moves beyond individual-level frameworks to more comprehensively investigate the specific settings in which race-related interactions might transpire. In this section, we review the literature on ethnic/racial diversity of contexts, extracurricular settings, and social media suggesting ways findings from these literatures may integrate parental RES messages.

In terms of the current state of knowledge on such contextual processes, a prominent subset of the literature addresses the idea that the ethnic diversity and density of the environment (e.g., found in neighborhoods and schools) are important to consider. Although the systematic examination of neighborhood contexts is still growing, research generally finds that more culturally diverse neighborhoods tend to facilitate greater awareness of racial–ethnic issues and more transmission of ethnic–racial socialization messages from parents to children (for reviews, see Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). School diversity has been also linked to key race-related constructs as well as more general outcomes, including promotive links between greater diversity and less victimization, more perceptions of teachers’ fair treatment, and more positive attitudes toward ethnic outgroups (Juvonen, Kogachi, & Graham, 2017). However, some of the school-based literature has been inconsistent, and some have also found important variations depending on child gender or on other contextual factors such as overall neighborhood climate, community violence, or socioeconomic status of the families in the community (e.g., Caughy, Nettles, O’Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; E. P. Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003; Stevenson,

Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002) . What is less clear, however, is how these ethnically diverse (or less diverse) contexts interact with parental messages in driving youth development. For example, perhaps some parents rely on diverse contexts to promote their children's cultural understanding and REI and, as a result, they feel less empowered or motivated to engage in these conversations with their children themselves. Alternatively, among culturally diverse contexts, some parents might feel a greater need to talk to their children about race-related issues given their more frequent exposure to people from different backgrounds.

Above and beyond the existing literature on neighborhoods and schools as primary contextual influences, it is also important to extend work to other contexts that have been less often studied. As adolescents become more independent and spend more time outside of the home, they might be faced with the need to evaluate who they are. Exposure to new people and settings that might treat them unfairly or, at the very least, judge or stereotype them in ethnic or race-related ways could drive adolescents' cultural identity development as well as instigate conversations about ethnicity or race between adolescents and parents or other socialization agents (Way, Hernández, Rogers, & Hughes, 2013). In particular, social contexts that have been understudied in the literature but can be seen to have gained salience in adolescents' lives, both in terms of normative developmental influences as well as through increased societal emphasis over time, include extracurricular settings (i.e., sports, work) and social media contexts.

With the caveat that some types of extracurricular activities (e.g., sports) have been linked to greater risky behaviors among youth, empirical work has consistently pointed to positive outcomes for youth from ethnically diverse backgrounds (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003). Given the importance of organized and extracurricular activities in the community and in the school, and the fact that they represent primary settings in adolescents' lives, they can thus provide meaningful experiences for youth to learn about race-related issues. Yet, how does the context of *extracurricular activities* interact with the transmission of racial socialization messages and related parenting processes?

Although understudied, it is possible that the types of activities that children are exposed to and participate in could allow them to interact with specific groups of people, whether these groups are comprised of same-ethnic or cross-ethnic individuals. Research on racial-ethnic identity processes in extracurricular settings serves as a potential window into how these settings may interact with parental RES messages to help youth explore and understand their identity. Adolescents who engage in activities with same-ethnic peers might experience a boost in their ethnic identity salience and ultimately learn about and explore their cultural heritage (Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Although the process itself is likely bidirectional, (Rivas-Drake, Umaña-Taylor, Schaefer, and Medina (2017) found that differences in REI among peers within friendship groups tend to promote change in each other's REI. Similarly, cross-ethnic interactions in extracurricular activities could require individuals' recognition of cultural differences and their savvy navigation of race-related issues and effective engagement in intercultural communication likely, in part, with the support of RES messages from parents. It is also possible that adolescents' decisions to even participate in extracurricular activities could be culturally based. For example, when REI is central, individuals often try to make themselves distinct in terms of identity-defining dimensions (Seaton, Quintana, Verkuyten, & Gee, 2017). Additionally, in some families cultural

values might limit youth's activities outside of the home and school contexts, thereby preventing some youth from participating in extracurricular activities that expose them to other groups.

The *work setting* is another important, yet understudied, context, particularly as adolescents gain increased independence and greater financial responsibility. The overall implications related to adolescents having a part-time job has been mixed, with some research showing uniformly negative effects (Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991), but others demonstrating that the quality and quantity of part-time work might qualify possible negative consequences (e.g., Barling, Rogers, & Kelloway, 1995). However, cultural values and parenting add additional layers to consider. For example, drawing on conceptions of family obligation, or the sense of obligation to assist, support, and respect the family, how do possible cultural values regarding familism or family obligation interact with adolescents' decisions to either spend their spare time helping out around the house, helping out with a family business, obtaining a part-time job to help support the family, or obtaining a part-time job for their own personal benefit? How do youth negotiate interracial interaction in work contexts and how do parents provide RES messages related to these interactions? Here, again, research has only begun to decipher the ways in which culture, parenting, and other proximal contexts might intersect.

The *social media setting* is another context that is gaining increased research attention for its role in development. As noted above, social media serves as an important medium for adolescent interpersonal functioning, including dating and sexuality. Social media may support the development of REI for non-White youth, especially for youth living in predominantly White environments. Social media connects marginalized youth with each other, allows youth to explore ideas about self and social position, and foments civic engagement and advocacy (i.e., #blackgirlmagic; #ThisIs2017; #DREAMer) (Stornaiuolo & Thomas, 2017). Scholars have also argued that remote enculturation (via Skype, social media connection) may be an important way immigrant families promote contact with heritage culture from afar (Ferguson, Costigan, Clarke, & Ge, 2016). These developmental contexts may support RES as youth and parents process and digest these experiences resulting in socialization, but risk is also present in these new developmental contexts as racial–ethnic discrimination is overt and frequent and leads to negative psychological and educational outcomes in adolescents (Tynes, Umaña-Taylor, Rose, Lin, & Anderson, 2012; Umaña-Taylor, Tynes, Toomey, Williams, & Mitchell, 2015). How parents navigate the potential and risk found in social media regarding RES messages has not been examined to our knowledge, but it is clearly important, as aspects of REI can serve to protect youth against the negative effects of online discrimination (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2015). Exposure to acts of discrimination and violence online can lead families to question how to discuss these incidents with their youth.

Summary and Integration

The RES literature has established the centrality of these messages in helping youth achieve multiple developmental competencies, building resilience to experiences of racism and discrimination, and supporting the development of a strong ethnic identity (Hughes et al., 2016; Priest et al., 2014). RES messages change across development to adapt to youths' advancing cognitive abilities and novel, complex social experiences, and we propose that these messages also intersect with stage-salient developmental issues in adolescence meriting greater research

attention. The parenting of adolescents is fraught with worries about potential risks and developmental snags as well as the promise of achievement and flourishing.

Parenting Processes

At this point, the literature suggests that positive parenting practices (i.e., more warmth; less harsh) are associated with greater *cultural socialization* and potentially to moderate levels of *preparation for bias* messages (e.g., McHale et al., 2006; Smalls, 2009, 2010). Yet, most of the work on RES and the parent–child relationship has focused on harmony and conflict, and more attention needs to be potentially paid to how RES messages synergistically intersect with parental encouragement of autonomy, another key parenting practice in adolescence (Steinberg & Silk, 2002). This may be especially important for messages centered on racial barriers, as youth may need to be bolstered by feeling autonomous and having some control in other aspects of their lives. Similarly, there is no past work examining how adolescents’ perceptions of legitimacy of parental authority in providing RES messages—particularly those focused on racial barriers and *preparation for bias*—influence the uptake of these messages. Youth may perceive their parents as “old-fashioned” or not understanding the current social context, thereby minimizing their RES messages.

There is also little work on whether parents themselves feel confident in effectively transmitting cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages to their adolescents (Kiang et al., 2017). Whereas the literature suggests that there is a developmental shift with increases in preparation for bias messages at the onset of adolescence (Priest et al., 2014), parents frequently report feeling trepidatious about these conversations and future work should focus on what promotes feelings of cultural parental self-efficacy as it can serve as a target of future intervention efforts. More work is needed to understand the predictors of cultural parental self-efficacy more broadly and across different groups, specifically incorporating efficacy in delivering preparation for bias messages.

Finally, this work has also not tackled the complexity of family structure and how messages may be tailored to family structures (e.g., LGBT families; parental incarceration; step-families; Pearce, Curran, & Chassin, 2018) or orchestrated across different family members. Future studies should use an intersectional lens to understand how parental RES messages fit into complex family structures.

Adolescent Risk

To account for mixed findings associated with certain RES messages and youth outcomes, future research may benefit from continuing to examine how these messages work in tandem to predict risk outcomes, especially using a profile approach that captures how patterns of contextual factors (i.e., exposure to discrimination), aspects of the parent-child relationship, and RES messages influence symptomatology (e.g., Neblett et al., 2010). Such an approach would allow for further understanding of the specificity of these messages in jointly conferring risk or protection for youth. Future development and modification of RES measures could also incorporate the assessment of specific content areas (e.g., institutional biases, interpersonal

discrimination, and differential treatment by law enforcement) and adolescent risk (i.e., substance use, rule breaking).

Prevention research on RES and risk-taking behavior supports these messages buffering adolescents from engaging in risk behaviors, particularly when prevention programming targets RES, specifically, and in conjunction with universal supportive parenting practices (e.g., Brody et al., 2006). These programs focus on teaching parents to use nurturant-involved parenting along with high levels of monitoring and control, adaptive RES strategies, skills to communicate about sex and substance use, and guidelines for establishing clear expectations about substance use (Beach et al., 2016; Brody, Kogan, Chen, & Murry, 2008). Outcome studies have shown that these programs are associated with lower rates of initiation in high-risk behaviors, including lower levels of substance initiation and use, lower sexual risk taking, and greater declines in conduct problems (Beach et al., 2016; Brody, Chen, Kogan, Murry, & Brown, 2010; Brody et al., 2008). The convergence of RES messages with communication about sex and alcohol use likely function to specifically protect non-White youth in successfully navigating adolescence, but few studies of RES messages have examined how these messages may overlap and across all racial/ethnic groups. Thus, the process through which RES messages converge with other socialization messages to promote healthy adaptation, with a greater focus being paid on the socialization of sexuality and alcohol/drug use, is warranted.

RES and Sexuality and Romance

While the establishment of a long-term romantic relationship occurs later in development, adolescence marks the beginning of adolescents' romantic endeavors, searching for a romantic partner, and negotiating their sexuality. Parental messages surrounding these processes have been explored in non-White populations, but not necessarily how they link with explicit RES messages. Likely, parents provide implicit, unintentional messages as well as purposeful RES messages about dating and sexuality that need to be further explored, especially as youth engage in interethnic-racial dating. It is clear from the review of the literature that sexual socialization is distinct across Asian American, African American/Black, and Latinx families, but what remains unclear is whether parents purposefully weave RES messages with these other socialization messages (i.e., Latinx girls don't have sex). Moreover, given increases in interracial dating, more research is needed to understand both the explicit and implicit RES messages in the context of dating and finding a partner. Some parents that espouse egalitarian views about race may feel uncomfortable if their child starts dating interracially, and how these messages are navigated will be important for research to understand.

Parents' sexual socialization may also include messages surrounding sexual orientation and identity. The few studies that have been conducted highlight potential cultural differences and similarities in the values and beliefs toward sexual orientation. For example, Calzo and Ward (2009) found that across racial groups, including Asian, Black, and Latinx youth, parental messages surrounding homosexuality were largely negative and included messages about bringing shame to the family, and violating moral, religious, and traditional expectations. It is crucial for researchers to continue to examine how parental messages are influencing the development of youth's attitudes and beliefs in this area, as non-White sexual and gender

minority youth experience greater risks potentially due to their double minority status (Toomey et al., 2017).

RES Messages in Context

How do parents' RES messages prepare youth to engage in diverse, understudied contexts in extracurricular activities, work environments and social media where adolescents have increased independence and participate with less direct parental supervision? As Hughes et al. (2016) argue, the field needs to consider the specific microsystems in which youth engage and how experiences of discrimination, ethnic identity processes, and parental RES messages mutually influence one another in the prediction of developmental outcomes. How might specific features of the environment push or pull parents to communicate different socialization messages or utilize various parenting practices to effectively promote their children's REI? How might messages about *promotion of mistrust* or *preparation for bias* be perceived in predominately white settings versus more ethnically diverse ones? Another consideration is that prior work has typically measured "context" through broadly defined neighborhoods and schools, which tend to be pretty stable, but interactions within these domains could be highly variable and change over the course of the day (e.g., specific classrooms within a particular school) (Juvonen et al., 2017; Seaton et al., 2017).

How do parental RES messages change when youth enter the work force? As noted in another article in this series, socioeconomic status is likely another important contextual factor that can intersect with RES messages about work and educational pursuits (Jones et al., 2018). Future work should examine the specific messages non-White youth are given about negotiating multicultural work environments and those messages may intersect with socioeconomic status. Similarly, little is known about how parents are socializing their children about social media use, and particularly with how they intersect with RES messages. Do parents engage in social media use with their youth as an RES mechanism? How do parents help youth deal with online racial/ethnic harassment? More broadly, how do parents use this platform to support identity exploration and affirmation? Is it important for parents to tailor their messages for this context? Taken together, it appears that the field has only begun to scratch the surface in terms of understanding parenting in the broader context and much more work needs to be done.

All of these questions are especially important to address as RES messages are embedded in specific historical time (Lesane-Brown, 2006). How are parents adapting to the increased media attention paid to a variety of risks faced by ethnically diverse communities? How are parents adapting to changes in the demography of the United States? Overall, the RES literature would benefit from considering the unique developmental context adolescence beyond identity development to understand the myriad of strategies that non-White parents employ to prevent risk and foster growth in adolescence. It is also important to consider the universality or possible distinctiveness of the issues highlighted in this article and expand our understanding in this field of RES to global contexts outside of the U.S. experience. The literature to date has offered a rich foundation to ask exciting questions that will help families and communities raise multiculturally competent youth. As noted in the introduction, more work is needed across different ethnic groups in the United States, including White youth. Many of themes relevant for the socialization of low SES White youth were also noted in our review (Jones et al., 2018), and future work

should examine the intersection of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and perceived mobility as they pertain to RES messages across all groups. Future work should also tackle how these messages are delivered in multiethnic families as there has been limited work on this topic (Csizmadia, Rollins, & Kaneakua, 2014).

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