

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

From home to the streets: Can cultural socialization foster Latinx youths' social responsibility?

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Abstract

Grassroots movements such as *Poder Quince* exemplify how Latinx youth intertwine their cultural heritage and traditions with civic action to create positive change within their communities. Parents' cultural socialization messages have been shown to instill cultural pride and encourage prosocial behaviors (e.g., helping others, caring for younger siblings). However, there is a dearth of research on the sociopolitical discussions Latinx adolescents have with their parents and the mechanisms by which cultural socialization encourages prosocial civic development. Drawing on data from a sample of 269 self-identified Latinx youth from three Midwestern US schools, the present study explored the direct links between parental cultural socialization and adolescents' sense of social responsibility (i.e., concern for others and caring for community) as well as the potential indirect associations via sociopolitical and civic socialization at home. Our findings suggest direct associations between cultural socialization and caring for their communities. Additionally, we observed indirect associations between cultural socialization and youths' social responsibility via family civic socialization practices and engagement in sociopolitical discussions taking place in the home.

KEYWORDS

family civic socialization, Latinx youth, parent cultural socialization, social responsibility, sociopolitical discussions

Highlights

- More cultural socialization was associated with youth's higher caring for their community.
- More cultural ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) was associated with more family civic socialization and sociopolitical discussions.
- More family civic socialization and sociopolitical discussions led to higher social responsibility.
- Indirect links between cultural ERS and youth's social responsibility via family civic socialization.
- Indirect links between cultural ERS and youth's social responsibility via sociopolitical discussions.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Latinx communities have become more visible to larger US populations in their continued efforts to actively resist injustices, including structural and

interpersonal racism in the United States (Anyiwo et al., 2020). Indeed, Latinx individuals, many of them youth, have embodied leadership roles as they have taken to the streets through grassroots movements such as *Defend DACA*, *Undocu-Graduations*, and *Poder Quince*.

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Such involvement exemplifies how Latinx youth intertwine their cultural heritage and traditions with civic action to create positive change (within their communities; Gonzalez-Martin, 2020). The rise of such youth-led movements makes it increasingly important to understand the interplay of cultural values and traditions with adolescents' sense of social responsibility, especially to the communities to which they belong (Gonzalez-Martin, 2020; Goodson, 2018).

Latinx parents help their children develop an understanding of their cultural heritage, communities, and broader sociopolitical milieu, and their efforts may inform youths' sense of social responsibility. One aspect of socialization that may be important in this regard is what Latinx parents teach youth, directly or indirectly, about their racial, ethnic, and cultural background (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization [ERS]; Hughes et al., 2006). Cultural socialization, the most frequently used ERS strategy among Latinx families, has been shown to instill cultural pride and encourage prosocial behaviors, such as helping others and caring for younger siblings in Latinx youth (Knight & Carlo, 2012; Streit et al., 2021; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Youth who endorse higher cultural values and orientation also feel an added sense of responsibility to contribute to the betterment of their communities (e.g., Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). We also know that Latinx parents who feared the ramifications of anti-immigrant rhetoric on their children's well-being during the Trump administration sought ways to empower them politically by rooting youths' community engagement in cultural pride and discussing the sociopolitical climate with them (Goodson, 2018; Wray-Lake et al., 2018).

Social responsibility involves prosocial behaviors, which are actions intended to benefit others as well as the broader society (Carlo, 2014; Eisenberg, 1986). Prosocial values and behaviors are typically instilled in childhood by parents and enacted through community engagement, volunteering, sharing, and being empathetic towards others (Carlo et al., 2010). Although work on Latinx youth is limited or framed through a deficit-based perspective (Acevedo-Polakovich et al., 2014; McWhirter et al., 2019), when Latinx youth are asked how they can make positive differences in their community, helping and participating in service activities are at the top of their list (McWhirter et al., 2019). This sense of commitment and caring for their community has the potential to encourage a sense of social responsibility in youth that may impact their future civic behaviors, advocacy, and community involvement.

Driven by a concern about the overall well-being of their communities, youths' social responsibility also encompasses their desire to positively contribute to society (Youniss & Yates, 1997). In fact, youth who endorse a higher sense of social responsibility are often motivated by their concern for others with whom they have close ties in addition to a greater desire for social justice (Wray-Lake & Syvertsen, 2011). Within Latinx communities, cultural socialization often leads to a greater sense of cohesion, loyalty, and sense of obligations to family (Stein et al., 2015). Less is known,

however, about the role of sociopolitical discussions and civic socialization at home as mechanisms by which cultural socialization may encourage Latinx youths' prosocial development, particularly their sense of social responsibility. Nevertheless, it stands to reason that cultural socialization messages—which may be given alongside sociopolitical discussions about issues affecting youths' community—could foster a greater sense of social responsibility and engagement in civic behaviors among Latinx youth (Pinetta et al., 2020). Thus, in the present study, we expand on the literature to consider how Latinx youths' sense of social responsibility relates to their exposure to cultural socialization and civic and sociopolitical teachings from parents.

Guiding frameworks

The overarching frameworks guiding this study are the radical healing framework (French et al., 2020; Ginwright, 2011) and the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children (García-Coll et al., 1996). Both Ginwright and French conceptualize radical healing as a process through which people of color and indigenous individuals heal from current and historical racial trauma as well as foster hope for reaching justice and sociopolitical freedom. We apply this framework to situate youths' community involvement as a form of healing from racial and ethnic injustices to which members of Latinx communities have been exposed. By engaging in community and civic activities aimed at restoring lost dignity and freedom among historically marginalized groups and communities, youth of color do not just dream of a more just world but also make strides to achieve it.

We apply García-Coll et al. (1996) integrative model to frame how Latinx youth make sense of the culturally and politically charged messages given to them by their parents. The integrative model posits that youth make sense of their social positionality and group membership based on their developmental context. Furthermore, adaptive cultural processes of Latinx communities work to reduce and prevent harm caused by systemic oppression and racism (Perez-Brena et al., 2018). Thus, youths' understanding of their sense of self stems from social interactions and messages received about their own and their social groups' place in society. Parents may use cultural socialization to promote youths' sense of caring and concern for members of their communities. Similarly, Latinx parents may engage in sociopolitical socialization practices to shape youths' understanding of social injustices experienced by their ethnic-racial group.

Cultural socialization

ERS is the process through which socializing agents, most often parents, teach youth the cultural values, expectations, and traditions that are associated with their culture of

origin. Among communities of color ERS has been theorized as a way to teach youth to cope with ethnic and racial discrimination and other racially or ethnically charged threats (Hughes et al., 2006). In the past decade, much of the literature on ERS has been parsed into four main domains: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism (Hughes et al., 2006; Huguley et al., 2019; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). In this study, we focus on the role of cultural socialization practices to gain a better understanding of the roles that one's ethnic heritage and cultural pride play in the development of prosocial tendencies and behaviors that can potentially set the stage for youths' future civic and political involvement.

For immigrant and immigrant-origin families in the United States, cultural socialization practices refer to the tools and strategies that parents use to instill in their children a sense of identity and belonging to their heritage culture. This involves teaching youth about important aspects of their heritage cultures' traditions, values, and history to promote a sense of ethnic-racial pride among youth of color (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents may choose to engage in cultural socialization by exposing their youth to culturally relevant holidays; teaching them about their history and important cultural figures; speaking in their native language; and exposing youth to culturally relevant foods, books, music as well as literary and visual artists (Ayón et al., 2019). Furthermore, research suggests that parents engage in cultural socialization with children all throughout a child's development (Wang et al., 2020). In longitudinal research with Black and Latinx families, parents transmitted cultural socialization messages to children as young as 2 years old (Caughy & Owen, 2015). Among families that reported more frequent cultural socialization messages, fewer behavior problems and greater preacademic skills were observed 1 year later. In research focusing on Latinx families, cultural socialization practices have emerged as the most commonly transmitted type of ERS practice and linked with the most positive outcomes (Cross et al., 2020; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Wang et al., 2020).

Cultural socialization has been linked to multiple indicators of positive youth development, including stronger ethnic-racial identities, greater self-esteem, academic adjustment, psychosocial well-being, and more prosocial behaviors (Streit et al., 2017; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). When examining the role of cultural socialization alongside sociopolitical discussions at home, Pinetta et al. (2020) found that youth who perceived greater cultural socialization and engaged in more frequent sociopolitical discussions with their parents reported having greater expectations for engaging with their community in the future and felt more accountable to their community. Suggesting that Latinx youth who learn about the histories, culture, traditions, and heritage of their ethnic/racial group and their group's marginalized social positionality in the United States are more likely to endorse values that promote cohesion, loyalty, and a sense of obligation to

one's family (Cupito et al., 2015). These experiences may underpin youths' motivations for and capacity to engage civically to promote the well-being of Latinx communities (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015).

Promoting prosocial behaviors and social responsibility among Latinx youth

Research on what promotes prosocial behaviors among Latinx youth is limited. Yet, extant research shows positive links between ethnic and cultural socialization practices that take place within the family context and the development of prosocial behaviors (Knight et al., 2016; Streit et al., 2021). Among Mexican American youth, studies show that those whose mothers teach them about their cultural and ethnic heritage are more likely to endorse higher levels of familism values and a stronger ethnic-racial identity (Knight et al., 2016, 2018). Moreover, these cultural socialization experiences were related indirectly to youths' prosocial tendencies via their ethnic-racial identity. Multiple studies have also found that, in tandem with cultural and family-oriented messages, parents who display a stronger ethnic orientation and endorse more familism values are more likely to socialize prosocial behaviors among their children (Armenta et al., 2011; Carlo, 2014; Davis et al., 2021). These prosocial behaviors include helping to care after siblings, provide greater emotional support to others, and to provide greater assistance and support to extended family members. Latinx youth who are socialized to endorse familism and cultural values also tend to engage in greater perspective-taking (Knight et al., 2014). Being able to understand needs and issues affecting others may encourage youth to seek more information about their group's sociopolitical positioning. This in turn may motivate youth to engage in prosocial behaviors outside of the family context. Indeed, Latinx youth who report endorsing greater familism values also tend to report enacting more prosocial tendencies and behaviors (Knight et al., 2018).

Civic socialization in the home

Parents may also promote youths' prosocial behaviors by transmitting messages about the importance of being productive and compassionate members of society and by modeling how to do so (Shubert et al., 2019; Streit et al., 2017). This type of socialization, referred to as civic socialization, captures the ways in which parents teach, talk, and model civic behaviors for youth (White & Mistry, 2016). Civic behaviors can refer to behaviors that are traditionally associated with legal and political participation such as volunteering and voting; however, for youth of color, civic behaviors often refer to less traditional forms, such as providing financial support for families, engaging in youth-led grassroots organizations, and engaging in activism (Ginwright, 2010; Guillaume et al., 2015). For Latinx



immigrant youth specifically, civic socialization in the home can take the form of participating in immigrant rights efforts and conversations about documentation status (Ayón et al., 2018; Cross et al., 2020).

Civic modeling

In terms of traditional civic and political socialization, parents can guide and facilitate youths' political and civic involvement by modeling civic behaviors such as voting, volunteering, and showing concern for others (Wray-Lake & Syvertsen, 2011). Indeed, White and Mistry (2016) found that parents who reported higher levels of civic participation were more likely to be viewed as role models by their children, who in turn reported greater levels of responsibility to their communities. Philbin and Ayón (2016) found that Latinx parents engage in political socialization of their children by bringing them to marches and protests aimed at securing immigrant rights and by encouraging other community members to vote in elections as well as calling state senators. In terms of informal civic socialization, youth who report greater levels of moral reasoning are more likely to participate in informal helping behaviors (e.g., standing up for a classmate; Metzger et al., 2018). In addition, parents who emphasize helping behaviors along with prosocial tendencies in the home are more likely to have youth who endorse these values (Davis et al., 2017; Knight et al., 2018, Padilla-Walker et al., 2012).

Sociopolitical discussions

Another way in which parents socialize their youth civically is by engaging youth in sociopolitical conversations about current issues facing their communities (Terriquez & Kwon, 2015; Terriquez & Lin, 2020). Parent-child communication regarding civic and political participations can be a strong contributing factor to youths' civic and political development (Wray-Lake, 2019). Indeed, research shows that parents who engage their youth in conversations regarding societal issues affecting their communities have the potential to influence youths' civic and political behaviors as well as their sense of social responsibility (McIntosh et al., 2006). Shubert et al.'s (2019) research found that youth who reported communicating with their parents about social issues and problems affecting their community were more likely to see themselves as leaders capable of creating positive change in their communities. Additionally, Diemer (2012) found that Latinx youth who discussed community, national, and global social issues with their parents were more likely to engage in civic and political behaviors over time and were also more likely to express feeling committed to enacting social change.

Further research suggests that Latinx immigrant parents may also civically socialize youth by informing them of their precarious legal status and the broader

political context that underlies that status (e.g., Ayón et al., 2018; Cross et al., 2020; Lopez, 2019). Parents also engage their youth in sociopolitical discussions by stressing the importance of valuing their education and knowing their legal rights, so that youth can be active participants of the voting process once they come of age (Ayón et al., 2018; Philbin & Ayón, 2016). Still, this literature is limited in that the population of focus is largely unauthorized Latinx immigrants. Further research is necessary to understand how parental civic and sociopolitical discussions work together with cultural ERS practices to promote youths' social responsibility by way of youths' political development and community engagement, including how this varies for Latinx parents of different immigration statuses.

Radical healing and social responsibility

Youth who engage in community activism in response to oppressive systems are likely to engage in radical healing from the harm caused by these systems. Ginwright (2010) argues that being able to name systems of oppression and developing a political understanding of injustices can promote the health and well-being of Black and Latinx youth. By being able to reflect on social inequalities, youth begin to form their critical consciousness, or their ability to recognize social injustices and their desire and engagement in actions to disrupt oppressive systems (Watts et al., 2011). Youth who are more critically conscious may collectively strategize about how they can promote justice for communities who continue to experience harm. Indeed, work focusing on youths' critical consciousness development finds that youth who are exposed to more sociopolitical socialization report higher critical reflection and, in turn, are more likely to display civic behaviors (Diemer, 2012). Although some research has found that for some youth of color activist efforts further exacerbate the negative effects of racial discrimination on youths' mental health (Frost et al., 2019; Hope et al., 2018), among a sample of Latinx college students, political activism served as a protective mechanism (Hope et al., 2018), suggesting that it may contribute to their well-being.

Accordingly, we argue that youth who perceive greater civic socialization from their parents will have a heightened desire to engage in behaviors that will protect and promote the well-being of their communities. Rubio-Hernandez and Ayón (2016) found that Latinx immigrant parents reported witnessing an increase in their youths' sense of social responsibility to help protect their family from separation and deportations emerging from the Trump administration's anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies. Similarly, Wray-Lake et al. (2018) found that Latinx youths' responses to the anti-immigrant policies passed by the Trump administration included feeling the need to fight injustices by standing up for themselves and for members of their families and communities. Thus, Latinx youth who participate in social movements to promote the welfare of

their communities may be motivated in part by a sense of concern and responsibility to protect the well-being of their family members as well as other members of their communities. From a radical healing perspective, in the process of protecting their communities, youth are engaging in collective community healing, which allows love and strength to prosper despite the forces of oppression that try to subdue Latinx people.

Current study

The current study is aimed at better understanding potential mechanisms underlying Latinx youths' formation of a sense of social responsibility that fuels their continued efforts to resist oppressive systems and injustices in the United States. Drawing from the literature, we expected that learning about communalistic cultural values and traditions, which are considered to be communalistic (e.g., Stein et al., 2014), would foster a sense of social responsibility leading youth to enact prosocial behaviors in or order to improve their communities and promote the well-being of the individuals that comprise these communities (Knight et al., 2016, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Accordingly, we expected that perceiving more parental cultural socialization would be associated with youths' greater engagement in helping behaviors as demonstrated by caring for their community and showing greater concern for others. We reasoned that parents who teach their children about their cultural heritage may open the door to conversations about how the rest of society responds to their ethnic-racial group and community, more generally; we therefore expected that youth who received more cultural socialization would also receive more civic socialization and engage in more sociopolitical discussions in their family. Moreover, we expected that received family civic socialization and engaging in more frequent sociopolitical discussions would be associated with greater caring for community and concern for others in youth, thus indirectly informing the relationship between youths' perception of cultural socialization and youths' social responsibility.

METHOD

Setting and participants

Data for this study were drawn from the first wave of data collection of the *School and Community Pathways to Engagement* (SCoPE) project—a longitudinal mixed-method study examining the relations between teachers' social-emotional learning (SEL) practices, adolescents' community and civic involvement, and parent and community socialization practices. SCoPE was conducted in partnership with three public schools in a large metropolitan city in the midwestern United States. The majority of the student body at school 1 was Latinx,

comprising 93.9% of the school's population. Students also identified as Asian (0.5%), Black (1.2%), White (3.5%), and other (0.9%); 81.2% of students were classified as being from a low-income background. Similarly, Latinx students were also the majority at school 2, comprising 64.4% of the student population. Students also identified as Black (34.1%) and White (1.5%); 92% of students were classified as being from a low-income background. At school 3, Latinx students comprised 43% of the student population, which was one of the two largest ethnic-racial groups with students also reporting identifying as White (43%), Black (4%), Asian (4%), two or more races (3%), Hawaiian Native/Pacific Islander (2%) and American Indian/Alaskan Native (1%); 61% of students were classified as being from a low-income background.

Our initial sample included 455 students, of which 274 self-identified as Latinx; however, our analytic sample comprises 269 Latinx youth ($M_{\text{age}} = 11.91$, standard deviation [SD] = 1.23) for whom we also had gender and age information. Students reported being in fifth (22.6%), sixth (21.2%), seventh (31.0%), and eighth (2%) grades, and slightly fewer boys (44.5%) than girls (52.9%) participated in the study. Most of the students (92.6%) reported being born in the United States, and most (77.9%) also reported having one or both parents who were born outside of the United States. For the students who provided parents' origin country (73.4%), the majority (69.2%) reported having parents born in Mexico, followed by countries in South America (14.8%) and Central America (8.0%); some students (8.0%) reported having parents originating from two different Latin American countries/regions.

Procedure

School 1 data were collected in December 2018, and school 2 and 3 data were collected in December 2019. All surveys were self-administered using a web-based survey administration provider. Teachers were provided with classroom packets that contained parental informed consent forms and classroom incentive forms to pass out to students during each school's designated SEL period. All packet contents were available to students and parents in both English and Spanish. Students were encouraged to bring back signed consent forms regardless of permission status and were given the option to turn the forms into the front office or back to their teachers. Members of the research team were tasked to check in with teachers and the schools' front office to collect consent forms on a weekly basis. Classrooms who had a consent form return rate of 80% or higher were rewarded with a party at the end of the semester. All three sites had a consent return rate of 73% or higher. Of the students who returned their consent forms, 91% of parents provided their consent for their child to participate in the survey, and 9% of parents refused to give their consent; of youth with parental consent, 76% assented to participate in the survey.



Survey administration took place during the schools' designated SEL class period and youth had the entire 45 min class period to complete the survey. Trained research assistants who were English–Spanish bilingual and bicultural provided students who had obtained parental informed consent with a slip of paper containing a web link to the survey. Students were given the option to choose the language in which to take the survey. Surveys were translated to Spanish using an online translation service and then back-translated into English by a bilingual and bicultural Puerto Rican lead researcher and bilingual-bicultural Mexican research assistants, since these are the two largest ethnic groups in city in which this study was conducted, thus following the best practices for survey translations (Knight et al., 2009). Most students chose to take the survey in English (95.9%); however, a few students chose to take the survey in Spanish (4.1%). Students were reminded that participation in the study was completely voluntary, and they could stop at any point. Before having access to the full survey, participating youth were asked to read and fill out an assent form. The assent form included information about the project, student compensation, and confidentiality. After reading the information provided, youth provided their assent by filling out their name and clicking on the “next” button located at the bottom of the initial screen of the survey. On average, it took students approximately 35 min to complete the survey. Two students who were below 2 SD from the average time of completion of the survey were omitted from the study. This was done during data cleaning as a postsurvey attention check. Upon completion of the survey, youth were provided with a \$5 gift card as a token of appreciation for their participation in the research study.

Measures

Cultural socialization

We used the cultural socialization subscale of the parent ERS scale (Hughes, Hagelskamp, et al., 2009; Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009) to assess youths' perceptions of their parents' cultural socialization messages. The subscale consists of four items, and a sample item is, “At home, how often have your parents said that it is important to follow the traditions of your racial or ethnic group (like eating ethnic foods and keeping ethnic values)?” Response options ranged from = 1 (*Never*) to 3 (*A lot of the times*); $\alpha = .76$. A higher mean score indicates that youth received more cultural socialization messages from their parents. This scale has been validated among Latinx early adolescents (Cross et al., 2020; Kulish et al., 2019).

Family civic socialization

Syvertsen et al. (2015) scale was used to measure youths' perceptions of civic socialization from parents. Due to an

error during data collection at Site 1, one of the six original items was not collected and thus only five items were used. A sample item is, “My parents volunteer in our community,” and responses range from 1 (*Never*) to 6 (*Very Often*), ($\alpha = .73$). Higher mean values indicate greater perceptions of family civic socialization. This scale has been validated among Latinx and diverse early adolescent samples (Bañales et al., 2020; Metzger et al., 2018).

Sociopolitical discussions

We used Syvertsen et al. (2015) three-item scale to measure youths' reports of parental sociopolitical discussions. A sample item is, “In my family, we talk about times when people are treated unfairly.” Responses were recorded using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Very Often*), ($\alpha = .83$). Higher mean values indicate more sociopolitical discussions taking place at home. This scale has been validated among diverse youth samples (Shubert et al., 2019).

Caring for community

We employed the Caring for Community Scale (Chi et al., 2006), which consists of four items such as, “I spend time on projects with other people to help the community.” The responses range from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly Agree*), ($\alpha = .76$). Higher mean scores indicate greater caring for the community. This scale has been validated with diverse early adolescent samples (Chi et al., 2006).

Concern for others

Adolescents' sense of concern for others was assessed using the Concern for Others Scale (Chi et al., 2006). The scale consists of five items such as, “I try to help when I see people in need.” Responses range from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly Agree*), ($\alpha = .80$). Higher mean scores indicate youths' greater sense of concern for others. This scale has been validated with diverse early adolescent samples (Chi et al., 2006).

Covariates

Research focusing on youth's sociopolitical development indicates that parents tend to wait until youth are older to have more difficult conversations with them, whereas cultural socialization literature suggests that cultural socialization is an ongoing process beginning in early childhood (Rubio-Hernandez & Ayon, 2016; Wang et al., 2020). As such, youths' age was included as a covariate on all variables. Youths' gender was included as a covariate on the outcome variables, as research suggests

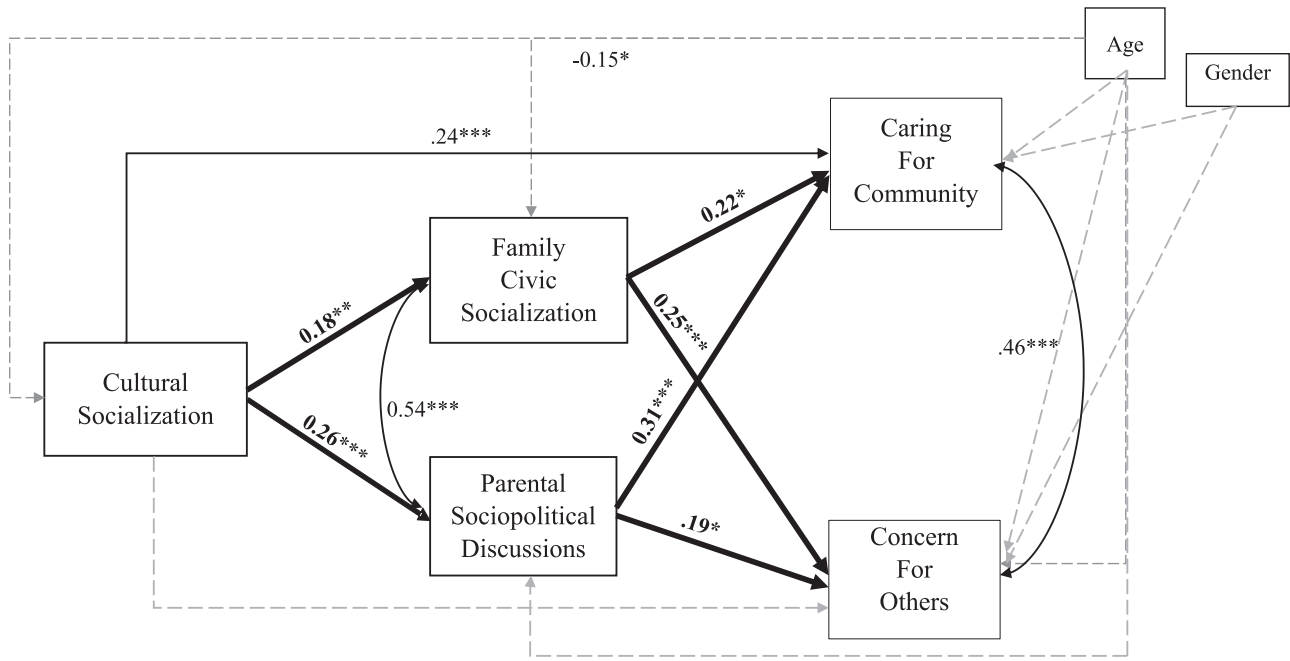


FIGURE 1 Standardized coefficients of path analysis linking Latinx adolescent-reported parental cultural socialization and their sense of social responsibility ($N = 269$). Dashed lines—nonsignificant paths; bold—significant indirect path. The model fit the data adequately, $\chi^2(3) = 3.79$; $p = .285$; root-mean square residual = 0.031; comparative fit index = 1.00; Tucker–Lewis Index = 0.98; standardized root-mean square residual = 0.017. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

some differences between how girls and boys engage prosocially (Xiao et al., 2019). To indicate their gender identity, youth were given the following options: boy, girl, other. If they indicated other, youth were asked to specify their gender identity. Youth who did not provide a response ($n = 4$) and youth who chose other ($n = 3$) were not included in the primary analysis. Youths' self-reported gender was then coded as Boy (0) and Girl (1). Youth were asked to respond to the question “How old are you?” to assess age.

Analysis plan

Preliminary analyses were conducted to make sure the data were normally distributed and to test existing associations among the variables of interest. Primary analysis involved testing our hypothesis that cultural socialization would be directly associated with youths' caring for their community and concern for others, while adjusting for youths' age and gender. We also tested the hypothesis that cultural socialization would be directly associated with family civic socialization and sociopolitical discussions. Lastly, we tested the hypothesis that cultural socialization would be indirectly associated with youths' caring for community and concern for others via family civic socialization practices. Analyses were conducted using path analysis in Mplus 8.5 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2017) with 5000 bootstrap samples (see Figure 1). A path analysis approach was employed to allow for the simultaneous

TABLE 1 Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics among primary study variables

	1	2	3	4	5
1. ERS cultural socialization	-				
2. Family civic socialization	0.29**	-			
3. Sociopolitical discussions	0.33**	0.42**	-		
4. Concern for others	0.22**	0.35**	0.19**	-	
5. Caring for community	0.25**	0.40**	0.22**	0.44**	-
Mean	2.55	3.23	3.14	3.43	3.00
SD	0.49	0.92	1.08	0.48	0.60

Abbreviations: ERS, ethnic-racial socialization; SD, standard deviation. ** $p < .01$.

testing of both direct and indirect effects with multiple independent and dependent variables (Kline, 2016; Stage et al., 2004). The amount of missing data across variables ranges from 0% to 18.2%. Little's MCAR test ($\chi^2[274, 53] = 61.264$, $p = .204$) indicated that these data were missing completely at random, and we used the full maximum likelihood estimator in Mplus to account for missingness. Standard thresholds were used to assess model fit: a nonsignificant χ^2 value, comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker–Lewis Index (TLI) ≥ 0.95 , root-mean square residual (RMSEA) ≤ 0.05 , and standardized root-mean square residual (SRMR) ≤ 0.06 (Hooper et al., 2008; Hu & Bentler, 1999; MacCallum & Austin, 2000).

RESULTS

Preliminary analyses

To test for normalcy, all the variables included in the analyses were tested for skewness, kurtosis, and outliers. Skewness results all fell within the absolute value of 2 and the results for kurtosis fell within the absolute value of 7, indicating that the variables were all normally distributed. Youth reported that, on average, their parents engaged in family civic socialization ($M = 3.23$, $SD = 0.92$) and sociopolitical discussions ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.08$) with moderate frequency, whereas they frequently engaged in cultural socialization ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 0.49$). Similarly, on average, youth also reported high levels of concern for others ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 0.48$) and caring for their community ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 0.60$). Correlations, SDs, and means are presented in Table 1. Bivariate correlations among all independent and dependent variables indicate they were all positively and significantly associated with one another.

Primary analyses

The model fit statistics indicate that the model fits the data well ($\chi^2(3) = 3.79$; $p = .285$; $RMSEA = 0.031$ [0.00, 0.11]; $CFI = 1.00$; $TLI = 0.98$; $SRMR = 0.017$; Figure 1 presents standardized coefficients). Results indicate that after adjusting for age and gender, receiving more cultural socialization from parents was positively and directly associated with caring for community ($b = 0.24$, $SE = 0.06$, $p = .000$), but it

was not directly associated with concern for others ($b = 0.07$, $SE = 0.08$, $p = .402$). Receiving more cultural socialization was positively and significantly associated with more frequent family civic socialization ($b = 0.18$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .007$) and more frequent sociopolitical discussions taking place at home ($b = 0.26$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .000$). Additionally, youths' greater perception of family civic socialization practices were directly associated with youths' greater sense of caring for their community ($b = 0.22$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .011$) and concern for others ($b = 0.25$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .000$). Youth who reported engaging in more frequent sociopolitical discussions were also more likely to report a greater sense of caring for community ($b = 0.31$, $SE = 0.08$, $p = .000$) and concern for others ($b = 0.19$, $SE = 0.08$, $p = .011$). Results also indicated significant indirect associations between cultural socialization and caring for community via both family civic socialization ($\beta = .04$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.10]) and sociopolitical discussions ($\beta = .08$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.15]). There were also significant indirect associations between cultural socialization and concern for others via family civic socialization ($\beta = .05$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.10]) and sociopolitical discussions ($\beta = .05$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.11]). R^2 results indicate that approximately 19% of the variance in youths' concern for others and approximately 34% of the variance in caring for community was accounted for.

Alternate model

An alternate model tested the indirect association of cultural socialization between family civic socialization

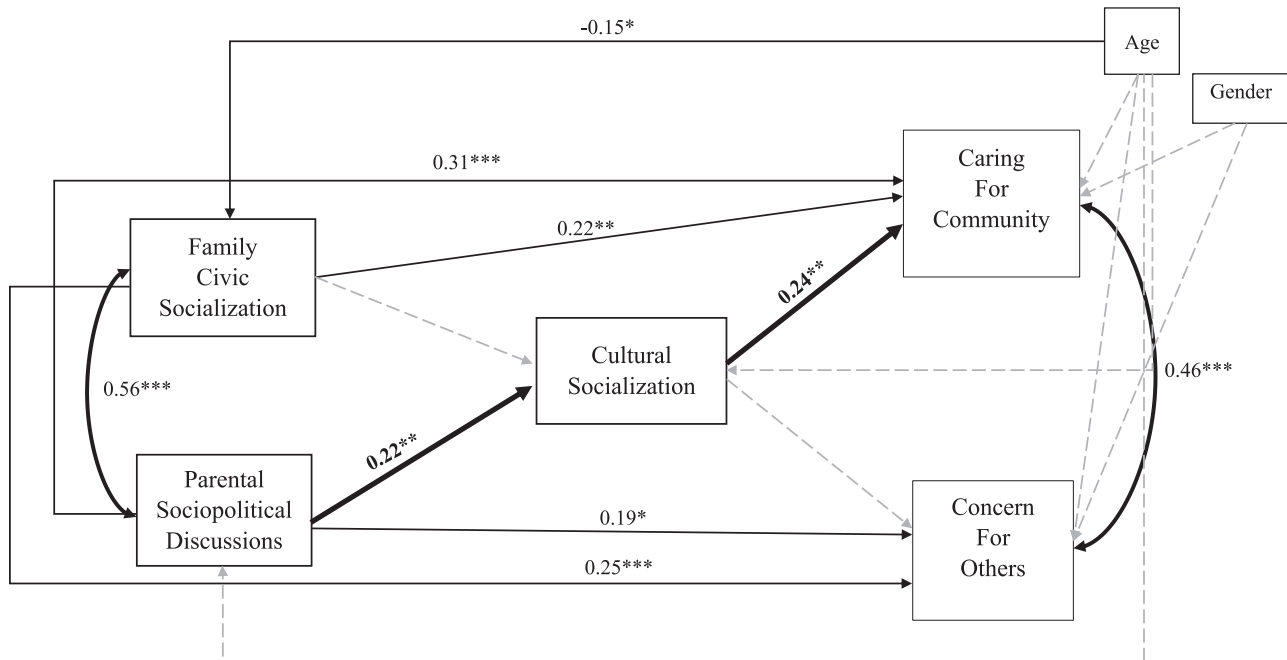


FIGURE 2 Alternate model ($N = 269$). Standardized coefficients of path analysis linking Latinx adolescent-reported parental civic socialization and youth's sense of social responsibility. Dashed lines—nonsignificant paths; bold—significant indirect path. The model fit the data adequately, $\chi^2(3) = 3.79$; $p = .285$; root-mean square residual = 0.031; comparative fit index = 1.00; Tucker–Lewis Index = 0.98; standardized root-mean square residual = 0.017. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

and sociopolitical discussions and youths' sense of caring for their community and concern for others (see Figure 2). Model fit statistics for the alternate model are identical to the theorized model ($\chi^2(3) = 3.79$; $p = .285$; RMSEA = 0.031 [0.00, 0.11]; CFI = 1.00; TLI = 0.98; SRMR = 0.017). The alternate model indicated direct associations between family civic socialization with caring for community ($b = 0.22$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .011$) and concern for others ($b = 0.25$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .000$). There were also direct associations between parental sociopolitical discussions with both caring for community ($b = 0.31$, $SE = 0.08$, $p = .000$) and concern for others ($b = 0.19$, $SE = 0.08$, $p = .011$). Additionally, there was a direct association between sociopolitical discussions and cultural socialization practices; however, the association between family civic socialization and cultural socialization was not significant. Lastly, cultural socialization practices were directly associated with youths' caring for community ($b = 0.24$, $SE = 0.06$, $p = .000$), but they were not associated with youths' concern for others. Furthermore, we observed an indirect association between sociopolitical discussions and caring for community through cultural socialization ($\beta = .05$, 95% CI [0.02, 0.12]). Given the identical fit of the hypothesized and the alternate model, we placed higher emphasis on the relevant literature to guide our decision on which model to retain. The hypothesized model specifying civic socialization and sociopolitical discussions as intermediaries of cultural socialization efforts at home was both driven by theory, well-fitting, and provided evidence to support the proposed mechanisms; it was therefore retained over the alternate model.

DISCUSSION

Events such as the horrifying shooting that took place in El Paso, TX targeting Latinxs (Coulehan et al., 2020), along with attempts to strip immigrants of their protective status such as the removal of Temporary Protected Status, attempts to rescind DACA, and the inhumane treatment of asylum seekers has propelled many Latinx youth to engage in community activism (Bolter et al., 2022; Kennedy et al., 2020). The integrative model (García-Coll et al., 1996) helps us to understand how cultural socialization messages encourage Latinx youth to develop a sense of social responsibility, which is considered an important developmental competency for young people. Receiving civic socialization messages and engaging in more sociopolitical conversations with family members are potential catalysts for Latinx youths' involvement in and leadership of grassroots movements taking place across the country. Similarly, the radical healing framework (French et al., 2020; Ginwright, 2011), which theorizes civic and community involvement as a method for healing from the ethnic and racial injustices, serves as an important guide to understand how Latinx youths' social responsibility is facilitated by their exposure to civic socialization in the home. Such socialization and social responsibility can be

an example of how healing can occur in the face of injustices to which Latinx communities have been subjected in the United States. The current study sheds light on the potential role of family civic socialization in the association between parents' cultural socialization practices and youths' sense of social responsibility.

Partially supporting our first hypothesis, results suggest that perceived cultural socialization practices were associated with youths' caring for their community. Youth who engaged in more events or conversations aimed at teaching them about and instilling pride in their heritage culture and traditions were more likely to participate in community organizing events and to feel like they can make a positive difference in their communities. On the one hand, this finding supports current understandings of ERS practices being associated with heightened community cohesion and filial responsibility. Latinx youth who have a stronger connection to their heritage cultures are more likely to want to improve social conditions for members of their groups or communities (Cupito et al., 2015; Streit et al., 2021). On the other hand, cultural socialization was not directly associated with youths' concern for others in this study. Literature on prosocial and helping behaviors states that people are more likely to help others when they have an existing or close relationship with the person needing help (Streit et al., 2019); thus, the lack of association between learning about heritage culture and youths' helping behaviors might be explained by the fact that the scale used to measure concern for others did not differentiate between strangers and members of youths' more immediate social circles.

Furthermore, supporting our second and third hypotheses, our results suggest that adolescents who received greater cultural socialization also received more frequent civic socialization by and engaged in more frequent sociopolitical discussions with their parents. This suggests that learning about their heritage cultures could lead youth to also learn about systemic injustices against members of their ethnic-racial groups and their groups' overall positionality as it relates to the greater US sociopolitical context and mainstream cultures (Knight et al., 2014; Pinetta et al., 2020). Additionally, family civic socialization practices and engaging in more frequent sociopolitical discussions with parents were associated with both aspects of youths' social responsibility. Youth who perceived more civic behaviors modeled by their parents or engaged in more discussions about the current sociopolitical context and issues affecting their community were more likely to engage in helping behaviors benefitting people in need and were more likely to participate in community projects or try to challenge social injustices. Our findings support current literature that suggests parents who model civic behaviors and communicate with youth about issues affecting their communities encourage and empower youth to take action (Davis et al., 2017; Shubert et al., 2019). These findings shed light on the importance of parental socialization practices as they relate to the development



of youths' greater social responsibility and, potentially, for understanding youths' future civic and political engagement.

Finally, our findings also supported the indirect role of perceived civic socialization and sociopolitical discussions with parents have in helping to explain the associations between parents' cultural socialization practices and youths' social responsibility. Youth who reported more civic behaviors being modeled by their parents were more likely to report engaging in community projects and to believe that it is important to change things that are unfair in society. Youth were also more likely to report that they engage in helping behaviors when they see other people in need or having a problem. Moreover, youth who engaged in more frequent sociopolitical discussions with their parents about politics, societal problems, and people being treated unfairly were also more likely to report engaging in behaviors aimed to the betterment of their communities. Additionally, we found indirect associations between cultural socialization practices and youths' concern for others via parental sociopolitical discussions and perceived family civic socialization practices. This suggests that youth who perceive more messages of cultural pride and community unity were more likely to report engaging in sociopolitical conversations and, in turn, feeling a general concern for the well-being of other people. Finally, youths' concern for others was also indirectly facilitated by cultural socialization practices through family civic socialization practices and engaging in greater sociopolitical discussions with parents. Thus, by rooting youths' civic and community engagement in messages of cultural pride and unity, parents may help to promote youth's concern for other people more generally. As such, the present findings provide additional support for the idea that Latinx parents are instrumental in facilitating the civic and political development of youth, particularly when it relates to issues of oppression and marginalization (Terriquez & Lin, 2020; Wray-Lake, 2019).

The cross-sectional nature of our data makes it important to consider alternative models. The alternate model we considered places parental civic and sociopolitical modeling and conversations as the drivers of youths' sense of social responsibility, through cultural socialization practices. Results indicated direct associations between family civic socialization and sociopolitical discussions with youth's sense of concern for others and their care for their community. Thus, youth who perceived their parents engaging in greater civic and helping behaviors were more likely to report participating in helping behaviors benefiting other people, particularly those who were close members of their community. Similarly, youth who engaged in frequent sociopolitical conversations with their parents were also more likely to participate in helping behaviors. Additionally, there was a direct association between sociopolitical discussion and cultural socialization practices, indicating that youth who report engaging in more frequent conversations with their parents about the current political climate were also more

likely to engage in activities meant to bolster their cultural pride and learning about their heritage traditions. Cultural socialization practices were also directly associated with youth's caring for community, such that youth who engaged in more activities to learn about their heritage traditions were also more likely to feel a higher sense of care for the members of their community. There were no other direct associations in this model; however, an indirect association between sociopolitical discussions with caring for community via cultural socialization indicated that youth who reported perceiving more civic modeling behaviors and engaging in conversations with their parents about the sociopolitical climate were also more likely to engage in cultural events. This, in turn, was associated with greater caring for members of their community among youth. As there is little current developmental and ERS literature support for this model (Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016; Wang et al., 2020), we chose to reject it. However, as discussed below, longitudinal studies on these phenomena are a necessary step in the development of this literature.

Limitations and future directions

The current research sheds new light on the mechanisms through which cultural socialization might inform youths' sense of social responsibility through family civic socialization. Still, these results should be considered alongside the limitations of the study.

Given the cross-sectional study design, longitudinal analyses are necessary to better understand how Latinx parental socialization practices relate to youths' sense of responsibility and concern for members of their communities. The alternate model tested provides evidence to support the plausible notion that cultural socialization could be a mechanism by which sociopolitical discussions are linked with youths' orientations to their community. Longitudinal analyses can help to establish directionality and, also provide insight into how youths' sense of social responsibility may also heighten youths' awareness of cultural and civic socialization messages. Also, given that the study relied on youth self-report measures, further research that also incorporates parent reports of their cultural and civic socialization and sociopolitical discussions is needed, given that previous research has found differences between parental reports and youths' perceptions of ERS practices (Hughes, Hagelskamp, et al., 2009; Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009).

Furthermore, given the context and setting of the three participating schools, the extent to which the present results are generalizable to Latinx youth in other geographic regions attending schools with different characteristics is an empirical question. The present schools are situated in primarily Latinx neighborhoods, and Latinx youth make up the largest ethnic-racial group in two of the three participating schools. Furthermore, many of the teachers at the largest partner school also identified as

Latinx and/or are Spanish/English bilingual. Given that most of the youth in our sample attended the largest school site, we may not be able to generalize our findings to more diverse school settings whose teachers' ethnic-racial backgrounds are less similar to those of their students. More research should be conducted to examine whether the associations between parental cultural and civic socialization practices and youths' social responsibility manifest differently in more diverse communities and in communities with greater anti-Latinx sentiment and other such biased views.

Another limitation of the study is the homogeneity of the research sample. Most participating youth reported being US-born, with parents who were born outside of the United States. However, of the youth who reported parental origin country, a large majority of them reported having parents who were born in Mexico, although students also reported having parents born in Central and South America. We were unable to further disaggregate the study sample into Latinx subgroups to generalize our findings to the larger Latinx community. It is also important to consider the different histories and nuances of different Latinx groups, including their potentially different access to community advocacy opportunities and resources. More intersectional research is necessary to examine whether the associations between parental socialization and youth social responsibility differ based on Latinx subgroup identification, immigrant origin youths' generational status, and access to community-level resources.

Implications and conclusion

At this historical moment, the United States is experiencing a resurgence in civil rights activism along with anti-immigrant and anti-Latinx rhetoric. The present research provides novel and timely insights on current understandings of how parents can encourage a sense of social and civic responsibility in youth through their socialization practices. The hostile sociopolitical climate is affecting the ways in which Latinx parents teach their children and adolescents about their heritage histories, traditions, and cultures (Ayón et al., 2018; Cross et al., 2020). The ways in which Latinx parents' model civic and helping behavior and the discussions that they are having with their children are important contributors to youths' social and civic development. Parents are key influencers in helping youth develop a greater understanding of their identities in terms of cultural heritage and social positionality. As such, it is important to support parents in their efforts to socialize their youth culturally and civically to promote the social responsibility of youth. This sense of responsibility may embolden youth to join current efforts to disrupt and dismantle oppressive systems.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank all research assistants, research staff, and collaborators for their contributions to the research

process. Special thanks to the students, staff, and administrators at our participating school sites as well as our collaborators at the larger school district and CASEL. This study was supported by the grant from the William T. Grant Foundation (Grant ID# 188925, PI: Deborah Rivas-Drake, Co-PI: Enid Rosario-Ramos).

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How to cite this article: Martinez, S. B., Pinetta, B. J., & Rivas-Drake, D. (2022). From home to the streets: Can cultural socialization foster Latinx youths' social responsibility? *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 70, 278–290. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12600>