Abstract and Keywords

This chapter provides an overview of theory and research on parenting and moral development in US Latino/a populations, including acculturation and enculturation, ethnic identity, and exposure and responses to discrimination and culture-related stress experiences. First, we briefly review traditional theories on the influence of parents in children's prosocial development. Second, broad ecological and developmental theories that speak to the role of culture-related processes are covered. The third section presents a brief history of US Latino/as and highlights cultural values and characteristics relevant to understand the role of parents in US Latino/a children's prosocial development. The fourth section presents an integrative cultural stress-based model of US Latino prosocial development and summarizes supporting research. Finally, the authors identify gaps in the existing literature and directions for future research.

Keywords: prosocial behaviors, parenting, U.S. Latino/as, cultural values, acculturation, ethnic identity, discrimination

What Are Prosocial Behaviors?

Acts of heroism, kindness, and caring occur in people's everyday lives all over the world. We hear about and observe such events frequently, from hearing about a person who risked his or her life to rescue someone from a catastrophic event, to stories of persons who volunteer their time each day to care for and comfort someone in need. Oftentimes such acts occur so frequently that we might take them for granted, while other times the acts are so rare and incredulous that they gain attention and notoriety. Despite the wide variety of such actions, these behaviors are deemed desirable by most persons in most societies, and they help foster group harmony and peace. When the acts result in benefits for others, scholars refer to them as prosocial behaviors (Batson, 1998; Eisenberg, Fabes, & Spinrad, 2006; Staub, 1978).

Why Should We Care?

Although prosocial behaviors occur frequently and are exhibited in all societies, the study of these actions was not the focus of social scientists for many decades (Batson, 1998; Staub, 1978). As such, we understood little regarding the antecedents, correlates, and consequences of such behaviors until relatively recently. However, in recent years, more attention has been devoted to the study of prosocial behaviors. Indeed, we have learned much about how such actions are linked to, and reflect, health and well-being (p. 248) (Carlo, 2014). For example, there is accumulating evidence that individuals who exhibit relatively high levels of prosocial behaviors are less depressed and anxious; report higher levels of self-esteem; have better quality interpersonal relationships; are less prone to aggression, delinquency, and drug use; and exhibit lower levels of bad cholesterol (see Carlo, 2006, 2014, for reviews). Moreover, there is substantive evidence that children who frequently express prosocial behaviors do better academically over relatively long periods of time (Carlo, White, Streit, Knight, & Zeiders, 2018). And finally, there is evidence that societies benefit economically from such behaviors. For example, data demonstrate that one form of prosocial behavior (i.e., volunteerism) adds approximately $184 billion dollars to the US economy (Independent Sector, 2016). Thus, the accumulated research demonstrates a need to understand the antecedents of these important and beneficial behaviors, and one such area of need is to examine the links between parenting and prosocial behaviors.

Definitional Issues

Although we define prosocial behaviors broadly as any voluntary act that results in benefits for others, there is much debate surrounding the definition of these actions. As some scholars have noted, this definition emphasizes the consequences of one's actions, but acts that appear beneficial for others may be not have been intended to be beneficial, or perhaps were in fact intended to cause harm. One manner to address this challenge is to distinguish different motivated forms of prosocial behaviors. Altruistic behaviors are defined as acts whose primary intention was to benefit others, with little or no regard for self-gain (Carlo, 2014). For this subtype of prosocial behavior, the actor may have multiple intentions, but the primary purpose was to benefit others. In addition, it is possible for the actor to gain some benefit, but such consequences are incidental relative to the purpose of acting to benefit others. In contrast, selfishly motivated forms of prosocial behaviors are actions whose primary purpose is self-gain (materially or psychologically).

Following the concept that there are many varied forms of prosocial behaviors, another relevant dimension to better understand prosocial behaviors is to consider the different contexts of such actions. Prosocial behaviors can occur under duress or dire circumstances, in emotionally evocative situations, anonymously, or when someone requests assistance (Carlo & Randall, 2001). Moreover, these behaviors can be directed at different targets, such as relatives, strangers, or friends (Padilla-Walker & Christensen, 2011). These aspects of prosocial behaviors are not exhaustive of the complexities of under-

standing prosocial behaviors. Indeed, there are variations even within some of these types. For example, within altruistic behaviors, there are notable distinct differences between altruistic acts that places an individual's life at high risk (e.g., rescuing a person who is drowning, rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust) and those that may be costly to the self but not to the point of risking one's life (e.g., donating a significant amount of one's money, or spending a significant amount of one's time volunteering for charity). In addition, there may be differences in the form of charity (e.g., physical acts, volunteering time, sharing resources, donating blood). Finally, it is important to acknowledge that prosocial behaviors can vary across cultural contexts. Indeed, some forms of prosocial behaviors may be quite common in some societies but not in others—likely due to culture-specific belief systems, customs, available resources, and traditions.

The present chapter focuses on understanding the influential role of parents (p. 249) and caregivers in US Latino children and adolescents' prosocial behaviors. Although Latinos are the largest ethnic/racial minority group in the United States, much of the prior social science research on this group has focused on pathology and maladjustment (García-Coll et al., 1996; Quintana & Atkinson, 2002; Villarruel et al., 2009). The prevalence of research, along with the predominant focus of news and social media, on negative outcomes has resulted in a cascade of information that reinforces negative stereotypes regarding US Latino children and adolescents. Furthermore, relatively little is known regarding normative well-being and positive adjustment in this group, which results in a scarcity of strengths-based and normative models of development. As Latinos continue to grow in numbers across the United States, research on prosocial behaviors in this group will gain greater importance to redress the gaps in understanding of well-being and strengths in this minority population.

In the rest of the chapter, we will review traditional theories that inform us on the various ways that parents influence their children's prosocial behaviors. We then transition toward an integrative, culturally informed model of prosocial development that is applicable to US Latinos. Within this latter section, we present a brief history of Latinos in the United States and identify culture-related mechanisms conceptually associated with prosocial development in US Latinos. We review the available supportive empirical evidence on the links between these mechanisms and prosocial behaviors in US Latinos. Then, based on prior theories and research, we posit an eco-cultural stress based model of US Latino prosocial development to better understand the complex links between parenting and prosocial behaviors in this population. Finally, we conclude with recommendations for future research directions.

So How Do We Get There?

Developmental scientists have clearly demonstrated that parents and caregivers are important influences on children and adolescents across varied domains. However, other socializing influences are important to account for, such as stressful events, peer relationships and groups, media agents (e.g., social media, TV, video games), and school and com-

munity characteristics (Carlo & de Guzman, 2009). In addition, there is substantive and ever-growing evidence of biological-related processes associated with prosocial behaviors, such as genes, neurotransmitters, and temperament (Carlo, 2014). Furthermore, researchers have also shown the predictive influence of sociocognitive traits (e.g., moral reasoning, attributions, perspective-taking), socioemotive traits (e.g., empathy, sympathy, guilt, shame), moral and cultural values, and moral identity (Eisenberg & Spinrad, 2014; Hardy & Carlo, 2011). Thus, comprehensive models of prosocial and moral development will necessitate the incorporation of these varied influences. Despite the number of antecedent mechanisms associated with prosocial behaviors, parental socialization mechanisms are perhaps the most studied antecedent.

Parental Socialization

Many theoretical frameworks aimed at explaining the development and socialization of prosociality highlight the importance of parents in the process of socialization of moral values (Hastings, Miller, & Troxel, 2015). Socialization refers to the mechanisms by which a set of social norms or values are transmitted to and internalized by children (Maccoby, 2015). Researchers have long argued that socialization is not a one-way process, but is better characterized as a dual process, with reciprocal effects between parents and children occurring along the way (Brody & Shaffer, 1982). From the (p. 250) perspective of socialization, prosocial behaviors are encouraged and promoted in children since infancy as participants in a unique socioemotional environment—the caregiver-infant environment (Brownell, 2016, see also Narvaez, this volume). Grusec and Goodnow (1994) pointed out that there are two factors that affect the internalization of social norms: the way children evaluate their parents' viewpoints, and the acceptance (or rejection) of the perceived parents' position. Accordingly, for children to internalize the prosocial values that their parents are trying to instill in them, children should first accurately identify the message parents are trying to communicate to them, and then the message itself should be accepted by children.

Parenting styles. Although moral internalization theories advocate for the interplay of parents and children, most previous research has focused on the influence of parenting styles on children's development. Researchers have used different terms when trying to characterize parents' styles of childrearing, but there are two dimensions that have been consistently studied across different approaches. One of these dimensions is parental support. Parental support refers to parents' inclinations to react in a responsive and sensitive manner to their children's needs (Zhou et al., 2002). The other dimension is parental control, for which the conceptual framework is less clear, in part because researchers have combined both effective and negative aspects of control under the same term. For the sake of methodological and conceptual clarity, researchers have separated the control dimension into psychological and behavioral subtypes. Psychological control can be defined as parental efforts to highlight compliance, and to pressure children toward specific outcomes, at the expenses of children's autonomy (Bean, Barber, & Crane, 2006). Psychological control involves the use of love withdrawal or guilt- or shame-induction to manipulate

children's behaviors. Behavioral control involves overt actions designed to direct, inhibit, and monitor children's behaviors (Grolnick, 2003).

Support offers a nurturing and responsive parenting approach that fosters an orientation toward others' needs and sympathy; whereas control, especially high levels of control, may develop children who are concerned for their own needs, anxious, and fearful. Therefore, in general, parental support should facilitate prosocial and moral development, whereas parental control may mitigate such outcomes. In general, research findings are consistent with these expectations (Eisenberg & Valiente, 2002; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Hoffman, 1970; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Although many scholars study the unique influence of parental support and control, others examine the interactive effects of support and control. Baumrind (1967) originally defined three distinct parenting styles based on typically identified behaviors in parent interviews, and proposed a typology based on the combination of different levels of parental support and control (see Baumrind, 1996). The three original typologies were *authoritarian parents*, who are assumed to be high in control and low in support; *permissive parents*, who encourage children to regulate their own activities, but do not encourage obedience; and *authoritative parents*, who are characterized by high levels of both control and support. Subsequently, a fourth parenting style was added, *neglectful or uninvolved parenting*, which is characterized by low levels of both control and support in the relationship that parents establish with their children (Baumrind, 1991; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1983).

Parenting practices. Parenting styles are used to describe aspects of the emotional (p. 251) climate in which socialization takes place, but they also incorporate specific behaviors used by parents to socialize their children, or what researchers call "parenting practices" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). In much of the research on parenting practices, the emphasis has been on disciplining practices in the context of children's transgressions. Parents use discipline practices on their children so that they can move forward the socialization agenda that best fits the parents' moral and social views. Disciplinary actions taken by parents in their efforts to raise their children are an important component in the power structure of the parent-child relationship (Hoffmann, 2000).

There are three common parental disciplinary practices. *Inductions* are child-centered practices that include the use of reasoning to make clear the moral rule or message, to stimulate understanding of the multiple perspectives, and to foster empathy for others. In general, authoritative parents are likely to use inductions when disciplining their children (Livas-Dlott et al., 2010). *Power assertion* involves actions such as physical punishment and withdrawal of privileges, with little or no explanation to the child of the reasons why the parent is taking these actions against them. At the extreme, this can evolve into emotional and/or physical abuse. This form of disciplining is often associated with authoritarian parents. *Love withdrawal* consists of social and emotional disapproval, threats to leave the child, or threats to ignore the child. It is a technique that negatively affects the emo-

tional aspects of the parent-child relationship and may induce disruptive and ambiguous anxiety responses in the child.

Prosocial parenting practices. The focus on parenting styles and the general dimensions of parental support and control has been quite fruitful in understanding the role of parents and caregivers. However, some scholars have noted that parents socialize their children in nontransgressive contexts as well. Although transgressions and disciplining experiences can be quite powerful and memorable events, most children engage in nontransgressive behaviors most of the time, and parents transmit messages regarding their valued and desirable behaviors using other practices. These practices have been referred to as *prosocial parenting practices* (Carlo, McGinley, Hayes, Batenhorst, & Wilkinson, 2007).

Understanding prosocial parenting practices has been a topic of interest for several decades. Early work in this area highlighted the influence of observational learning and the use of social (e.g., praise, affection) and material (e.g., gifts, added privileges) rewards in predicting prosocial behaviors (Grusec & Redler, 1980; Staub, 1978). Research on the powerful and effective role of observational learning is substantive (Anderson & Bushman, 2001; Conger, Neppl, Kim, & Scaramella, 2003; Hasan, Bègue, Scharkow, & Bushman, 2013). Such work demonstrates that prosocial models promote prosocial behaviors in children and that aggressive models promote children's aggressive behaviors (Prot et al., 2015). Therefore, parents' prosocial and aggressive behaviors can influence children's tendencies to engage in such actions.

The use of material and social rewards is of particular interest because it highlights purposeful efforts by parents to acknowledge and encourage their children's positive social behaviors. In this work, researchers have demonstrated that the use of social rewards seems more effective than material rewards in fostering moral internalization and altruistic behaviors (Grusec & Redler, 1980). Material rewards may contribute to increased prosocial behaviors, but not to sustained behaviors, and they also predict selfish forms of prosocial (p. 252) behaviors (Carlo et al., 2007). Scholars have explained these findings in terms of how these consequences invoke expectations for concrete and material rewards to engage in prosocial behaviors, and that the absence of such consequences can reduce the likelihood of such behaviors. In contrast, the use of social rewards results in positive affective associations that can be induced in future opportunities to engage in prosocial behaviors. In essence, social rewards foster intrinsic motives, whereas material rewards foster extrinsic motives (Carlo et al., 2007; Deci & Ryan, 1991; Grusec & Redler, 1980; Staub, 1978).

Based mostly on previous work on parent-child conversations in early childhood, scholars have noted the influence of conversations about emotions and moral values on children's moral development and youth prosocial behaviors (Carlo et al., 2007; Laible, 2011). Parental monitoring (i.e., knowing the whereabouts and social network of their child), though rarely studied as a predictor of prosocial behaviors, has also been linked to such behaviors (Kerr, Beck, Downs Shattuck, Kattar, & Uriburu, 2003; see also Padilla-Walker

& Son, this volume). Another form of prosocial parenting practice involves the expression of actions that foster cultural and moral messages regarding the importance of family relative to other social groups or commitments (Calderón-Tena, Knight, & Carlo, 2011; see Whiting & Edwards, 1988). In this line of work, the emphasis is on everyday tasks, expectations, and responsibilities (e.g., household chores and responsibilities, taking care of younger siblings, helping elders) that should promote prosocial behaviors toward a specific social group (e.g., the family) and foster moral responsibility, respect, and empathy toward others. These lines of research all point to the influence of parenting practices on children's prosocial and moral development via relatively normative mechanisms that do not involve children's transgressive actions.

Toward an Integrative Approach of Moral Socialization in US Latinos

Parents and caregivers are agents that transmit knowledge, beliefs, and customs regarding their culture to their offspring (Whiting & Edwards, 1988). Cultural scholars have referred to these socializing contexts as "developmental niches" (Super & Harkness, 1997; see Narvaez, this volume). The unique characteristics of developmental niches account for the culture group differences that can manifest. In US Latino children, the developmental niche might be unique from that of children from other countries of origin, socioeconomic status, or races.

Brief History, Immigration, and Demographics of US Latinos

Latinos (mostly of Mexican heritage) resided in many parts of the United States long before the European settlers arrived. However, the influx of Latino populations to the country technically started during the California Gold Rush, when the modern boundaries between Mexico and the United States were decided. That was after the US-Mexican War (1846–1848), and after Mexico ceded to the United States more than one third of its territory. During that time, 100,000 former Mexican citizens who decided to remain north of the new border were offered naturalization by the United States (Gutierrez, 2017). During the first decades of the 20th century, the immigration rates of Latinos were rather low, and even during the Great Depression, an estimated 500,000 Mexican immigrants were forced to leave the United States. During the 1930s, Latinos represented less than 10 percent of the immigrants arriving in the United States. However, since the 1940s the percentage of Latinos living in the United States has been steadily growing, (p. 253) and it reached 17 percent of the US population in 2012 (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, & Cuddington, 2013). However, the growth in the rates of Latino immigration to the United States has decreased since the Great Recession in 2008. For the period 2007–2014, the Latino population grew at an annual rate of 2.8 percent; this contrasts with the growth shown between 2000 to 2007, which was estimated to be at 4.4 percent.

Historically, the immigration of Latinos to the United States has been related to the availability of more economic opportunities in the United States than in their countries of origin, but this has not been the only reason. Political instability due to civil wars and internal conflicts in Latin American countries has also been a reason why many Latinos have left their countries of origin and relocated to the United States (Carlo & Conejo, 2014). The varied reasons for immigration (e.g., political or war refugees, economic or educational opportunities) and the prevailing attitudes toward specific Latino immigrants at the historical time of immigration add to the varied circumstances that can affect children's development.

During the history of Latino immigration to the United States, most of the immigrants were, and still are, of Mexican origin. In fact, people of Mexican origin are the largest group of Latinos in the Southwest region of the United States. However, this is not true for other parts of the United States. For example, in the Miami metropolitan area, Cubans are the largest Latino group; whereas in New York, Orlando, and Philadelphia, most Latinos are of Puerto Rican descent. Interestingly, in the Washington, DC, area, Salvadorans are the largest Latino group (Stepler & Brown, 2016). Another aspect of Latino immigrants that highlights their heterogeneity that is important to consider, is their educational background. For example, 57 percent of Chilean Latinos who immigrate to the United States hold a bachelor degree, whereas only 1 percent of Salvadorian immigrants have such a degree (Organización Internacional para las Migraciones, 2011; Lopez et al., 2013). These historical and sociodemographic characteristics are important to consider in order to avoid generalizations across US Latino populations.

Application to Understanding Prosocial and Moral Development in US Latinos

Applying this culture-specific approach to understanding the role of parents and caregivers in predicting culture-related individual and group differences in prosocial and moral development, investigators have examined culture-related socialization models in US Latino samples (Carlo & de Guzman, 2009). These models are based on the assumption that the family, including parents and caregivers, are the primary socializing agents of cultural values deemed important, and that such values are expressed in practices (e.g., scaffolding, direct tuition, use of rewards and punishments, observational learning) that encourage or discourage beliefs and corresponding behaviors in their offspring. Moreover, parents are likely the primary influence of culture-related mechanisms, including children's acculturative and enculturative experiences, their ethnic identity, and their exposure and responses to discrimination and culture-related stress experiences. Therefore, one important step in understanding how parents and caregivers from specific cultural groups influence children's prosocial and moral development is to understand these relevant culture-specific mechanisms and their relations to prosocial behaviors in US Latinos.

Traditional and Culture-Specific Parenting of Prosociality in US Latino/as

Traditional Latino cultural values. Many scholars have asserted a core set of traditional cultural values that are strongly associated with Latinos and may predict (p. 254) prosocial and moral outcomes. Although the family is important for many cultural groups, it plays a particularly important role in the lives of many Latino families (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010). This value is referred to as *familismo* (Knight et al., 2010). Most Latinos feel a strong sense of responsibility to contribute to their family and to take care of family members who are in need. Importantly, these feelings of obligation to help and be supportive of family members holds for both nuclear and extended families and leads to a strong encouragement of familial interdependence (Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, Marín, & Perez-Stable, 1987). The strong emphasis on duty, identity, and support toward family provides an important foundation for the promotion of prosocial behaviors.

Another traditional cultural value that is important for Latinos, and that research has shown to be associated with prosocial behaviors, is the value of *respeto*, which literally means respect, and includes being obedient with and avoiding arguments with adults (Calzada et al., 2010). *Respeto* also refers to having good manners when interacting with others, both within and outside the family (Delgado & Ford, 1998). Respect toward others is conceptually linked to empathic-responding and prosocial behaviors. *Respeto* is also related to the traditional Latino cultural value of being *bien educado* (well educated). However, *bien educado* is less related to formal education, but rather to showing good manners and moral character. There are other cultural values, such as *simpatía* (agreeableness and politeness) and *personalismo* (positive interpersonal and direct social skills), which could also be associated with prosocial and moral development (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007). Finally, the extent to which individuals endorse *religiousness* and *traditional gender role* (i.e., masculinity, femininity; also sometimes referred to as *machismo* and *marianismo*) values could be linked to prosocial and moral development (Carlo & de Guzman, 2009). Most major religions strongly value kindness and generosity toward others, and endorsement of traditional gender roles is associated with sex-typed prosocial behaviors. For example, femininity is related to caregiving, sympathy, and nurturance, whereas masculinity is related to assertiveness, competition, and instrumentalism (Eagly, 1983; Maccoby, 1990). Although all of these cultural values are theoretically associated with prosocial and moral development, most research on US Latinos has focused on *familismo* (Knight & Carlo, 2012).

Thus far, evidence on the links between cultural values and prosocial behaviors is strongest for *familismo* as compared to other cultural values (Knight & Carlo, 2012). Several longitudinal and cross-sectional studies show positive relations between *familismo* and prosocial behaviors in US Latino youth (Armenta, Knight, Carlo, & Jacobson, 2010; Calderón-Tena et al., 2011; Knight, Carlo, Basilio, & Jacobson, 2015; Knight, Carlo, Mahrer, & Davis, 2016). One recent study showed that *respeto* was positively linked to dire, emotional, compliant, and anonymous behaviors, whereas *traditional gender roles* were positively linked to compliant, dire, anonymous, and public behaviors, and negatively linked to altruistic behaviors (Davis, Carlo, & Knight, 2015). Brittian et al. (2013) found that a composite of traditional Mexican cultural values (i.e., *familismo*, *respeto*, and religiousness) was positively associated with several forms of prosocial behaviors (i.e., dire,

emotional, compliant, anonymous, public) but negatively associated with altruistic proso-cial behaviors. One other study showed significant positive relations between religious-ness and altruistic, compliant, and anonymous prosocial actions (Carlo, Knight, McGinley, Zamboanga, & Jarvis, 2010). In (p. 255) addition, a couple of studies suggest that US mainstream majority values (e.g., materialism, personal achievement, wealth acquisition) are negatively related to altruistic behaviors but positively related to other forms of prosocial behaviors, including selfishly motivated public prosocial actions (Armenta et al., 2010; Knight et al., 2016). Across all these studies, the findings suggest that cultural val-ues are predictive of specific forms of prosocial behaviors in US Latino youth.

Acculturation, enculturation, and acculturative stress. Acculturation results from the contact of two or more different cultural groups, and it includes changes at both the group and individual levels, in one or all cultural groups that take part in the constant so-cial exchanges (Berry & Sam, 1997; Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986; Umaña-Taylor & Al-faro, 2009). In contrast, enculturation refers to processes that teach and reinforce reten-tion of ethnic-origin knowledge, behaviors, customs, and pride. Both of these processes can co-occur at the individual and group level. The distinction between the individual and the group level is important, because not all individuals within the same group experi-ence the same process.

Additionally, acculturation and enculturation are not fixed social mechanisms, and there are several outcomes that could follow these processes. For example, if the individual does not interact with the receiving community, but holds onto their original culture, a separation result has taken place after the acculturation experience. If the individual re-jects his or her own culture, and is eager to interact with the receiving culture, assimila-tion has occurred. When individuals are able to maintain a balance between their own culture and the other culture, and establish good relations with the other culture, integra-tion has been the result. And finally, marginalization occurs when individuals reject their culture of origin and do not interact with the new culture (Berry & Sam, 1997). However, this last concept of marginalization has been challenged in subsequent research, because of its low reliability and validity and because of the small sample size of the groups that are categorized as marginalized in empirical studies (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010). Hence, acculturation and enculturation processes are described as the dynamic adoption of cultural patterns resulting from a continuous encounter between two cultural groups (Quintana & Scull, 2009).

Conceptually, more acculturated children and youth are expected to be more likely to adopt mainstream cultural values of their majority society, which may impact their propensity to engage in prosocial and moral behaviors. Indeed, there is evidence that more acculturated children are more apt to engage in competitive, and less apt to engage in cooperative, behaviors than less acculturated children (see Knight & Carlo, 2012). Fur-thermore, among US Latinos, more acculturated youth report less prosocial behaviors (de Guzman & Carlo, 2004). Interestingly, Schwartz, Zamboanga, and Jarvis, (2007) showed that US Latino youth who reported high levels of both US and Hispanic orientations (i.e., knowledge, behaviors, affiliation) were more likely to report higher levels of prosocial be-

haviors. These findings were attributed to the possibility that the adoption of both sets of orientations (i.e., a bicultural identity) could be adaptive to US Latino youth.

Acculturation (and enculturation) is expected to generate stress from the adaptation and interaction with a new culture. The tension and demands that result from acculturation are known as *acculturative stress* (Berry & Annis, 1974). Acculturative stress alludes to a variety of specific taxing experiences, (p. 256) including discrimination, racism, language difficulties, and lack of access to services and resources (e.g., healthcare, legal representation, quality education; Smart and Smart, 1995). In general, more acculturative stress is related to greater maladjustment (Umaña-Taylor & Alfaro, 2009). Therefore, one might expect that acculturative stress is negatively associated with children's prosocial and moral development.

Consistent with this notion, three recent studies of US Latinos demonstrate that more reported discrimination experiences are linked to less prosocial behaviors, especially altruistic behaviors (Brittian et al., 2013; Davis et al., 2015; McGinley et al., 2010). These studies are in accord with assertions that stress may overwhelm resources and orient individuals toward the self, which can result in less selfless forms of helping. However, such experiences appear to also be positively associated with other forms of prosocial behaviors and selfishly motivated prosocial behaviors (Davis et al., 2015; McGinley et al., 2010). McGinley and collaborators suggested that these results could be at least partially explained by the emotional sensitivity hypothesis, or the argument that exposure to sustained stress could lead to a better understanding of other people's suffering, and hence increase prosocial behavior tendencies. These latter findings suggest that discrimination experiences and stress can sometimes lead to helping behaviors.

Ethnic identity and biculturalism. Ethnic identity is defined as the sense of themselves that people have as members of an ethnic group (Phinney, 2003), and is assumed to be part of the self-concept (Phinney, 1992). Ethnic identity is not a static notion, but rather a changing component of the self that is modified as individuals understand the differences among cultural groups and try to organize their ideas about ethnicity in relation with the broader context (Phinney, 2003). If Latino youth growing up in the United States perceive that their ethnic descent is the object of discrimination and stigmatization, their identity formation as a minority group could be negatively impacted, and they would be more likely to reject both their culture of origin and the mainstream culture in the United States (Quintana & Scull, 2009). However, if they are offered opportunities to integrate with the receiving community, and to maintain strong ties to their culture of origin, their ethnic identity might provide them with positive feelings about their cultural group, and that in turn could facilitate the development of socioemotional abilities to reduce the negative effects of stereotypes about their ethnicity (Gonzales, Fabrett, & Knight, 2009). Biculturalism, or the ability of immigrant individuals to successfully navigate both the host culture and their culture of origin (Gonzales, Knight, Birman, & Sirolli, 2004) offers Latino youth the flexibility needed to navigate multiple and competing social contexts (Gonzales et al., 2009). Conceptually, strong identity with one's ethnic group should foster prosocial behaviors that are highly valued by the ethnic group, such as

prosocial behaviors toward other members of one's ethnic group and family. Similarly, bicultural individuals are expected to act prosocially, because these individuals strongly endorse their ethnic identity (as well as identity with majority society). However, these individuals are also able to code-switch between majority and minority cultures, which may also foster perspective-taking and empathy-related responding to both cultural groups.

Research on the relations between ethnic identity and biculturalism and prosocial behaviors in US Latino children and adolescents is growing. Knight and his colleagues showed that stronger ethnic identity was (p. 257) positively associated with cooperative behaviors in young US Mexican children (see Knight & Carlo, 2012). Furthermore, as expected, US Latino adolescents who report high levels of ethnic identity and biculturalism also reported high levels of prosocial behaviors (Armenta et al., 2010; Carlo, Basilio, & Knight, 2016; Schwartz et al., 2007). As can be seen from the reviewed literature, biculturalism is a beneficial result of acculturation, and it allows Latino youth to adjust positively to their context. That means that practices from both the host and heritage cultures are important for Latino immigrants to adapt to their environment, and these kinds of opportunities should be promoted to enhance their integration and positive development.

An Ecocultural Stress-Based Model of Prosocial and Moral Behaviors in US Latino Youth

Based on social ecology, social cognitive, cultural socialization, and stress-coping paradigms, Carlo and his colleagues proposed an integrative model of prosocial and moral development that can be applied to better understand Latino children and youth (see Figure 15.1). The model is broad and identifies a number of intraindividual, interpersonal and ecological predictors of prosocial and moral development. Although culture-specific mechanisms are introduced as influences of prosocial and moral development, traditional influences are also relevant to better predict such outcomes. Parents and family members exert their influence on their children either directly to prosocial behaviors, or indirectly to prosocial behaviors via the promotion of intrapersonal culture-specific and moral traits. In other words, the assumption is that ecological and experiential factors are filtered via the individual, thus accounting for individual and group differences in prosocial and moral outcomes. In this section, we briefly review pertinent research on US Latinos in some aspects of the model.
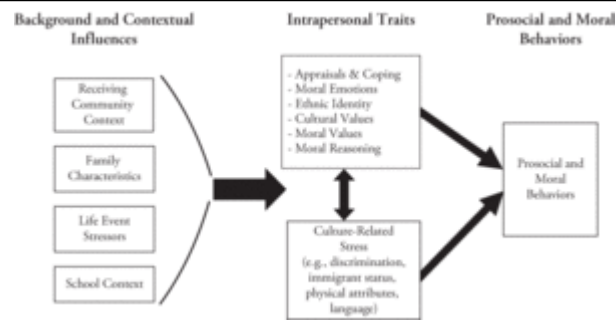
Figure 15.1 Ecocultural Stress-Based Model of US Latino/a Youth Prosocial and Moral Behaviors (adapted from Carlo & de Guzman, 2009; Raffaelli et al., 2005)

The background and contextual influences acknowledge the roles of *receiving community characteristics* (e.g., anti-immigration laws, crime and violence rates, access to bilingual services and support), *social contexts* (such as the school, including diversity rates and institutionally racist policies), *life event stressors* (e.g., economic strain, loss or long-term separation of parent, trauma exposure), and *family characteristics*. Of the various (p. 258) background and contextual influences, the most pertinent for our present purposes is family characteristics, which includes parents and caregivers, siblings, and extended family members (see Carlo & de Guzman, 2009 for details regarding the other aspects of the model; also see Raffaelli, Carlo, Carranza, & Gonzalez-Kruger, 2005).

Family characteristics alludes to numerous family members and to the history and sociodemographic aspects of the family; most research on prosocial and moral development in US Latino children and youth has focused on parenting. Consistent with findings of studies from mostly European American samples (Eisenberg & Spinrad, 2014), there is some evidence that parental warmth is linked to prosocial behaviors in US Latinos (Knafo & Plomin, 2006). Moreover, based primarily on evidence from European American samples, researchers generally show evidence that authoritative parenting is linked to higher moral development, whereas authoritarian and neglectful parenting is linked to lower moral development. Findings for the links between permissive parenting and moral development are mixed. However, research on these links in US Latino samples is scarce. In one study, researchers showed that authoritative parenting was associated with higher levels of prosocial behaviors in US Latinos (Carlo et al., 2018). Other research yields evidence that supportive parenting is associated with sympathy and prosocial behaviors in US Mexicans (Carlo, Knight, McGinley, & Hayes, 2011). However, there is recent evidence that the traditional parenting styles typology may not accurately depict parenting styles in US Latinos. Because ethnic/racial minority status is strongly correlated with SES, some researchers have observed that strict parenting might be adaptive to ensure the safety and well-being of their ethnic/racial minority child (see Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). Furthermore, authoritarian parenting may be deemed normative in such populations, which could lessen the negative evaluation of the use of such practices. In addition, authoritarian parenting may be effective in fostering interdependence, which

may be desired in many ethnic/racial minority cultures. These scholars note that high parental control is often mixed with high levels of warmth in these families. As long as parents do not exhibit extreme high levels of control, authoritarian parenting might not be associated with lower levels of moral development in these cultural minority groups.

Using a person-centered approach, White and her colleagues (White, Zeiders, Gonzales, Tein, & Roosa, 2013) have identified a type of parenting style that fits the above description, and the style is not evident in European American samples. The style is referred to as *no-nonsense parenting* and is found among Latino fathers but not mothers. No-nonsense parenting is characterized by high levels of support and control. Although the style reflects relatively high levels of control and demandingness, researchers have demonstrated that such parenting is not associated with negative outcomes in Latinos (Carlo et al., 2018; Halgunseth et al., 2006; White et al., 2013). In the only study of no-nonsense parenting and prosocial behaviors, Carlo et al. (2018) similarly showed no significant relations between such parenting and prosocial behaviors. Thus, in contrast to research with European American samples, the relative deleterious effects of high levels of control appear to be mitigated by the high levels of support.

Although work on parenting styles continues, scholars have asserted that the application of parenting styles to understand child development is limited. For example, parenting scholars have noted that low, medium, or high levels of warmth and control are challenging to define and may be (p. 259) sample-specific. This makes it difficult to operationalize and apply in developing intervention programs. Furthermore, warmth and control can be expressed in a wide range of practices, and it is therefore possible that some specific warmth and control practices are more positive than others, and these practices may be adaptive or maladaptive depending upon the specific situation. Indeed, scholars have called for research on parents who flexibly apply different strategies to adapt to specific circumstances (e.g., specific child or context) (Henry, Boivin, & Brendgen, 2016). Finally, because the four typologies were originally developed based on European American samples and based on the existing evidence from studies of US Latinos, African Americans, and Asian Americans (Brody & Flor, 1998; Chao, 2000; White et al., 2013), questions continue to be raised regarding whether other typologies exist or whether there may be typologies distinctive to specific ethnic/racial minority groups.

To address some of these limitations, work on parenting practices and prosocial and moral development in US Latinos is growing. Early work by Knight and his colleagues demonstrated across a series of studies of children that family ethnic socialization practices (e.g., cooking traditional cultural foods, speaking in a native language, engaging in cultural traditions and customs) positively predicted cooperative behaviors (see Knight & Carlo, 2012). These findings are consistent with longitudinal findings of US Latino adolescents that report positive relations between such practices and prosocial behaviors (Knight et al., 2016). Other researchers have shown that prosocial parenting practices are positively associated with prosocial behaviors in US Latino adolescents (Calderón-Tena et al., 2011; Carlo, Crockett, Wilkinson, & Beal, 2011; Carlo, Knight, et al., 2011; Davis et al., 2015; Kerr et al., 2003). In one study, US Mexican parents who reported the use of

parenting practices designed to foster *familismo* had youth who reported higher levels of prosocial behaviors (Calderón-Tena et al., 2011).

Other studies have examined additional forms of parenting practices and related aspects of family functioning. A study of parental disciplining practices showed positive links between inductions and prosocial behaviors in US Latinos (Carlo, Knight, et al., 2011). Another study demonstrated positive links between inductions and perspective-taking and sympathy in US Mexican youth (Shen, Carlo, & Knight, 2013). Kerr et al. (2003) showed that parental monitoring was associated with more prosocial behaviors in a Latino sample. Adaptive family functioning was found to be positively related to prosocial behaviors (de Guzman & Carlo, 2004). One recent study also showed positive relations between supportive siblings and youth prosocial behaviors (Streit, Carlo, Killoren, & Alfaro, 2018), though studies on the influence of other family members are rare.

Although studies yield increasing evidence that parenting (and family) processes are directly related to prosocial behavior among US Latino youth, research on the intervening mechanisms that may help explain those relations is scarce. A spate of recent research findings suggests that cultural values, ethnic identity, and moral cognitions and emotions may account for the relations between parenting practices and styles and US Latino youth prosocial behaviors. In a series of studies, Knight and colleagues showed that individual differences in ethnic identity accounted for the relations between parental ethnic socialization practices and prosocial behaviors in US Mexican young children (Knight et al., 2011; Knight, Cota, & Bernal, 1993; Knight et al., 1993) and adolescents (Knight et al., 2016). More recent studies also demonstrate that the relations between (p. 260) specific parenting practices and styles and prosocial behaviors can be accounted for by individual differences in cultural-specific and non-culture-specific traits (Calderón-Tena et al., 2011; Carlo, Crockett, Wilkinson, & Beal, 2011; Carlo, Knight, et al., 2011; Davis et al., 2015). For example, individual differences in sympathy accounted for the relations between parental inductions and six different forms of prosocial behaviors in a sample of US Mexican early adolescents (Carlo et al., 2011). These findings suggest that inductions predict prosocial behaviors, but only to the extent that such inductions foster sympathy in US Mexican youth.

It is important to note that the findings sometimes demonstrate that family characteristics and intervening processes predict some but not all forms of prosocial behaviors. Two studies suggest that US Mexican parents who endorse and foster traditional Mexican values have youth who exhibit compliant, emotional, and dire forms of prosocial behaviors (Armenta et al., 2010; Calderón-Tena et al., 2011). These forms are relatively commonly reported among US Mexican youth and are closely linked to traditional US Mexican parenting practices (de Guzman, Brown, Carlo, & Knight, 2012). However, other forms of prosocial behaviors may be less valued by traditional US Mexican parents, and therefore be less encouraged or promoted by parents. Altruistic behaviors, for example, may require that parents foster strong moral responsibility and moral reasoning in addition to specific cultural values (e.g., *respeto*, religiousness) to transmit the importance of helping even when there is no self-reward or the cost of helping is high. In one study, Armenta et

al. (2010) showed that familism was positively associated with compliant, dire, and emotional prosocial behaviors but negatively related to altruistic behaviors. Similarly, one might expect specific cultural values (e.g., *familismo*) to better predict prosocial behaviors toward in-group members (such as family members) and other specific cultural values (e.g., religiousness) to better predict out-group prosocial behaviors. Finally, Carlo et al. (2010) demonstrated a positive relation between religious values and altruistic behaviors in a sample of US Mexican youth.

Conclusions

The research examining the various ways that parents influence US Latino children and adolescents' prosocial behaviors is still relatively new. There are many gaps that exist in our understanding of the traditional and culture-specific mechanisms that predict such outcomes. To date, there is research that yields evidence on the importance of practices exhibited by parents that enculturate children about their ethnic heritage. Those practices foster ethnic identity, biculturalism, traditional cultural values, and subsequent specific forms of prosocial behaviors. However, the push-and-pull of acculturation and enculturation forces and how these forces influence US Latino youth prosocial behaviors is not well understood. In addition, given the evidence of parenting styles that may be unique to US Latino parents, greater attention is needed to examine culture-specific parenting practices and styles and their relations to prosocial behaviors in US Latino youth.

In general, the evidence suggests that several culture-specific mechanisms promote prosocial behaviors in US Latino youth. For example, youth who report strong ethnic identity and bicultural identity tendencies report higher levels of several forms of prosocial behaviors. *Familismo* values, in particular, are also associated with more prosocial behaviors in US Latino youth. However, recent findings suggest that other traditional cultural values (e.g., *respeto*, traditional gender roles, religiousness) may also predict such behaviors. The need to (p. 261) examine the interplay of culture-specific and non-culture-specific (e.g., moral reasoning, sympathy) processes is great. Furthermore, in light of the recent surge in work on moral identity (Lapsley & Carlo, 2014), research examining the parental underpinnings of moral identity in US Latino youth is lacking. Because moral identity (as well as moral reasoning and sympathy) has been linked to moral exemplary and altruistic behaviors (Carlo, 2014; Hardy & Carlo, 2005), and because such behaviors are highly valued for their benefits to society, there is great interest in understanding the interplay of parenting and youth traits associated with these behaviors in US Latino youth.

In addition, parents likely influence the effects of culture-related stressors (such as discrimination), which in turn affect prosocial development in US Latino youth. Although discrimination experiences and racism might be expected to inhibit prosocial outcomes in US Latino youth, there is suggestive evidence that such experiences sometimes result in higher propensity for specific forms of prosocial behaviors. These findings suggest that there may be moderating influences that buffer the often negative outcomes of exposure

to such experiences, or that might enhance the likelihood of some positive social outcomes. Research on identifying the parenting practices or mechanisms that enhance or diminish the conditions under which US Latino youth can overcome such high-risk circumstances and events is needed.

Scholars and researchers have begun to heed the call for more attention to understanding positive social development in ethnic and racial minority youth, and the research on prosocial development in US Latinos is one such example. However, as can be surmised, many voids in our understanding of the parental influences of prosociality in US Latinos still exist. For example, most of the existing research focuses on US Mexicans, and there is a lack of studies on other US Latino groups (e.g., Cuban Americans, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans). Given the increasing diversity of the US Latino population and our understanding of the unique histories, characteristics, and experiences of these different groups, research on prosocial development in these other US Latino groups is of increasing importance. As we have learned thus far, there are commonalities across culture groups in parental and nonparental predictors of prosocial behaviors, but a complete understanding of prosocial development in US Latino youth will necessitate investigations that adequately consider qualities that are possibly unique to distinct US Latino groups.

The study of prosocial development in US Latinos is an exciting opportunity to redress the prior emphasis on deficit and pathology in ethnic minority populations. In this chapter, we have reviewed traditional approaches to understanding the links between parenting and prosocial behaviors. Although traditional parenting theories provide a strong foundation, the incorporation of culture-specific mechanisms (e.g., cultural values, ethnic identity, acculturation) into these models is deemed necessary to advance our understanding of the influence of parents on US Latino children's prosocial development. Moreover, we assert that parents are important influences on these culture-specific mechanisms and on prosocial outcomes; thus, a complete understanding of prosocial development in US Latinos will necessitate research that examines this complex interplay of parenting and these culture-specific processes. As one step toward developing a fuller understanding of prosocial outcomes in this population, we presented an integrative model that incorporates culture-specific and non-culture-specific mechanisms to account for this complex interplay. Our hope is that this model, and the associated research that (p. 262) follows, will move scholars, program developers, policymakers, and practitioners toward a better understanding of the critical role of parents in fostering positive social development in US Latino populations.

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Gustavo Carlo

Gustavo Carlo, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO, USA

L. Diego Conejo Bolanos

University of Missouri