

The Enhancing and Buffering Role of Ethnic Socialization on the Links Between Discrimination and Prosocial Behaviors Among U.S. Latinx Young Adults

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Abstract

The goal of the current study was to examine ethnic socialization as a moderator in the links between discrimination and two forms of prosocial behaviors (i.e., actions intended to benefit others) in order to better understand the role of socialization in protecting young adults from discrimination experiences. Participants were 1,527 Latinx college students (M age = 20.35 years, SD = 3.88; 75.2% women) who completed measures of their perceptions of discrimination, family ethnic socialization experiences, and their tendencies to engage in selflessly (altruistic) versus selfishly (public) motivated prosocial behaviors. The results demonstrated that discrimination was positively associated with altruistic prosocial behaviors but was not associated with public prosocial behaviors. Ethnic socialization was positively associated with public prosocial behaviors and negatively associated with

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altruistic prosocial behaviors. Additionally, ethnic socialization moderated the link between discrimination and both altruistic and public prosocial behaviors. The results highlight the important role of discrimination in young adults' prosocial behaviors, while also demonstrating ethnic socialization as a protective factor.

Keywords

discrimination, ethnic socialization, prosocial behaviors, Latinx college students

The present U.S. sociopolitical climate poses serious challenges and difficulties for Latinx families currently navigating mainstream U.S. society. Recent political and social rhetoric on federal immigration policies has led to increased perceptions of U.S. Latinx populations (particularly undocumented populations) as criminals and threats to the U.S., highlighting the importance of better understanding the role of bias and discrimination in the lives of Latinx families (Bouza et al., 2018; Pierce & Selee, 2017). Latinx families in the United States live under multiple systems of historical oppression and marginalization and still face systemic barriers in contemporary society (see Espinola et al., 2019). Because Latinx families are still often viewed as outsiders and inferior to White, European American families because of prejudice, Latinx families often face institutions and societal policies that limit access to opportunities and result in discrimination experiences at multiple levels (see Espinola et al., 2019). However, scholars have underscored the need for research on resilience and positive youth outcomes to redress the predominant deficit- and pathology-focused work on ethnic/racial minority populations (Cabrera et al., 2012; Cobb et al., 2019). Therefore, in the current study, we aimed to assess a resilience factor (ethnic socialization) in the links between discrimination and prosocial behaviors (i.e., actions intended to benefit others; Carlo, 2014; Eisenberg et al., 2015) with differing underlying motivations.

Considering Multidimensionality of Prosocial Behaviors

Prosocial behaviors are not only indicative of morality and positive behavioral functioning, but they are also an indicator of health and general well-being (Carlo, 2014). These behaviors represent an important outcome from both individual and community health perspectives (Carlo, 2014; Randall & Wenner, 2014). There is evidence, for example, that prosocial behaviors

among youth are positively associated with academic performance (Caprara et al., 2000), social competence and healthy relationships (Davis & Carlo, 2018; Streit et al., 2018), and physical and mental health (Carlo, 2014; Davis et al., 2016; Laible et al., 2004). Prosocial behaviors also benefit the broader community because of the focus on positive interactions that can benefit the lives of others. However, relatively few studies on these indicators of social well being in ethnic/racial minority youth exist. Greater attention to predictors of these well-being markers can contribute to the development of strength- and asset-based models of ethnic/racial minorities.

Researchers have suggested that prosocial behaviors are complex and multidimensional and should not be examined as a unidimensional or global construct (see Padilla-Walker & Carlo, 2014). Investigators have proposed that prosocial behaviors can be distinguished in multiple ways, including their underlying motivations (Carlo & Randall, 2002). Two forms of prosocial behaviors that tap into different motivations for helping are public and altruistic prosocial behaviors. Public prosocial behaviors are exhibited in the presence of others. Altruistic prosocial behaviors include helping with little to no expected benefit to the self (Carlo & Randall, 2002). Helping in public has been linked to gaining the approval of others or elevating one's social status, which is deemed a self-serving motive (Carlo, 2014). Altruistic helping, on the other hand, is a relatively selfless form of helping because there is no expected benefit to the helper and such actions may actually result in a cost to the helper. Because these behaviors have unique motivations, it is important to understand how discrimination might differentially predict these specific forms of helping.

Discrimination and Prosocial Behaviors

Conceptual models highlight the pervasive role of discrimination in the positive social behaviors of U.S. Latinx young adults. Davis and Carlo (2019) detailed several factors that play a role in the links between cultural stress experiences (including discrimination) and prosocial behaviors in U.S. Latinx youth. Discrimination may promote social exclusion and mistrust among young adults, which might undermine positive social engagement, including prosocial behaviors (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Additionally, discrimination might negatively predict helping behaviors, primarily selfless helping behaviors, if young adults lack sufficient emotional and cognitive resources to effectively cope with the stress (Davis & Carlo, 2019; see also Batson & Powell, 2003). Young adults experiencing discrimination might utilize coping strategies to reduce their own negative emotions, which might reduce their ability to give resources to others in the form of helping, particularly in

situations where the helper receives no benefit and might actually face additional personal costs (Davis et al., 2016).

Alternate models suggest that social stressors might not always relate negatively to prosocial behaviors. While these models acknowledge the inherent negativity of social stress experiences, they focus on the resilience of youth and the developmental assets that might allow youth to channel these negative experiences into positive outcomes. Specifically, stress experiences might promote sensitivity to the plight of others (i.e., perspective taking and empathic concern) and ultimately contribute to greater social outreach and prosocial engagement (i.e., *altruism born of suffering*; Staub & Vollhardt, 2008). There is accumulating evidence supporting the *altruism born of suffering* concept, suggesting that altruistic actions can result from exposure to trauma and stress (L. K. Taylor & Hanna, 2018; see Midlarsky et al., 2006). Similarly, recent work on posttraumatic growth (process of learning about one's self and adapting to change after experiencing stressful events) has linked self-awareness after experiencing stress to prosocial behaviors (Berger & Weiss, 2006; Weiss & Berger, 2010). Moreover, youth who experience discrimination may be more likely to engage in public helping as a way of maintaining a positive reputation and combating negative stereotypes (McGinley et al., 2010).

The majority of research on discrimination has focused on indicators of negative adjustment, including internalizing and externalizing behaviors (e.g., Acosta et al., 2015; Greene et al., 2006). However, there are a few existing studies on discrimination and prosocial behaviors. Davis et al. (2016) found that, in a sample of recent immigrant U.S. Latinx adolescents, perceived discrimination positively predicted depressive symptoms 6 months later. Depressive symptoms, in turn, negatively predicted altruistic helping behaviors 6 months later, controlling for initial levels of altruism. Brittan et al. (2013) examined the associations between perceived discrimination and prosocial behaviors among a sample of U.S. Mexican adolescents. Results indicated that discrimination experiences in grade 5 negatively predicted altruistic behaviors in grade 10, but positively predicted public prosocial behaviors in grade 10. There is also evidence that acculturative stress (which can include discrimination experiences) has been negatively linked with multiple forms of prosocial behaviors (Davis et al., 2014, 2015) including altruistic prosocial behaviors (McGinley et al., 2010). Therefore, discrimination experiences might impede some forms of helping but may actually promote other forms under certain circumstances. Unfortunately, we know little about the conditions under which prosocial behaviors can occur in the presence of discrimination experiences.

Ethnic Socialization and Prosocial Behaviors

Understanding how family socialization contributes to prosocial behaviors is an important area of inquiry, and there is an accumulation of research highlighting the important role of parenting in adolescent and young adult prosocial behaviors (see Carlo, 2014; Eisenberg et al., 2015). Recently, scholars have argued for the importance of considering socialization practices that are culturally relevant and might promote prosocial behaviors among U.S. Latinx families (Carlo & de Guzman, 2009; Knight & Carlo, 2012). One important, culturally-based socialization practice is ethnic socialization. Ethnic socialization refers to the transmission of messages to youth about the child's ethnic heritage and promotion of pride in that heritage (Hughes et al., 2006). Ethnic socialization might foster traditional cultural values that prioritize the needs of others in the broader social group over the self, including familism values, which have consistently been linked to prosocial behaviors (Calderón-Tena et al., 2011; Davis, Carlo, Zamboanga, et al., 2018; Knight et al., 2016). Therefore, ethnic socialization might represent a parenting practice that facilitates prosocial behaviors. There is also evidence that ethnic socialization is related both directly and indirectly to indicators of social competence and positive adjustment, such as academic achievement and self-esteem (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), suggesting that this practice is linked to positive social behavioral outcomes.

Research on ethnic socialization and U.S. Latinx youth prosocial behaviors is scarce. One study of U.S. Mexican adolescents found that ethnic socialization was indirectly associated with multiple forms of prosocial behaviors through ethnic identity and familism values (Knight et al., 2016). There is also evidence that cultural socialization experiences in the home (e.g., chores and family responsibilities) positively predict prosocial behaviors among Latinx youth (see Knight & Carlo, 2012). In order to extend the research on culturally-based family practices, in the current study we examined the link between ethnic socialization and two forms of prosocial behaviors.

The Moderating Role of Family Ethnic Socialization

Considering ethnic socialization as a moderating factor in the relations between discrimination and prosocial behaviors during young adulthood might be particularly important, as young adults are adapting to roles in society that are increasingly independent from family members, and are exploring their identity in a variety of domains (e.g., relationships, work, living situations; see Arnett, 2000). Because of these increasingly complicated roles

and responsibilities, family processes might help protect young adults from discrimination experiences and support their social growth and well-being.

Davis and Carlo (2019) posited that ethnic socialization experiences might buffer youth and young adults from cultural stressors and might promote prosocial behaviors. Ethnic socialization messages may foster a stronger understanding of and identification with young adults' ethnic groups, which may protect them from the negative consequences of discrimination and may mitigate the need to engage in public forms of helping under conditions of stress as a way of coping. These messages about cultural pride may prepare young adults for a world in which ethnic/racial discrimination is salient and may encourage effective coping strategies to help young adults deal with these experiences by fostering a connection with their own culture and ethnic heritage (see Hughes et al., 2006). Moreover, relatively high levels of ethnic socialization experiences might also reflect stronger social support from family.

To our knowledge, there are no studies examining the moderating role of ethnic socialization in the relations between discrimination and prosocial behaviors among U.S. Latinx youth. In studies with other ethnic/racial groups, there is substantive evidence that social and family support buffers youth from the deleterious consequences of discrimination (e.g., Degarmo & Martinez, 2006; see also Harris-Britt et al., 2007). There is also evidence that ethnic and racial socialization buffer the negative effects of discrimination for African American and U.S. Latinx youth (Burt & Simons, 2015; Park et al., 2020). In these studies, however, investigators examined maladaptive and negative adjustment outcomes rather than positive markers of social well-being. Additionally, links among discrimination, ethnic socialization, and prosocial behaviors might differ between men and women. Because stress theories suggest that men and women might respond differently to stress, such that men may be more likely to respond with a "fight or flight" mentality, whereas women may be more likely to seek out social support and emotional closeness (S. E. Taylor et al., 2000), we examined gender differences in the links between discrimination, ethnic socialization, and prosocial behaviors.

Study Hypotheses

We hypothesized that discrimination would be negatively associated with altruistic prosocial behaviors and positively associated with public prosocial behaviors. We also hypothesized that ethnic socialization would be positively associated with altruistic prosocial behaviors and negatively associated (or not associated) with public prosocial behaviors. We also hypothesized

interactive effects between discrimination and ethnic socialization predicting prosocial behaviors. We expected that, for young adults high in ethnic socialization, altruistic prosocial behaviors would increase as discrimination increased. We also expected that, for young adults high in ethnic socialization, public prosocial behaviors would decrease as discrimination experiences increased because ethnic socialization experiences may provide a sense of comfort and strength for young adults, which may result in less of a need to engage in public helping behaviors as a means of coping. We also examined gender differences as an exploratory goal of the current study. Based on previous stress theory, it may be that the links between discrimination and prosocial behaviors are strongest for men, as they might retreat from social relationships when faced with social stress.

Method

Participants

Participants in the present study consisted of 1,527 Latinx college students ($M_{age}=20.35$ years, $SD=3.88$; 75.2% women) from 30 public and private colleges and universities across 20 US states. Sites were selected with the goal of representing the U.S. Latinx college student population as adequately as possible. The sites were distributed across the country (six in the Northeast, seven in the Southeast, six in the Midwest, three in the Southwest, and eight in the West). The representation of U.S. Latinx populations at the participating institutions ranged from 1% to 60% (mean = 12%). Participants reported a variety of ethnicities (19% Mexican origin, 16% Cuban origin, 6% Colombian origin, and 4% Dominican origin), and over half were born in the US. Twenty-eight percent of participants reported annual family incomes below \$30,000.

Procedures

Data were collected in 2008 to 2009 as part of the larger Multi-site University Study of Identity and Culture (MUSIC) project (see Weisskirch et al., 2013). Faculty collaborators at each institution were responsible for coordinating recruitment in classrooms. In psychology departments, students were recruited through research participation requirements. Recruitment sites varied in terms of the type of institution (e.g., land grant, private), setting (urban vs. rural), geographical location (e.g., U.S. Northeast, Midwest, Southeast). Students at each site were offered either course credit or research participation credit for taking part in the study. Students who agreed to participate

were sent a link to the consent form and survey packet, which they completed online. All students who completed the survey were given the extra credit that was offered. The study was conducted in compliance with the appropriate internal review board (see Castillo & Schwartz, 2013; Weisskirch et al., 2013).

Measures

Discrimination. Participants completed measures of their perceptions of bias toward their ethnic group (Scale of Ethnic Experience; Malcarne et al., 2006). The perceived discrimination subscale consists of 9 items ($\alpha = .83$). A sample item is, "My ethnic group does not have the same opportunities as other ethnic groups." Participants rated each item on a scale from 1 = *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree*. Items were mean scored to create the perceived discrimination composite variable.

Family ethnic socialization. Participants completed the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004; 12 items; $\alpha = .94$) reflecting their perception of their families' attempts at socializing them about their heritage culture. A sample item is, "My family participates in activities that are specific to my ethnic group." This measure has been used with diverse samples of college students and has demonstrated consistent validity and reliability (e.g., Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). Items were mean-scored to create the ethnic socialization variable.

Prosocial behaviors. Participants also reported on their tendency to engage in two types of prosocial behaviors: public and altruistic prosocial behaviors (Prosocial Tendencies Measure, PTM; Carlo & Randall, 2002). Youth completed a modified version of the PTM. To shorten the survey packet and to increase clarity, the items were slightly reworded for the current study and four items were deleted from the original scale. Public prosocial behaviors (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$; 4 items) include prosocial behaviors done in the presence of others (e.g., "When other people are around, it is easier for me to help others in need"). Altruistic prosocial behaviors (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$; 5 items) include helping others when there is no benefit to the self (e.g., "I believe I should receive more rewards for the time and energy I spend on volunteer service": reverse-scored item). All items were rated on a scale from 0 = *Does not describe me at all* to 4 = *Describes me greatly*. Prior research with the PTM suggests strong psychometric properties, and the present reliabilities are comparable to those in previous studies. Items were mean-scored to create the subscale score (Carlo et al., 2010). Each of the measures has

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix for Discrimination, Ethnic Socialization, Public, and Altruistic Prosocial Behaviors.

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Discrimination				
2. Ethnic Socialization	.20*			
3. Public	.04	.15*		
4. Altruistic	.07	-.05	-.56*	
Mean (SD)	3.02 (0.80)	3.74 (0.89)	2.34 (0.98)	4.03 (0.83)

*Indicates significance at $p < .05$.

been previously validated with U.S. Latinx populations (Armenta et al., 2013; Carlo et al., 2011; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations were initially computed for all variables (see Table 1). Results indicated that discrimination was positively correlated with ethnic socialization but was not significantly related to public or altruistic prosocial behaviors. Ethnic socialization was positively correlated with public prosocial behaviors but not with altruistic prosocial behaviors. Public and altruistic prosocial behaviors were negatively correlated as expected.

Path Analysis Results

Path analysis was conducted using maximum likelihood estimation in SPSS AMOS (Byrne, 2010) to examine the direct links from discrimination, ethnic socialization, and the interaction between discrimination and ethnic socialization predicting public and altruistic prosocial behaviors. Path analysis was used for these analyses because of the ability to estimate each path simultaneously. Additionally, we used maximum likelihood estimation to handle missing data. Discrimination, ethnic socialization, and the interaction between discrimination and ethnic socialization were specified as predicting public and altruistic prosocial behaviors. All exogenous variables were allowed to correlate, and the outcome variables were allowed to correlate. Participant nativity was included as a statistical control (0 = born in US and 1 = born outside US). Model fit is considered good in path analysis if the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) is 0.95 or greater (fit is adequate at 0.90 or greater), and the Root

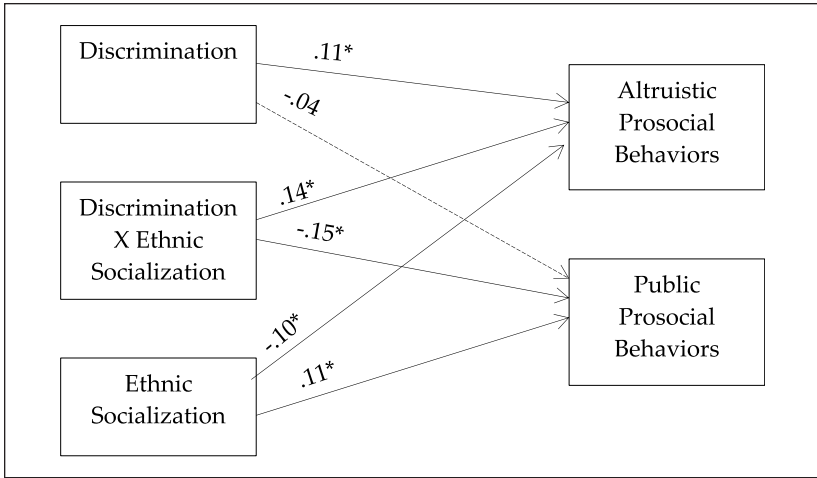


Figure 1. Main and Interaction Effects of Ethnic Socialization and Discrimination on Altruistic and Public Prosocial Behaviors. * $p < .05$.

Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) is less than or equal to 0.06 (values of 0.08 or less indicate adequate fit; Byrne, 2010; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Fit for the overall model was good: $\chi^2(1) = 0.61, p = .44$; CFI = 1.00; RMSEA = 0.00. Results indicated that discrimination was positively associated with altruistic prosocial behaviors but was not associated with public prosocial behaviors (see Figure 1). Ethnic socialization was positively associated with public prosocial behaviors and negatively associated with altruistic prosocial behaviors. Additionally, the interaction positively predicted altruistic prosocial behaviors and negatively predicted public prosocial behaviors.

The interaction effects were probed by examining the moderator at 1 *SD* below the mean and 1 *SD* above the mean in SPSS (see Figure 2; Aiken & West, 1991). The results for the interaction between discrimination and ethnic socialization predicting altruistic prosocial behaviors indicated that the slope for discrimination was not significant at low levels of ethnic socialization ($\beta = .03; p = .67$), but that the slope for discrimination was significant at high levels of ethnic socialization ($\beta = .16; p = .02$). Specifically, for young adults with high ethnic socialization, altruistic prosocial behaviors increased as discrimination increased. For the interaction between discrimination and ethnic socialization predicting public prosocial behaviors, the slope for discrimination was not significant at low levels of ethnic socialization ($\beta = .07; p = .20$), and the slope for discrimination was significant at high levels of

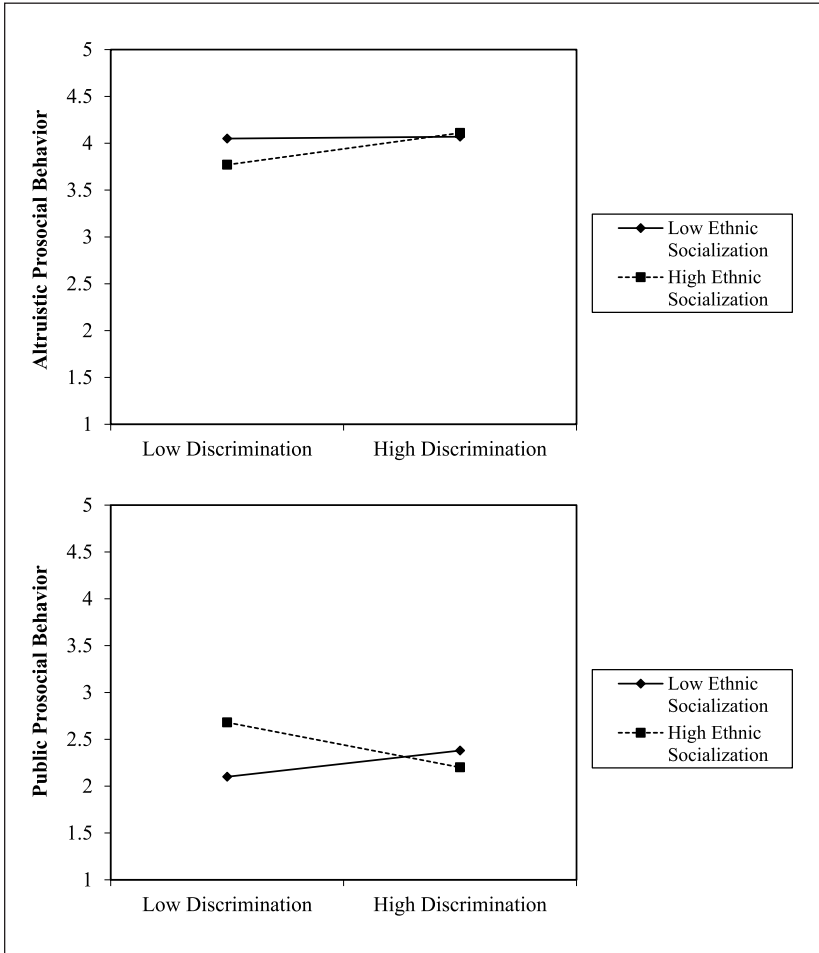


Figure 2. Interaction between discrimination and ethnic socialization predicting public and altruistic prosocial behaviors.

ethnic socialization ($\beta = -.16$; $p = .01$), such that for young adults high in ethnic socialization, public prosocial behaviors decreased as discrimination increased.

Because of the established gender differences in prosocial behaviors and stress responses (Carlo et al., 2003; S. E. Taylor et al., 2000), gender differences in the model were examined. To examine gender differences, a model

with each path constrained equal across the men and women was compared to a model with paths free to vary across gender. These two models were not significantly different in fit ($\Delta\chi^2(6) = 9.83, p = .13$). Therefore, the results are reported for the whole sample across men and women.

Discussion

Overall, the present findings add evidence of the buffering role of ethnic socialization in predicting selflessly-motivated helping behaviors in the presence of discriminatory experiences. Specifically, as expected, a moderating effect emerged between discrimination and ethnic socialization predicting altruistic prosocial behaviors, such that for young adults high in ethnic socialization, as discrimination increased, altruistic prosocial behaviors also increased. This result highlights ethnic socialization as a potential source of resilience for U.S. Latinx young adults experiencing discrimination. Prior research has emphasized the role of family relationships, including ethnic socialization in families, as a protective factor vis-à-vis U.S. Latinx young adults' prosocial behaviors (see Knight & Carlo, 2012). However, results of the current study extend prior literature by identifying ethnic socialization as a buffering factor in the links between discrimination experiences and young adults' selfless helping behaviors. It may be that ethnic socialization provides young adults with a secure foundation and connection with their ethnic group, such that ethnic socialization contributes to resilience in the face of discriminatory experiences. Scholars have argued that, in some cases, stressful experiences can result in increased care and concern for others, as well as positive social outreach (Staub & Vollhardt, 2008), and this may be particularly true for young adults who are secure in their identity.

The interaction between discrimination and ethnic socialization also predicted public prosocial behaviors, such that for U.S. Latinx young adults high in ethnic socialization, as discrimination increased, public prosocial behaviors decreased. These results suggest that discrimination might contribute to lower levels of selfishly-motivated helping under conditions of high ethnic socialization. It may be that young adults who are socialized toward their ethnic group are more self-assured and do not need to rely on gaining others' approval or elevating their social status, as might otherwise be common for young adults (see Carlo et al., 2003). Overall, the results suggest that ethnic socialization might act as a protective factor for young adults by facilitating selfless helping in the face of discrimination, while inhibiting selfishly motivated prosocial behaviors. While the results highlighted the moderating role of ethnic socialization, there were also direct links between ethnic socialization and discrimination as predictors of prosocial behaviors.

The results also demonstrated main effects such that there were links between ethnic socialization and prosocial behaviors. Interestingly, ethnic socialization was negatively related to altruistic prosocial behaviors and positively related to public prosocial behaviors. This is the first study to examine ethnic socialization as a direct predictor of U.S. Latinx young adults' prosocial behaviors. There is evidence, however, that parental socialization of cultural values predicts youth's own identification with traditional Latinx cultural values, which ultimately promote prosocial behaviors—highlighting the important role of culturally focused parenting in promoting prosociality among youth (Knight et al., 2016). It may be that young adults who are aware of their ethnic heritage throughout development are also aware of the salience of bias and discrimination, and may be using cognitive and emotional resources to cope, which might reduce available resources that can be used in selfless helping. Ethnic socialization might act as a protective factor for young adults reporting high levels of discrimination because they are more prepared to face discrimination experiences (e.g., Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009), but might play a complex role in predicting prosocial behaviors directly.

The finding that ethnic socialization was positively associated with public prosocial behaviors might reflect the group (e.g., family) and other-oriented consequences of such socialization. This conclusion is consistent with prior evidence that ethnic socialization is positively linked to public prosocial behaviors in young U.S. Latinx adolescents (Knight et al., 2016). However, in the Knight et al. (2016) study, such relations were indirectly predicted via ethnic identity and familism values. Given the few existing studies, future research is needed to replicate the present findings in U.S. Latinx young adults and to examine possible intervening mechanisms in these relations. While the main effects of ethnic socialization point to an interesting pattern of results, it is important to consider that ethnic socialization and discrimination interacted such that ethnic socialization acted as a buffer variable and therefore should be further examined as a possible protective factor for youth experiencing discrimination.

Discrimination positively predicted altruistic prosocial behaviors. These findings are in contrast with previous evidence documenting negative links between discrimination and altruistic prosocial behaviors (Brittian et al., 2013; Davis et al., 2016) but consistent with other research that acculturative stress is positively linked to altruistic prosocial behaviors (Davis, Carlo, Streit, & Crockett, 2018). However, the majority of prior studies were conducted with younger adolescents, which might be one reason for the discrepant findings. Alternatively, the current study measures discrimination as young adults' perceptions of bias and not necessarily interpersonal

experiences with discrimination. Different forms of discrimination (e.g., discrimination that affects interpersonal relationships vs. broader perceptions of bias) might have different impacts on costly forms of helping. Interestingly, there were no significant links between discrimination and public prosocial behaviors. Previous research has demonstrated positive links between discrimination and public helping (Brittian et al., 2013; Davis et al., 2016). It may be that helping in public is less affected by discrimination because maintaining a positive reputation and gaining approval might be important, particularly during times of stress, for young adults. Scholars should continue exploring the role of discrimination as a correlate of prosocial behaviors, while considering mediating and moderating variables that help disentangle these relations (see Davis & Carlo, 2019).

Limitations

There are several limitations of the current study that should be considered. First, the study design is cross-sectional (not longitudinal nor experimental), so neither causation nor the direction of effects can be firmly established. Second, all measures were self-report measures, so there could be shared method variance and self-presentational biases. Multiple reporters, behavioral tasks, and observations are important tools that should be used in future research on discrimination and young adults' prosocial behaviors. And third, although the sample was Latinx college students from across the U.S., the sample still may not adequately represent the diversity of U.S. Latinx young adults (especially with regards to SES, education, Latinx subgroups, and acculturative status). It is also important that future research examines differences in discrimination experiences for youth who have grown up in the U.S. versus youth who grew up internationally and are living in the U.S. to attend school, as the societal experiences for these populations are likely different. Future research on discrimination should examine nuances within the U.S. Latinx population that might play a role in discrimination experiences (e.g., race, socioeconomic status, language status).

Conclusions

Despite the limitations, this study contributes to the literature on discrimination among U.S. Latinx young adults in important ways. This study highlights the complex role of discrimination in young adults' prosocial behaviors. The results suggest that discrimination might actually foster selfless helping behaviors for young adults with family ethnic socialization experiences. The fact that the relations between discrimination and prosocial behaviors were

specific to certain forms of prosocial behaviors (altruistic vs. public) provides additional evidence on the multidimensionality of prosocial behaviors and suggests that perceptions of societal bias have differential links to such actions. Qualitative research projects aiming to understand how Latinx youth understand their own ethnicity as well as discrimination experiences can add nuance to the field and help illuminate processes that might explain these findings in more depth. The findings suggest a need to develop interventions to reduce discrimination, while also highlighting the resilience of U.S. Latinx young adults who may actually become increasingly motivated to engage in selfless helping behaviors under conditions of negative bias experiences. Additionally, focusing on fostering ethnic socialization and close family relationships may be an important tool in order to promote resilience and success among U.S. Latinx young adults.


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