One talk at a time: Developing an ethnic-racial socialization intervention for Black, Latinx, and Asian American families

By: Gabriela L. Stein, Stephanie I. Coard, Laura M. Gonzalez, Lisa Kiang, and Joseph K. Sircar

Abstract:

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) can promote positive outcomes in minoritized youth, but parents often face challenges in effectively engaging in these conversations. We describe the development of a video-based online parent intervention program aimed at improving parental motivation, efficacy, and skills in having ERS conversations. The program focuses on balancing *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias* messages and integrates themes of coping with future discrimination with the goal of promoting adjustment in youth. The video-based program (One Talk at A Time: OTAAT) consists of 11 short videos designed to bolster parental efficacy and skills via motivational, didactic modules, and social modeling. We describe our intervention (specifically designed for Black, Latinx, and Asian American families), a sample of parents ($N = 15$) who interfaced with the intervention, and preliminary evidence of its impact via a pre-post design and program evaluation interviews. Discussion centers on implications of our approach for future prevention efforts.

Article:

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic-racial discrimination is a pernicious, damaging stressor that predicts multiple comorbid negative health outcomes in youth and families (Neblett, 2019). Models of health disparities have specifically highlighted the role that rumination and anticipation of future discrimination have in exerting a toxic effect on mental health, including racial vigilance and race rejection

sensitivity (e.g., Harrell et al., 2011; Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002). Given this reality, a significant body of research suggests that minoritized youth, including those from immigrant backgrounds, benefit from parental ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) messages that aim to foster a strong, positive ethnic-racial identity, and prepare youth to cope with experiences of racism and discrimination (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). According to recent meta-analyses, ERS messages are associated with a stronger sense of commitment to and pride in one's group (Huguley et al., 2019), greater academic motivation, performance, and engagement (Wang et al., 2020b), and improved psychosocial outcomes (Wang et al., 2020) across ethnic-racial groups and developmental stages. Further, parental ERS messages can prepare youth to cope with experiences of discrimination and buffer the damaging effects of these experiences on health and well-being (Brown & Tylka, 2011). The negative impacts of racism and discrimination on minoritized populations are important social issues that will require solutions at multiple levels, including helping families navigate challenging conversations. A key need is to intervene with parents to build their efficacy and confidence in engaging in effective ERS conversations with their youth with the ultimate goal of disrupting the harmful effects of discrimination and fostering youth well-being.

This article describes the development of a video-based online parent intervention program targeting parental efficacy and skill building in ERS. Our intervention aims to support parental delivery of ERS messages with a focus on balancing *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias* messages with explicit attention to coping with future discrimination. One Talk at a Time (OTAAT) is supported by recent advances in ERS theory (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019) and integrates established intervention approaches based in social-learning theory and motivational interviewing (Bandura, 1997; Miller & Rollnick, 1995). Together, these culminated in the current focus of OTAAT: parental motivation, skills, and confidence in the delivery of ERS.

The OTAAT intervention consists of 11 short videos (3–5 min each) that include motivational, didactic modules, and social modeling. The present paper describes the innovation behind what we believe to be the first video-based parent intervention and study aimed at helping parents navigate courageous conversations about race and ethnicity across Black, Latinx, and Asian American populations. Our work is inclusive and intentional in the delivery of ERS in minoritized families, including immigrant parents who are particularly understudied and who might face unique challenges in providing these messages to their children (Kiang et al., 2017). After reviewing the conceptual grounding, we provide a detailed description of our intervention and highlight its theoretical underpinnings. We then describe results from a pilot study that was designed to test and assess how parents interface with the intervention. In doing so, we provide preliminary evidence of its efficacy via a pre-post design and parent program evaluation interview data.

ERS messaging and efficacy among minoritized families

While the experience of racism, ethnic-racial discrimination, and structural inequalities are distinct across marginalized groups in the United States, all minoritized youth and families face the risk of negative emotional, psychological, and physical ramifications of mistreatment and racism (Neblett, 2019). This reality prompts families from multiple ethnic-racial groups to find ways to support their youth to flourish in the racialized context of the United States. Further,

families endeavor to teach their children about their own cultural practices, whether in a new land as an immigrant or as distinct from mainstream White American culture.

Given this context, families of color tend to engage in *cultural socialization*, whereby they provide children messages about their cultural histories, traditions, legacies, beliefs, customs, and practices as well as instill pride in their heritage (Hughes et al., 2016). These messages typically begin in early childhood and persist throughout development as parents lay the foundation for a strong ethnic-racial identification and knowledge of cultural practices. Despite the marginalization for all minoritized groups, parents of color less frequently deliver *preparation for bias* messages, that is, messages warning their children about potential discrimination and arming them with coping skills to confront this discrimination (Priest et al., 2014). Due to their complexity, these messages are initiated later in development, typically in early adolescence (Priest et al., 2014) as parents wait until they perceive their child as cognitively ready to process race, understand racism, and are resilient enough to cope with the emotional ramifications that come with living in a racist society. This perceived resilience stems from cognitive and emotional development, as well as foundational ethnic-racial identity development instilled through cultural pride socialization.

Although other types of ERS messages have also been examined (e.g., *egalitarian* messages that focus on shared humanity across groups and treating everyone equally), our ERS intervention targeted *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias* messages due to their ethnic-racial salience and empirical support for the role they play in promoting positive youth outcomes. For *cultural socialization*, it is evident that messages aimed at strengthening ethnic-racial identity, teaching about cultural beliefs and practices, and focusing on self-worth and pride support positive adaptation (e.g., Wang, Henry, et al., 2020) can buffer against the negative effect of discrimination on psychosocial outcomes in youth (e.g., Cheeks et al., 2020; Dotterer & James, 2018; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008).

However, while *preparation for bias* messages may be crucial in arming youth with skills to deal with experiences of discrimination (Harris-Britt et al., 2007), these messages do not consistently predict adaptive functioning (Huguley et al., 2019; Wang, Smith, et al., 2020; Wang Henry, et al., 2020). Although there is not a large literature examining the moderating effect of *preparation for bias* messages on the impact of ethnic/racial discrimination, studies point to a nuanced relationship. For example, Dotterer and James (2018) showed that *preparation for bias* messages exacerbated the relation between discrimination and depressive symptoms in a sample of African American middle school youth. On the other hand, in a daily-diary study, Cheeks et al. (2020) found that *preparation for bias* messages mitigated the impact of discrimination on negative affect on the following day (although not concurrently) in a different sample of African American adolescents. Other work points to moderate amounts of *preparation for bias* messages being optimal in protecting youth when facing discrimination (Harris-Britt et al., 2007). Further, how *preparation for bias* messages mitigate risk may be dependent on other parenting processes like parental warmth and child-focused parenting (Smalls, 2010). *Preparation for bias* messages may also be the most protective when delivered in conjunction with messages instilling pride and self-worth, as profiles that include a balance of these types of messages buffered the relation of discrimination to negative outcomes in African American youth when faced with greater discrimination (Neblett et al., 2008). Taken together, this literature suggests that *preparation for*

bias messages have the potential to mitigate the relation of discrimination to negative outcomes in youth of color, but these messages must be delivered in the context of a warm relationship and along with cultural socialization messages.

The differential outcomes in the *preparation for bias* literature may potentially be a result of the fact that these messages can be more complex and require more parental skills (e.g., emotion regulation and empathy). *Preparation for bias* messages are also contingent upon parents' own experiences with racism (Osborne et al., 2020). Parents struggle with how to provide balanced messages that attend to developmental readiness, build skills to cope with discrimination, and do not overinflate distrust for other groups (Hughes et al., 2006). Further, the emotional tenor and delivery of parental ERS may also influence how youth integrate these messages, and whether these conversations ultimately strengthen the familial relationship (Anderson et al., 2018; Dotterer & James, 2018; Smalls, 2009). New theoretical models of ERS explicate the important role of parental skills and confidence in having ERS conversations as well as the critical component of youth feeling capable of coping with future discriminatory events (RECAST: Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). In the RECAST model, racial socialization competency takes center stage as parents must have the knowledge and skill base to deliver these complex messages, but also feel a sense of efficacy and confidence in providing these messages. Such efficacy can ultimately reduce the familial stress associated with these challenging topics. Thus, to have productive and useful ERS conversations—particularly those around *preparation for bias*—parents must feel confident that they can tackle these conversations without overwhelming themselves or their children. Our parent intervention targets these processes specifically by arming parents with this knowledge, but also increasing confidence by breaking down the necessary skills to deliver these messages and focus on coping messages. There is a clear need for interventions aimed at supporting parents in having child-focused ERS conversations attending to relationship characteristics that build both parental skills and confidence.

Despite the reality of marginalization for all minoritized groups, Black parents are more likely to deliver *preparation for bias* messages relative to other racial groups (e.g., Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2104). Latinx and Asian American families typically struggle in having these conversations with their youth, and often advise youth to ignore experiences with bias (Hughes et al., 2006; Author cite). Within families with recent immigrant backgrounds, there could be variation in messaging on both *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias* across generational status or acculturation levels. For example, second generation Asian American parents feel more comfortable in preparing their youth to face discrimination but worry about providing *cultural socialization* messages with religious and cultural practices that they view as more distant from their own experiences growing up in the United States (Juang et al., 2018). For Latinx families with US-born parents and youth, ethnic socialization is guided by youth in part, as they seek to connect to these practices and identities that potentially have been lost with acculturation (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). Parents born outside of the United States were likely to have been majority group members in their countries of origin, and are new to the idea of being treated as minorities in the United States and discriminated against. Thus, the way in which immigrant and US-born Asian American and Latinx families engage in these conversations may be different, and both may benefit from providing more intentional messages that target both *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias*. Given the ethnic-racial and immigrant population in the United States (US), we focused this first pilot study with modal

groups (native-born Black parents; foreign-born Latinx and Asian American parents), but anticipate that future work can examine the efficacy across immigrant and native-born populations across ethnic-racial groups.

Ethnic-racial socialization interventions

To our knowledge, there are only three interventions that have focused explicitly on facilitating and supporting parents' use of ERS. All focus on Black families and view the use of ERS as an essential and protective aspect of parenting children of color. Black parenting strengths and strategies (BPSS) (Coard et al., 2007) is an evidenced-based parenting program designed to promote cultural, social, and emotional health and academic success in elementary-age African American children. The 12-session BPSS is a strength- and culturally-based intervention that integrates evidenced-based universal parenting strategies with the inherent strengths and processes empirically found in Black families (e.g., ERS). BPSS was tested via a randomized waitlist-controlled pilot study with 38 families assigned to the BPSS prevention program ($n = 16$) or to a wait-list control condition. Relative to control caregivers, intervention caregivers used significantly more racial socialization strategies, positive parenting practices, and less harsh discipline. Also, despite caregivers' multiple risk factors (e.g., residing in financially under-resourced households and communities), high rates of attendance, and satisfaction were achieved. Results of this study support the feasibility, acceptability, and efficacy of this culturally relevant intervention program (Coard et al., 2007).

The EMBRace program (Engaging, Managing, and Bonding through Race) was recently developed to target racial socialization processes in Black families with early adolescents (Anderson et al., 2018). The 5-session manualized intervention is delivered by a facilitator jointly with families, where families address racialized encounters with the goal of reducing racial trauma and stress for parents and youth based on the Racial Encounter Coping Appraisal Socialization Theory (RECAST; Stevenson, 2014). The intervention provides information about types of ERS messages (e.g., cultural socialization, preparation for bias) with a particular focus on coping and message delivery (e.g., building familial bonds). In a pilot study with 10 families of African American 10–14-year-old youth, participants in EMBRace reported that the intervention was useful and taught important skills, and there was evidence for both parents and youth engaging in more coping responses throughout the five sessions.

In addition to these to explicit ERS interventions, the Strong African American Families prevention program was developed for rural African American families with middle school aged youth (Murry et al., 2007). The 7-session family prevention program targeted decreasing engagement substance use and sexual risk behaviors in African American youth by supporting positive parenting practices with a specific focus on racial socialization through the promotion of racial pride and coping with discrimination. In a randomized control longitudinal trial, improvement in parenting processes led to significant decreases in substance use, conduct problems, and sexual risk taking (Brody et al., 2006a, 2006b; Murry et al., 2007). Socialization messages were linked to better academic outcomes through youth's increases in self-esteem and racial pride (Murry et al., 2009). The authors conclude that targeting adaptive racial socialization messages in pre-adolescence was key to establishing the long-term impact of the broader intervention itself (Murry et al., 2007, 2009).

This body of work suggests that Black and African American families welcome interventions that focus on ERS and view them as critical to their child's development. Furthermore, these interventions can lead to effective coping, positive parenting practices, and improvement in youth behavioral outcomes. It is clear that the ethnic-racial realities of US society lead to differential experiences of discrimination, racism, and stress across ethnic-racial groups, but all parents benefit from increasing their knowledge about key ERS processes and increasing confidence in engaging in conversations that are universally endorsed as difficult across ethnic-racial groups as suggested by the RECAST model (Anderson & Steveson, 2019). While the targeted in-depth programs described above are successful likely by addressing the specific needs of Black populations, there is also room for programs that can be easily disseminated across groups and target universal parental processes (e.g., confidence and efficacy). To our knowledge, no program exists that flexibly targets multiple ethnic-racial groups and is deliverable completely online in order to facilitate dissemination.

Developmental considerations

Two of the interventions mentioned above focus on early adolescents, suggesting that this might be an important time to target ERS messages (Anderson et al., 2018; Murray et al., 2007). As theorized by Hughes et al. (2016), the confluence of cognitive, emotional, and educational changes that accompany the transition to adolescence makes processes related to discrimination and identity central at this developmental stage. With increasing social-cognitive capacities, such as perspective-taking, group consciousness, and autonomy, adolescents become increasingly aware of racial-ethnic categories used in society and make meaning of their own group memberships (Doan & Stephan, 2006; Phinney, 2003). As adolescents engage more independently in social settings outside of the home (e.g., work, school activities, parties), parents might adjust their ERS messages to specifically help their children navigate these new experiences (Stein et al., 2018). Given these transactional processes in adolescence, it is not surprising that ERS messages are most strongly linked to identity outcomes in the high school period (Hughley et al., 2019). Further, longitudinal work has found relative stability in *cultural socialization* messages across early adolescence but increases in *preparation for bias* messages between ages 11 and 14, likely due to parents reacting to changes in youths' contextual experiences (Hughes et al., 2016). Thus, targeting ERS at late elementary and early adolescence can leverage these contextual and psychological changes to disrupt the negative longitudinal effects of discrimination on youth of color.

Development of one talk at a time

Our parent intervention is grounded in past theoretical work proposing that proactively transmitted *preparation for bias* messages coupled with *cultural socialization* messages can promote positive academic and mental health outcomes in minoritized youth (e.g., Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). The majority of this ERS work focuses on frequency (Hughes et al., 2016), typically finding more *frequent and balanced* conversations lead to better outcomes (e.g., Neblett et al., 2008). ERS process theory and models also highlight the importance of the *quality* of the conversations with attention paid not only to the content but the relational context and emotional tenor (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019; Smith Bynum et al., 2016) of a

positive parent–child relationship (Anderson et al., 2018; Hughes et al., 2016; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Thus, OTAAT focuses on providing skills that both target building a positive relationship and also having ERS conversations that are child-centered by providing parents basic communication skills in the context of ERS (e.g., asking open-ended questions, following the child leads).

In order to increase both the frequency and quality of ERS conversations, OTAAT targets parental motivation, efficacy, and skills in having ERS conversations consistent with the RECAST model (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). As discussed above, RECAST proposes that ERS is an inherently stressful process, and that parental skills and confidence are critical and necessary to result in adaptive ERS conversations. These skills and confidence stem from a foundation of parents' own past racial socialization experiences in addition to how parents themselves are able to cope with and combat their own discrimination experiences. Aligning with this idea, OTAAT has parents reflect on the past ERS messages they have received as well as their own experiences of discrimination. Further, we explicitly target parental perceived barriers to these conversations like parental distress and difficulty in engaging in these conversations (Williams & Banerjee, 2021), and guide parents to consider how they can combat their negative affect in the service of providing messages to their youth, thereby reducing the familial stress in these conversations. We also target other common barriers like believing their child is too young to talk about racism, or that they can shield their youth from discrimination by not addressing it. We help parents recognize that their child receives ERS messages from school, peers, and other sources. It is more important, then, to help their child make sense of messages they are bound to receive in the broader society. In the same vein, as transactional models of ERS highlight, it is also important for parents to tailor their messages to individual factors, such as skin tone, gender, and immigrant status, as well as contextual factors like the racial composition of school and neighborhood (Hughes et al., 2016; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Witherspoon et al., 2021). For the most part, OTAAT does not provide the specific messages that parents should give, but instead helps parents to consider the types of messages they want to deliver considering the unique characteristics and context of their youth. Because parents are bound to have multiple children and that developmental readiness is a common barrier, our intervention highlights developmental processes (e.g., types of messages for each age range) and provides some support for parents to tailor their messages to each of their children.

We used a foundation of social learning theory to develop the intervention that targets building parental confidence and skills. Social learning theory (Bandura, 1997) indicates there are four types of learning experiences that can bolster efficacy for a challenging task (see italics for steps). We provide *stepwise learning* through a heuristic that breaks down what is necessary for these conversations. We also target *affective concerns* by preparing parents to manage their fear and anxiety about these potentially difficult conversations. We provide *vicarious social models* of dialogues through video role-plays so parents can see the skills in practice, and we also provided *verbal encouragement* throughout in the videos and activities. We also integrated motivational interviewing-based principles (Miller & Rollnick, 1991) in the parent reflection online exercises that focus on building efficacy by having parents indicate their individual goals as parents, reflect on barriers, and provide specific times and places to have ERS conversations. Consistent with this model, we also have them note at the end of OTAAT their level of

motivation for *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias* conversations, and provide tailored feedback and next steps based on their motivation level.

The only specific message that OTAAT helps parents consider more fully is providing coping techniques to deal with discrimination due to research that finds that racial barrier messages that are not accompanied with coping messages can lead to negative developmental outcomes (e.g., Rodriguez et al., 2008) This is also consistent with the RECAST framework (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019) that centers youth coping efficacy as an important outcome of successful ERS conversations. Further, in our own focus groups, many immigrant parents discussed not knowing how to help their youth cope with potential discriminatory events (Gonzalez et al., under review). Thus, OTAAT provides parents with multiple potential responses that youth can enact in the face of discrimination (e.g., engaging with peer; regulating negative affect in decision making; giving a comeback). OTAAT encourages that parents use rehearsal and role-playing exercises enacting the coping skills to help youth learn and practice using these skills.

Taken together, our approach is advantageous for work with multiple ethnic-racial groups as it does not provide parents with specific content that may be unique to each group's experience, but instead focuses on building efficacy in the parental skills and confidence that are needed to effectively engage in the delivery of balanced messages that incorporate both *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias* messages and build coping skills with which to withstand discrimination. Our intervention encourages parents to consider (a) what messages they are currently providing about their ethnicity and race, (b) how these align with goals for their youth, and (c) the importance of providing balanced messages that are developmentally appropriate and delivered within the context of a positive familial relationship.

Current study

The current study examines parental engagement with OTAAT in a small number of pilot parents. We hypothesized that parents would be satisfied with OTAAT, increase their sense of efficacy in ERS, commit to engaging in greater frequency of ERS, and report using the OTAAT skills in these conversations. We also provide data from our short program evaluation interview with parents, where we expected to hear that OTAAT supported the delivery of ERS messages. Based on some of our earlier focus group research (Gonzalez et al., under review), we also expected immigrant families might engage differently, given their greater reluctance to provide *preparation for bias* conversations. We expected that OTAAT would be well-received, similar to other ERS interventions, and that parents would report that it was useful.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 15 parents completed the intervention, including five Black parents, five Asian American parents, and five Latinx parents. Of the five parents who did not complete OTAAT, two had not completed the baseline assessment and three never initiated OTAAT. The majority of parents identified as mothers and female ($n = 13$, 86.7%) and ranged in age from 29 to 55 ($M_{age} = 42.67$, SD = 6.195). The parent sample was largely married ($n = 14$, 93.3%), well-

educated ($n = 9$, 60.0% with graduate-level degree; $n = 3$, 20.0% with a college degree; $n = 2$, 13.3% with some high school; $n = 1$, 6.7% with some middle school), employed full-time ($n = 10$, 66.7%), and ranged from low to high household incomes ($n = 11$, 73.3% with household income over $60,000 annually; $n = 1$ ranging from $40,000 to $59,000; $n = 2$ ranging from $25,000 to $39,999; $n = 1$ ranging from $15,000 to $24,999). All Asian American and Latinx parents were foreign-born ($n = 10$, 66.7%). The children in the study ranged in age from 8 to 13 ($M_{age} = 10.67$, SD $= 1.543$), were mostly enrolled in grades 4th through 7th (one 8-year-old was in 1st grade), and largely attended public school ($n = 12$, 80.0%). A slight majority identified as female ($n = 8$, 53.3%).

Family size ranged from three to seven individuals ($M = 4.40$, SD $= 1.121$). The families primarily lived in either predominately White neighborhoods ($n = 7$, 46.7%) or mixed/diverse neighborhoods ($n = 6$, 40.0%), with two living in predominantly Black neighborhoods (13.3%). Most children attended mixed/diverse schools ($n = 6$, 46.2%), which five attending predominantly White schools (33.3%) and three attending predominately Black (20.0%) schools. The majority of caregivers were raised in environments high in co-ethnics ($n = 11$, 73.3%), while the remaining grew up in environments they described as "Mixed/Diverse" ($n = 4$, 26.7%).

Procedure

Parents were recruited through a combination of online and in-person activities publicizing the nature of the video program for Black, Latinx, and Asian American families. All publicity, study materials, and participant interactions were available in both English and Spanish. Parents ($N = 20$) underwent a short phone eligibility screen and consent process before being enrolled in the program. Parents were emailed the survey, which included a consent form and set of baseline measures. After completion, parents were then sent the link for the OTAAT video program. After completion of the video program, parents reported on their efficacy at having ERS conversations. Parents were sent two reminders to engage in ERS conversations using the OTAAT skills via email. After four weeks, they were sent a follow-up survey to be completed on Qualtrics and were invited to participate in a program evaluation phone interview. Parents were compensated with a $10 gift card for completing the baseline survey and a second $10 gift card for completing the video program. Parents received a $20 gift card for completing the follow-up survey and a final $30 gift card for the program evaluation interview. All data were collected in the southeastern U.S. between March 2019 and June 2020.

One talk at a time

The OTAAT intervention was developed based on the ERS literature as described earlier, as well as focus group data with Black, Latinx, and Asian American late elementary and middle school families ($N = 63$ families) who shed light on barriers to communicating ERS messages, particularly *preparation for bias*. The intervention was developed by the first four authors who met monthly to build the intervention, integrating past theory, empirical literature, and focus group data to identify barriers to ERS conversations with middle school youth. We developed the online program to include videos, and in between the videos, parents completed reflection exercises via a web-based form that were meant for individualization of the intervention to each family. Although the majority of the reflections were universal for all parents, there were

sections that were unique depending on previous parental responses (e.g., identification of barriers, age of child, level of motivation). The first version of OTAAT was piloted with five families who provided feedback on the intervention and the between-video reflections leading to additional content (e.g., messages by age chart) and materials (e.g., providing a print-out of the parental responses).

The final version of OTAAT comprised 11 short video modules with between-video reflections where parents completed short exercises via a web-based form (see Figure 1). The introduction and conclusion videos are the same for all ethnic-racial groups (https://www.caminoslab.org/onetalk), but the *motivational, didactic*, and *social modeling* videos target each group specifically via ethnic-racial matching and modified language to consider the cultural nuances of each group. Estimated completion time is approximately 2 hours.
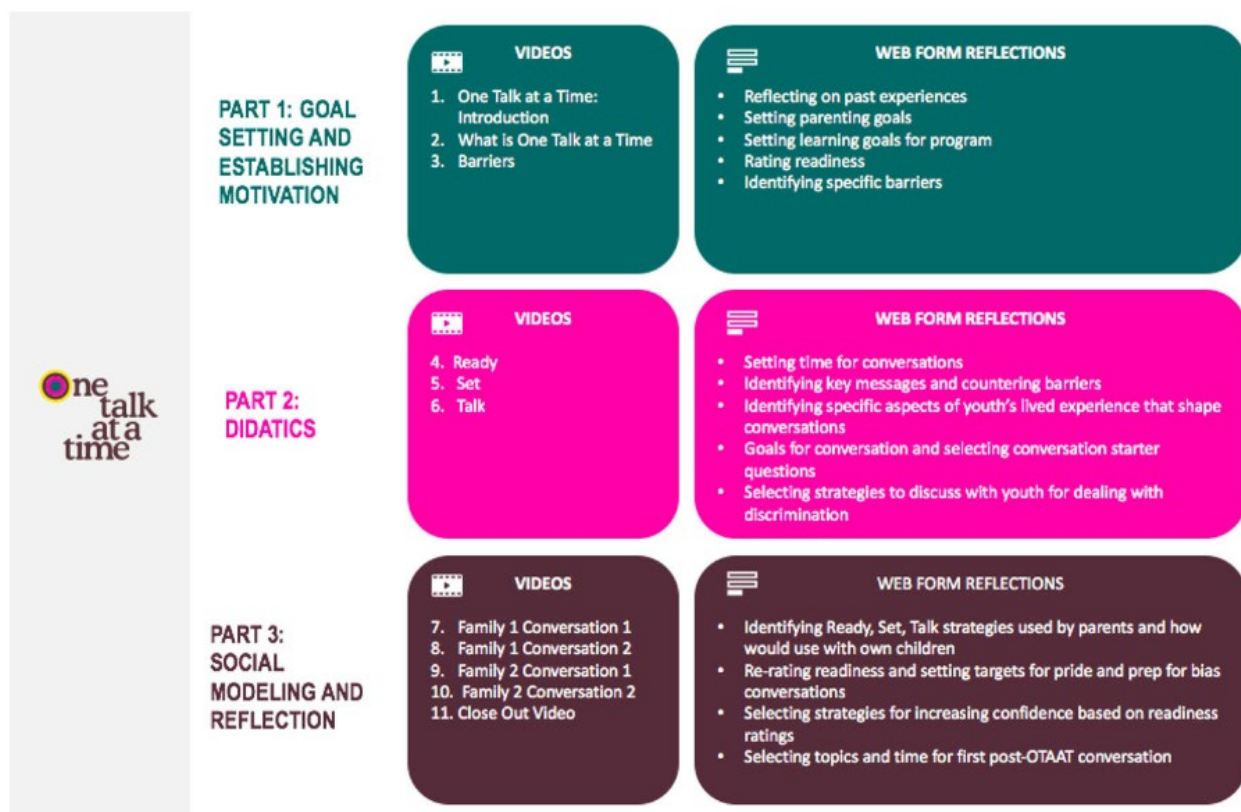

FIGURE 1. Overview of one talk at a time intervention

Motivational videos. The first set of three *motivational* videos features role model families (Video 1) and provides information about the importance of ERS conversations and typical barriers to ERS conversations (Videos 2 and 3). The first video includes what motivates the role model families to have these conversations as well as how OTAAT may help. Parents complete a reflection where they consider their ERS conversations with their own parents. The second video defines the types of conversations and the importance of balancing both *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias*. The reflective exercises highlight what types of ERS conversations they are already having and, to foster motivation and an openness to OTAAT, parents identify what they want to learn from OTAAT. A third motivational video focuses on

why these conversations can be challenging for families and concludes with participants rating barriers to these conversations, as well as identifying their top two barriers. Finally, parents are asked to consider what motivates them to have these conversations even though these conversations can be difficult. Based on motivation interviewing principles that center on highlighting discrepancies between importance and confidence, parents reflect on the importance of ERS and how confident they feel to have ERS conversations. Thus, the motivational section focuses on helping orient parents to the key aspects of ERS conversations, identifying how they are already engaging in ERS, and setting the stage for change by reminding why these conversations would be personally important.

Didactic Videos. The next section of the intervention includes videos that focus on the three main skill components of our OTAAT program: **R**eady, **S**et, **T**alk. The **R**eady component assists parents in preparing themselves for these conversations (Video 4). The first step in **R**eady is to set a foundation for positive communication and in the webform reflections encourage parents to select concrete activities that they can do with their child to bond and foster a strong parent–child relationship. Next, parents focus on reflecting how they themselves handle discriminatory events and how they use their own support systems to cope. Parents are then reminded of their top two barriers and provided with suggestions to overcome these barriers as well as space for brainstorming other solutions. Finally, to foster readiness, we ask parents to consider the types of messages they want to deliver by having parents reflect on two different lists for types of *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias* messages and indicate which ones they had already done in the past and which ones they want to focus on in the future (cultural socialization = 13 types of messages; preparation for bias = 14 types of messages from past ERS literature, including things like history of your group; values of your group; customs; food; language; responding to discrimination from adults; responding to discrimination from peers; responding to discrimination on social media). These last two exercises align with motivational principles by targeting specific outcomes and addressing ways to overcome barriers, as well as supporting behavioral enactment by defining the types of messages they want to deliver.

The **S**et component helps parents identify the unique aspects of their child (e.g., gender, skin tone, accent) and context (e.g., neighborhood, underrepresented in school) that would be important to consider when tailoring their ERS messages (Video 5). First, in the web form reflection, parents are asked to **S**et a time for these conversations within their daily routine. Parents are then asked to consider other individual and contextual factors unique to their child, including personality characteristics that could influence how youth receive the messages. Finally, parents reflect on how to craft their ERS messages to their youth's context like their peers, schools, and neighborhood.

The **T**alk component provides parents with communication skills and potential strategies for responding to peer and adult discrimination (Video 6). In terms of communication skills, we focus on teaching the importance of following the child's lead and asking open-ended questions. We provide potential conversation starters and questions that parents can use after engaging in a cultural socialization experience (e.g., reading a book, watching a TV show or movie) as well as resources for these conversations (e.g., books, TV shows, movies). We provide some suggestions of coping skills that can be fostered when talking to their youth and emphasize the importance of rehearsal and role plays (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). We also encourage both proactive

conversations (e.g., before something has happened) and reactive conversations (e.g., listening and focusing on the child when they disclose a racialized stressor). Finally, we help parents consider how to troubleshoot when a conversation did not go as planned and encourage them to come back to the conversation again.

Social modeling videos. This section of OTAAT includes four videos (Videos 7–10) where parents view two ethnically/racially matched parent–child dyads engaging in two separate ERS conversations each, modeling their use of **R**eady, **S**et, **T**alk components. There are voiceovers after the conversations where the PIs identify how parents exemplified the use of the skills. After parents watch the conversations, they rate how well the parents in the videos used the core **R**eady, **S**et, **T**alk skills, and reflect on what strategies they would like to practice in their own conversations.

Conclusion video. After viewing the social modeling videos, we conclude the intervention with parents reflecting again on what types of messages they are already providing using the **R**eady, **S**et, **T**alk principles, and which they want to focus on moving forward (Video 11). We include a short video that motivates engaging in ERS in the long-term. The web form reflection asks them to rate their sense of efficacy and motivation for ERS. If parents rate a high sense of efficacy and motivation, they are then provided with structured prompts about setting time and types of conversations to encourage behavioral enactment. If parents rate a lower sense of efficacy or motivation, they are provided with some initial steps to reach motivation (e.g., reach out to a peer; re-watch the videos; talk with youth about something simpler) and then other steps they can take once they have built motivation and efficacy. These strategies are based in motivational interviewing principles of focusing on where they are in the change process and tailoring messages to that stage.

Measures

Ratings of efficacy. Parents self-rated their efficacy on two items (one for preparation for bias and one for cultural socialization) at the start and end of OTAAT that asked how ready parents felt to talk to their youth. Parents rated their sense of readiness on a 5-point scale based on readiness for change models (1 = *Not ready to talk*, 2 = *Thinking of talking*, 3 = *Want to talk, but not sure if ready*, 4 = *Somewhat ready to talk*, 5 = *Very ready to talk*) for talking about "your cultural values, sharing your culture, and instilling pride" or "talk to your child about potential discrimination and racism."

Satisfaction survey. At the follow-up interview, parents rated their satisfaction with OTAAT on a 7-item questionnaire developed specifically for the study including questions about the utility of the content, useability, and delivery using a 5-point scale (1 = *Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree)*. Questions included things like "The material was easy to follow and understand" and "I think this program will be useful in our family." This scale demonstrated good reliability (Cronbach's α = .86).

Motivation for ERS. At the follow-up interview, three items assessed motivation to continue to engage in ERS conversations on a 5-point scale (1 = *Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree)* and asked level of determination, effort, and making time for "conversations about race, ethnicity, and

culture." This scale was developed for the current study and showed good reliability (Cronbach's α = .92).

Use of OTAAT skills. At the follow-up interview, parents also reported their level of agreement in the use of OTAAT skills in race, ethnicity, and culture conversations about potential discrimination on a 5-point Likert-type agreement scale (1 = *Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree)*. The scale consisted of eight items and was developed specifically for this study, and included things like "use the tools learned through this program," "ask my child open-ended questions," "help my child problem solve and cope," "remind them of ways to stay resilient by focusing on positive aspects of our culture and the strength of our people," and "keep my points brief." This scale also demonstrated good reliability (Cronbach's α = .86).

Planned descriptive analyses

We first provide information on the engagement with the OTAAT online intervention and a description of responses that parents shared as they completed OTAAT to give a sense of how parents engaged with different aspects of the OTAAT intervention. We also provide data describing the main outcomes (efficacy, satisfaction, motivation, use of skills). To test whether efficacy changed pre-post, we use paired sample *t*-tests that are feasible in extremely small samples (de Winter, 2013) to test for an indication of intervention effect.

Program evaluation interview

In addition to the survey, 10 parents also took part in an open-ended program evaluation interview that assessed their satisfaction with the program, probed about what was most useful, and sought to understand how the program helped families navigate these ERS conversations. The goal of the responsive program evaluation is to conduct interviews to understand the perspectives of different stakeholders in terms of the process and the outcomes (Murphy, Chang, & Dispenza, 2018). The program evaluation interview questions were focused and brief (e.g., "what was the most useful aspect of the program"). Thus, we did not engage in a traditional coding process as would be characteristic of exploratory qualitative research. One co-author read all of the program evaluation transcripts to understand the ways the parents experienced changes post-intervention in their motivation to engage in ERS with their children, their range of communication strategies, and their readiness and confidence in having conversations. This allowed us to uncover more nuanced understandings of how the intervention had influenced their thinking and behavior. The co-author highlighted quotes that illustrated those trends, and two other co-authors with knowledge of the transcripts reviewed her suggestions as auditors.

RESULTS

One talk at A Time intervention and experience

Engagement. For the intervention survey, the "force response" option in Qualtrics was enabled to ensure parents interacted with all content, leading to a 100% response rate. Duration between opening and submitting the intervention survey ranged from 1.28 to 231.41 h (M = 100.57, SD = 85.62), indicating that while many parents chose to complete the survey over a number of days

(i.e., closing the survey and returning to it later when convenient), no parents completed it in an amount of time that would suggest they did not fully engage with the content and videos. This suggests that OTAAT was delivered with the same dosage to all parents and high fidelity since it was all completed by parents online.

Motivational videos. The majority of parents reported already having conversations focused on *cultural socialization* ($n = 12$, 80.0%), but fewer reported having *preparation for bias* conversations ($n = 9$, 60.0%). Further, 93% of parents reported wanting to learn most about *preparation for bias* conversations, consistent with past work noting that these are the most challenging for parents. Parents' most highly endorsed barriers included: don't want my child to dislike other groups ($n = 6$, 40.0%); don't want to upset my child ($n = 5$, 33.3%); and it makes me angry/sad/upset to talk about this ($n = 5$, 33.3%). In terms of what motivated ERS conversations, many parents noted that they wanted to promote their child's sense of self-esteem ($n = 14$, 93.3%), help defend their child against bias and discrimination ($n = 13$, 86.7%), teach their child about their family's culture and history ($n = 12$, 80.0%), help child be successful ($n = 12$, 80.0%), help child find own voice ($n = 12$, 80.0%), keep child safe ($n = 11$, 73.3%), help their child feel proud to be (Asian/African American/Latinx) ($n = 11$, 73.3%), and promote their child's racial or cultural identity ($n = 11$, 73.3%). Parents reported a significant difference between importance in having ERS conversations and confidence in having these conversations, $t(14) = 3.44$, $p = .004$. Namely, parents strongly agreed that these conversations were very important ($M = 9.13$; SD = 2.13; scale 1–10), but were less confident about having them ($M = 7.60$; SD = 1.26; scale 1–10). Thus, although parents were fairly confident in having ERS conversations, their ratings did not match their level of rated importance, suggesting that OTAAT could help build this confidence and motivate parents to complete the next set of videos.

Finally, a one-way ANOVA revealed differences between Black and the Latinx and Asian American participant parents' reports of ERS conversations with their own parents, $F(2,12) = 5.28$, $p = .023$. Both Asian and Latinx parents reported having had less frequent ERS conversations with their own parents ($Ms = .80$ and .40, respectively, on a 0–5 scale), while Black parents reported having had these conversations more often ($M = 2.80$). Interestingly, despite these differences in their own upbringing, parents did not differ by ethnicity in their pre-intervention readiness to have *cultural socialization* or *preparation for bias* conversations, both $Fs < 1.0$.

Didactic Videos. The **Ready** videos and web parental reflections set the stage for the types of messages that parents were interested in building, including *cultural socialization* messages: 86.7% ($n = 13$) of parents wanted to include more messages of equality and social justice, 53.3% ($n = 8$) wanted to build resilience, 46.7% ($n = 7$) wanted to teach about historical figures, and 40.0% ($n = 6$) wanted to focus more on role models and history of one's group. For *preparation for bias* messages parents wanted to help their child respond to discrimination from different sources: 66.7% ($n = 10$) from peers and classmates, 60.0% ($n = 9$) from authority figures and adults, 53.3% ($n = 8$) from online and on social media, and 53.3% ($n = 8$) from the news. These data suggest that parents were selective in the types of conversations they wanted to target.

In terms of **Set,** as parents considered how to tailor their messages to their youth, parents primarily noted gender as a relevant factor ($n = 8$, 53.3%), along with skin tone, facial features,

and hair texture (n = 11, 73.3%), style of clothes (n = 4, 26.7%), pubertal development/body shape (n = 3, 20.0%), and language use or non-standard English (n = 3, 20.0%). In terms of temperament and personality, 46.7% (n = 7) of parents considered that their child "tends to get upset easily" or "is sensitive and takes things to heart" (n = 6, 40.0%), but others endorsed their child as being "strong-willed" (n = 5, 33.3%) or "liking to joke around" (n = 4, 26.7%). These factors likely influence both how youth will respond to ERS messages but also how they are perceived by others in their environment. For contextual factors, many parents reported that they wanted to additionally consider the school context, including the representation of different ethnic-racial groups among teachers (n = 10, 66.7%), the student body (n = 9, 60.0%), their child's peer group (n = 7, 46.7%), and participants in afterschool activities (n = 6, 40.0%).

In terms of **Talk**, for strategies to cope with bias, the majority of parents selected multiple strategies they would encourage their child to use: (1) taking a breath and leaving the situation safely and finding someone to talk to about the injustice (n = 10, 66.7%), (2) taking a breath and coming up with a plan of who can help you (n = 9, 60.0%), (3) focusing on staying safe and following authority then later dealing with injustice (n = 7, 46.7%), (4) with a peer aggressor, taking a breath and saying a strong, confident comeback, and walking away with a friend (n = 7, 46.7%), and (5) taking a breath, walking away, and telling an adult who you feel comfortable with since there are rules at school and this type of bullying is not acceptable (n = 7, 46.7%).

Social modeling and conclusion videos. In terms of *cultural socialization* messages, parents in the current study highly endorsed wanting to focus on the following skills in their future conversations: being **R**eady by knowing their messages (n = 12, 80.0%), **T**alk: opening more conversations (n = 12, 80.0%), **T**alk: focusing on child by asking open-ended questions and having empathy (n = 12, 80.0%), and **T**alk: coping, problem-solving and role-playing (n = 10, 66.7%). These were mostly similar for *preparation for bias* conversations with a greater focus on being **R**eady by controlling their own reactions (n = 11, 73.3% vs. n = 6, 40.0% for cultural socialization).

Descriptive analyses and satisfaction

After the intervention, there was a significant increase in parental efficacy in delivering ERS messages. For *cultural socialization*, paired *t*-tests indicated there was a significant increase in readiness from pre-intervention (M = 4.07) to post-intervention (M = 4.60), $t(14)$ = −2.48, p = .027, at a medium effect size (Cohen's d = .64). There was also a significant increase for efficacy in having *preparation for bias* conversations from pre-intervention (M = 3.80) to post-intervention (M = 4.40), $t(14)$ = −4.58, p < .001, which is consistent with a large effect (Cohen's d = 1.18). No significant differences were seen across ethnic-racial groups in terms of post-intervention readiness for either *cultural socialization* (M_{Black} = 4.60, $M_{\text{Asian American}}$ = 4.60, M_{Latinx} = 4.60, $F(2,12)$ = .00, p = 1.00) or *preparation for bias* (M_{Black} = 4.60, $M_{\text{Asian American}}$ = 4.20, M_{Latinx} = 4.40, $F(2,12)$ = .33, p = .723).

Parents rated high satisfaction with the program (M = 4.45, SD = .43), significant motivation and intent to have these types of conversations with their children (M = 4.36, SD = .61), and plans to utilize the skills and tools included in the program in their *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias* conversations (M = 4.44, SD = .40). Overall, these results indicate that parents largely

endorsed the program as effective and that they planned to have these conversations utilizing the skills and tools in the intervention. Items with 100% of parents indicating agreement included that "the steps in **R**eady, **S**et, **T**alk were useful in approaching conversations about race, ethnicity, and culture," "the real-life video clips…were helpful," the intervention was "useful" for their family, "other parents could benefit from this program," and that they "would recommend this program to a friend."

Interview data

The quantitative findings above were mirrored in our parent interviews. The main benefits that the parents identified in the program evaluation interview data were increased awareness of ERS issues, more motivation to have conversations with their children, greater confidence in enacting strategies for ERS conversations, and improved communication and relational skills. These themes were noted across groups and map onto the program's goals of enhancing parental self-efficacy for this complex task.

Increasing awareness of ERS

First, multiple parents specifically commented on having a greater awareness of ERS issues. For example, an immigrant Asian American parent noted:

> My child, he will be going into middle school. I think it was a door, you know–it was an open door for me. Like 'Hey! I need to-' It's like a lightbulb went off like, 'Hey! I need to keep this on radar" so all of this stuff that I've learned from these videos and surveys, it's like in my memory bank. Like 'Hey, I'm gonna look out for this. See how this, you know, we can, you know, use this and be proactive in the future, if I see any signs. You know, just keep asking him those questions.

An immigrant Latinx parent also reported deeper reflection and awareness:

> Well I believe that upon reflecting about the fact that one never talks to their children about racial differences…well that comes from us. In watching these videos, well, one reflects about how as a parent one has to change.

Parents also shared that OTAAT helped them expand their awareness to include a focus on settings. A Black parent noted,

> You know, it just gave it a bigger picture. And it was really, you know, helpful for me to kind of understand, you know, what happens at school versus what happens at your extracurricular activities or whatever happens in the home and how to approach whether it's discrimination, or how they're viewed as a person.

Greater motivation for ERS

There was also evidence that the motivational questions in fact did help parents reflect on their current practices and motivate behavior. A Black parent shared:

> I'll be honest, just the prompting of the survey questions kind of like pushed me to do certain things or… and I know the questions were not biased, but because of my answers or what I thought sometimes my answers should be, they kind of made me rethink… maybe something I was doing or maybe something I wasn't doing.

For one immigrant Latinx parent, motivation encompassed not only passing along helpful information to children but also avoiding conversations that could have negative effects on them. This parent said, "If I am learning how to answer or how I should manage situations so that if I have prejudices or stereotypes that I don't continue commenting on them to the children."

Increasing confidence and ERS strategies

Consistent with the goals of the program, parents also noted their confidence and skills at having ERS conversations were bolstered by OTAAT. An immigrant Asian American parent shared that they could now confidently respond, stating, "some of the issues my daughter actually encountered during the process of studying this program and then I was…. more confident that, you know … to deal with this problem." In part, this confidence was due to having greater knowledge and awareness, but it also extended to readiness to use tools and strategies that had been modeled in the video sets. Another Asian American parent shared, "You make me be more aware of issues and then you show other people's examples and you offer tools and … give me a chance to be able to review the use of those tools." A Black parent noted that the use of child-directed skills helped build her confidence, stating, "This kind of helped me frame my conversations and my words a little bit better….opening conversations and listening to, you know, how he felt."

Families also talked about using role-plays and helping their youth anticipate how to cope with discrimination. One immigrant Asian American parent related:

> I did role play. Like, let's do this again in a role play way, in a fun way, and let's see what your responses should be. She participated with great enthusiasm and she enjoyed it and several days later, I asked of her, "What are your thoughts on this?" and "What are you going to do next time when you're faced with a similar situation?" I kind of like more being better able to take this in a more constructive way so yeah that's very helpful.

Improving relationships through communication skills

Finally, parents also commented on the fact that OTAAT helped strengthen their relationships with their children through positive communication strategies. For example, one Black parent noted that this was the first time she had these conversations with her daughter and felt that it helped foster closeness:

> So, I actually learned a lot about my daughter. How she interacts with other people… I found those videos to be impactful as well as helpful, but she also shared some stories with me that I wasn't expecting either. So, in that regard, I think it kinda helped to develop the relationship and the trust and to really give her the opportunity to open up ….

An immigrant Asian American parent also felt that the relational benefits could accrue over time, noting that these can indeed be a series of short and effective conversations:

> I also learned that…to make the conversation happen, you don't need to do it in a formal way, you can do it in any way…In five minutes, you can just do it. The more you have the conversations, the better the result and the relationship between the parent and child.

Further, parents talked about how OTAAT helped prompt them to listen more actively as part of parent–child communication. Parents reflected on the need to respond to their child's lead, as was clear in one Black parent's response:

> I think that's the most important, to encourage the dialogue between parents and kids and give them that opportunity to speak freely when you're not just asking them "yes or no" questions, but giving them an opportunity to talk, and for you to listen.

Taken together, program evaluation interviews with parents noted significant strengths in the OTAAT program by helping families initiate these conversations with better awareness and skills focusing on their child, listening to their experiences, and preparing them to cope with potential discrimination. They left the program feeling better equipped to have productive, courageous ERS conversations one talk at a time.

DISCUSSION

All minoritized parents in the United States face the difficult task of raising children to thrive in a society that marginalizes and discriminates against them. There is a large body of work that details how parents of color socialize their youth to develop resilience by communicating messages intended to instill a sense of pride in their group, knowledge about their cultural history and practices, awareness of racial injustices, and resisting stereotypes and discrimination (Umaña-Tayor & Hill, 2020). Fewer studies have tackled how parent intervention programs can support families in having these difficult conversations. We have detailed the development of one such parent intervention: OTAAT. OTAAT endeavors to facilitate courageous conversations about critical social issues within the home context and contribute to healthy, resilient families. Overall, Black, Latinx, and Asian American parents in our pilot demonstrated gains in confidence in having balanced ERS conversations after completing the video-based online OTAAT intervention. Parents reported being highly satisfied with the program, and program evaluation feedback suggested that OTAAT not only helped motivate parents to have these conversations by bolstering a sense of confidence and efficacy, but it also taught them skills to engage in meaningful ERS conversations centered on their youth's experiences. Parents shared the importance of learning to actively listen and provide proactive coping messages, including using rehearsal and role-playing.

Our study contributes to an emerging literature on ERS interventions in Black families (Anderson et al., 2018; Coard et al., 2007), and extends it to other families of color in the United States (immigrant Latinx and Asian American families). It is the first study to our knowledge to use a video-based approach for multiple ethnic-racial groups, and our findings support that even

a short video intervention can foster growth in parents. OTAAT focuses on building efficacy and confidence in parents to engage in meaningful ERS conversations that are balanced and result in youth feeling ready and prepared to cope with racialized stress. Based on parental responses in OTAAT, preliminary data suggest that parents built this confidence throughout the program. This growth is particularly impressive given that parents reported fairly high levels of confidence at the onset (a seven on a 10-point scale). Parental growth across the program was especially evident in parents' discussions of growth during the program evaluation interview. Overall, no differences were found in our intervention's impact across the ethnic/racial group in our study, although our sample size was small and future work should continue to explore this question. Our findings support recent theoretical work that integrates parental efficacy and skills into ERS messages (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019), and suggests that future research should disentangle content, frequency, and efficacy as we strive to understand how ERS processes impact developmental outcomes.

Across the completion of OTAAT modules and exercises, it was clear that parents were most interested in learning about *preparation for bias* conversations (93% of parents), supporting the notion that these are more challenging and stressful for parents to deliver. This was further evident in the fact that top barriers parents endorsed were primarily emotion-based (i.e., these conversations would be upsetting) or worries about fostering discriminatory beliefs in their youth. However, throughout their responses in the OTAAT survey reflections, it was clear that parents in the intervention saw these as important conversations, central to fulfilling the goals they had set for their children. The program evaluation data suggested that after engaging in OTAAT parents took a more proactive approach to these conversations and were also on the "look out" for how discriminatory experiences might be impacting their youth. Further, consistent with past work and theory, parents viewed these conversations as avenues to strengthen their parent–child relationships (Anderson et al., 2018). Parents also responded positively to the inclusion of contextual factors as shaping their ERS messages, in particular considering both school and extracurricular activities, which aligns with recent calls to pay more attention to these diverse contextual and social factors as important contributors to the types of ERS conversations families engage in (Hughes et al., 2016; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020; Witherspoon et al., 2021), and suggests that supports for parents in these contexts may provide an avenue to tackle these complex social issues.

A strength of our study was also the explicit inclusion of immigrant parents. In the parent program evaluation interviews, they reported that they had not really considered how to engage in these conversations prior to OTAAT, which was different from the Black families. This was consistent with our past qualitative work examining barriers to ERS conversations whereby immigrant families reported feeling less prepared for ERS conversations relative to Black families (Gonzalez et al., under review). Yet, our OTAAT pilot data suggest that immigrant parents responded with the same enthusiasm to our intervention as Black parents and were willing to engage in more *preparation for bias* conversations. Thus, while the literature generally notes that Asian American and Latinx parents are more reluctant or less prepared to engage in these conversations (Priest et al., 2014), our pilot data suggests that, with support, they can build efficacy and confidence to engage meaningfully with the task. Yet, it is also important to note that our program evaluation data as well as the responses in OTAAT web form reflections suggested that Black parents were also seeking more information about how best to engage in

these conversations and benefited by increasing their confidence and skills. Future work should test this intervention in immigrant Black parents as well as native-born Asian American and Latinx parents to assess whether they benefit from OTAAT in this same fashion.

While *preparation for bias* may be the most challenging for parents, parental engagement in OTAAT indicated that benefitted from the content on both *preparation for bias and cultural socialization*. Indeed, parents engaged in both types of content equally in terms of identifying goals for future ERS conversations. This was evident in their responses to how they would facilitate more of these conversations in the future. In particular, parents endorsed wanting to target Ready skills at the end of the intervention that were specific to each type of conversation: highly endorsing "knowing their messages" as important to *cultural socialization* while "controlling their own reaction" as central to their *preparation for bias* conversations. Yet, for both types of ERS conversations they aimed to use the Talk skills of being child-centered and providing coping, problem-solving, and role-playing. It was also clear that in both types of conversations parents were potentially influenced by the current sociopolitical climate as 87% endorsed wanting to focus more on equality and justice in their *cultural socialization* conversations and more than 50% wanting to help their youth process society inequity and social injustice. Thus, our study suggests that parents appreciated considering both types of ERS messages independently and building skills unique to each.

Limitations and future directions

While our small pilot study suggests that OTAAT is a promising avenue to support parents in ERS conversations, there are some limitations that are important to address. First, the online platform delivery especially reached higher socio-economic families and had fewer families that were lower resourced. Thus, it will be important to test OTAAT online delivery with families across socio-economic strata. This is critical as due to systemic racism many families of color live in poverty, and immigrant families may have more difficulty accessing an online intervention. We are currently testing other avenues of delivery including at community-based organizations and schools that may be able to reach a larger number of parents. Indeed, one of our parents noted that it would be useful for this intervention to be delivered in schools to reach more parents. This is a significant limitation of our current study, and future work should test how best to reach and deliver this intervention to a broader immigrant and lower SES population.

Second, the small sample limited inclusion of families across multiple generations of immigrant status (e.g., immigrant Black families; second generation Latinx and Asian American families) that will also be important to test in future studies. In particular, it would be useful to test how these factors (e.g., SES, generation status) influence engagement in OTAAT and the parts of the intervention that are most useful. Third, we did not include youth in our program evaluation so while parents felt more efficacious in having these conversations, we have no data about how youth responded to these new messages parents were delivering. Future studies should also include youth perspectives as it would confirm whether, indeed, they felt better prepared to cope with discrimination and these facilitated conversations were in fact child-centered.

Finally, we acknowledge that small samples present risks for inferential statistics, including a lower likelihood of finding a true relationship even if they exist. Additionally, chronically

underpowered studies can lead to literatures with higher false positive rates and low replicability (Fraley & Vazire, 2014). Given the exploratory nature of this study and that this is the first attempt at piloting and evaluating this intervention, we see evidence of effects as meaningful evidence of intervention efficacy. However, further work will be needed to generalize these findings and affirm the true effect of the intervention across a wider range of outcome measures. As such, OTAAT needs to be tested with a larger sample using multiple methods (e.g., observational) and to test whether increasing parental efficacy leads to more quality ERS conversations. In particular, measures that address parental efficacy and confidence as well child coping with future discrimination need to be developed to best test the mechanisms suggested by our work. There are promising new measures currently being developed and tested that target different avenues for ERS like RaSCES (Anderson, Jones, & Stevenson, 2020) for parental skills and efficacy in ERS or racialized emotional socialization (F. Lozada, personal communication, March 27, 2020). Yet, these have been developed specifically for Black families and need to be considered with other ethnic-racial groups.

Nonetheless, targeting parental skills and confidence in having ERS conversations can be a critical avenue to minimize the academic and mental health inequalities that result from discriminatory experiences. In particular, parents can foster a child's sense of competence and efficacy in handling racialized stressors. Our preliminary evidence points to the fact that an online delivery can indeed support families by helping parents reflect on their current ERS practices and foster quality conversations that prepare their youth to cope with future discrimination. Future work should continue to test methodological approaches and how best to support parents using different types of delivery methods that might fit best for families (e.g., online, group facilitated, family facilitated) at different points in development. Better understanding such variations would have meaningful implications for families themselves, as well as for possible policy initiatives, institutional settings, and community stakeholders who also play a role in shaping youth experiences. However, as it is currently designed, OTAAT holds promise for diverse families who appear to benefit from increased resiliency and courage in having these socially crucial conversations with youth.

Biographies

Gabriela Livas Stein is a Professor of Clinical Psychology at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Her research examines risk and resilience processes including the roles of discrimination, cultural familial values, and racial/ethnic socialization in lives of Latinx youth and families.

Stephanie Irby Coard is an Associate Professor in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Her research focuses on the understanding, prevention, and treatment of child and adolescent mental health problems, particularly as they relate to youth and families of color.

Laura M. Gonzalez is an Associate Professor in the Higher Education program at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Her research has centered on supports and barriers to college access for Latinx students from immigrant families, including outreach and intervention to bolster identified supports (e.g., parents, school staff).

Lisa Kiang is a Professor in the Department of Psychology at Wake Forest University. Her research interests include ethnic/racial identity and social relationships, with an emphasis on positive well-being among adolescents from minoritzed backgrounds.

Joseph Sircar is a doctoral student in the Clinical Psychology program at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. His research focuses on how family systems and culture impact emotions, relational functioning, and individual and collective resilience in minoritized groups.

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