

Centering Race and Ethnicity in Understanding Developmental Relationships Within Families

Search Institute¹

Introduction

The United States is becoming increasingly diverse in terms of racial/ethnic backgrounds. For example, it is projected that by 2045 the United States will reach majority-minority (or, 'minority White') (Vespa, Medina, & Armstrong, 2020). However, most of the developmental psychology literature remains largely White-centric and renders racial/ethnic minorities *invisible* (Syed et al., 2018; Armstrong-Carter & Telzer, 2021). For example, less than 10 percent of the studies published in the 2000s in leading psychology and developmental science journals (e.g., *Developmental Psychology*, *Journal of Family Psychology*, *Psychological Bulletin*) focused on racial/ethnic minorities (Hartmann et al., 2013). With that, do we really know what developmental relationships look like for racial/ethnic minorities?

To address this gap, Search Institute is conducting a qualitative study to understand how developmental relationships within families may be experienced similarly and differently across lines of race/ethnicity. In particular, this study will focus on Search Institute's Developmental Relationships Framework (see the callout box for more information on Developmental Relationships). The study is limited to the experiences of Asian American, Black/African American, Latina/o, and Multiracial families living in the United States with one or more children between the ages of 10 and 18. The research questions that guiding this study included:

- How are the five elements of the Developmental Relationship Framework expressed and experienced similarly and differently by parents/guardians and children?
- How are the five elements of the Developmental Relationship Framework expressed and experienced similarly and differently by parents/guardians and children across race and ethnic groups?

Overview of the Developmental Relationships Framework

The [Developmental Relationships Framework](#) is a widely recognized and utilized resource for strengthening developmental relationships in family-serving organizations, schools, out-of-school time (OST) organizations, prevention programs and other youth-serving organizations. Developmental relationships are close connections through which young people discover who they are, cultivate abilities to shape their own lives, and learn how to engage with and contribute to the world around them (Pekel et al., 2018; Scales et al., 2020). There are five elements within the Developmental Relationships Framework: (a) express care, (b) challenge growth, (c) provide support, (d) share power, and (e) expand possibilities.

In the original research upon which the Developmental Relationships Framework is based, Search Institute conducted focus groups with, and collected survey data from, a large and racially/ethnically diverse sample of parents, youth, and practitioners to ensure that diverse perspectives and experiences were fully represented in the findings (Pekel et al., 2018; Scales et al., 2020). Although communities of color were represented in the design of the Developmental Relationships Framework,

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the original research and subsequent studies have not focused on how young people and adults from diverse racial and cultural groups express and experience the five elements of the Developmental Relationships Framework.

In the following, we briefly: (a) define the racial/ethnic identity terms used, (b) provide an overview from the literature for how families may express and experience developmental relationships similarly and differently across racial/ethnic groups, (c) discuss our methodological approach, (d) summarize our findings for how each racial/ethnic group may experience developmental relationships, and (e) conclude with a discussion of findings that cut across racial/ethnic groups. The analysis shared in this report provides a first step in understanding how developmental relationships within families may be experienced similarly and differently across lines of race/ethnicity. More research still needs to be done to further unpack developmental relationships within families.

Understanding Terms Used to Define Racial/Ethnic Identities

Our review is limited to the experiences of Asian American, Black/African American, Latina/o, and Multiracial families. We understand that trying to capture how these racial/ethnic groups experience developmental relationships is not easy, if even rightfully possible, due to the substantial heterogeneities that exist within each of these racial/ethnic groups. For example, the operationalization of racial/ethnic grouping diminishes the impact of variation in cultural background and naturalization/immigration status. Therefore, we acknowledge that we will only have a narrow understanding of how families within each group may experience developmental relationships. However, we believe that this narrow understanding is an important first step forward in understanding similarities and differences across lines of race/ethnicity, as well as the nuanced variations that exist but are often overlooked within each racial/ethnic group.

We also understand that the racial/ethnic identity terms used are nuanced. Therefore, it is important to clearly articulate what each of these terms means. For the purposes of this review, the following definitions are used for each racial/ethnic identity:

- **Asian American:** Asian American is an umbrella term for people living in the United States of Asian ancestry, which includes the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam. While Asian American is a common label, people might prefer to identify with more specific categories (e.g., Filipino American, Hmong American); it is not our intention to erase those differences.
- **Black/African American:** Black is defined as a person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa and currently living in the United States. African American has several meanings and it must be determined precisely what African-American may mean to someone who identifies as such. African-American can mean one who identifies as having ancestors who may have been enslaved in the United States, or someone whose family is from Africa and is a recent immigrant to the United States. Immigration status, native born or immigrant, is important to clarify because of the cultural and experiential differences of these groups. For this review, the term African-American refers to a person who identifies as having ancestors who may have been enslaved in the United States. Some individuals identify as Black, others identify as African American, and others identify as both.

- **Latina/o:** People of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Dominican Republic, Central American (e.g., Costa Rican and Guatemalan) and South American (e.g., Argentinian and Chilean) origin or descent who currently live in the United States.

Literature Review

Numerous studies have examined how racial/ethnic identity may influence how families foster developmental relationships with youth. The familial structure plays a large role in the ways in which youth experience developmental relationships. While Asian American, Black/African American, and Latina/o are more likely to have an intergenerational structure, where multiple generations of a family live in the same household, than White families, who tend to be more nuclear, where only parents and children live in the same household (Bengtson, 2001; Yee et al., 2007; Pilgeram, 2012; Hardie & Seltzer, 2016).

Due to the differences in these familial structures, youth tend to hold divergent responsibilities and receive different support. Asian American, Black/African American, and Latina/o families are more likely to adhere to cultural norms regarding collectivism, familism, and obligation in comparison to White families, who prioritize independence (Luftig, 1983; Bengtson, 2001; Yee et al., 2007; Hardie & Seltzer, 2016). The cultural norms of collectivism, familism, and obligation may impact (a) the adults that youth consider family, (b) the ways youth interact with these adults (e.g., experience care and address challenges), and (c) the decisions that adults and youth make (e.g., current and future decisions). Additionally, Asian American, Black/African American, and Latina/o families are more likely to lend practical support (e.g., coresidence, child care, household chores) than financial support (Antonucci et al., 2011; Hardie & Seltzer, 2016). By comparison, White families are more likely to lend financial support. These differences in how support is provided may affect how youth interpret the concept of support, which may look different depending on youth racial/ethnic identity (Crockett et al., 2007). It may be important to investigate the ways that familial structure, and associated cultural norms, may impact how youth experience developmental relationships in their families.

While numerous studies have highlighted how racial/ethnic cultural background may influence how families foster developmental relationships with youth, several studies also have noted that these differences may not be salient. As noted throughout our findings in the following sections, contextual factors, such as socioeconomic status, geographic location, immigration status, time since immigration, and level of assimilation may have a greater impact on how families foster developmental relationships with youth (Antonucci et al., 2011; Bloome, 2014; Hardie & Seltzer, 2016). It may be essential to understand how culturally-based strategies to cultivate relationships and contextual factors influence the expression of the elements within the Developmental Relationships Framework. In the following, literature exploring how Asian American, Black/African American, Latina/o, and Multiracial, families may experience developmental relationships are summarized.

Asian American Families

To apply the Developmental Relationship Framework to Asian American familia experiences, one must also consider several major other social markers. For example, depending on country of origin, the average proportion of Asian American with a bachelor's degree ranges from under 20 percent (e.g., Laotian and Bhutanese American) to more than 70 percent (e.g., Indian and Taiwanese American) (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Depending on reasons of immigration (e.g., skilled professionals being pulled to fill critical labor gaps in the United States, versus refugees being pushed to the United States for fears

of prosecution), sub-groups within Asian American also vary widely in terms which region in the United States they settle and the kinds of occupations they have legal access to (Hanna & Batalova, 2021).

All these variations can reasonably influence family systems and parenting practices, such as what social capital parents can connect their youth with. This is not to say that Asian American parents with more difficult financial, legal, or other arrival background are expected to provide less rich developmental relationships to their youth, but to point out that people under the same category 'Asian American' came to the United States under such varied circumstances that understanding their experiences under the same framework without considering structural differences might be unjust. In other words, the rich variations within the so-called Asian American community challenges the Developmental Relationships Framework to incorporate additional contextual factors, such as reason of immigration, income, where they live (e.g., urban or rural communities), time since arrival and level of assimilation.

Although Asian Americans have varied experiences, there are three cultural themes that tend to span sub-groups: (a) collectivism, (b) familism, and (c) family obligation (Yee et al., 2007; Mistry et al.; 2016). Collectivism is the tendency to place the needs and goals of the group above those of the individual. Familism refers to the organization of the extended family system (e.g., grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins) as the basic familial unit. Family obligations are the attitudes and behavioral responsibilities that children are expected to show towards family members (e.g., respect, advice seeking, acceptance of decisions made, practical support). Each of these themes highlights the importance of interdependence within Asian American families (Yee et al., 2007). Therefore, Asian American youth tend to demonstrate a strong sense of obligation to family, which can provide motivation for youth to succeed and delay their sense of autonomy from their parents. (Wang et al.; 2021). Given the importance of familial interdependence within Asian American communities, it may be important to consider who the Developmental Relationships Framework reflects, or does not reflect, these values.

Black/African American Families

The Black/African American experience in the United States is both storied and varied. Many child-rearing practices of Black/African American families in the United States have been deemed ineffective when evaluated from a White normative perspective (Hill, 1999). Nonetheless, when evaluated more closely, many practices within the Black/African American family are in fact protective and lead to positive outcomes (Murray et al., 2014). Therefore, exploring the literature for the protective, non-normative practice is essential to support the development of Black/African American youths.

The impact of systemic factors, such as racism, discrimination, lack of access, and equity, can have a profound impact on the psychological processes of Black/African American in the United States (Williams-Washington & Mills, 2018). These factors can impact the interaction between members of families particularly if members are under tremendous stress and strain that is beyond their control (Sudarkasa, 1988). Racial discrimination can be experienced by any ethnic minority. Racial discrimination affects the economic, mental, and physical well-being of African Americans placing them at greater risk for greater risk for economic hardship, chronic illness, anxiety, and depression (Wills & Shiffman, 1985).

An anthropological analysis of Black/African American conducted by Young (1970, 1974) determined that affective positive relationships and firm parenting practices promoted the development of self-reliance, self-regulation, independence, and educationally achieving adolescents and adults. In practice, this style of parenting is characterized by vigilance, high levels of control, and affectionate behaviors (Brody & Ge, 2001; Brody et al., 2003). The outcome of this parenting is meant to encourage the development of the

following behaviors and actions: (a) planful and thoughtful, (c) achievement and future oriented, and (c) alert and attentive to their environment (Allen & Majidi-Ahi, 1989; Willis, 1992). These behaviors and actions are meant to help youth succeed while also avoiding potentially dangerous situations. Therefore, what may constitute care and concern may look more firm and restrictive to some; however, when balanced with affection, the possibility of risk reduction and improved positive outcomes are possible (Murray et al., 2014). Involved-vigilant parenting buffers Black/African American youth well into adolescence, which is the opposite of what is typically seen as adolescents grow older and parenting effects diminish (Romer et al., 1999; Murray et al., 2011).

Racial socialization is a parenting process that has been found among Black/African American (Murray et al., 2014). Racial socialization is a set of behaviors, interaction, and communication between parents and children in order to raise Black/African American children to be physically and emotionally healthy in a society in which being Black has negative connotations (Peters, 1985). Racial socialization is adaptive and captures the resilience of Black/African American that empower them to avoid internalizing the negative messages associated with being Black in America. Black/African American parents are charged with facilitating positive race related conceptualizations as well as a sense of belongingness to one's race in their children. The hope is that these positive sentiments regarding their race will increase their confidence and ability to manage and successfully cope with the harsh realities of racism, while also enabling them to know how to succeed despite the obstacles that racial discrimination produces. Racial socialization seems to be the "antidote" to racism and has been associated with elevated self-esteem (Constantine & Sha'Kema, 2002), academic achievement (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002), positive psychosocial functioning (Hughes & Chen, 1997), and low manifestations of depression and anxiety (Stevenson et al., 1997). Given the importance of firm parenting and racial socialization within Black/African American communities, it may be important to consider who the Developmental Relationships Framework reflects, or does not reflect, these values.

Latina/o Families

Studies on the Latina/o experience, for example its *familismo* value, offer several insights to expanding the developmental relationship framework (e.g., Crockett et al., 2007; Stein et al., 2015). Familismo is a value central to the many Latina/o cultures that prioritizes commitment to family life and well-being. In terms of family structure, Latina/o families often include extended kins (as opposed to just the nuclear family), which implies that the developmental relationship framework shall consider additional social agents, such as cousins and aunts/uncles, when considering Latina/o youth's developmental relationships (Garcia, 1993). Familismo also has a behavioral dimension, which includes family role obligations and responsibilities, such as taking care of younger siblings, as well as an attitudinal dimension, which includes culturally-rooted values and beliefs, such as prioritizing family well-being over individual interests (Steidel & Contreras, 2003). How the behavioral and attitudinal dimensions of familismo are experienced may also be influenced by the hierarchical family dynamic and gender norms (e.g., 'gendered familism'; Ovink, 2014). For example, the same parenting behavior (e.g., encouragement to pursue higher education) might be *interpreted* differently by Latina girls and Latino boys depending on what they see their positions, roles and responsibilities are in the family (e.g., as role modeling for younger siblings, versus as responsibility in preparation to be the head of a household).

From this cultural lens, the current conceptualization of the Developmental Relationships Framework could be expanded. For example, studies suggest the importance of *consejos*, which are advice giving that are rooted in life experiences (e.g., parents encourage their children to work harder in school in order to attain a better future than them) (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). As another example, instead of saying "try harder" or "do your best", Latina/o parents utilize expressions like *échale ganas* (loosely translate to

give it your all) that are culturally-meaningful to empower their youth (Soto-Lara & Simpkins, 2020). These examples demonstrate how the Latina/o experiences can expand what we know about developmental relationships. Specifically, considerations should be made for how culturally-rooted values and beliefs can influence what people prioritize as constituting developmental relationships and practices that promote them.

Multiracial Families

The theories and empirical data about Multiracial/ethnic adolescents in developmental sciences are not as developed as those for mono-racial/ethnic groups (Charmaraman et al., 2014; Harris, 2016) even though they are uniquely positioned to offer theoretical advancements (Dunham & Olson, 2016; Nishina & Witkow, 2020). The Multiracial experience is not simply the additive sum of its monoracial parts. However, the “monoracial paradigm dictates thinking about race in terms of discrete categories, leading researchers to ignore and invalidate the existence and experiences of Multiracial individuals” (Atkin & Yoo, 2019, p. 2). As such, frameworks about Multiracial youth’s developmental relationship needed to be built from the ground up, instead of being superimposed a monoracial framework and inferring differences or similarities.

Previous research on multiracial youth highlight how they might experience unique race-based discrimination and micro-aggression and that they might have few people to process such stressors (Rollins & Hunter, 2013; Schlabach, 2013). For example, Black and White Biracial youth reported feeling unsupported and frustrated when their parents are hesitant to discuss race issues or fail to emphasize from their standpoint (Crawford & Alaggia, 2008). The nuanced experiences of Multiracial youth pointed out how socializers, like parents who are traditionally conceptualized as sources of support, could unintentionally be sources of discrimination and rejection (Atkin & Jackson, 2020).

Relatedly, another consensus from previous studies on Multiracial youth is the centrality of their racial/ethnic identity development in relation to various key developmental outcomes such as psychological well-being (Shih et al., 2019). This finding questions whether racial/ethnic identity development should be considered a complimentary or moderating developmental relationship element. Especially for youth growing up in an increasingly diverse society, practices that promote positive development of racial/ethnic identities might be as essential as the traditional elements that make up the Developmental Relationships Framework.

Finally, Multiracial youth and their network of support demonstrate resilience and strength amid the aforementioned potential barriers and challenges (Shih et al., 2019). Some contextual factors to understand why some Multiracial youth positively navigated these developmental milestones while others face more hardships include regional and generational history, community belief and attitude, extended source of family support, class, gender, and other intersecting identities (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Hunter & Rollins, 2013). These potential positive or negative impacts of these contextual factors may be important to incorporate into the Developmental Relationships Framework.

Methods

We used deductive qualitative research through thematic analysis to understand how developmental relationships within families may be experienced similarly and differently across lines of race and ethnicity. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting themes or patterns within a dataset (King, 2004; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Guest et al., 2011). This approach is a valuable way to investigate the varied experiences of families by summarizing key perspectives, reporting comparable

and divergent viewpoints, and uncovering unexpected insights (Nowell et al., 2017). The central research questions guiding our study was:

- How are the five elements of the Developmental Relationship Framework expressed and experienced similarly and differently by parents/guardians and children?
- How are the five elements of the Developmental Relationship Framework expressed and experienced similarly and differently by parents/guardians and children across race and ethnic groups?

Sample

The analytic sample was Asian American, Black/African American, Latina/o, and Multiracial families living in the United States with one or more children between the ages of 10 and 18. Study participants consisted of parent/guardian and children pairs, who identified to participate in the study through the personal networks of the authors. After identifying roughly 147 potential parent/guardian and children pairs to participate in study, 38 were purposefully selected based on their (a) race/ethnicity, (b) gender of parent/guardian and children, and (c) age of children (Creswell & Poth, 2016).² 23 parent/guardian and children pairs self-identified as holding a Black/African American racial background, 5 self-identified as holding a Latina/o ethnic background, 5 self-identified as holding a Asian American racial background, and 5 self-identified as holding a Multiracial background.

Data Collection

Focus groups formed the primary data source for this study. Seven 60-minute focus groups (4-5 participants per group) were held with parent/guardian participants, and seven 60-minute focus groups (4-5 participants per group) were held with child participants. Participants were divided into focus groups based on their race/ethnic background. Protocols were designed to understand parent/guardian and child expressions of and experiences with elements and actions within the Developmental Relationships Framework. Responsive interviewing was used to allow for flexibility in changing questions in response to what was learned (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Questions were intentionally designed to not directly align with the framework to ensure that we were not leading participants toward a specific response. Sample questions included, “Tell me how you connect with your child.” and “How do you help your child make decisions or figure things out?” Interviews took place via Zoom during November and December 2021.

Coding Strategy and Data Analysis

Within deductive thematic analysis, this study used pattern matching to detect how conceptualizations of parents/guardians and children aligned with the Developmental Relationships Framework (Almutairi et al., 2014; Guest et al., 2011). Modeling a pattern-matching procedure proposed by Yin (2011), this study took the following steps to explore the alignment between conceptualizations and the framework: (a) describe the framework prior to data-gathering, (b) generate a codebook based on the framework, (c) collect data, and (e) code the data using the codebook and identify counterexamples not present in the codebook.

For the application of the pattern matching procedure, this study used the Developmental Relationships Framework, which consists of five elements: (a) express care, (b) challenge growth, (c) provide support,

² Over 80 percent of the families identified to participate in the study self-identified as holding a Black/African American racial/ethnic background.

(d) share power, and (e) expand possibilities. Express care was operationalized across five codes:³ (a) be dependable, (b) be warm, (c) listen, (d) encourage, and (e) believe in me. Challenge growth was operationalized across four codes: (a) expect my best, (b) hold me accountable, (c) stretch, and (d) reflect on failures. Provide support was operationalized across four codes: (a) navigate, (b) advocate, (c) empower, and (d) set boundaries. Share power was operationalized across four codes: (a) respect me, (b) collaborate, (c) include me, and (d) let me lead. Expand possibilities support was operationalized across three codes: (a) inspire, (b) broaden horizons, and (c) connect, and (d) set boundaries. These codes made up the original codebook.

Using Dedoose, authors coded interviews to identify themes in participants' responses that (a) aligned with the original codes and (b) provided counterexamples (Yin, 2011). First, a random sample of 25 percent of responses from each data source were selected to be independently coded to ensure interrater reliability (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Coded responses with an interrater agreement of less than 0.80 were discussed and reconciled as needed. Using the agreements established, the authors coded the remaining portion of the interviews. The authors then reviewed the codes and recorded discrepancies. Discrepancies were discussed until coders reached 100 percent agreement. In addition to the original codes, 13 counterexample codes, where expectations did not align with participants' responses, were identified. It is important to note that counterexamples rarely represented contradictions of a code, but instead represented expansions of our understanding of a code. Table 1 details the final codebook for the data, including definitions for original codes and counterexamples.

Table 1. Final codebook for alignment between parents/guardians' and children's experiences and the Developmental Relationships framework

Code	Definition	Counterexamples
Express Care	Show me that I matter to you.	
Be dependable	Be someone I can trust.	<i>Emotionally connected.</i> African American parents/guardians and children expanded the definitions to explicate the meaning of trust.
Listen	Really pay attention when we are together.	<i>Talk with me.</i> Parents/guardians and children saw listening as a two-way relationship, going beyond paying attention and, instead, turning it into action by responding.
Believe in me	Make me feel known and valued.	
Be warm	Show me you enjoy being with me.	<i>Shared interest.</i> Parents/guardians noted that they often showed up to and supported activities their children were involved in.
Encourage	Praise me for my efforts and achievements	
Challenge Growth	Push me to keep getting better.	<i>Role models.</i> Parents/guardians saw themselves as role models to push their children to do better.

³ Codes represent each of the actions for the element within the framework.

Code	Definition	Counterexamples
		<i>Teaching life skills.</i> Parents/guardians and children shared that learning life skills from parents was important for their independence in the future.
Expect my best	Expect me to live up to my potential.	<i>Put resources in place.</i> Parents/guardians shared that they provided resources for children to be and do better.
Stretch	Push me to go further.	<i>Hard work.</i> Parents/guardians and children mentioned parents/guardians encouraging their children to go further by working hard.
Hold me accountable	Insist I take responsibility for my actions.	<i>Understand consequences.</i> Parents/guardians and children shared that parents/guardians helped children take responsibility by understanding the consequences of their actions.
Reflect on failures	Help me learn from mistakes and setbacks.	<i>Create safe spaces.</i> Parents/guardians and children highlighted how parents/guardians create space for children to make mistakes.
Provide Support	Help me complete tasks and achieve goals.	
Navigate	Guide me through hard situations and systems.	<i>Be there for them.</i> Parents/guardians highlighted how they prioritize being there for children rather than solving and overcoming the problem for them. <i>Racial socialization.</i> Parents/guardians and children noted that parents/guardians helped children understand their racial/ethnic background and navigate systems of oppression.
Empower	Build my confidence to take charge of my life.	
Advocate	Stand up for me when I need it.	
Set boundaries	Put in place limits that keep me on track.	
Share Power	Treat me with respect and give me a say.	
Respect me	Take me seriously and treat me fairly.	<i>Creating trust together.</i> Parents/guardians shared that an important element of respect is building trust through two-way communication.
Include me	Involve me in decisions that affect me.	

Code	Definition	Counterexamples
Collaborate	Work with me to solve problems and reach goals.	
Let me lead	Create opportunities for me to take action and lead.	
Expand Possibilities	Connect me with people and places that broaden my world.	
Inspire	Inspire me to see possibilities for my future.	<i>Identity-based inspiration.</i> Parents/guardians shared how they strive to support their children in not being restricted by their identity or race/ethnicity.
Broaden horizons	Expose me to new ideas, experiences, and places	
Connect	Introduce me to people who can help me grow.	<i>Importance of community in parenting.</i> Parents/guardians noted the importance of their community in helping them support and guide their children.

Findings

We explored how developmental relationships within families may be experienced similarly and differently across lines of race/ethnicity. Findings revealed that parents/guardians’ and childrens’ relational experiences aligned with the Developmental Relationships Framework. However, parents/guardians’ and childrens’ relational experiences also offered additional insights into how elements and actions within the framework may be expressed similarly and differently across race and ethnic groups. Findings are reported separately for each element and action.

Express Care

The first element in the Developmental Relationships Framework is Express care. Expressing care is fundamental to creating and sustaining a relationship with children that facilitates growth, learning, and development. In the framework, express care is defined as, “Showing me that I matter to you,” and has five defined actions or ways to express care.

Be dependable. Parents/guardians tended to discuss this action in terms of being open, always telling their children the truth in hopes that they would do the same, and creating an environment or relationship where their children knew they were someone they could turn to. In discussing being dependable, a Black/African American parent/guardian shared:

So you have to be open and honest. There's nothing you can really hide, especially in the times that we're living in and things that they're exposed to so early on...So to be able to just know that your child can confide in you, give their opinion, and know that it's taken into consideration is the biggest thing, because you don't want to lose any type of trust between you and your child, because at the end of the day, you're the only person they really have.

Further, expanding on being dependable, an Asian American identifying parent/guardian noted:

I think it's just being available, and then giving them time, time with you, and also being available and having the time. It kind of establishes trust. And so, once you kind of reach those three basic things, I feel that the growth is just so reachable then that they can get there.

As these parents/guardians demonstrate, being dependable is focused on letting their children know that they are available to confide in and have conversations with about what is going on in their lives. The children echoed this and many shared that their parents/guardians were dependable because of this openness. For example, a Latina/o identifying child said, "My mom tells me a lot about how she's feeling and how her days go. And so it makes me trust her more that I know what happens and how she feels."

Black/African American identifying parents/guardians also expanded upon what it means to develop that sense of trust. This goes beyond the framework definition to really define what is meant by trust. We coded this as "emotionally connected". Having an emotional connection seemed to be very important in terms of being someone their child could trust. As one Black/African American parent/guardian shared: "What makes me connect with my child is the emotional bonding and spending time playing and also asking her how the day was and everything." This concept of emotional connection as a way of parents/guardians demonstrating they are dependable also came up with Black/African American children where one shared, "I trust my parents because they say they love me a lot."

Listen. This theme was mentioned in each parent/guardian focus group and was a very important way in which they described connecting with their children. A Latina/o identifying parent/guardian described listening in the following way:

I think time and attention is just the best thing you can show your child that you really love them, or you really like them...If you give them your time, definitely there'll still be that connection with you.

Parents/guardians took the idea of paying attention to their children beyond the idea of listening only to include talking with their children. We came to define the idea of "talk with me" as building on listening to express care through an active, two-way relationship that involves listening and might also include responding or engaging in discussion with youth. In describing this two-way relationship, a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian stated, "I connect with my child, typically, over dinner...when it's time to sit down and eat, there are no phones. There are no distractions. It's just us eating, talking, catching up. And that's our connect time."

An active interpretation of paying attention that includes real discussions was more frequently mentioned in children focus groups and also resonated with children across racial and ethnic backgrounds. Many of the excerpts from children focus groups that matched listen from the framework were really getting at this idea of listening being active and youth feeling like the relationship goes two ways. As one Black/African American identifying child described:

Lately, my mom and I have been having conversations, and sometimes I have realized that many things we were arguing about, the only thing that we needed was to talk to each other. And we found out that we have a lot in common, [more] than I thought. And it really made me feel important because now she gets to involve me in some of the decisions that she's making, or we have to make in my life.

This idea that an element or action within the Developmental Relationship Framework needs to be expanded on to make sure it reflects a two-way relationship also is a theme and will be mentioned in other instances throughout the findings.

Believe in me. Parents/guardians mentioned a variety of ways to demonstrate they enjoy being with their children, from showing up to their games and other activities to spending quality time together doing things like movie nights and playing games. For other parents/guardians, the idea of believing in their child was more about ensuring they believe in themselves, as expressed by a Latina/o identifying parent/guardian:

I feel a responsibility because I know that how I interact with my child, helps to shape how they see themselves. So there are ways that if I interact with them negatively, then they may start to view themselves negatively. So, I have to remind myself to not be the negative voice in their head.

Through the focus groups we saw that believing in their children was an important part of expressing care for their children, which was also related to the actions of being dependable and listening.

Be warm. The concept of be warm was brought up in every parent/guardian focus group. This signals the importance parents/guardians place on letting their children know they enjoy spending time with them. In describing being warm, an Asian American identifying parent/guardian stated, “When I see her every day, when she wakes up, and when she comes back from school, I always show how excited I am to see her, how happy that I get to hang out with her again.” Many of the responses we coded as Be warm also demonstrated qualities related to Listen and Be dependable in particular.

Similar to what we experienced with Listen, we saw that parents/guardians expanded the definition of Be warm. Many parents/guardians said that having shared interests with their children was an important way they connected. This idea of shared interest goes beyond the idea of be warm as the parent/guardian is expressing interest in activities or topics their child is engaged or interested in, such as talking about music or showing up to all of their football games, and doing things of interest to the children together. In describing the idea of shared interest, an Latina/o identifying parent/guardian stated:

I tried really hard when he was younger to get him involved in stuff that I wanted to do. Like, I want you to bake with me, I want you to do this. But once he hit those teenage years, I've worked really hard at connecting with him at his level of interest, in order to help build that relationship. The big one over the last two years was that I've learned how to play PlayStation with him, and I've been actually playing with him and his friends, which has helped me build relationships with them as well.

The idea of shared interest also came up in a majority of children focus groups as a way that their parents made them feel important. In describing how their parent/guardian made this feel important, a Black/African American child explained: “My [mom] decided that she wanted to dance with me, so that's really made it so special. As I mentioned, I love dancing a lot, and at that time I felt so connected with my mom.” Shared interest, therefore, indicates that not only do parents enjoy spending time with their children, but they enjoy doing things together and really want to engage in the interests of their children.

Encourage. Based on the results of parent/guardian focus groups, ways to encourage their children included providing motivation to do the right thing, supporting their success in school, and expressing pride and excitement in their accomplishments. In describing encourage, a Latina/o identifying parent/guardian shared:

I really do point out the ways that he does good. The way that he's a good friend, the way that he's a good brother. When he's down on himself, for whatever reason, I always remind him of all the good that he does, and try to really get him to say that to himself and reflect that he is a good brother, that he's a good kid, that he's smart, that he's intelligent, that he's a hard worker.

While parents/guardians did not expand the idea of encouragement or add new ways of thinking about this, it is important to note that many of the ways in which they talked about encouraging their children were related to challenging growth through hard work and accountability as well as providing support through resources and empowerment. These concepts will be discussed below.

Challenge Growth

Challenge Growth in the Developmental Relationship Framework refers to pushing children to grow and keep getting better. As elaborated below, parents/guardians challenged their children's growth in ways that align with the Developmental Relationship Framework, namely by expecting their child to live up to their potential, pushing their child to go further, holding them accountable, and helping them reflect on failure. Furthermore, parents talked about two additional dimensions of Challenge Growth—role modeling and teaching life skills—that expanded the Developmental Relationship Framework.

Expect my best. When parents/guardians shared how they helped their children grow, the most common response involved parents/guardians expecting their children to live up to their potential. In discussing expect my best, an Asian American identifying parent/guardian started:

I always say, tell her that, "We love you a lot. We love you, but there are things that we think you can do better, and we have expectations for you, and you are very important to us. That's because you are important to us, so we have expectations of what you can do to do better.

Expanding on this interpretation of expect my best, a Black/African American identifying child shared:

Well, my parents say usually when you have a goal to reach, it's very long and hard journey and some days you want to quit, but always tell me to go through with your ideas and see how it takes you, or how hard far it goes. So she usually tells me to not quit and keep going. Don't matter how hard it gets.

It is not uncommon for parents/guardians expecting the best of their children to go hand in hand with other relationship building actions. For example, the parent/guardian quote shows that the parent/guardian not only expects their child to live up to their potential ('expectations of what you can do to do better'), but also accompany such expectation with care ('we love you') and empowerment. The child quote above exemplifies an instance when expecting my best goes hand in hand with stretch, which is another dimension of Challenge Growth as elaborated below.

Parents/guardians expecting their children to live up to their potential also goes hand in hand with parents/guardians putting resources in place, which is a dimension currently not captured in the Developmental Relationships Framework. Examples of parents/guardians putting resources in place

include them buying materials and providing transportation in order to cultivate their youth's extracurricular passions.

Reflect on failures. Challenge Growth as conceptualized in the Developmental Relationships Framework also involves parents/guardians helping their children learn from mistakes and setbacks. In discussing how they support their child in reflecting on failures, a Latina/o identifying parent/guardian stated:

Taking responsibility for something that is negative, maybe following bad friends, being stubborn, being rebellion, you try to caution them, you try to keep them grounded. You try to do something maybe in a fierce way, but not really fierce, that is going to make them not do what they do the next time. Just a precaution for them to be better humans tomorrow.

Even before helping their children learn from and reflect on failures, parents talked about creating a safe space for their children to make mistakes and feel okay after making a mistake. In detailing the importance of this safe space, a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian explained:

Like [another parent/guardian in the focus group] said, just roll out the judgemental side of yourself. Anything he says is important and is reasonable and should not be put under criticism. So for me, it's just trying to create a safe space for him. Be comfortable with you to trust, but trust comes from trying not to overreact is also something. If your kid does a mistake and you feel like, "Oh, this is something, this is something." If you overreact or scold them or raise your voice to them, that won't help creating the trust.

In sum, parents/guardians mentioned ample examples where they helped their children learn from mistakes and setbacks, matching a dimension of Challenge Growth as conceptualized in the Developmental Relationships Framework. Adding nuances to the framework, however, parents/guardians highlighted the importance of setting up safe spaces for their children to make mistakes to start with, not just reacting to mistakes after they are made.

Hold them accountable. Parents/guardians commented that another aspect of Challenge Growth is holding their children accountable, insisting that they take responsibility for their actions. Many of the parents/guardians specifically linked holding their children accountable to making their youth understand consequences. In thinking about holding their children accountable, a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian described:

I tend to also follow up with her schoolwork and everything, her grades, make sure they're straight because she might ... she always, not she might, she always deviates from academics and really focuses on basketball. So I have to always make sure that she's also on her academics because if she lags behind in academics, she'll also be kicked out of the basketball team. So she has to balance all of them.

Here, the parent/guardian holds their child accountable for their academics by explaining how doing so has implications for something that is dear to their child's heart, namely being on the basketball team. As another example, a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian explained how they hold their child accountable (staying away from harmful substances) by finding and showing them facts about what their actions would have entailed:

I think exposing our child to the reality is something concurrent. An example, I caught my child smoking weed. Instead of grounding them, I'll go to the internet with him and show him some pictures of the disadvantages of people who have smoke and showing them the reality of what will happen when you smoke and that. Yeah. So he will learn through reality, exposing them to the real world.

Stretch. Aligning with the Developmental Relationship Framework, parents/guardians also described pushing their youth to go further as a dimension of Challenge Growth. As a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian described below, pushing their youth to go further can look like challenging them to think from and consider more perspectives:

Considering the fact that they are now in their adolescent stage, it is a very difficult stage because talking to a youth at that age, sometimes they feel like they are right or whatever you want to tell them they have it figured out, they want it to be done on their own way and their own terms. So I just talk to him. I make him understand, as much as he feels that maybe his way is the correct one, I also make him to see things from the perspective of an adult which is, he will understand and when he understands then we will not have any trouble if it's about balancing education and if a talent, if it is about the relationships with other people outside. So I make sure that he understands as much as he feels correct, I also make sure that I will help him to understand why he should maybe look at things differently.

It is important to note here that many parents expanded the definition of stretch by emphasizing the importance of hard work, as explained by a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian:

I've made sure to tell my child she can achieve anything that she wants, as long as she's consistent and she is hardworking. If she wants to do something, she has to put work in it. But it's going to be hard as... What was his name? [another parent/guardian in the focus group] said it's not going to be easy, but you can do it.

The parents/guardians' discussion around stretch as a dimension of Challenge Growth is generally echoed by their children. As a Black/African American identifying child put it succinctly, "they have taught me never to give up on anything and that I should keep on trying."

Emergent Challenge Growth Actions. In addition to the four dimensions described above, parents/guardians and children also talked about two dimensions of Challenge Growth that are not captured in the Developmental Relationships Framework— role modeling and teaching life skills.

Role model. Being a role model and good example for their child is one way for parents/guardians to challenge their children's growth. This is resonated by multiple parents/guardians, as well as children, as demonstrated by a Black/African American identifying child's statement:

One thing my dad does is try to give me his life lessons, the lessons he underwent when growing up, just telling me how he lead his own life and how he thinks I should lead so I can have a better future. So he basically just let me follow in his footsteps. But he doesn't mind me making my own, but he just thinks if I follow his footstep then it's good.

Teach life skills for independence. Although only explicitly mentioned by a couple parents/guardians and children, it should be noted that Challenge Growth also involves parents/guardians teaching their

children fundamental life skills that prepare them for independence in the future. This sentiment was captured by one Black/African American identifying parent/guardian: “And one thing we've always been emphasizing, that ultimately they have to be independent, as mommy and daddy will not be for them forever, so we've always emphasized that, so that sense of independence, sense of community, and sense of gratitude.” As the parents/guardians described, although the Developmental Relationships Framework does not capture parents/guardians socializing their children to be independent, this might be an important aspect of Challenge Growth.

Provide Support

Provide Support in the Developmental Relationship Framework refers to helping children complete tasks, achieve goals, and shape how they see themselves. The parents/guardians and children discussed the dimensions of Provide Support that fit the Developmental Relationships Framework, namely parents/guardians helping navigate, empower, advocate, and set boundaries for their children. However, the frequency that each of those Provide Support dimensions got mentioned varied. Furthermore, parents/guardians and children expanded the conceptualization of Provide Support by bringing forth more nuances.

Navigate. When asked about how parents/guardians shape the way children see themselves, the most common responses fell under Navigate, that is, parents/guardians guiding children through hard situations and systems. In describing how their parents/guardians help navigate them, a Black/African American identifying youth shared:

I can say like, sometimes let's say I'm so into basketball that sometimes I then forget about reading and there is this time that I really failed in school. And at some point I started seeing myself as a failure, but yeah, my mom made me realize that, I'm not really a failure. It's not a must that you all do well in studies. There are so much more into life than only studies. Yeah. And so I stopped seeing myself as a failure.

As the quote above shows, sometimes navigate looks like parents/guardians guiding their children to bring their self-esteem back up. Core to parents/guardians helping their children navigate is them being there and available. It's about letting their children know that they have their back, that they will be there if their children need support. As a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian put it, “Whatever they decide, you are behind them, and you are supporting them. You'll go by whatever they decide to go”, it's not so much about providing advice from the top down, but standing behind their child and supporting them in a child-centric way. Further, as a Multiracial identifying child shared: “I think they usually find time to sit with me. And yeah, let's say, especially during the nights, when they're free from work. So they usually find time, we talk, they don't talk harsh to me, they talk me privately and they tell me how I can overcome the problem.”

An important aspect of Navigate that's not captured in the Developmental Relationships Framework, but emerged saliently from our conversations with parents/guardians and children, is connecting children to their parent's/guardian's experiences and ancestry as members of the African American, Asian American, Latina/o, and Multiracial communities. As a Latina/o identifying parent/guardian shared:

I also tend to tell [child name] stories about my brothers and sister and myself, little struggles that we had, or what we did. [Like my brother] when he was in college, he got up at 4:00 in the morning and [try to get orders] if you will, from places, the construction sites, so they could use the bulldozers. He did that for tuition to earn, he's a physician today.

This quote exemplifies how parents/guardians share their own upbringing and past experience to guide their children through hard situations and systems. Relatedly, parents/guardians talked about sharing and being vulnerable with their children about the struggles that they experienced or witnessed due to their racial/ethnic background as a way to guide and prepare their youth for hard situations and systems. In discussing their experiences, an Asian American identifying parent/guardian stated:

And in the meanwhile, when I share about the workplace, sometimes microaggression, sometimes bullying situation, not necessarily happening to me, but maybe what I see or from my colleagues' experience some or students' experience. Then, I think I bring the reality to my children, not just to the la-la land, that this is wonderful. Nothing bad will happen, etc. But the reality is sometimes there will be struggles.

These struggles and experiences were shared by parents/guardians as a way to help their children understand their racial/ethnic background and navigate systems of oppression that they may encounter due to their background.

Empower. In addition to guiding their children through hard situations and systems, another popular aspect of Provide Support that parents/guardians and children talked about is empowerment, that is, parents/guardians building their children's confidence to take charge of their life. In detailing how they empower their child, a Latina/o identifying parent/guardian explained:

I always point out about the, when I was 15, I couldn't do what you do. And even when he feels like he's not doing well in some areas, I say, "Dude, you have no idea how much I had to study to do math, the math that you're doing, how hard I had to study." Just for me to really show him that even when he's doubt himself, that there's all these really amazing things that he's doing, and he really has to have faith in his process. It's just for me to really point out the, in my household there's not, "Well, when I was your age, we walked to school in the snowstorms," kind of stories. It's more of me pointing out, like I couldn't do the math that you did without putting in hours and hours of studying. When I was 15 years old, I would never have done for my brother what you do for your brother. That's just me showing him that he's a good human being and that he's capable of more than he actually thinks he... What he gives himself credit for.

It is also evident from our conversation with parents/guardians and children that empowerment is often tailored for children's identity and racial, ethnic, and/or cultural background. As a Black/African American identifying child shared:

He always encourages me that Black people and Black lives always matter and I can also be successful like other Black people outside there, there been many famous Black people who have made it here in the United States. Like most artists, I always admire them. They are Black and they always gives me that motivation to go there and get it.

Set boundaries. In addition to Navigate and Empower, another way that parents/guardians Provide Support to their children, as conceptualized in the Developmental Relationships Framework, is to set boundaries, which pertains to putting limits in place that keep youth on track. Setting boundaries, however, did not emerge saliently from our conversation with Black/African American, Latina/o, Asian American, and Multiracial parents and children. Only mentioned by several parents/guardians and children, setting boundaries can be value based, for example as a Multiracial identifying child shared:

“My parents have taught me to be honest if I do something wrong or say something wrong and not lie about it.”

It should be acknowledged that, although rare, setting boundaries also involves parents/guardians using punishment techniques. In describing how their parent/guardian sets boundaries, a Latina/o identifying child shared:

By telling me that I'm going to be grounded. Like I was already mentioned that alone is my driving force. My dad already knows that if he tells me I should do that and just do anything to make it happen. And he believes I'm aging faster than my own age. So anyway, anytime he also reminds me that I'm a man. I'm a man. I'm just 17. He keeps telling me I'm a man. So I have to man up and actually act like a man.

Advocate. The last aspect of Provide Support in the Developmental Relationships Framework is parents/guardians advocating for their children, but this hardly came up in our conversations with Black/African American, Latina/o, Asian American, and Multiracial parents/guardians and children. The very few instances that this is shared involves parents/guardians standing up for their children when the children needed it. As an example, an Asian American identifying child shared: “They make me think of not just the way I think, but maybe in the perspective of others, for example, one time I wasn't very happy with the way someone was treating me in school, and my mom told me to just stand up for myself, and just tell them to stop.” Overall, the concept of Advocate as an aspect of Provide Support in the Developmental Relationships Framework did not seem to resonate for Black/African American, Latina/o, Asian American, and Multiracial parents/guardians and children.

Share Power

Finally, in the Developmental Relationship Framework, is the element of Share Power, which means to let children's voices be heard and be involved in making decisions that affect them. This is important as most children take an active part in nurturing their own relationships and collaborating with their parents/guardians to make informed decisions. The parents/guardians and children discussed the dimensions of Share Power within the Developmental Relationships Framework often during the focus groups. There were limited differences between parent/guardian and children responses or between racial/ethnic groups. Where differences did arise, they are noted below.

Collaborate. Many parents/guardians collaborated with their children to solve problems and reach their goals because they didn't want their children to navigate the world on their own. Parents/guardians often shared how they helped their children weigh out the positives and negatives to problems, as a Latina/o identifying parent/guardian said, “The way I do things is to listen to them...have him tell me why it's a problem, and then we look at the different solutions, and the side where if he looked at it from a different aspect, it might not seem to be a problem after all.” Parents/guardians showed how providing space for their children to collaborate with them during times of turmoil laid the groundwork for children speaking up about their problems when warranted.

Let me lead. As parents/guardians specified, they allow their children to lead decisions that affect their own life, citing that they give their children space to think critically and give them an opportunity to come to them, if needed. Parents/guardians felt that allowing children to make decisions enables them to learn more about themselves and work through their thoughts and feelings, even if their decision doesn't always end up being the right path to go. As one Multiracial identifying parent put it: “When he makes mistakes [I tell him] you have to fix it yourself, if you want help, you can come to me, but then you

have to know how to solve the mistakes by yourself. So I'm helping them to know that I'm not always going to be there for them." Parents/guardians creating space for their child to make their own decisions and make mistakes gave them the autonomy they needed. What parents/guardians strove for was a balance, to know they can hand over that responsibility for their child to take action in their own life, while also being there when their child needed help.

Let me lead also was discussed amongst Asian American identifying parents/guardians and children. For example, an Asian American identifying child commented:

So for my parents, they support me academically by not being so harsh on my grades. For example, I don't think my mom, because our school, we use Infinite Campus, where as soon as the teacher puts in a grade, it will show on a notification. I don't think she even has an account, so I appreciate that, because then I'm in control of my grades, and I can manage them to make sure that I am successful, and they are to my standards, and it's not an extra layer of pressure that's being applied

Here, the Asian American identifying child pointed out how they appreciated the autonomy that their parents provided them to make decisions and solve problems. This finding might help counter stereotypical notions about family obligations, and instead suggests that Asian American children are not always expected to wholly follow the decisions made by their parents/guardians.

Include me. Include me was often discussed alongside let me lead, particularly among Black/African American identifying parents/guardians and children. Overwhelmingly, they discussed forms of communication that allowed the children to see that they had a part, if not an equal standing to talk out any problems that were arising or just in general. In described by an Black/African American identifying parent/guardian:

I definitely do take my child's opinion into consideration. I make sure that he knows that it is valued and that it does matter to me. There are times where I'm going to be mom and I'm going to overrule him for whatever reason, but I'm going to make sure that he's very clear on why I'm doing that, why I'm making that decision, why I'm making that choice. But outside of that, things are up for negotiation. Things are up for consideration. Things are open to debate.

This can be explained by the increase of over-parenting through cultural means - the history of African-American in the US and what that has done to the family unit. Racial socialization is a set of behaviors, interaction, and communication between parents and children in order to raise African American children to be physically and emotionally healthy in a society in which being Black has negative connotations. The number of years of family history in the US and stress added on has created a family dynamic that has been embedded now in African-American parenting being more proactive in the youth's development.

Respect me. Another aspect of Sharing Power between children and parents/guardians is the importance of parents/guardians showing children they respect them. Respecting me was discussed as showing children that they are taken seriously, treated fairly, and have a say in decisions. Black/African American, Latina/o, Asian-American, and Multiracial identifying parents/guardians and children further expanded respect me to highlight that respect involves having a level of trust between parents/guardians and children, as a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian highlighted:

Trust is a two-way street. Trying not to overreact is one way of developing the trust between you and your kid. Listening to them, listening to their needs when they have problems that they have created on their own, just being there and listening to them and helping them with the decision-making, that builds trust.

This path of bi-directionality is not seen in the Developmental Relationships Framework, particularly when it comes to respect and it being a two-way street between children and parents/guardians.

Expand Possibilities

The last element in the Developmental Framework is that of Expand Possibilities. This was described as parents/guardians connecting their children with people and places to broaden their world and explore more. Whether it is with sports, their desired careers, or just in general, parents/guardians have expressed that they try to use whatever tools and methods they can provide for their children. As an Asian American identifying parent/guardian illustrated:

So, I think Google is such a big, powerful tool. So if she, for example, she plays softball. So we'll watch, or when she started learning how to swim, we'll, even before she started it, we will have her watch videos, kind of give her more perspective about what's going on. Okay, she's looking at me right now. And she might tell me what she like, and I will talk about, "Okay, how do we get there?"

Creating that pathway that would link their child to their interests outside of the nuclear family was important for all parents/guardians. Parents/guardians may not always have the right tools or things to say so having those external things, like Google, is one way to bridge that gap that the parents/guardians might not have access to otherwise to share.

Broaden horizons. Parents/guardians shared that supporting their children in expanding their views and exposing them to new experiences and new ideas was a key part of their children's development. Through encouragement and support, most parents/guardians shared how they strive to broaden their children's horizons. In describing their efforts, a Latina/o identifying parent/guardian shared:

We try to expose him to everything you could think of, for different careers I guess you would say. When he was into Minecraft, he's a little past Minecraft now, but I kept saying, "Wow, you could be an architect the way you build those cool things."

Connect. Parents/guardians and children described multiple ways in which parents/guardians connected them with resources to help them grow. These resources include role models in their areas of interest, therapists to work through problems, or mentors to help guide them. Parents/guardians strove to identify ways to connect their children through open communication, where children would share their passion and parent/guardians would identify connections. In describing how they connected their child, an African American identifying parent/guardian shared:

I try to allow my son to explore new things. So this year his goal is to be a basketball sensation. And so maybe we'll find a basketball coach that can help him so that he can be prepare for tryouts. This summer, he wanted to start his own clothing line. So we found some programs to get his online clothing boutique up and running, which is live. So he does have his own clothing line right now.

Community also played an important role in how parents/guardians were able to connect their children. The concept of community was mentioned repeatedly amongst Latina/o and Black/African American identifying parents/guardians. In describing the role of their community, a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian expressed:

I have really been working on making sure my children have lots of other people they can go to as they sort of develop their identity and their desire to see themselves. And so sometimes, some of the people in our lives will be like, oh, one of your children told me this, or one of your children told me that. And I think that's a really good sign that they're talking to adults that we care for. And I especially have some kiddo, some young adults, just out of college that they can talk to. And we make sure to spend a lot of time with them because they know what's happening at TikTok when I don't always know. And so they just kind of know. If there's anything that you see that you think we need to know, great, otherwise it's okay if you keep their confidence. And so I think letting other adults support them is a great way of supporting them.

Inspire. The final piece of Expand Possibilities is inspiring the children to see their possibilities for the future. As a Multiracial identifying parent/guardian put it:

Personally, I have helped my child understand who he is in... For example, he like to watch football. He like to go in a soccer team in our community. And he has that energy when he hear about anything to do with football and he tells story about footballers. So I do encourage him to realize that he'll be a footballer and he can do better in football. Like I said earlier, I support him. I go to his sports activity in schools and I engage him in sports activities, whether it is in our community or in school or whatever.

As demonstrated by this parent/guardian, parents/guardians listened to their children and gave them space to figure out their future on their own, and with time, inspired them to explore these futures through different pathways. When given that freedom, children shared how they were motivated to dream about their futures and learn from the inspiration provided by parents/guardians.

When providing inspiration, several parents/guardians also shared how they strove to support their children in not being restricted by their identity or racial/ethnic background. In describing inspiring their child, a Black/African American identifying parent/guardian stated: "I usually encourage my child and tell her that she should not be defined from her race, her background and mental health because being Black maybe she may face the system and that should not affect her." Several parents/guardians highlighted how they inspire their children to continue pursuing their goals even when facing discrimination or racism, and help them navigate the oppressive systems that may strive to confine them, as described above in Navigate.

Conclusion

It is clear that developmental relationships within families are expressed and experienced similarly and differently across lines of race and ethnicity. Four common themes emerge from the findings that provide insights into how to improve the Developmental Relationships Framework to better capture these similarities and differences in families' expressions and experiences across lines of race and ethnicity. First, the Developmental Relationships Framework may need to be re-evaluated in order to better capture the multitudes of ways in which families express and experience developmental relationships. Based on the findings, at least eleven of the definitions of actions within the

Developmental Relationships Framework may need to be re-evaluated. These include: (a) be dependable, (b) listen, (c) be warm, (d) expect my best, (e) stretch, (f) hold me accountable, (g) reflect on failures, (g) navigate, (h) respect me, (i) inspire, and (j) connect. Further, challenge growth may need to be examples to include the actions of (a) being a role model and (b) teaching life skills, as Asian American, Black/African American, Latina/o, and Multiracial parents/guardians and children identified these two actions as important for supporting children in getting better. More research may need to be conducted to further explore the multitudes of ways in which families express and experience developmental relationships. It may be beneficial for future research to explicitly explore similarities and differences with a specific race and/or ethnic group to gain more nuanced understandings.

Second, the Developmental Relationships Framework also may need to be expanded to capture the bi-directional nature of relationships within families. Asian American, Black/African American, Latina/o, and Multiracial parents/guardians and children described relational actions as a two-way relationship where parents/guardians and children were communicating, building trust, caring for one another, and making decisions together. Importantly, two-way communication and trust were discussed as prerequisites to almost every relational action. These two relational actions are not explicitly identified within the Developmental Relationships Framework. More research may need to be conducted to understand how these two relational actions intersect with the actions within the Developmental Relationships Framework.

Third, currently the Developmental Relationships Framework does not account for relational actions and activities important for Asian American, Black/African American, Latina/o, and Multiracial parents/guardians. These relational actions include (a) supporting children in understanding their racial and ethnic identity, (b) helping children navigate systems of oppression they may encounter, (c) explicitly connecting children with resources and people that celebrate their racial and ethnic identity, and (d) expanding the familial relationship to include the entire community. The first three actions are forms of racial socialization where parents/guardians. The last action highlights the importance of community within Asian American, Black/African American, Latina/o, and Multiracial families. More research may need to be conducted to understand the linkages between these relational actions and the Developmental Relationships Framework.

Finally, these findings highlight how the Developmental Relationships Framework may need to be adaptive to the identities (e.g., gender, sexuality, race/ethnicity) and contextual factors (e.g., socioeconomic status, immigration, location, language) of the families in which the framework is intended to support. Families holding divergent identities and contextual factors may express and experience actions within the Developmental Relationships Framework differently, and some relational actions may be more important than others. More research needs to be conducted to understand how the Developmental Relationships Framework can become adaptive to different identities and contextual factors of families. A step towards conducting this research is described further below.

Re-Examining the Developmental Relationships Framework

Given the complexity of how families experience developmental relationships across lines of race and ethnicity, it is important that the Developmental Relationships Framework can be adapted to support person-centered meaning-making over ascribed meaning-making (Mistry et al., 2016). Person-centered meaning-making allows families and communities to conceptualize developmental relationships based on their lived experiences and identify the elements of developmental relationships that are important to them. By integrating opportunities for person-centered meaning-making within the Developmental Relationships Framework, families and communities could adapt the relational actions to align with the

ways in which they conceptualize developmental relationships with their children, which make strides toward ensuring the influences of familial identities and contextual factors are considered.

To shift the Developmental Relationships Framework from ascribed meaning-making to person-centered meaning-making, Search Institute should support families, communities, and organizations (e.g., schools, out-of-school time programs, other family-serving organizations) in examining the Developmental Relationships Framework using a well-defined cultural adaptation framework, the Ecological Validity Model (Bernal et al., 1995; Bernal & Sáez-Santiago, 2006). The Ecological Validity Model provides a process by which groups can adapt the framework. The adaptation process occurs across eight dimensions: (a) purposes/goals, (b) concepts, (c) methods, (d) content, (e) persons, (f) metaphysics, (g) language, and (e) context. Table 2 provides definitions of these concepts (O’Conner et al., 2020). Through collaboration with families and communities as well as the Ecological Validity Model, Search Institute may be able to make the Developmental Relationships Framework more culturally responsive to the needs of Asian American, Black/African American, Latina/o, and Multiracial families.

Table 2. Definitions of concepts for adaptation in the Ecological Validity Model

Adaptation Concepts	Definitions
Purposes/goals	Agreement between the framework’s intended goals and families’ understanding of the goals. Consideration should be made of families’ values, customs, and traditions.
Concepts	How theoretical constructs of the framework are conceptualized and communicated to families.
Methods	The training and activities to follow for the achievement of framework goals.
Content	The values, customs, and traditions held by a cultural group to be considered when delivering and assessing a framework.
Persons	The cultural understanding of relationships within and between families as well as between facilitators and families.
Metaphysics	The cultural understanding of certain symbols, sayings and concepts that could affect engagement with the framework.
Language	A mechanical translation of the framework with consideration of the dialect and word choice by country of origin and current living environment. The emotional expression of language and mannerisms should also be considered.
Context	The overarching socio-economic background of the families, social support and relationship to their culture of origin.

Note: Concept definitions were adapted from Bernal & Sáez-Santiago, 2006 and O’Conner et al., 2020.

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