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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Social Development of Immigrant Children: A Focus on Asian and Latinx Children in the United States

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The number of international migrants has continued to grow globally between 2000 and 2020, with the United States having the largest number of immigrants (United Nations, 2020). Two in three children are projected to be of a race other than White by 2060, suggesting that the United States will be more racially and ethnically diverse (Vespa et al., 2020). Asians and Latinx are the largest and the fastest-growing US racial-ethnic immigrant groups (Vespa et al., 2020). Between 2000 and 2019, the number of US Asians and Latinx increased by 81% and 70% respectively (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021).

Following the lead of other researchers in this field, the term immigrant children will be used to refer to children who have themselves immigrated to the United States, as well as children who were born in the United States of immigrant parents (Bolter, 2019). We use the term "White" to refer to individuals of non-Latinx or European ethnic background (United States Census Bureau, 2020b). Although Asian and Latinx immigrants are becoming majority-minority groups in the United States, past research on these children was deficit-based, focusing on factors that may hinder their positive development, highlighting disparities by comparing them to non-Latinx White American children as the norm, and applying theories and measures originally developed with White American samples (Motti-Stefanidi, 2018). To address these limitations in the field, more researchers have been investigating Asian and Latinx immigrant youth development using strengths-based and contextual-focused approaches (Cabrera, 2012; Carlo & Conejo, 2019; García Coll et al., 1996; Raffaelli et al., 2005; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018). However, research on

Asian and Latinx immigrant youth still mainly focuses on adolescents, and thus, on developmental issues thought to be most pertinent to that period, such as ethnic-racial identity and civic engagement. Accordingly, knowledge regarding the development of other core social processes in young Asian and Latinx immigrant children in the United States is quite limited (Yoshikawa et al., 2016) and needs further attention.

In this chapter, we first define Asian and Latinx immigrant children in the United States and discuss the family structure and cultural values of these two groups as may be pertinent to these children's social and emotional development, and highlight some unique challenges for their social development. Next, we provide an overview of the extant literature on several key areas of socioemotional and behavioral development and their contributors among Asian and Latinx immigrant families with young children. Then, we consider specific social development challenges faced by Asian and Latinx immigrant during the Covid-19 pandemic as a way to highlight the major gaps in the current literature. We end with some directions for future studies towards understanding and supporting the diverse experiences and social development of Asian and Latinx immigrant children in the United States.

Who are Asian and Latinx Immigrants?

The US Census Bureau refers Asian to a person with their origins in the Far East, Southeast, Asia, or the Indian subcontinent (United States Census Bureau, 2020a). About six in ten Asians in the United States were born outside the country and 70% speak a language other than English in their homes (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Asian immigrants in the United States are often depicted as well-adjusted and successful compared to other racial-ethnic groups due to the "model minority myth" (Kiang et al., 2017). However, there are large variations that hide the needs of the various Asian communities in the United States (Yip et al., 2021). Asian immigrants come from over 20 countries and families' adjustment and experiences vary due to differences in language, history of immigration, pre- and post-migration factors, and recent sociocultural changes in their homelands (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). The income gap is the largest within this ethnic-racial group, and many Asian immigrants are socioeconomically disadvantaged and vulnerable with low income and education levels (Kochhar & Cilluffo, 2018). Thus, the large within-group variations should be considered when examining the social development of children in Asian immigrant households in the United States.

Currently, 18.5% of the population in the United States is Latinx, which corresponds to approximately 60 million people (United States Census Bureau, 2021). Although Latinx population growth has slowed, Latinx accounted for more than half of all US population growth from 2010 to 2019 (Noe-Bustamante, 2020). Most Latinx living in the United States come from Mexico, El Salvador, and Cuba (Noe-Bustamante, 2019). Immigration was the principal source of Latinx population growth during the period from 1980 to 2000. During those two decades, the Latinx immigrant population increased from 4.2 million to 14.1 million. However, since then, the primary source of Latinx population growth has been US births (Stepler & Brown, 2016). Amongst those

who immigrate to the United States, as part of the reasons why they do so are a wide range of economic, social, and political factors, including civil wars, military confrontations, economic instability, poor labor market conditions and poverty, economic globalization, large landholdings, and political violence (Carlo & Conejo, 2014).

The Asian and Latinx Traditional Cultural Niches

Asian cultural values

Despite the within-group heterogeneity, Asian immigrants share some common traditional cultural values, including a strong focus on connectedness and interdependence among family members, social harmony, filial piety, and obedience to elders (Chao, 1995) that can be reflected in their family system, parent–child relationship, parenting practices, and children's social development (Cheah et al., 2015; Vu et al., 2018). Contemporary Asian immigrant families are thought to reflect the psychological interdependence family model, characterized by parents' socialization of both independence and interdependence in their children and reflected in families who come from cultures that traditionally emphasized interdependence but reside in industrialized societies and/or those who experience cultural transition (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Indeed, while Chinese immigrant mothers reported adapting their parenting to focus more on their children's social emotional needs in the United States (Cheah et al., 2013), traditional values like getting along well with others, obeying parents and elders (Cho et al., 2021), regulating behaviors, and heeding social norms (Vu et al., 2018) continue to be reflected in parents' socialization goals for their children's social development. Asian immigrant families tend to settle in geographically bound ethnoburbs (i.e., ethnic suburbs/cities) and receive social support from neighbors, religious organizations, and extended family members (Sun & Ryder, 2016; Zhou & Kim, 2006).

Latinx cultural values

Similar to Asians, there is wide variability within Latinx populations. Scholars have noted important distinctions among Latinx subgroups including their immigration history, country of origin background, characteristics of the receiving communities, physical and phenotypic traits (e.g., skin tone), and language fluency (Raffaelli et al., 2005). However, there are commonalities across Latinx groups as well. Many scholars, for example, have observed that most Latinx persons endorse a collectivist and communal orientation, and traditional Latinx cultural values such as familism, religiousness, respect for authority (including elderly persons, parents, and teachers) and traditional gender roles (Knight & Carlo, 2012). In addition, the notions of humility (and saving face), as well as, *bien educado* (well educated, meaning a person of good moral character) are highly valued (Carlo & Conejo, 2019). Of particular importance is that these cultural values, alongside other culture-related mechanisms (e.g., ethnic and bicultural identity, acculturative status, cultural stressors), play a central role in predicting Latinx youth social development (Raffaelli et al., 2005).

Challenges to Asian and Latinx Immigrant Families and Children

Asian immigrant families and children

Many Asian immigrants inevitably have to adjust to new social norms and values of the host culture and learn how to navigate a new cultural context. Parents may acculturate at different rate than their children (Telzer, 2010), which could lead to conflict; for instance, first-generation Asian immigrant parents are more likely to endorse cultural values of interdependence and family unity and emphasize sacrificing one's goals for the family, whereas their children are more likely to focus on their autonomy and independence as they interact with peers from the dominant groups (Weisskirch, 2017). This acculturation gap between parents and children can increase as children enter adolescence and lead to increased miscommunication and misunderstanding, lower family cohesion, worse parent–child relationships, negative parenting, and adolescents' poorer adjustment among immigrant families (Juang et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2012).

Relatedly, more than 70% of Asian immigrant parents speak a language other than English to their children in their homes (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021), and Asian immigrant children who consistently had limited English proficiency were found to have poorer interpersonal skills (Kang et al., 2014) and more likely to be passive and rejected by their peers (Neitzel et al., 2019). Asian immigrant children often also serve as a language/cultural broker for their parents as early as 8 years old despite limited vocabulary and cognitive skills to understand abstract and complex concepts (Weisskirch, 2017). Immigrant children who play an important role in giving a voice to their parents, become fluent bilinguals, and maintain a positive relationship with their parents, are more likely to feel efficacious and have positive developmental outcomes during adolescence (Shen et al., 2014, 2019). Language/cultural brokering can also facilitate children's appreciation of their heritage language, cultural customs, and values (Weisskirch, 2017). However, parents' reliance on their children to communicate with mainstream society may threaten their sense of authority (Weisskirch, 2017) and create unrealistic demands on children leading to greater stress and conflict (Hua & Costigan, 2012, Weisskirch, 2017) and their poorer mental health (Shen et al., 2019). However, much less is known about young children's language brokering and its impact on their social development.

Furthermore, racism and prejudice are historically persistent challenges for minority immigrant populations in the United States and related to negative physical and mental health (Cheah et al., 2020; Gee et al., 2007). Asians in the United States are labeled as "model minorities," falsely depicted as having overcome racial and cultural barriers and fulfilled the American dream by adjusting successfully in mainstream society (Goto et al., 2002). This stereotype ignores the systematic racism targeting this group and pressures children to meet unrealistic expectations (Yip et al., 2021). Asian immigrants are considered "perpetual foreigners" (Ong et al., 2013) and East Asian immigrants remain "yellow perils," dangerous and never American enough. As a result, Asian immigrant children are perceived as smart but socially incompetent, and their experiences of peer rejection (Han, 2009; Neitzel et al., 2019) and victimization due to language differences, physical appearance, and poor performance in sports (Wang et al., 2015) are mostly unrecognized

by parents and teachers (Morales, 2020) as Asian immigrant children are falsely assumed to be self-sufficient.

The loss of social connections, acculturation gap between parents and children, language barriers, and the experience of racial discrimination altogether can lead to acculturative stress in immigrant families (Bekteshi & Kang, 2020; Lueck & Wilson, 2010). Immigrant parents' acculturative stress can impact their children's adjustment and development through negative parenting practices and family climate (Calzada et al., 2019; Miao et al., 2018). Immigrant families can experience challenges at multiple levels and children's social development can be impacted by a complex interplay of various factors and processes. However, García Coll et al.'s (1996) and Suárez-Orozco et al.'s (2018) integrative models pushed our field to move forward to focus on strengths and resilience in immigrant children's social development across various contexts.

Latinx immigrant families and children

For immigrant families, leaving their country to seek better opportunities, and, in many cases, to escape the insecurity that drives them out of their countries, is an experience that is often associated with trauma. Stressful events in their home country, during migration, and in the process of settling in the United States have a negative impact in Latinx children's mental health (Cleary et al., 2018). It is important to note that many immigrant Latinx children can show different strengths and positive adjustment. However, the circumstances pre-, during, and post-immigration pose important risks that need to be evaluated and, when needed, they need to be provided with adequate support to overcome any traumatic experiences.

Once they arrive in the United States, one of the challenges Latinx children need to navigate is the language barrier. However, because they attend schools in which English is the primary language, their English skills develop faster than their parents' (Grieco et al., 2012). Consequently, Latinx children often need to play a role as "language brokers" for their parents, and adopting an acculturation-stress resilience framework, researchers have proposed that being language brokers might pose risks and protective factors for Latinx children (Kam et al., 2017). On the one hand, language brokers could be in a position in which they feel forced to adopt a parentified role, which might result in a high risk for depression. On the other hand, if family members view brokering as a shared responsibility and work together while brokering, Latinx children are more likely to develop positive feelings about their role (Corona et al., 2012), and that could protect them from experiencing stress and depression during brokering.

One major challenge that immigrant Latinx families and children face is the policy condoned and implemented by the Trump Administration (in 2018) to punish and deter undocumented immigrants. The policy titled, *Zero Policy for Criminal Illegal Entry*, was specifically designed to separate immigrant children from their parents at the United States/Mexico border. Approximately 2,000 parents and their infant to adolescent-aged children were separated as a result of this policy. This traumatic experience was unlike other previously government-endorsed policies because of the serious concerns of the consequences of such actions on children's health and wellbeing. Building upon decades of child development research that

demonstrates the harmful mental health, social functioning, and mortality consequences of forced parent-child separations and children absent of a secure caregiver-child attachment (Pesonen & Röikkönen, 2012), researchers have shown similar deleterious consequences on Latinx children separated by the immigration process (Allen et al., 2015; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2011). Moreover, substantive research findings yield evidence that separated children are deprived of the beneficial protective effects of caregivers (Rodriguez & Margolin, 2015). That young Latinx children can experience such trauma in early life only adds to the cumulative subsequent stressful experiences that result from other ethnic racial-related (e.g., discrimination) and life-related (e.g., academic, economic hardship) factors (Lupien et al., 2009).

Many Latinx children report that cultural barriers, especially discrimination and negative stereotyping, add stress to their adaptation process in the United States (Carlo & de Guzman, 2009). One mechanism by which acculturative stress might negatively impact children's mental health is family functioning. Lorenzo-Blanco et al. (2016) showed that children who evaluate their family functioning as positive were less likely to develop problems with self-esteem, depression, and drug use, even when parents report to be experiencing acculturation stress. Again, cultural barriers do not have an automatic negative impact on Latinx children's adjustment. Quite the opposite, children and their families play an active role navigating these cultural barriers, and the ultimate outcome depends on their resources to cope with the cultural challenges they encounter in the receiving community.

Latinx children living in the United States whose parents or family members can be arrested, detained, or deported due to irregular immigratory status, experience constant negative psychological effects such as anxiety, fear, depression, and a sense of responsibility for what might happen to their parents (Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016). Following the actual deportation of a parent, youth experienced symptoms of psychological trauma, fear of additional family separation, and negative impacts on their academic achievement (Lovato, 2019). The short-term consequences of these traumatic experiences include a sense of confusion, fear, and frequent crying, with important disruptions in eating and sleeping habits, and at least for some children, these negative consequences can persist for more than 6 months (Chaudry et al., 2010).

Social Development of Asian and Latinx Immigrant Children

Asian immigrant children

The study of young Asian immigrant children's social development is still limited. Asian immigrant children with limited English language skills may encounter rejection from peers with negative biases and attitudes against foreign-language speakers (Xu et al., 2021). However, Asian immigrant children still engage in socially competent behaviors such as inviting peers into play, displaying sympathy, and prosocial behaviors (Main et al., 2017; Neitzel et al., 2019). Moreover, Asian immigrant children are less likely to exhibit aggressive behaviors, compared to their White peers (Kawabata & Crick, 2013), develop externalizing problems from kindergarten to fifth grade (Han & Huang, 2010), and more likely to have higher effortful control with increasing proficiencies in both English and their heritage

language (Chen et al., 2021). Future studies should examine how teachers can facilitate Asian immigrant children's social development in school.

Parents' coercive and intrusive parenting is consistently associated with children's increased externalizing problems across cultures (Kho et al., 2019). However, potential cultural variations exist in the meaning of specific parenting practices and beliefs and their impact on immigrant children's social development. For example, Asian immigrant mothers' mild guilt induction can facilitate children's internalization of the cultural emphases on interconnectedness, social order, and harmony, attending to others' internal state, empathy and perspective taking, and consequently, fewer aggressive behaviors and more prosocial behaviors (Yu et al., 2018, 2019). Korean immigrant mothers' observed encouragement during free play is associated with decreased socioemotional adjustment difficulties in preschool (Seo et al., 2017). In the only study on bidirectional longitudinal associations between parental warmth, child inhibitory control, and externalizing problems in Korean immigrant children in the United States, child temperamental inhibitory control was associated with externalizing problems across 6 months. Moreover, Korean immigrant mothers' American behavioral acculturation was associated with more maternal warmth 6 months later, which was in turn associated with higher inhibitory control in children 6 months after that (Seo et al., in press).

When expressing emotions, Asian immigrant children tend to follow the display rules of the dominant culture but also try to restrain their strong emotions (Louie et al., 2013). Strong emotions are traditionally considered disruptive and counter to the goals of maintaining group social harmony; thus, Asian children are socialized to attend to others' emotions and regulate their own emotions from an early age (Chen et al., 2014; Curtis et al., 2020). Consistent with previous findings of lower levels of mother- and child-reported parental positive emotion expressivity in East Asian American families, Asian Indian immigrant mothers also report lower levels of positive emotion expressivity than White American mothers (Daga et al., 2015; Louie et al., 2013).

Compared to White American mothers, Asian immigrant mothers engage in less deliberate emotion talk and are less familiar and skillful in discussing emotions due to limited English proficiency and traditional cultural values (Curtis et al., 2020; Tao et al., 2013). However, discussions about emotional experiences helps these children regulate their emotions and behavioral impulses, which can promote their engagement in socially appropriate behaviors and help to sympathize with others (Curtis et al., 2020).

Variations in parental emotion socialization and children's subsequent emotion development also reflect an adaptation to experiences in the host cultural context, including racism and discrimination (García Coll et al., 1996; McCord & Raval, 2016). For example, Asian Indian immigrant mothers considered negative emotions inevitable and described the goal of "moving on" from these emotions, which may explain why mothers' non-supportive responses were not related to child outcomes (McCord & Raval, 2016). However, if parents mainly criticize children's wrongdoing without first acknowledging and labeling children's emotions (Halberstadt et al., 2001; Wang, 2006), Asian immigrant children's higher emotion knowledge can be a double-edged sword as it can undermine their self-esteem and increase internalizing problems (Doan & Wang, 2018).

Similar to their White American peers, Asian immigrant children's temperamental shyness has been found to be associated with more anxious-withdrawn behavior (Balkaya et al., 2018; Gao et al., 2021). Anxious withdrawn behavior, in turn, is associated with

increased peer exclusion and more passive responses to bullying (Gao et al., 2021) and decreased prosocial behaviors and leadership skills (Balkaya et al., 2018) in Chinese immigrant children. However, Asian immigrant parents' culturally emphasized socialization messages that encourage children to display humble and modest behaviors may convey their acceptance of children's shy dispositions and buffer against children's temperamental disposition and help shy children display less anxious behaviors and more positive socioemotional adjustment (Balkaya et al., 2018). Similarly, anxious shyness in Asian American children is related to peer rejection, whereas regulated shyness was associated with peer acceptance at school (Xu & Krieg, 2014).

Asian immigrant children's shy-withdrawn behaviors may not always be due to their temperamental disposition or traditional cultural values. Immigrants may be pressured to adapt and conform to an unfamiliar social environment that is full of uncertainty, which could be an eliciting context for manifestations of shyness. Asian immigrant children can exhibit socially withdrawn behaviors because the fear of being rejected, disrespected, and ridiculed, which could have stemmed from their racial discrimination experiences (Stephan, 2014). Xu et al. (2021) propose that when combined with chronic negative social feedback from peers, such contexts can elicit shy behaviors that lead to social inhibition in response to the experiences of being "othered," or involuntary solitude. Longitudinal studies need to be conducted to assess multidimensional models of shyness and these complex risk and protective processes in the developmental trajectories of shy-inhibited Asian immigrant children in the United States (Xu et al., 2021).

Latinx immigrant children

Studies of Latinx children's socioemotional development are sparse (Li-Grining, 2012). Rubio-Hernandez and Ayón (2016) reported that Latinx parents observed heightened fear, concern, sadness and crying, and depressive symptoms in their young children following the passage of harsh anti-immigrant laws. In another study, researchers found that preschool children's depressive symptoms were predicted by parents who had immigrated from Central America and by families who exhibited high levels of emotion focused coping (e.g., passive resignation) and dissatisfied family interactions. One other study showed that Latina mothers' enculturation was negatively associated with their children's emotion understanding whereas Latina mothers' acculturation was positively associated with their children's emotion understanding (Rivera & Dunsmore, 2011). In addition, mothers who reported stronger beliefs that children can learn about emotions on their own also had children with less emotion understanding. The limited findings, thus far, provocatively suggest the impact of macro-level (e.g., immigration laws) and micro-level (e.g., maternal ethnocentric beliefs) on Latinx young children's socioemotional development.

Although temperamental traits are biologically based characteristics, their expression is influenced by contextual factors such as culture (Chen, 2018). For example, the development of shyness in children could be affected by how parents react toward children's displays of shyness (during early childhood) or behavioral inhibition (during middle childhood). It has been suggested that more collectivistic societies are more acceptable to children's shy reactions than more individualistic societies. Varela et al. (2009) showed that

Latin American children living in the United States and Mexican children living in Mexico showed higher levels of anxiety (including shyness) than European American children living in the United States. In addition, high maternal acceptance was positively associated with more anxiety in Latin American children. Anxiety and shyness in Hispanic children have been negatively related to parental acculturation to European American culture and have been shown to be less consistent across different contexts in children whose parents show lower levels of collectivism (Gudiño & Lau, 2010). Hence, the cultural context in which socialization processes for Latinx children take place seems to have a great impact on how children gradually regulate their expressions of emotional reactions.

The role of parenting is also crucial to understand the development of aggression in Latinx children (Azmitia et al., 2009). The widely known parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful) may not capture the various parenting profiles in Latinx parents, and some research suggests that the protective style (parents high on warmth, high on demandingness, and low on autonomy granting) is common among Latinx parents (Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2009). As such, Latinx parents can be devoted parents, who even show high levels of loving expressions to their children but use harsh parenting and physical punishment with their children, which might lead to high levels of child aggressive behaviors (Aronson Fontes, 2002; McLoyd & Smith, 2002). Additionally, and again highlighting the important role of parenting, maternal emotional support decreases the negative effects of physical punishment on Latinx children (McLoyd & Smith, 2002).

Prosocial behaviors are defined as actions intended to benefit others (Carlo, 2014; Eisenberg et al., 2015). These actions are quite varied and include commonly occurring acts of sharing and donating resources, comforting others in distress, helping and assisting others, and kindness. Relatively more sophisticated behaviors include volunteering for charitable organizations, committed and long-term caregiving, activism, and civic engagement for the benefit of communities. Moreover, prosocial behaviors can be selflessly motivated or selfishly motivated and can be grounded in social conventional norms or in moral principles. Indeed, one subset of prosocial actions are altruistic prosocial behaviors. Altruistic prosocial behaviors are deemed selflessly motivated with the primary intention to benefit others rather than oneself. These forms of actions are often to one self-costly and at high personal risk and persons who engage in these behaviors expect little to no self-reward.

Because prosocial behaviors are linked to a number of positive health benefits, better interpersonal relationships, improved academic performance, less antisocial behaviors (e.g., delinquency, illegal substance use, aggression), higher levels of moral development (e.g., empathy, sympathy, moral reasoning), and less internalizing symptoms (e.g., depression, anxiety), prosocial behaviors themselves can be considered a marker of well-being and healthy social functioning (Carlo, 2014). Thus, studies of prosocial development in Latinx children would provide useful information on the correlates of well-being, health, and moral development for intervention and policy efforts.

The early work on prosocial behaviors in Latinx children highlighted the relatively strong cooperative tendencies that characterize Mexican heritage children (Knight & Kagan, 1977a). This strong orientation towards cooperation was in stark contrast to their competitive tendencies. Moreover, across a series of studies, Knight and his colleagues (Knight & Carlo, 2012; Knight et al., 1995; Knight & Kagan, 1977a, 1977b) demonstrated that Mexican heritage children's cooperation was most prominent in less-acculturated children, in children whose parents exhibited high levels of parental warmth, and among Latina as compared to Latino children. Other research showed that Mexican children's cooperative

behaviors were predicted by parental ethnic socialization practices via their children's ethnic identity and that Mexican heritage children were less individualistic and more cooperative than White, European American children (Knight et al., 1995; 1981). This pioneering research on young US Mexican children's prosocial behaviors paved the way for the relatively recent work on prosocial development though much of this work focuses on adolescents (Knight & Carlo, 2012).

Asian and Latinx Children's Social Development During the COVID-19 Pandemic

The Covid-19 pandemic posed significant challenges to the social development of US Asian and Latinx children. In addition to the general hardships of families discussed in Chapter 12, this volume, the pandemic has highlighted and amplified systemic inequalities and disparities worldwide for families in already minoritized and marginalized immigrant groups (Cholera et al., 2020). Recent and accumulating research demonstrates substantive evidence that ethnic-racial-minority families and their children are most vulnerable to the deleterious impact of the Covid-19 pandemic due in part to an inadequate welfare system and the associated social inequities related to racism and discrimination (Kim et al., 2020; Parolin, 2021; Preston et al., 2021). Given the unique, significant impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on Asian heritage children, we focus on our current understanding of the Covid-19 pandemic on their well-being and health. Nonetheless, it is important to note that many of the negative consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic are common across ethnic-racial-minority groups.

As the first cases of the Covid-19 virus were reported in Wuhan, China, Asians and Asian Americans have been blamed for the cause of the pandemic (Gee et al., 2020) and targeted by refueled anti-Asian sentiments in the United States. Three in four Chinese American children witnessed Covid-19 related racial discrimination at least once, and about half of children and one-third of parents personally experienced racial discrimination at least once in online settings. Moreover, these experiences were associated with greater anxiety and depressive symptoms in both parents and their children (Cheah et al., 2020). However, due to the cultural stigma around mental health issues, model minority stereotype, and barriers towards mental health care in schools for Asian youth (Wang et al., 2020), their psychological needs might not be identified nor addressed.

Importantly, parents' negative emotions and stress can spillover to the parent–child relationship and family climate, and consequently, impact children's socioemotional development. Indeed, Chinese American parents' Covid-19 racial discrimination experiences were associated with children's poorer mental health (Cheah et al., 2021). In China, parents' engagement in more fear-induction practices was associated with children's greater engagement in prevention practices during the outbreak but also led to more post-quarantine depressive symptoms two months later, especially for children with greater trait anxiety (Ren et al., in press).

Many Asian immigrant parents report a greater urgency to socialize their children on the potential racism that they might encounter during the pandemic but some report not wanting to draw attention to their group (Wang et al., under review). Additionally, Asian Americans often report not having socialization experiences around race in their own childhood (Young et al., 2020), which may be even more complex for immigrant families

who are navigating an unfamiliar and quickly changing racialized landscape of the United States. Parents' cultural socialization during Covid-19 may facilitate young Asian immigrant children's positive racial-ethnic identity and pride and promote cross-racial-ethnic friendships to derive positive strengths during the pandemic. However, parents may engage in promotion of mistrust or avoidance of outgroups, especially with younger children who are perceived to be more vulnerable amidst fears of anti-Asian hate (Ren et al., 2021). Asian American families have expressed fears that their children may be targeted by racially motivated bullying at school (Wang et al., under review). These messages could lead to greater adjustment difficulties and negative social development outcomes by highlighting fears without support for coping or navigating cross-ethnic interactions (Atkin et al., 2019, Cheah et al., 2021).

All these processes may be further complicated for children during the Covid-19 pandemic with the shift of social relationships to online platforms, where Asian immigrant children reported experiencing racism (Cheah et al., 2020) but may have difficulties accessing resources to address these and other social-emotional issues (Wakabayashi et al., 2020). Furthermore, children's decreased interaction with peers due to stay-at-home orders and social distancing regulations (de Figueiredo et al., 2021) can have negative consequences for their prosocial behaviors. Clearly, more research is needed to examine the short- and long-term social developmental consequences of exposure to mass trauma experiences such as the Covid-19 pandemic in Asian and Latinx children.

Conclusions and Future Directions

The science that informs our understanding of social development in Asian and Latinx children continues to advance in significant ways. Across these minority groups, cultural developmental models have been developed that incorporate general and culture-specific mechanisms that better account Asian and Latinx children's development (Malti & Cheah, 2021). However, there are still many gaps in our understanding. For example, relatively little work has been devoted to research on recent immigrant children and transnational research with these populations.

Other areas of young Asian and Latinx children's development have been somewhat neglected in part due to the need for more sophisticated life span developmental theories and the development of measures to use with younger children, for example, ethnic identity development research. Children begin to understand social categories during middle childhood and label different ethnic-racial groups based on observable (i.e., skin color) and abstract (e.g., behavior, language, heredity) differences (Rogers et al., 2012). Even 8-year-old Asian immigrant children can understand what it means to be a member of their ethnic group and consider language and heredity as important to their own identity (Rogers et al., 2012). One notable exception was the work conducted by Bernal et al. (1990, 1993) who developed and validated a measure of ethnic identity to use with young Latinx children, and showed the importance of family ethnic socialization practices that foster ethnic identity, and demonstrated that young Latinx children's cognitive skills interact with family socialization processes to predict their ethnic identity (see Knight et al., 1995). There is evidence that ethnic identity in young Latinx children protects from internalizing and externalizing symptoms (Serrano-Villar & Calzada, 2016). Children's basic

understanding of ethnic identity further develop through interactions with their peers in various social contexts. Although young Asian immigrant children prefer peers from the same ethnic-racial group, they begin to consider more abstract factors (e.g., similar interest) develop more inclusive and cross-ethnic friendships with age (Hitti et al., 2020). Clearly, however, much more attention is needed to examine the early beginnings and correlates of ethnic identity in Asian and Latinx immigrant children.

As the demographics and the social culture in the United States continue to dramatically change, another area of great need is research that examines the intersectionality (e.g., across gender, race, sexuality, religion, ethnicity) of these populations. Importantly, much more work is needed that redresses the negative stereotypes and stigma surrounding Asian and Latinx children and their development. To this end, the development of effective interventions and policies that benefit Asian and Latinx children requires more work that is grounded in cultural strengths and assets, and work that examines positive social developmental outcomes.

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