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Culture and the Emotion Socialization of Preschoolers

Claudia I. Lugo-candelas
University of Massachusetts Amherst

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A Thesis Presented

By

CLAUDIA I. LUGO CANDELAS

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By

CLAUDIA I. LUGO CANDELAS

Approved as to style and content by:

Elizabeth A. Harvey, Chair

Maureen Perry-Jenkins, Member

Sara Whitcomb, Member

Melinda A. Novak, Department Chair
Department of Psychology

ABSTRACT

CULTURE AND THE EMOTION SOCIALIZATION OF PRESCHOOLERS

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CLAUDIA I. LUGO-CANDELAS, B.A., UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

Directed by: Professor Elizabeth Harvey

Objective: The present study examined mothers' emotion socialization of 3-year–old children with behavior problems, to determine whether emotion socialization practices, as well as the relation between these practices and child functioning, varied across ethnicities. ***Method:*** Participants were 156 preschoolers with behavior problems. Mothers were European American (*n* = 98), Latina American (*n* = 40; predominately Puerto Rican), and African American (*n* = 18). Audio taped mother-child interactions were coded for emotion socialization behaviors. ***Results:*** Overall, this study provided evidence for both differences and similarities across ethnicities on parental emotion socialization practices. Ethnic differences in use of emotion socialization practices were only found for mothers' emotion focused reactions, minimizing reactions, and non-responses to negative affect. However, ethnic differences emerged in the relations between emotion socialization practices and child functioning. Several emotion socialization parental behaviors were differentially related to current child internalizing and externalizing problems across ethnic groups. ***Conclusions:*** Results provide some support for the existence of cultural differences in emotion socialization practices and their associated child outcomes.

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CHAPTER 1

CULTURE AND THE EMOTION SOCIALZIATION OF PRESHCOOLERS

Emotion regulation is a process that consists of monitoring, evaluating, and modifying one's emotional reactions so that one responds to the environment in ways that are appropriate for the context and situation (Cole, Martin, & Dennis, 2004; Cole, Michel, & Teti, 1994). Along with emotion knowledge and expression of emotion, emotion regulation is a crucial component of emotional competence. Children typically develop awareness of emotion regulation strategies between the ages of 3 and 5 years (Denham, 1998), and parents are thought to play a key role in this process (Cole, Dennis, Smith-Simon, & Cohen, 2009). The self-regulation of emotion is guided by parents beginning early in childhood through parental socialization of emotions. Parents influence how, when, and where their children express emotion (Denham & Kochanoff, 2002; Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers, & Robinson, 2007).

Emotion socialization

Many conceptual models of parental emotion socialization have been developed (e.g., Cole & Tan, 2007; García Coll, Crnic, Lamberty, & Wasik, 1996; Dunsmore & Halberstadt, 1997; Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; 1996; Hablerstadt, 1991). Eisenberg et al.'s (1998) Emotion Socialization Antecedents and Mechanisms model is a heuristic model developed with the intention of guiding research on emotion socialization processes and outcomes. The model specifies three main parental emotion-related socialization behaviors (ERSBs), which guide the regulation of emotions, the acquisition of regulation strategies, and the understanding of emotions and regulation: (a) parental

expressivity of emotions, (b) parental discussion of emotion, and (c) parental reaction to children's emotion.

Parental emotional expressivity. Parental expressivity of emotions is thought to play an important role in the development of children's social and emotional competence. By contributing to children's understanding of which experiences and expressions of emotion are appropriate, parental emotional expressivity affects children's evaluation of their own emotional experience and expression (Dunsmore & Halberstead, 1997). Processes such as imitation and contagion allow for this learning to take place (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Parents' expression of emotion provides information about the emotional significance of events and exposes children to a wide range of emotions (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Murphy, 1996). Finally, parental expression of emotion can ultimately shape children's evaluations of themselves, the social world, and their emotional experience and expression (Dunsmore & Halberstead, 1997).

Parental discussion of emotion. Parents' discussion of emotion is also thought to contribute to children's socioemotional development, contributing to emotion regulation by sharpening children's awareness of emotional states (Malatesta & Haviland, 1985; Melzi, & Fernández, 2004). The discussion of emotions can occur under various contexts and throughout several developmental stages. Children who grow up in families in which adults frequently discuss emotional experiences may be higher in emotional and social competence (Eisenberg et al., 1998). In addition, children who are able to talk about emotion have been found to be more skilled at controlling negative affect in distressing situations (Kopp, 1992).

Parental reaction to children's emotion. Parents can either assist children in maintaining proper levels of arousal, or contribute to children's emotional overarousal depending on how they directly respond to children's emotion (Denham et al., 2000; Nachimas, Gunnar, Manglesdrof, Parritz & Buss, 1996). Research with preschool and school-aged children has found that socializers' non-supportive reactions to children's negative emotions are linked to negative social and emotional outcomes for the children (Eisenberg et al., 1996; McElwain, Halberstadt, & Volling, 2007; Tao, Zhou, & Wang, 2010). Non-supportive reactions to children's negative emotions include punitive and minimizing reactions, along with parental distress. In contrast, parental reactions that are supportive are related to better outcomes for the child, as well as better quality of parent-child relationship (Thompson, 1998). Thus, whereas some families "coach" emotions by embracing, validating and empathizing with their children's negative emotions, others "dismiss" emotions, by trivializing, ignoring, and denying their children's negative emotions (Gottman, Katz, & Hoove, 1997).

Culture and Parental Socialization of Emotions

A complete understanding of how children's emotions are socialized requires taking cultural factors into account (Butler, Lee, & Gross, 2007; Dunsmore, & Halberstadt, 2009; Haga, Kraft, & Corby, 2009; Markus, & Kitayama, 1991; Matsumoto, Hee Yoo, & Nakagawa, 2008; Raver, 2004). Socialization always occurs in a context (Bornstein et al., 1992), so the experience, meaning, and expression of emotions are likely influenced by the sociocultural context in which they exist (Matsumoto et al., 2008; Mesquita, 2007; Mesquita & Fridja, 1992; Wu et al., 2002; Zahn-Waxler, Friedman, Cole, Mizuta, Hiruma, 1996). *Culture* refers to shared beliefs, values, and

customs that are transmitted intergenerationally (Cole & Tan, 2007). Because people from different cultures vary in their standards for conduct, emotional behavior may be affected by those standards (Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, & Harwood, 2009; Chen et al., 1998; Harwood, Schoelmerich, Schulze, & Gonzalez, 1999) through a process known as the enculturation of emotions (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002; Fung, 1999; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988).

Much remains to be known about how and why culture influences particular aspects of emotional development (Cole, Tamang, & Shrestha, 2006; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988) including emotion socialization. Understanding the role of culture in emotion socialization is a complex undertaking. Directly measuring the shared values, beliefs, and standards of behavior that constitute culture can be difficult. An important first step in improving our understanding about the role of culture in emotion socialization involves examining whether parents from different ethnic groups show different patterns of emotion socialization strategies. Although there are many aspects of culture that are shared across ethnic groups and there is great variability within ethnic groups, the distinct cultural norms commonly shared by members of the same ethnicity are likely to result in distinct emotion socialization practices. Note that examining ethnic differences in emotion socialization represents only the initial stages of understanding the role of culture in emotion socialization and it is essential to acknowledge that other factors such as values, customs, and traditions likely underlie these differences. Moreover, it is important to recognize the enormous diversity within ethnic groups, and to complement between group comparisons with within group investigations.

Broad cultural values of different ethnicities. Parents' parenting practices and beliefs are likely to be determined by the broad set of values that are held by their culture (LeVine et al., 1994). Although not all individuals of the same ethnicity share the same views, commonly held broad values are important to consider when examining how culture impacts the socialization of emotions. For example, the European American culture has consistently been described as an individualistic culture (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). In contrast, Latino cultures have been argued to have a more sociocentric interdependent view. Whereas an individualistic culture places high value on peoples' uniqueness, a sociocentric perspective is more likely to emphasize a view of oneself in relation to other human beings (Triandis et al., 1988). Respeto and Familismo are also cultural beliefs common among Latino families that might impact parenting practices. *Respeto* is defined as the child having "proper demeanor" (Harwood, Leyendecker, Carlson, Asencio, & Miller, 2002) and *familismo* refers to the sense of unity and admiration that guides how family members interact with another. Similarly, research has identified familial unity and strength, positive self-image, perseverance in the face of adversity, and positive racial identity as values that tend to be common among African-American families (García Coll, Meyer, & Brillon, 1995; McAdoo, 2002). Therefore, common socialization goals of African-American parenting may be respect and obedience (García Coll et al., 1995).

Ethnic differences in emotion expression. In addition to these broad cultural values, more specific cultural norms about what constitutes desirable and undesirable emotional behavior (Soto, Levenson, & Ebling, 2005) may also play a role in emotion socialization. Differences in social conditions, traditions, and ideals and can create great

variation on these norms across cultures (Soto et al., 2005). Cross-cultural studies have found evidence for ethnic differences in the expression of emotions. For example, Wong, Bond, and Rodriguez (2008) explored how cultural values and expression of emotions were related across 25 countries and found that individuals whose cultures emphasized hierarchical roles engaged in less nonverbal expression of shame, guilt, and fear. On the other hand, people who belonged to individualistic cultures expressed joy more frequently. Although this study found no differences in the verbal expression of emotions, other studies have documented differences in verbal emotional expressiveness. For example, Niedenthal, Krauth-Gruber, and Ric (2006) found that East Asians expressed less emotion than did Europeans. There is also evidence that there may be cultural differences in how people perceive emotion expressed by others. Matsumoto (1993) examined emotion ratings by undergraduates of different ethnicities when viewing facial expressions, and found that African American undergraduates tended to rate negative emotional expressions more intensely than did European American, Asian, and Latino American undergraduates.

Ethnic differences in emotion socialization. A relatively small body of research has been conducted examining ethnic differences in each of the types of emotion socialization outlined in Eisenberg et al's (1998) Emotion Socialization Antecedents and Mechanisms model: (a) parental expressivity of emotions, (b) parental discussion of emotion, and (c) parental reaction to children's emotion.

Parental expressivity of emotions is thought to play a crucial role in the development of children's social and emotional competence. Therefore, it is no surprise that the bulk of research on ethnic differences in emotion socialization has focused on

parental expressivity of emotions. A number of studies have consistently found that African American mothers engage in fewer displays of physical affection than European American mothers (Berlin, Brooks Gunn, Spiker, & Zaslow, 1995; Bradley, Corwyn, McAdoo, & García Coll, 2001; Ispa et al., 2004). However, studies comparing European American mothers to Latino American mothers have yielded mixed results. Bradley et al. (2001) found no differences between European American and Latina American (mainly Mexican American) mothers, in warmth displays, but Ispa et al. (2004) found that European American mothers displayed more warmth than Mexican American mothers. Cross-cultural studies exploring Japanese and American parenting have found similarities in mothers' engagement in play interaction, reporting few significant differences in maternal facial expressiveness, touching, and vocalizing (Fogel, Toda, & Kawai 1988). In addition, mutuality, a term that refers to a mutually responsive and emotionally warm parent–child relationship between mother and child, has been found to be higher among Anglo British parents when compared to Indian British parents (Deater-Deckard, Atzaba-Poria, & Pike, 2004). Although mutuality is distinct from positive affect, it is moderately to substantially correlated with positive affect (Deater-Deckard et al., 2004). Research utilizing parents' self-report of their actual and ideal behaviors have also demonstrated cross-cultural differences in displays of sensitivity and affection (Bornstein et al., 1996); mothers from the US rated themselves higher on sensitivity and affection than French and Argentine mothers. Overall, these studies suggest that there is some evidence for cultural differences in mothers' emotional expressivity. However, more research is needed, particularly focusing on Latino American mothers, as past results have been contradictory. Furthermore, many studies have focused on exploring expression of

positive affect only. It is important to examine if there are differences in the expression of negative affect as well.

Parental discussion of emotion and its regulation has been demonstrated to influence children's socioemotional development. However, the influence of culture and ethnicity on parents' discussion of emotion has rarely been explored. The few existing studies have been consistent in finding cultural differences in the way in which emotions were discussed (Bornstein, Tal, & Rahn, 1992; Cervantes, 2002; Wang, 2001). Wang (2001) found that whereas American mother–child conversations, on average, tended to show an ''emotion-explaining style,'' Chinese mother–child conversations employed an ''emotion-criticizing style.'' Furthermore, a study that compared Mexican mothers who moved to the United States after age 12 to Mexican American mothers who were born in the US found that the former used more explanations than labels when discussing emotions, whereas Mexican American mothers used similar levels of both (Cervantes, 2002). Only one study was found to examine African American, Anglo American, and Mexican American mothers' emotional references. Although there was no main effect of ethnicity associated with the overall tendency to discuss emotions when mothers dialogued with the children about their school experiences, they did find that ethnic differences in which emotional references were made when particular topics were being discussed (e.g. interpersonal vs. academic topics; Flannagan & Perese, 1988). Whereas African-American mothers made more emotional references when discussing non-interpersonal, nonacademic topics, Anglo-American mothers made more emotional references during the discussion of learning topics. Additionally, Mexican-American mothers discussed emotion more in relation to interpersonal topics than did African-

American mothers. Research concerning the parental discussion of emotion suggests that culture influences the way in which parents discuss emotions with children. However, few studies have examined the frequency of such discussion in daily interactions.

Research on parents' reactions to children's emotions has mainly focused on describing these reactions as supportive or non-supportive. In general, it is believed that socializers' non-supportive reactions to children's negative emotions are associated with negative social and emotional outcomes for children (Eisenberg et al., 1996). However, few studies have examined cultural differences in parents' reactions to children's emotions. One cross-cultural study found similarities in parental responses to children's positive emotional displays amongst American, French, and Japanese mothers (Bornstein et al., 1992). However, other studies on parental reaction to children's negative emotions have reported cultural differences. Keller and Otto (2009) compared Nso and German mothers of infants found that Nso mothers were more likely to use directives and prompts to suppress displays of negative emotionality. Cole et al. (2006) found differences in reactions to child's shame and anger when comparing Tamang and Brahman Nepali mothers. Tamang mothers were more likely to reprimand a child displaying anger, whereas Brahman mothers responded to child anger by reasoning and sometimes yielding. The few studies that have examined cultural differences in parental reactions to children's emotions have only done so with mother-infant dyads. There is a critical need for research that focuses on other developmental stages.

Cultural Differences in the Relation between Emotion Socialization and Child Outcome

Some researchers have suggested that the same parenting behavior may have different effects on children in different racial/ethnic groups (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997). Researchers studying the implications of parental control, intrusiveness, warmth, monitoring, and autonomy-granting cross-culturally have hypothesized that parenting behaviors may have different meanings for children depending on the degree to which these practices are normative, the affective context in which they occur, and children's perceptions about parents' motivations (Ispa et al., 2004). In fact, cultural differences in the relation between parenting and outcomes have been documented (e.g., Luis, Varela, & Moore, 2008; Varela, Sanchez-Sosa, Biggs, & Luis, 2009). For example, research exploring the effects of parental control and warmth has revealed that in African American families, when high control is exercised in the context of high warmth, it has benign or even positive consequences for children (Brody & Flor, 1998; McLoyd & Smith, 2002; Spieker, Larson, Lewis, Keller, & Gilchrist, 1999). In European American families, this does not hold true (Muris, 2006). Also, physical discipline may not be related to high externalizing behavior ratings in African American children (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996) but may be in European American children (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991). This suggests either that parenting behaviors have a different meaning in African American families than in European American families or that a behavior's negative effects might be lessened to the extent that it is normative within a culture and occurs in a context that minimizes its negative impact (Creveling , Varela, Weems, & Corey, 2010; Ispa et al., 2004). Research has not directly examined whether effects of parenting practices differ between Latino American families and other ethnic groups. However, cross-study research suggests that parenting

practices that have been linked to better child outcome in European American families, including less autonomy granting, in the context of warm and supportive parenting are also associated with better child outcomes in Latino American families (Florsheim, Tolan, & Gorman-Smith, 1996). Whereas cultural differences in parenting practices and styles and their relation to child outcomes have received some attention, there is an absence of research that specifically explores the cultural differences in the socialization of emotions and the associated child outcomes of such differences.

Examination of Within Group Variability

Although examining ethnic differences in emotion socialization is an important first step in understanding the influence of culture, it is critical to move beyond between group differences, and examine whether other culturally relevant variables account for individual differences within ethnic groups. Two such variables include acculturation and socioeconomic status (SES).

Acculturation. Acculturation, defined as the changes groups and individuals undergo when they come into contact with a different culture (Berry, 1997), may be related to different parenting practices. A small body of research on general parenting practices highlights the importance of acculturation. For example, Farver, Xu, Bhadha, Narang, and Lieber (2007) found that Asian Indian adolescents who had migrated with their families to the US reported higher family conflict and anxiety, and their parents endorsed shaming child-rearing beliefs more than did European American families. However, Asian Indian parents who had an integrated or assimilated acculturation style approximated the European families' family conflict ratings and their child-rearing

beliefs. To our knowledge, only one study has directly examined acculturation in the context of the socialization of emotions. This study investigated discussion of emotion in Mexican-descent families, focusing on their use of emotion labels and explanations during a videotaped storytelling task. Compared to Mexican American mothers who were born in the US, Mexican mothers who moved to the United States after age 12 used more explanation than labels, whereas Mexican American mothers used explanations and labels equally (Cervantes, 2002). If differences exist in the way that differentially acculturated mothers discuss emotions, it is likely that other emotion socialization related behaviors might vary as well. It is therefore important to consider acculturation when exploring cultural differences in the parental socialization of emotions.

Socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status (SES) has been linked with the use of specific parental socialization behaviors (Conger et al., 1992). For example, lower-SES parents may be more likely to adopt authoritarian parenting styles than higher-SES parents, demonstrating more restrictive and controlling behavior during interactions with their children (Hart & Risley, 1992). However, the few studies that have examined SES and parent emotion socialization practices have yielded mixed findings. For example, Garner (2006) found that SES was unrelated to observed maternal emotion socialization behaviors in a sample of low- and higher-SES African American mothers. On the other hand, Martini, Root, and Jenkins (2004) examined mothers' self-reported reactions to child expression of negative affect and found that middle-income mothers were more likely to control hostile emotions in response to child anger, sadness, and fear than low-income mothers. These mixed findings may be due to different method (observed vs.

self-report) of assessing emotion socialization. The relation between parental emotion socialization behaviors and SES is thus unclear and requires further examination.

Child Gender and Parental Emotion Socialization Practices

Parents socialize emotions differently for boys than for girls (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Mothers have been found to be more expressive with daughters than with sons (e.g., Garner, Robertson, & Smith, 1997; Hablerstadt, 1991). Furthermore, research has consistently documented that mothers discuss emotions differently with sons and daughters. Mothers tend to employ direct emotion-related language and discuss emotional states more with their daughters than their sons (e.g. Dunn, Bretherton, & Munn 1987; Fivush, 1989; Kuebli, Butler, & Fivush, 1995). In addition, mothers are more likely to discuss positive emotions with daughters, and negative emotions with sons (Kuebli et al., 1995). However, few child gender effects have emerged in studies examining parental reactions to children's negative emotions (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 1996). Studies that have examined parents' perceptions of their reactions to child expression of negative affect have found no gender differences (Kliewer Fearow, & Miller, 1996). Nevertheless, one study found that mothers were observed to react less negatively to boys' than girls' expression of anger (Casey & Fuller, 1994). Thus, although findings are somewhat mixed, there is evidence that child gender may play a role in emotion socialization.

Moreover, different cultures might hold distinct norms, values, and beliefs in relation to emotional competence for different genders. Men and women often occupy different social roles across different cultures, and distinct emotions might be required in

order to perform these social roles successfully (Fischer, Rodriguez, van Vianen, & Manstead, 2004). Cultures that are characterized by highly reinforcing different gender roles tend to show greater differences in emotional behavior norms between genders (Hofstede, 2001). According to the cultural context, gender appropriate behaviors are recognized and anticipated, whereas gender inappropriate behaviors are discouraged and rejected (Safdar et al., 2009). It is therefore likely that cultural background and child gender interact in predicting how parents socialize emotions. However, one cross-cultural study that explored emotional display rules across Canadian, American, and Japanese university students found that gender differences were similar across all three cultural groups (Safdar et al., 2009). Whereas men expressed more powerful emotions (anger, contempt, and disgust), women expressed powerless emotions (sadness, fear) and happiness more than men. However, the majority of studies that have examined cultural differences in parental emotion socialization practices have neglected to explore child gender differences. One notable exception found that although Euro-American and Chinese mothers differed in how emotions were discussed, where U.S. mothers were more focused in understanding and negotiating how and what their children were feeling than Chinese mothers, there were no effects of child gender on discussion of emotion strategies (Fivush & Wang, 2005). Research on this topic is scarce, and requires further investigation.

Importance of Studying Emotion Socialization in Children With Behavior Problems

Understanding ethnic differences in parenting practices in families with children with behavioral difficulties is of particular importance (Jones et al., 2010). Parenting

practices are a major target of treatment for children with behavior problems (Pelham, Wheeler, & Chronis, 1998). However, it is possible that such training may be differentially effective across ethnicity because of observed baseline differences in parenting practices, philosophies, and effects of parenting practices on child behavior by ethnicity (Jones et al., 2010; Rydell, 2010). It is thus important to further understand these differences and how they might relate to different child behavioral outcomes among children most in need of intervention.

Studying emotion socialization practices in children with behavior problems is particularly important because behavior disorders have been related to emotion dysregulation (Eisenberg et al., 1996; Shields & Cicchetti, 2001; Supplee, Skuban, Shaw, & Prout, 2009). There is evidence that young children who demonstrate less competent emotion functioning are at risk for a range of poor behavioral outcomes, including disruptive behavior problems (Hill, Degnan, Calkins & Keane, 2006; Martin, Boekamp, McConville, & Wheeler, 2010; Stringaris, Maughan & Goodman, 2010).

CHAPTER 2

THE PRESENT STUDY

Given the importance of parental socialization of emotions for the development of children's emotion regulation, it is critical to understand the role of culture on emotion socialization. Much of the research on this topic has either yielded mixed results, or is inconclusive, particularly concerning Latino American parents. Moreover, most research on ethnic differences in emotion socialization has been conducted with mother-infant dyads, or have taken place in laboratory, rather than naturalistic, settings. The proposed study sought to fill these gaps in the literature by examining the following questions:

1) Are there ethnic differences in the emotion socialization practices that African American, Latina American, and European American mothers use? It was predicted that there would be ethnic differences in emotion expressivity, discussion of emotion, and reactions to children's emotions. However, given the dearth of research in this area, the expected direction of differences was unclear.

2) Does socioeconomic status account for differences in the emotion socialization practices mothers use within ethnic groups? Within ethnic group differences in emotion socialization behaviors will be explored as a function of mothers' SES. Given the limited literature on this topic, our analyses were exploratory.

3) Do child gender differences in parent's emotion socialization practices vary as a function of ethnic group? Because some cultures may have different emotional behavior norms for different genders, it was hypothesized that European American, Latina American, and African American mothers might socialize emotions differently for their daughters and sons. In particular, because Latin cultures tend to have

more traditional gender role ideologies (Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000) than European American and African American cultures, it was expected that there would be larger gender differences for Latina American mothers.

4) Are there ethnic differences in the relation between emotion socialization practices and child functioning? It was predicted that there would be ethnic differences in which types of emotion socialization practices would predict later child functioning, but again, the expected direction of these differences was not clear.

5) Is acculturation associated with emotion socialization practices among Latina American mother? Latina American mothers in the United States vary considerably in their degree of acculturation. We predicted that as Latina American mothers reported higher levels of acculturation to the dominant society, their parenting practices would increasingly resemble those of European American mothers. [1]

Method

Participants

Participants were be drawn from a sample of 259 children and their mothers who took part in a 4 year longitudinal study aimed at understanding the early development of attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and oppositional defiant disorder (ODD) among 3-year-old children. Children (n =156) whose mothers completed an audio taped

[1] We did not explore acculturation variables within the European American sample because although these mothers could possibly report high levels of identification with their ethnic group of origin's culture, these European cultures of origin highly resemble the dominant society culture in which they currently reside. Also we were not able to explore acculturation within the African American sample given the small sample size for this group.

assessment of child behavior and presented with significant externalizing problems were included in the present study. Children (72 females and 84 males) were all 3 years old at the time of initial screening and were 36 to 50 months (M = 44.14 months, SD = 3.38) at the time of the first home visit. Mothers were European American (n = 98), Latina American (n = 40; predominately Puerto Rican), and African American (n = 18). Approximately half of the mothers (55.8%) had more than12 years of education, and 44.2% of mothers had 12 years or less. The majority of mothers (67.2%) were married at the time of the first home visit, 16% were divorced or separated and 16.8% were single.

Procedure

Participants were recruited over a 3-year period by distributing screening questionnaire packets through state birth records, pediatrician offices, child care centers, and community centers throughout western Massachusetts. Children with and without significant externalizing problems were recruited from 1752 3-year-old children whose parents completed a screening packet containing the Behavior Assessment System for Children – Parent Report Scale (BASC-PRS; Reynolds & Kamphaus, 1992) and a questionnaire assessing for exclusion criteria, parental concern about externalizing symptoms, and demographic information.

Exclusion criteria for all participants were evidence of mental retardation, deafness, blindness, language delay, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, autism, or psychosis. Inclusion criteria for the externalizing group were: (a) parent responded "yes" or "possibly" to the question, "Are you concerned about your child's activity level, defiance, aggression, or impulse control?" and (b) BASC-PRS hyperactivity and/or aggression subscale T scores fell at or above 65 (approximately 92nd percentile). Eligible

families were scheduled for two 3-hour home visits scheduled approximately 1 week apart, and each parent was paid a total of $200. Bilingual staff conducted home visits for Spanish-speaking families and Spanish versions of the measures were used.

The present study focused on data collected during the first year (age 3) of the 4-year longitudinal study.

Measures

Demographic information. Parents provided information about their income, race/ethnicity, years of education, age, number of children, and marital status.

Audiotaped assessment of emotion socialization. Parents were each asked to use a micro-cassette player to record 2 hrs of interaction with their children, selecting times of day that tended to be challenging. Although the parents were asked to record 2 hrs of interaction, an earlier review of the tapes suggested that 30 min of tape was sufficient for capturing a wide array of behavior that was representative of the entire 2 hrs. In addition, all parents who were willing to take part in this assessment completed at least 30 min. The coding system employed was adapted from the Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES; Fabes, Eisenberg & Bernzweig, 1990). It includes both parental and child behaviors and rates these by frequency and intensity/quality. Three main categories of codes were included: child and parent expressivity of emotion, child and parent emotion talk, and parental reactions to children's negative emotions. Child and parental expressivity of emotion included both positive and negative affect and were coded for both frequency and intensity. Parental reactions to child's negative affect were coded if the parent expressed negative emotion during the segment. For a detailed account of the coding scheme, refer to Appendix A.

Each tape was coded by 2 coders independently, in order to establish inter-rater reliability. Intra-class correlation coefficients were calculated for all codes. Adequate reliability was reached for all codes, except for redirection and limit setting codes, which were therefore dropped from analyses. In order to reduce data, codes that were rated for both frequency and intensity or quality were collapsed by multiplying frequency times intensity/quality. Results are displayed in Table 1.

Coders were undergraduate students who identified themselves as European American (n = 14), Asian American (n = 1), Latino American (n = 2) and African American (n = 1). Coders were not informed of the participant's ethnicity and were not aware of the purpose of this study.

BASC-Parent Response Scale (PRS). This scale assesses a broad range of psychopathology in children ages 2-6 and older and was administered to mothers. *T* scores (based on general, not gender-specific, norms) for the internalizing and externalizing subscales were used. These two subscales have demonstrated good reliability for 2- to 3-year-old children (Reynolds & Kamphaus, 1992).

Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale. (SMAS; Stephenson, 2000). This 32-item measure of acculturation is composed of two subscales that assess degree of immersion in ethnic society and dominant society separately. Respondents rate each items on a 4-point scale to indicate the degree to which the item describes them. Higher scores indicate higher levels of immersion in ethnic and dominant societies. This scale has shown high reliability (α = .86 for entire scale; Stephenson, 2000).

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 presents demographic information for each ethnic group. Ethnic groups varied on child gender, χ^2 (2) = 5.79, p = .06, at a probability level that approached significance. Although there were more boys than girls for African American and European American families, there were more Latino American girls than boys. In addition, significant differences across ethnicities were found for mothers' level of education, F (2, 153) = 18.77, p = .001. Tukey HSD tests indicated that European American mothers (M = 14.35, SD = 2.63) had more years of education than African American (M = 12.66, SD = 2.28, p = .001) and Latina American mothers (M = 11.49, SD = 2.40, p = .03). Differences in mothers' marital status also emerged, χ^2 (4) = 15.42, p = .006. African American mothers were less likely to be married than Latina American and European American mothers. There were not significant age differences, F (2, 153) = 0.70, p = .50.

Descriptive statistics for emotion socialization variables for the entire sample are displayed in Tables 1 and 3. Mothers were significantly more likely to display positive (M = 2.62, SD = 0.99) than negative affect (M = 1.97, SD = 0.87), t (130) = -4.07, p = 0.01, when interacting with their children. Both mother (M = 1.07, SD = 0.12) and child (M = 1.04, SD = 0.10) discussion of emotion were infrequent events. The two most common reactions to negative affect were distressed (M = 1.59, SD = 0.59) and reasoning/clarifying reactions (M = 1.46, SD = 0.46). Mothers in our sample were least

likely to respond to children's expression of negative affect by giving in (M = 1.04, SD = 0.11) or by engaging in positive thinking (M = 1.06, SD = 0.20).

Intercorrelations among audiotape codes are presented in Table 3. Parent and child negative affect expression were positively correlated with each other. In turn, parent and child expression of positive affect were also positively correlated. On the other hand, whereas child positive affect and parent negative affect were negatively associated with each other, child negative affect and parent positive affect were not significantly related to each other. Distressed, minimizing, arguing, and non-responses were significantly related to parent negative affect. Additionally, greater distressed and minimizing parental reactions were associated with less parent positive affect. Finally, reasoning and compromising reactions were positively associated with parent expression of positive affect.

Ethnic Differences in Parental Emotion Socialization Practices

To compare the frequency with which mothers of different ethnicities employed each emotion socialization practice, one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted, with mothers' ethnicity as a between subjects factor. Tukey HSD post hoc comparisons were conducted to compare each ethnic group to all others. Results are presented in Table 4.

Emotion expressivity. There were ethnic differences in ratings of maternal expression of negative affect, F (2, 128) = 4.79, p = .02. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean negative affect score for Latina American mothers (M = 6.34, SD = 4.60) was significantly higher than the mean rating for European American mothers (M = 3.83, SD = 3.65), p = .01. The mean ratings of

maternal negative affect for African American mothers (M = 5.00, SD = 4.67) did not significantly differ from ratings of European American, p = .52, or Latina American mothers, p = .49.

One-way ANOVAs also indicated ethnic differences in children's expression of negative affect, F (2, 128) = 9.87, p = .01. Tukey HSD tests indicated that the mean negative affect score for Latino American children (M = 7.77, SD = 6.88) was significantly higher than the mean rating for European American children (M = 3.32, SD = 2.53), p = .01, and was higher than the mean rating for African American children (M = 4.58, SD = 7.73), at a probability level that approached significance, p = .07. The mean negative affect ratings for African American children did not significantly differ from ratings of European American.

Discussion of emotion. There were no significant ethnic differences in the frequency of mothers' or children's discussion of emotion.

Reactions to child negative affect. There were significant ethnic differences in mothers' use of emotion- focused reactions (soothing the child), F (2, 113) = 3.67, p = .03. Tukey HSD tests indicated that European American mothers (M = 1.66, SD = 1.20) used significantly more emotion-focused reactions than did African American mothers (M = 1.00, SD = 0.00), p = .048. The mean rating of emotion-focused reactions for Latina American mothers (M = 1.29, SD = 0.57) did not significantly differ from ratings of European American, p = .16, or African American, p = .59, mothers.

There were also ethnic differences for mothers' minimizing responses to child negative affect, F (2, 113) = 8.76, p = .01. Post hoc comparisons revealed that the

European American mothers (M = 1.72, SD = 1.07) were significantly less likely to minimize child negative affect than were Latina American mothers (M = 4.14, SD = 4.30), p = .01. The mean rating for African American mothers (M = 3.14, SD = 3.62) did not significantly differ from European American, p = .19, or Latina American, p = .48, mothers' mean minimization rating.

There were ethnic differences in mothers' frequency of engaging in arguments in response to their children's expression of negative affect, which approached significance, F (2, 112) = 3.00, p = .053. Post hoc comparisons indicated that African American mothers (M = 1.31, SD = 0.49) were significantly more likely to argue in response to child negative affect than were Latina American mothers (M = 1.09, SD = 0.18), p = .047, and were more likely to argue than European American mothers (M = 1.13, SD = 0.29) at a probability level that approached significance, p = .08. European American and Latina American mothers did not significantly differ from each other in ratings of arguing, p = .83.

Finally, there were ethnic differences in the frequency with which mothers showed no response to children's negative affect, F (2, 112) = 5.52, p = .01. Tukey HSD tests indicated that European American mothers (M = 1.40, SD = 0.48) were significantly less likely to show no response to negative affect than African American mothers (M = 1.85, SD = 0.94), p = .04, and Latina American mothers (M = 1.76, SD = 1.76), p = .02. However, the mean scores for African American and Latina American mother did not significantly differ from each other, p = .87.

There were no significant ethnic differences in distress, punitive, expressive encouragement, problem-focused, compromising, reasoning/clarifying, giving in, and positive thinking reactions.

To examine whether ethnic differences in reaction to child negative affect could have been due to ethnic differences in children's expression of negative affect ANCOVAs were conducted with each parent reaction to negative affect variable with child negative affect as a covariate. All differences that were significant continued to be significant or approach significance controlling for child negative affect.

Do Emotion Socialization Practices Vary as a Function of SES and Do These Differences Account for Ethnic Differences in Emotion Socialization Practices?

To examine whether emotion socialization practices varied across SES, one-way ANOVAs were conducted with maternal education (coded 1 for higher than 12 years, and 0 for 12 years or less) as a between subjects factor (Table 5). To examine whether ethnic differences in emotion socialization practices remained controlling for SES, both ethnicity and maternal education were entered as between-subjects factors in ANOVA models.

Emotion expressivity. One-way ANOVAs indicated a main effect of maternal education for mothers' expression of negative affect, F (1, 129) = 7.16, p = .01. Mothers with less education (M = 5.52, SD = 4.42) were rated as displaying more negative affect than mothers with more education (M = 3.57, SD = 3.61). When ethnicity and mothers' education were both entered as between subjects factors, neither the main effect of ethnicity, F (2, 125) = 1.48, p = .23, nor the main effect of education were significant, F

(1, 125) = 1.82, p = .18. In addition, there was a main effect of mothers' education on children's expression of negative affect F (1, 129) = 9.30, p = .01. Children whose mothers had less education (M = 5.92, SD = 6.41) were rated as displaying more negative affect than children whose mothers had more education (M = 3.13, SD = 2.59). When ethnicity and SES were both entered as between subjects factors, the main effect of ethnicity was still significant, F (2, 125) = 4.50, p = .01, and the main effect of education approached significance, F (1, 125) = 3.10, p = .08. There were no significant SES differences in parent or child positive affect ratings.

Discussion of emotion. There were no significant main effects of maternal education for frequency of mothers' or children's discussion of emotion.

Reactions to child negative affect. There was a significant main effect of maternal education on mothers' distress reactions, F (1, 114) = 3.67, p = .03, with mothers with less education rated as responding with distress (M = 3.70, SD = 2.97) more often than mothers with more education (M = 2.58, SD = 2.34). There were also differences in mothers' minimizing reactions which approached significance, F (1, 115) = 3.24, p = .07. Mothers with less education (M = 3.06, SD = 3.50) minimized reactions more than mothers with more education (M = 2.04, SD = 1.93). Finally, differences in mothers' arguing, which approached significance, were also found, F (1, 115) = 3.61, p = .06. Mothers with less education (M = 1.18, SD = 0.34) argued with children more than mothers with more education (M = 1.07, SD = 0.21).

Main effects of ethnicity remained significant for emotion focused, F (2, 110) = 3.53, p = .03, minimizing, F (2, 110) = 5.23, p = .01, and non-response reactions, F (2,

109) = 3.90, p = .02, when maternal education was controlled. However, ethnic differences in mothers' frequency of engaging in arguments in response to their children's expression of negative affect, no longer approached significance when controlling for mothers' SES, F (2, 109) = 1.23, p = .30.

Do Emotion Socialization Practices Vary as a Function of Child Gender and do Child Gender Differences in Emotion Socialization Practices Vary as a Function of Ethnicity?

To examine whether mothers employed different emotion socialization practice with boys and girls, ANOVAs were conducted, with child gender as a between subjects factor. There were no significant gender differences (Table 5).

There was a significant Gender X Ethnicity interaction for child expression of positive affect, F (2, 125) = 3.65, p = .03 (see Figure 1). One-way ANOVAs were conducted separately for each ethnic group, with gender as a between-subjects factor. These indicated that for the African American sample, there were gender differences in expression of positive affect, F (1, 16) = 3.61, p = .08 which approached significance. African American boys (M = 8.40, SD = 5.72) tended to display more positive affect than African American girls (M = 3.80, SD = 1.62). No gender differences were found for European American, F (1, 74) = 2.11, p = .15, or Latino American children, F (1, 35) = 2.84, p = .10.

In addition, there was a significant Gender X Ethnicity interaction for mothers not responding to child negative affect, F (2, 109) = 3.12, p = .048 (see Figure 2). Follow up ANOVAs conducted separately for each ethnic group, with gender as a between-subjects

factor, did not yield any significant findings. However, ANOVAs conducted separately for each gender revealed significant ethnic differences for males, F (2, 59) = 7.54, p = .001, but not for females, F (2, 50) = 1.49, p = .24. Tukey HSD tests indicated that European American mothers (M = 1.38, SD = 0.43) were significantly less likely to show no response to boys' negative affect than African American mothers (M = 2.21, SD = 1.03), p = .002. In addition, the mean rating for Latina American mothers (M = 1.82, SD = 0.76) differed from European American mothers' mean minimization rating, at a level that approached significance, p = .06. However, the mean scores for African American and Latina American mother did not significantly differ from each other, p = .33.

Does the Relation Between Emotion Socialization Practices and Child Outcome Vary as a Function of Ethnicity?

To examine whether there were ethnic differences in the relation between emotion socialization and child functioning, correlations were computed between these two variables separately for each ethnic group. R to z transformations were then used to compare correlation coefficients across ethnic groups. Intercorrelations are presented in Table 6; correlations with the same footnote are significantly different from each other.

Emotion expressivity. Mothers' expression of positive affect was associated with fewer internalizing problems for Latino American children. This relation was significantly different from the relations between mother positive affect and internalizing problems for both European American and African American children, for whom there was no significant relation between maternal positive affect and children's internalizing

problems. Parent negative affect, child negative affect, and child positive affect were not significantly associated with internalizing or externalizing problems in any ethnic group.

Discussion of emotion. There were no significant correlations between discussion of emotion and child outcomes.

Reactions to child negative affect. Mothers' distress reactions were associated with more externalizing problems for European American children. This relation was significantly different from the relation for African American children, for whom there was no significant relation between maternal distress reactions and children's externalizing problems. Although the relation between mothers' distress reactions and externalizing problems was not significant for Latino American children, the relation was in the same direction as for European American children, and was significantly more positive than for African American children, for whom there was a non-significant negative correlation between mothers' distress reactions and externalizing problems.

Mothers' expressive encouragement of children's negative affect was significantly associated with fewer externalizing problems, but for European American children only. This relation was not significantly different than the relations for Latino American and African American children. The relation was in the same direction for European American and African American children, but not for Latino American children, for whom the relation was positive but not significant.

Minimizing reactions were related to fewer externalizing problems for African American children, and this relation was significantly different from the relations for both European American and Latino American children, for whom there were non-significant

positive correlations between maternal minimizing reactions and children's externalizing problems.

Although there were not significant relations between giving in and internalizing problems, the relations for African American children and Latino American children were significantly different from each other. For African American children, was a non-significant positive correlation between mothers' giving in and children's internalizing problems, whereas for Latin American children there was a non-significant negative correlation.

Arguing was also related to more externalizing problems for European American children, and this relation was different than the relation for Latino American children, for whom there was not a significant relation between arguing and externalizing problems. There was also no significant relation for African American children. Although there were not significant relations between arguing and internalizing problems, the relations for African American children and Latino American children were significantly different from each other. For African American children, there was a non-significant positive correlation between mothers' arguing and children's internalizing problems, whereas for Latin American children there was a non-significant negative correlation.

Finally, mothers' non-responses to negative affect were related with more externalizing problems for European American children, but not for African American or Latino American children. The relation between not responding and externalizing problems was also positive, but non-significant, for African American children. However, it was non-significant and negative for Latino American children.

Do Emotion Socialization Practices Vary as a Function of Acculturation in the Latina American Sample?

Intercorrelations between emotion socialization practices and SMAS dominant society immersion and ethnic society immersion scores were conducted for Latina American mothers. Our analyses yielded no significant findings (see Table 7).

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Overview

The present study examined emotion socialization practices among mothers of 3-year-old children with behavior problems. The goal of this study was to examine whether emotion socialization practices, as well as the relation between those practices and child functioning, varied across ethnicities. Overall, this study provides evidence for both differences and similarities across ethnicities in parental emotion socialization practices and their correlates. This study also provides some evidence for socio-economic differences in emotion socialization practices that may explain some differences found across ethnic groups.

Patterns of Emotion Socialization Across Ethnic Groups

The ethnic differences found in this study should be interpreted in the context of our findings regarding patterns of emotion socialization across mothers as a whole. With respect to emotion expressivity, both parents and children were rated as expressing more positive than negative affect. It is interesting that although parents in our sample were instructed to record their interactions at challenging times of the day, mothers and children displayed high levels of positive affect, even in potentially problematic and conflict-ridden interactions. The low frequency with which discussion of emotion took place, both by parents and children, is also worth noting. Previous research on discussion of emotion has primed participants to engage in these discussions. The present study suggests that although expression of both positive and negative affect are common among

mothers and their preschool children, conversations about experienced emotions are not common in naturalistic settings.

The most common responses to child negative affect were parental distress and not responding to the child's affect. Thus, when children expressed affect, mothers tended to either respond in kind with distress or fully disengaging from it. Reasoning/ clarifying reactions were also somewhat common. This construct has not been included in existing measures of emotion socialization (e.g., CCNES) and may merit further study given its fairly common occurrence in the present sample. Other somewhat common reaction included minimizing and problem-solving reactions, which have been identified as important dimensions in previous research in emotion socialization. Less frequently used practices included expressive encouragement, emotion-focused reactions, compromising, and arguing. Finally, giving in, positive thinking, and punitive reactions were rarely used.

Ethnic Differences in the Use of Emotion Socialization Practices

Expression. As predicted, we found evidence for ethnic differences in mothers' and children's emotion expressivity. However, differences were observed only for the expression of negative affect; differences in the expression of positive affect approached but did not reach significance. Moreover, SES appeared to account for differences in mothers' but not children's negative affect. Latino American children were more likely than any other group to express negative affect; however, their negative affect was not associated with either externalizing or internalizing problems. Their greater expression of negative affect may be a result of cultural norms that are less restrictive of the expression of negative affectivity (Zayas, 1994; Zayas, & Solari, 1994) or may be due to

a greater emphasis on interdependence in Latino cultures (Harwood et al., 2002). Whereas more individualistic cultures might highly value the ability to self-regulate one's emotions, sociocentric interdependent cultures might promote alternate emotional regulation strategies such as sharing one's emotions or negative experiences with others.

Reaction to negative affect. Mothers of different ethnicities generally responded to negative affect in similar ways. No significant differences were evident in distress, punitive, expressive encouragement, problem-focused, compromising, reasoning, or giving in reactions. However, there were a few noteworthy differences. European-American mothers tended to employ more emotion-focused reactions, fewer minimizing reactions, and were more likely to respond to negative affect. This might be due to cultural norms that value being responsive to children's negative affect. As part of an individualistic culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), European American mothers may view their children's negative affect as an expression of the child's individual needs that require attention and validation. On the other hand, African-American mothers were less likely to respond and less likely to show emotion-focused responses. This, in turn, suggests another style of emotion socialization in which mothers may be less solicitous of their children's emotions. Other researchers have suggested that respect and obedience may be common socialization goals for African American parents (García Coll et al., 1995). Given the experiences of racism and oppression that African Americans face, it is possible that emotion socialization practices are geared towards development of resilience and perseverance in the face of adversity. Thus, children might not be encouraged to express negative affect or soothed when they do, because doing so would not align with broader parenting goals. Finally, Latina American mothers were more

likely to show no response and to minimize in response to negative affect. If child expression of negative affect is a common and accepted practice in this group, mothers' minimizing reactions might not carry the discouraging connotations that have been attributed to this practice in the literature (Eisenberg, & Fabes, 1994; Eisenberg, Fabes, Garlo, & Karbon, 1992). If a child is frequently expressing negative affect, parents may naturally be more selective in when to respond to it. Furthermore, not responding to or minimizing some expressions of negative affect may be a means of socializing children regarding what are and what are not important instances in which negative affect should be shared with others. Further research is needed to better understand the cultural values that may underlie the different patterns of emotion socialization observed in this study.

Differential Relations Between Practices and Outcomes Across Ethnic Groups

Interestingly, the few ethnic differences that were observed in emotion socialization did not appear to have ramifications for children. Although Latina American mothers tended to not respond to negative affect, this practice was not related to worse child functioning for Latina American children. Not responding to negative affect was only associated with worse child outcome for European American mothers who showed the lowest levels of non-responding. Latina American mothers were also more likely to minimize negative affect, but there was no evidence that this was associated with significantly worse outcome for Latina American children. In fact, for African American mothers, who fell midway between European American and Latina American mothers, minimizing responses were associated with significantly fewer externalizing problems. Finally, although European American mothers engaged in more emotion focused responses, there was no evidence that emotion focused responses were

associated with more positive child outcome for any group (though we could not evaluate this among African American children because there was no variability in emotion focused responding). Taken together, these findings support the notion that some parenting techniques and styles are context bound constructs and the extent to which they are detrimental or contribute to child functioning may depend on how normative they are within the particular cultural context.

Our study also revealed that even when mothers of different ethnicities used similar emotion socialization practices, there were some differences in the degree in which these related to current child functioning. Mothers' lower expressive encouragement and greater distress reactions were only related to externalizing problems for the European American sample, though the effect was in the expected direction for Latina American mothers' distress reactions. On the other hand, giving in and positive affect were associated with fewer internalizing problems for the Latino American sample only. The relation found between parent positive affect and fewer internalizing problems is supportive of the notion of interdependence of affect expressivity. Traditional Latino families are thought to be more likely to place high importance on children's quality of relatedness, including affection, dignity, respectfulness, responsiveness to mother and others, and proximity seeking (Triandis, Marín, Lisansky, & Betancourt, 1984). Thus, it has been hypothesized that physical contact and displays of affection between mother and child dyads are part of a constellation of proximity seeking practices that along with high levels of disciplinary control are aimed at protecting the child in contemporary, inner-city living (Escovar, & Lazarus, 1982; Zayas, 1994; Zayas, & Solari, 1994). Mothers' expression of positive affect might be promoting increased sense of security and intimacy

between the child and mother that might influence children's resilience and emotional health. However, the long-term implications of these parenting practices have remained relatively untested (McCoy & Raver, 2011).

In sum, even when mothers of different ethnicities use similar emotion socialization practices, these practices may acquire different meanings for the parent-child dyad that may make them successful or unsuccessful emotion socialization practices. The extent to which a practice succeeds might depend on how well it aligns with the parent's emotion socialization goals and with the child's understanding of them. Further research is needed to examine how the fit between parental practices and emotion socialization goals affects child functioning. Thus, research needs to directly measure overall parenting goals, as well as parental perceived function and goal of specific emotion socialization practices. Furthermore, children's understanding and meanings attributed to parental behaviors should be directly assessed.

SES and Emotion Socialization

Given the well-established link between ethnicity and SES, our study also examined the role of mothers' socio economic status in emotion socialization. For the most part, mothers of high and low SES socialized emotions in comparable ways. Two exceptions were the frequency of mothers' distress reactions and expression of negative affect. Limited economic resources and the related increased life stressors that these mothers may be facing could exacerbate stress caused by children's expression of negative emotion. It may also be that there are common emotion socialization goals among mothers that have limited financial resources. However, verbally-based emotion socialization practices are probably reflective of different goals, whereas emotionally-

reactive practices may be more likely to be reflective of increased life stressors. Because SES was linked to emotionally reactive emotion socialization practices rather than to more verbally-based strategies, the former explanation seems more likely than the latter. Further research is needed to further elucidate these findings.

Interactions Between Gender and Ethnicity

The prediction that there would be larger gender differences for Latina American mothers was not supported. However, child gender and mothers' ethnicity interacted in predicting child expression of positive affect and mothers' likelihood of not responding to negative affect. European American and Latino American boys and girls were rated as displaying relatively similar levels of positive affect. However, African American boys expressed more positive affect than females. In addition, there were ethnic differences in the frequency with which mothers did not respond to negative affect only for boys, with African American mothers responding less often to negative affect than European American. There were no ethnic differences in non-responding for mothers of girls. Thus, there may be specific emotion socialization patterns and goals African American mothers' hold for their male children. If replicated, the specific mechanisms underlying these effects require further study.

Conclusions

In sum, the present study suggests that whereas the use of some parental emotion socialization behaviors varies across cultures, there are more similarities than differences in the way that parents socialize emotions. However, the impact of different practices on children may vary across ethnicity. Because cultures transmit implicit messages about what is appropriate and inappropriate emotional behavior, any particular emotional

socialization practice may send different messages depending on the cultural context. What specific messages are being sent and received across different cultures is probably a better predictor of child functioning. Future research should directly examine parent emotion socialization goals and the meaning of emotion socialization practices across cultures.

Implications and Future Directions

This study suggests that a revision may be needed in how the field conceptualizes supportive and non-supportive emotion socialization practices. Researchers have used the terms *unsupportive reaction* to describe parental reactions to negative emotions such as minimizing reactions, and have called reactions such as emotion focused reactions *supportive* (Eisenberg et al., 1998; Eisenberg et al, 1996; McElwain et al., 2007). Because terms such as *supportive* and *non-supportive*, particularly in the context of parenting, are value-laden, it may be advisable for the field to move towards a new terminology that is more descriptive. If the same behavior can be used for achieving different goals by the parent, interpreted in different ways by the child, and have different associated outcomes, it would seem as though the supportive or non-supportive nature of each single behavior is relative to its cultural context.

This study suggests that clinicians should be mindful of what each behavior represents for the dyad. Clinical practice needs to be aware of cultural differences in norms for emotional expressivity and parents' emotion socialization goals. It is crucial that practitioners assess, and not assume, the meaning of each behavior and its intended goal. Similarly, this study highlights the need for cross-cultural researchers to carefully

address how and which concepts and behaviors acquire different meanings based on their cultural and socioeconomic context. Because most of the research on emotion socialization has been done with European American samples, the field has little knowledge regarding how other cultures socialize emotions. Furthermore, because emotions socialization goals may have been assumed to remain constant across cultures, the repertoire of emotion socialization practices assessed by current coding schemes and self-reports may be so limited to one specific cultural context that it may be completely missing a host of emotion socialization practices that other cultures practice.

More research is needed to explore emotion socialization goals and whether they mediate the effect of culture on emotion socialization practices and subsequent child outcomes. Research is also needed to examine the intersection between culture and development to determine whether cultural differences in emotion socialization change as children develop. Finally, there is a need for longitudinal research that assesses the long-term outcomes of parental emotion socialization practices across ethnicities.

Limitations

Our study has a number of limitations that need to be addressed by future research. First, our small sample sizes might have limited our ability to detect significant differences. The African American sample was particularly limited, making it difficult to detect effects for this group. Furthermore, because our ethnic groups varied in size, we may have been more likely to find relations between emotion socialization practices and child functioning for the European American sample. However, examination of effect

sizes suggests that the differences found in this study were not likely solely due to differences in sample size.

The research methodology employed in this study, particularly the use of audio taped interactions has both advantages and disadvantages compared to both self-report and videotaped observations. Compared to self-report, audiotapes provided us with the opportunity to directly listen to parent-child interactions, as opposed to relying on subjective reports. However, audiotapes only provided a limited sample of parenting, which might not be fully representative of the emotion socialization practices that the parents typically used. Audiotapes also have the advantage over videotapes of potentially eliciting less reactivity, though even with audiotapes mothers' knowledge of being recorded may have affected parenting strategies. On the other hand, compared to videotapes, audiotapes are limited in assessing nonverbal emotion socialization practices. Observational data also has the potential to be affected by coders' biases. Although coders were not informed of the participant's ethnicities or the study's purpose, it is still possible that they could have detected the participants' ethnicities from the audio recording. Although we attempted to assign the tapes across coders so that they would all code similar levels of tapes from each ethnic group, this was not always possible for the Latina American group, because some of these tapes were in Spanish, and only coders that identified as Latino American spoke Spanish. Finally, none of our coders identified as being African American/Black. Thus, if coders held and expressed biases towards their own ethnic and other groups when coding, these biases may have affected results of this study.

Finally, although this study provides some insight into cultural differences in emotion socialization, it is important to remember that ethnicity was employed as a proxy for culture. It is crucial that further research unpack the meaning of culture by more directly assessing the specific variables that likely underlie these differences. The present study began this process by examining acculturation and SES, but additional underlying variables need to be explored. For example, the specific cultural values and norms that may be responsible for these differences need to be elucidated. This, in turn, will contribute to the development of cross-cultural research that acknowledges the enormous within group variability.

Table 1: Interclass-correlation Coefficients for Emotion Socialization Variables

Emotion Socialization Variable	Frequency of use *M (SD)*	Intensity/ Quality *M (SD)*	ICC	Emotion Socialization Variable	Frequency of use *M (SD)*	Intensity/ Quality *M (SD)*	ICC
Parent negative affect*	1.97 (0.87)	2.01 (0.89)	.90	Problem focused*	1.32 (0.37)	1.55 (0.63)	.55
Child negative affect*	1.91 (0.96)	2.05 (0.93)	.95	Minimizing *	1.39 (0.59)	1.58 (0.82)	.64
Parent positive affect*	2.62 (0.99)	2.51 (0.85)	.79	Limit setting*†	1.32 (0.38)	1.54 (0.62)	.43
Child positive affect*	2.56 (0.86)	2.56 (0.83)	.74	Compromising*	1.10 (0.27)	1.19 (0.48)	.79
Parent discussion of emotion	1.07 (0.12)		.61	Reasoning / clarifying*	1.46 (0.46)	1.18 (0.36)	.74
Child discussion of emotion	1.04 (0.10)		.69	Redirection †	1.09 (0.17)	1.18 (0.36)	.31
Distressed*	1.59 (0.59)	1.78 (0.80)	.73	Parent gives in	1.04 (0.11)		.80
Punitive*	1.08 (0.20)	1.12 (0.29)	.61	Parent argues	1.14 (0.30)		.55
Encouraging *	1.21 (0.29)	1.32 (0.49)	.65	Positive thinking	1.06 (0.20)		.68
Emotion focused*	1.13 (0.24)	1.21 (0.41)	.69	Non-response	1.57 (0.64)		.83

**Note: Variable included in data analyses was created by multiplying frequency by intensity or quality. ICC shown corresponds to collapsed variable. †Code was excluded from analyses because of poor reliability.*

Table 2: Ethnic Differences in Mothers' Education, Marital Status and Child Age and Gender

Variable	1. European American *M (SD)/n(%)*	2. African American *M (SD)/n(%)*	3. Latino American *M (SD)/n(%)*	F/Chi-square	Tukey HSD
Child gender					
Boys	58 (59)	12 (67)	15 (38)	5.79†	
Girls	41 (41)	6 (33)	24 (62)		
Mothers' marital status				15.42**	
Divorced/separated	14 (17)	1 (11)	4 (16)		
Single	8 (9)	5 (56)	7 (28)		
Married	63 (54)	3 (33)	14 (56)		
Mothers' education (in years)	14.35 (2.63)	12.67 (2.28)	11.49 (2.40)	12.01**	1 > 2*, 3**
Child age (in months)	44.52 (3.30)	43.57 (3.67)	44.11 (3.51)	0.70	

Note. . † $p < .10$ $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$

Table 3: Intercorrelations Amongst Parental Emotion Socialization Variables

	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1 Parent negative affect	4.70 (4.20)	--																
2 Child negative affect	4.75 (5.33)	.56**	--															
3 Parent positive Affect	7.38 (5.15)	-.30**	-.14	--														
4 Child positive affect	7.22 (4.61)	-.33**	-.22*	.75**	--													
5 Parent discussion of emotion	1.07 (0.12)	.15†	.01	.16†	.02	--												
6 Child discussion of emotion	1.04 (0.10)	.13	.18*	.06	.06	.53**	--											
7 Distressed	3.26 (2.78)	.59**	.49**	-.27**	-.25**	.06	.12	--										
8 Punitive	1.26 (0.72)	.13	.01	.01	-.06	.15	.02	.33**	--									
9 Encouraging	1.54 (0.87)	-.07	.05	.05	-.04	.03	.06	-.16†	-.09	--								
10 Emotion focused	1.46 (0.98)	-.12	-.03	.08	.01	.06	-.10	-.16†	.03	.25**	--							
11 Problem focused	2.27 (1.71)	-.12	.10	.17†	.09	.10	.04	-.15	.06	.21*	.21*	--						
12 Minimizing	2.65 (3.01)	.55**	.69**	-.34**	-.34**	-.09	.00	.50**	-.04	-.06	-.01	-.10	--					
13 Compromising	1.44 (1.26)	-.14	-.05	.28**	.06	-.04	-.11	-.12	.12	-.06	.03	-.04	-.12	--				
14 Reasoning clarifying	2.91 (2.46)	-.04	.19*	.26**	.12	-.05	-.07	-.03	-.01	.06	.09	.08	-.01	.22*	--			
15 Parent gives in	1.04 (0.11)	-.07	-.00	.18†	.16†	-.02	.01	-.04	-.01	-.01	-.02	.10	-.05	.14	.19*	--		
16 Parent argues	1.14 (0.30)	.29**	.27**	-.09	-.08	.00	.28**	.48**	.52**	-.08	-.12	-.04	.05	.01	.02	.07	--	
17 Positive thinking	1.06 (0.20)	-.14	-.04	.14	-.02	.05	.02	-.13	-.07	.20*	.10	.11	-.10	.10	.16†	.10	-.08	--
18 Non-response	1.57 (0.64)	.38**	.69**	-.17†	-.16†	.00	.17†	.28**	-.04	-.17†	-.17†	.03	.51**	-.15	-.02	-.09	.06	-.1

Note. $^{\dagger}p < .10$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$

Table 4: Ethnic Differences in Parental Emotion Socialization Practices

Emotion Socialization Variable	1. European American *M (SD)*	2. African American *M (SD)*	3. Latino American *M (SD)*	*F*	Tukey HSD
Parent negative affect	3.83 (3.65)	5.00 (4.67)	6.34 (4.60)	4.80*[a]	3 > 1**[a]
Child negative affect	3.32 (2.53)	4.58 (7.73)	7.77 (6.88)	9.87***	3 > 1***, 3
Parent positive affect	8.21 (4.86)	5.68 (3.81)	6.50 (6.00)	2.56 †	
Child positive affect	7.48 (4.57)	6.86 (5.19)	6.85 (4.51)	0.29 [c]	
Parent discussion of emotion	1.06 (0.10)	1.07 (0.13)	1.08 (0.16)	0.27	
Child discussion of emotion	1.03 (0.07)	1.09 (0.17)	1.05 (0.12)	2.03	
Distress	2.92 (2.80)	4.15 (3.26)	3.49 (2.50)	1.36	
Punitive	1.34 (0.87)	1.37 (0.78)	1.07 (0.22)	1.81	
Encouragement	1.55 (0.87)	1.41 (1.05)	1.58 (0.79)	0.22	
Emotion focused	1.66 (1.20)	1.00 (0.00)	1.29 (0.57)	3.67*	1 > 2*[c]
Problem focused	2.51 (1.96)	1.66 (0.67)	2.08 (1.44)	1.83	
Minimizing	1.72 (1.07)	3.14 (3.62)	4.14 (4.30)	8.76***	3 > 1***
Compromising	1.62 (1.57)	1.10 (0.33)	1.25 (0.68)	1.59	
Reasoning/clarifying	3.09 (2.47)	2.42 (1.40)	2.77 (2.76)	0.50	
Parent gives in	1.05 (0.13)	1.05 (0.13)	1.02 (0.07)	0.82	
Parent argues	1.13 (0.29)	1.31 (0.49)	1.09 (0.18)	3.01†[b]	2 > 3*[a], 2 >
Positive thinking	1.10 (0.27)	1.00 (0.00)	1.01 (0.03)	2.84 †	
No response	1.40 (0.48)	1.85 (0.94)	1.76 (0.68)	5.52**[c]	1 < 2, 3*

Note. † $p < .10$, *$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

[a] Is no longer significant when controlling for mother's SES. [b] No longer approaches significance when controlling for mother's SES.

[c] Significant interaction with gender.

Sample sizes for expression and discussion of emotion: n =76 (European American), n = 18 (African American) and n =37 (Latina American). Sample sizes for reactions to negative affect: n = 65 (European American), n = 14 (African American) and n = 36 (Latina American)

Table 5: Parental Emotion Socialization Practices: Gender and SES Differences

	Male	Female		Low SES	High SES	
Emotion Socialization Variable	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*F*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*F*
Parent negative affect	5.02 (4.53)	4.30 (3.73)	0.94	5.52 (4.42)	3.57 (3.61)	7.16**
Child negative affect	4.82 (5.46)	4.66 (5.21)	0.03	5.92 (6.41)	3.13 (2.59)	9.30**
Parent positive affect	6.85 (3.88)	8.04 (6.38)	1.74	6.74 (4.99)	8.27 (5.28)	2.86 †
Child positive affect	6.83 (3.95)	7.71 (5.33)	1.18	7.06 (5.21)	7.43 (3.66)	0.21
Parent discussion of emotion	1.07 (0.13)	1.07 (0.11)	0.01	1.06 (0.13)	1.07 (0.12)	0.10
Child discussion of emotion	1.05 (0.12)	1.04 (0.09)	0.02	1.05 (0.12)	1.04 (0.08)	0.11
Distress	3.39 (3.09)	3.11 (2.39)	0.29	3.70 (2.97)	2.58 (2.34)	4.60*
Punitive	1.26 (0.56)	1.27 (0.89)	0.01	1.29 (0.80)	1.22 (0.60)	0.23
Encouragement	1.60 (0.94)	1.47 (0.78)	0.56	1.50 (0.80)	1.60 (0.97)	0.32
Emotion focused	1.43 (0.81)	1.48 (1.16)	0.08	1.47 (0.94)	1.44 (1.05)	0.02
Problem focused	2.20 (1.69)	2.35 (1.75)	0.01	2.13 (1.47)	2.48 (2.02)	1.17
Minimizing	2.68 (3.05)	2.62 (3.00)	0.52	3.06 (3.50)	2.04 (1.93)	3.24 †
Compromising	1.43 (1.17)	1.44 (1.36)	0.00	1.33 (0.81)	1.59 (1.72)	1.17
Reasoning/clarifying	2.99 (2.42)	2.82 (2.52)	0.14	2.78 (2.41)	3.10 (2.54)	0.46
Parent gives In	1.06 (0.14)	1.02 (0.06)	3.69†	1.03 (0.08)	1.05 (0.15)	0.46
Parent argues	1.18 (0.35)	1.08 (0.21)	3.32†	1.18 (0.34)	1.07 (0.21)	3.61†
Positive thinking	1.05 (0.13)	1.07 (0.27)	0.36	1.03 (0.13)	1.09 (0.28)	2.41
No response	1.59 (0.67)	1.55 (0.60)	0.11	1.63 (0.69)	1.48 (0.55)	1.43

Table 6: Relations Between Emotion Socialization Practices and Child Outcomes for Different Ethnicities

Emotion socialization	Mother's ethnicity	Externalizing problems *r*	Internalizing problems *r*	Emotion socialization	Mother's ethnicity	Externalizing problems *r*	Internalizing problems *r*
Parent negative affect	European American	0.16	-0.12	Emotion-focused	European American	-0.09	0.02
	African American	-0.03	-0.10		African American		
	Latina American	0.12	0.00		Latina American	-0.21	-0.13
Child negative affect	European American	0.19†	0.02	Problem-focused	European American	-0.06	-0.03
	African American	0.02	-0.02		African American	-0.17	-0.21
	Latina American	-0.11	-0.08		Latina American	-0.08	-0.01
Parent positive affect	European American	0.05	0.07^{a}	Minimizing	European American	0.05^{e}	0.04^{2}
	African American	0.25	0.26^{b}		African American	-0.55$^{*\,e,f}$	-0.48$^{\dagger,\,g,2}$
	Latina American	-0.09	-0.38$^{*\,a,b}$		Latina American	0.18^{f}	0.18^{g}
Child positive affect	European American	0.14	0.02	Compromising	European American	0.03	0.09
	African American	0.33	0.21		African American	0.17	-0.12
	Latina American	0.09	-0.10		Latina American	-0.08	-0.01
Parent discussion of	European American	0.01	-0.02	Reasoning/	European American	-0.10	-0.19
Emotion	African American	-0.12	-0.24	clarifying	African American	0.31	-0.14
	Latina American	0.18	-0.29†		Latina American	-0.18	-0.13
Child discussion of	European American	0.09	0.02	Parent gives in	European American	0.00	-0.17^{3}
Emotion	African American	-0.10	0.10		African American	0.23	0.36$^{h,\,3}$
	Latina American	0.20	-0.28		Latina American	-0.27	-0.32$^{\dagger,\,h}$
Distress	European American	0.40$^{**\,c}$	-0.03	Parent argues	European American	0.41$^{**\,4}$	-0.02
	African American	-0.38^{c,d}	-0.14		African American	0.09^{i}	0.43^{j}
	Latina American	0.25^{d}	0.05		Latina American	0.03$^{i,\,4}$	-0.21^{j}
Punitive	European American	0.13	0.00	Positive thinking	European American	-0.14	-0.07
	African American	-0.04	0.10		African American		
	Latina American	0.08	0.22		Latina American	-0.30†	-0.24
Expressive	European American	-0.25$^{*\,1}$	-0.13	No response	European American	0.26$^{*,\,5}$	0.19
encouragement	African American	-0.14	0.08		African American	0.44$^{\dagger,\,6}$	0.01

Notes. All correlations with the same letter subscripts are significantly different at the .05 level; correlations with the same number subscripts are significantly different at the .01 level Sample sizes for expression and discussion of emotion: *n* = 83 (European American), *n* = 19 (African American) and *n* =37 (Latina American) for externalizing problems; *n* = 83 (European American), *n* = 19 (African American) and *n* =34 (Latina American) for internalizing problems. Sample sizes for reactions to negative affect: *n* = 67 (European American), *n* = 16 (African American), and *n* = 36 (Latina American) for externalizing problems; *n* = 83 (European American), *n* = 19 (African American) and *n* =33 (Latina American) for internalizing problems

*p < .05; ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 7: The Relationship Between Emotion Socialization Practices and Acculturation for Latina American Mothers

Emotion socialization variable	Ethnic group identification *r*	Dominant group immersion *r*
Parent negative affect	.03	.27
Child negative affect	.15	.28
Parent positive affect	.02	-.18
Child positive affect	.00	-.27
Parent discussion of emotion	.13	-.15
Child discussion of emotion	.00	-.20
Distress	-.05	.22
Punitive	.29	.12
Encouragement†	.12	.31†
Emotion focused	.25	.16
Problem focused	.22	.21
Minimizing	.07	.26
Compromising	.01	-.24
Reasoning/clarifying	.03	.03
Parent gives In	.14	-.16
Parent argues	.09	.10
Positive thinking	.25	.02
No response	.20	.26

Note. Sample sizes for expression and discussion of emotion: n = 32. Sample sizes for reactions to negative affect: n = 31.
† $p < .10$

Figure 1: Child Expression of Positive Affect: The Relationship Between Ethnicity and Gender

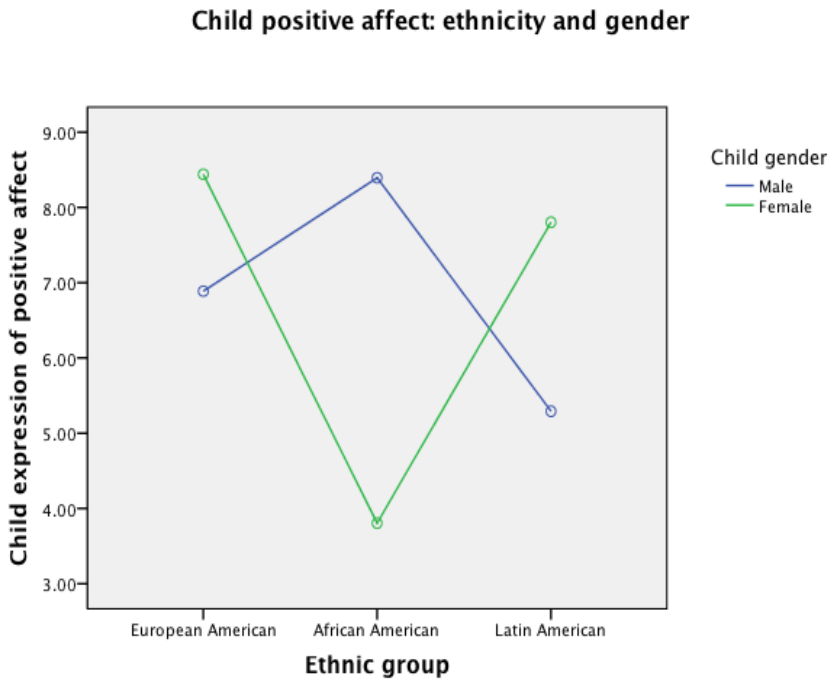
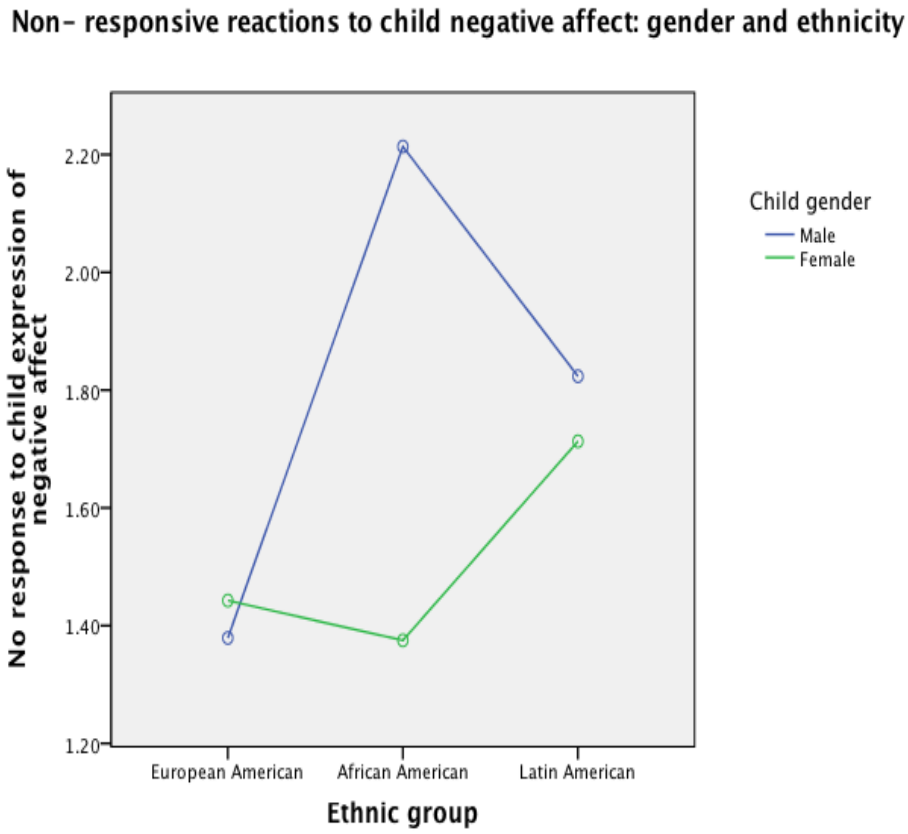


Figure 2: Parental Non-Responses to Child Negative Affect: The Relationship Between Ethnicity and Gender



APPENDIX

EMOTION SOCIALIZATION CODING SYSTEM

*This coding system is designed to rate parents' use of a variety of parenting practices related to emotion socialization. This coding scheme has three main sections. The first two sections (Expression of Emotion and Discussion of Emotion) are coded for all segments. The third section (Parental Reactions to Children's Negative Affect) is only used if **any** child negative affect is present during the coded segment. Most behaviors are coded both for frequency and intensity/quality. Each code is described in detail below. Here are general instructions for completing the coding:*

- *Make ratings after every five minutes of tape (use a timer/stopwatch).*
- *After listening to a 5-minute segment once, rate codes described in the first two sections of the code (Expression of Emotion and Discussion of Emotion). If **any** children expressed negative affect during the 5-minute segment, go back and listen to the 5-minute segment a second time, rating parent behavior using the Parental Reactions to Children's Negative Affect section.*
- *If the 5-minute interaction was completely silent (e.g., neither the parent nor the child said a word) then write N/A.*
- *Parent ratings should focus on the target parent's behavior with all children.*
- *Child ratings should focus on the target child's behavior with everyone.*
- *Most codes are rated both for intensity and frequency. If intensity of a code varies across the 5 minutes, you should rate the average intensity across the segment.*
- *On the coding sheet, please note the counter # and the last statement that you heard at the end of the 5 minutes.*
- *Make each rating on a scale form 1 to 7. Anchors are provided for ratings of 1, 3, 5, and 7. Ratings of 2, 4, and 6 would reflect behavior that falls between two anchors.*

PARENTAL EXPRESIVITY AND CHILDREN'S EXPRESIVITY

Child Negative Affect: Rate the degree to which the **target child** seems distressed, frustrated, angry, hostile, sad, or in other ways demonstrates unhappiness and displeasure. Behaviors that are indicative of negative affect include crying, pouting, throwing objects, stomping feet, yelling, screaming, etc. Rate both the frequency and intensity of negative affect. Strong instances of negative affect include temper tantrums, intense crying, screaming, storming out of the room, and other hostile behaviors. Weaker instances of negative affect include whining and pouting.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	Intensity
1. No instances of negative affect	1. No instances of negative affect
3. Sometimes expresses negative affect	3. Mild negative affect
5. Often expresses negative affect	5. Moderate negative affect
7. Very often expresses negative affect	7. Strong negative affect

Parent Negative Affect: Rate the extent to which the **parent** expresses negative affect during the segment. Negative affect would include irritation, annoyance, frustration (i.e. repeated sighing), sadness, and/or anger. Strong instances of negative affect include yelling, verbally expressing irritation/ annoyance and other hostile or angry behaviors. Milder instances of negative affect include sighing from frustration, or using an annoyed tone. Include negative affect that is not expressed directly toward the child.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	Intensity
1. No instances of negative affect	1. No instances of negative affect
3. Sometimes expresses negative affect	3. Mild negative affect
5. Often expresses negative affect	5. Moderate negative affect
7. Very often expresses negative affect	7. Strong negative affect

Child Positive Affect: Rate the degree to which the **target child** expresses positive emotions including happiness, joy, excitement, satisfaction, pleasure, and contentment. Also include expressions of positive emotion toward others, including warmth, affection, and caring.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	Intensity
1. No instances of positive affect	1. No positive affect
3. Sometimes expresses positive affect	3. Mild positive affect

5. Often positive expresses affect	5. Moderate positive affect
7. Very often expresses positive affect	7. Strong positive affect

Parent Positive Affect: Rate the degree to which the parent expresses positive emotions including happiness, joy, excitement, satisfaction, pleasure, and contentment. Also include expressions of positive emotion toward others, including warmth, affection, and caring.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	Intensity
1. No instances of positive affect	1. No positive affect
3. Sometimes expresses positive affect	3. Mild positive affect
5. Often expresses positive affect	5. Moderate positive affect
7. Very often expresses positive affect	7. Strong positive affect

DISCUSSION OF EMOTION

Child Emotion Talk: Rate the degree to which the **target child** uses positive and/or negative emotion language to express his or her feelings or to talk about the feelings of others.

Examples include:
"I'm sad (or scared, angry, etc.)"
"I'm happy (excited, etc.)"
"He's mad "
"He's excited."
"Why are you sad?"
"I hate school" (or I love, etc)

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency
1. No instances of emotion talk

3. Sometimes engages in emotion talk
5. Often engages in emotion talk
7. Very often engages in emotion talk

Parent Emotion Talk: Please rate the degree to which the **parent** uses positive and/or negative emotion language to express his or her feelings or to talk about the feelings of others.

Examples include:

"I'm sad (or scared, angry, etc.)"
"I'm happy (excited, etc.)"
"He's mad "
"He's excited."
"Why are you sad?"
"I hate school" (or I love, etc)

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency
1. No instances of emotion talk
3. Sometimes engages in emotion talk
5. Often engages in emotion talk
7. Very often engages in emotion talk

PARENTAL REACTIONS TO CHILDREN'S NEGATIVE EMOTIONS

*The following codes **should only be rated if <u>any</u> child expresses negative affect during the 5 minute segment**.*

- *If no child negative affect was present (by the target child or any other children), check the "No child negative affect" box and rate both sets of the codes in this section as N/A during that segment.*
- *If the target child did not express negative affect during the 5 minute segment, but other children (siblings, etc.) did, check the no child negative affect was expressed by the target child box, code the codes in the Parental Reactions to*

Target Child's *Negative Affect as N/A, and code the Parental Reactions to all Children's Negative Affect accordingly.*

- *If only the target child expressed negative affect, code the parental reactions under both sets of codes. They should then be identical.*
- *If both the target child* ***and*** *other siblings expressed negative affect, the Parental Reactions to* ***Target Child's*** *Negative Affect should reflect the parental reactions to the target child's negative affect* ***only****. The Parental Reactions* ***to all*** *Children's Negative Affect should reflect the parental reactions* ***to ALL*** *child negative affect in the segment,* ***including reactions to target child negative affect****.*
-

*Please note that your ratings should be based solely on the parents' reaction to the child's negative affect—****not to behavior that occurs at other times during the interaction in reaction to other child behaviors****.*

Remember, ratings in this section should be made after listening to the 5-minute segment ***a second time*** *(not during your first time listening).*

Parental Distress In Reaction to Child Negative Affect*:* Rate the degree to which the parent seems upset in response to the child's' negative affect. This can include displays of anger, frustration, annoyance, embarrassment, or stress in response to the child's negative affect. You should take into account both the frequency and intensity with which the parent displays distress.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	**Intensity**
1. No at all upset	1. No at all upset
3. Sometimes upset	3. Mildly upset
5. Often upset	5. Moderately upset
7. Very often upset	7. Very upset

Punitive Reaction: The degree to which the parent punishes the child for expressing negative emotion or threatens to punish the child if he/she doesn't stop expressing negative emotion. This would not include punishment or threatening punishment for other misbehavior that may coincide with the negative emotion. For example, if the parent sends the child to timeout for hitting during a temper tantrum, this would not be considered a punitive reaction. If the parent tells the child he/she will have to go to

timeout if he/she doesn't calm down, this would count as a punitive reaction. Higher ratings should be given for giving consequences than for threatening consequences.

Examples:

Mild punishment: "Go to your room for a few minutes," "You have to stop playing with your toy until you are calm."

Moderate punishment: "Go to time out," "No dessert if you can't calm down."

Severe punishment: "You can't go to the birthday party on Saturday," "You can't play with that toy for a week."

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	Intensity
1. Does not punish or threaten to punish the child in response to negative affect	1. Does not punish or threaten to punish the child in response to negative affect
3. Sometimes punishes or threatens to punish the child in response to negative affect	3. Gives or threatens a mild punishment
5. Often punishes or threatens to punish the child in response to negative affect	5. Gives or threatens a moderate punishment
7. Very often punishes or threatens to punish the child in response to negative affect	7. Gives or threatens a severe punishment

Expressive Encouragement In Reaction to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent encourages the child to express negative affect and/or the degree to which the parent validates the child's negative emotional state. Emotion encouragement can consist of a number of techniques, such as labeling the emotion, expressing understanding, teaching the child appropriate and alternative ways of expressing emotion, or quietly being with the child in a supportive way while he/she is upset. Rate both the frequency and intensity of the parent's encouraging/validating behavior.

Examples:

Labeling the emotion: "I can see how sad you are right now"

Expressing understanding: “I understand that you must be really sad that your sister won’t share her toy, because I know how much you love to play with that toy”

Teaching the child appropriate and alternative ways of expressing emotion: “It is OK for you to cry when you are upset, but you can’t scream like that”

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	Intensity
1. Does not encourage the child to express negative affect or validate child’s emotion	1. Does not encourage the child to express negative affect or validate child’s emotion
3. Sometimes encourages or validates the child’s emotion	3. Mildly encouraging/validating
5. Often encourages or validates the child’s emotion	5. Moderately encouraging/validating
7. Very often encourages or validates the child’s emotion	7. Very encouraging/validating

Emotion-focused Reactions In Response to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent engages in behaviors designed to help the child feel better, without minimizing the child’s feelings. This might include hugging the child, soothing the child, comforting the child, suggesting that the child do something relaxing like counting or taking a deep breath. This would not include a parent telling a child to stop being upset (but could include saying, “Don’t worry, it’s ok.”)

Examples:

A mother comforts her child after he/she has woken up from a nightmare.
A boy falls down and is crying and his mother goes over to hug him and says calming/soothing things.
A father comforts one son after his sibling has taken something from him.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	Quality (only rate if frequency > 1)
1. Does not try to ake the child feel better	1. Uses methods of trying to help the child feel better that are low in quality
3. Sometimes tries to help the child feel better	3. Uses methods of trying to help the child feel better that are somewhat low in quality
5. Often tries to help the child feel better	5. Uses methods of trying to help the child feel better that are moderate in quality
7. Very often tries to help the child feel better.	7. Uses methods of trying to help the child feel better that are high in quality

Problem-focused Reactions in Response to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent tries to solve the problem that is causing the child's distress. (Note that if the parent suggests a compromise, it should be coded as compromise, and not as problem solving.)

Examples

A child is frustrated because his/her Lego contraption keeps falling over; the parent might suggest adding another support to the contraption.

A child is unable to open a toy and gets frustrated. The parent goes over and helps the child open it.

A child is angry about having to wear a seat belt. The parent adjusts the seat belt so that it does not bother the child.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	Quality (only rate if frequency > 1)
1. Does not try to problem solve	1. Uses problem solving strategies that are low in quality
3. Sometimes tries to problem solve	3 Uses problem solving strategies that are somewhat low in quality
5. Often tries to problem solve	5. Uses problem solving strategies that are moderate in quality

7. Very often tries to problem solve.	7. Uses problem solving strategies that are high in quality

***Minimizing/discouraging Expression of Emotion in Response to Child Negative Affect*.** Please rate the degree to which the parent minimizes the seriousness of the situation, devalues the child's problem or negative affect, scolds the child for expressing their negative emotions, or tells the child to stop expressing negative emotion. If the parent discusses or offers an alternative way of expressing the negative emotions, you should not code the instance as minimizing/discouraging.

*Note that the difference between this code and emotion-focused reaction is an important but subtle one. The difference often has to do with the tone of voice of the parent. A parent who is trying to help the child feel better would be rated highly on emotion-focus reaction, whereas a parent who is simply trying to squelch emotion would be coded as minimizing/discouraging.

Examples:

"There is nothing to be upset about"
"Stop overreacting"
"You're making a big deal out of nothing."
"Stop being a baby."
"Stop crying."
"Knock it off."
"Stop whining."
"What's the matter with you?" (in a critical tone)

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Frequency	**Intensity**
1. Does not minimize or discourage emotion expression	1. Does not minimize or discourage emotion expression
3. Sometimes minimizes or discourages emotion expression	3. Subtly minimizes or discourages emotion expression
5. Often minimizes or discourages emotion expression	5. Clearly minimizes or discourages emotion expression
7. Very often minimizes or discourages emotion expression	7. Strongly minimizes or discourages emotion expression

Positive Thinking in Response to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent tries to focus on the positive, rather than the negative aspect of an event that occurred. These are instances in which the parent tries to help the child change how he or she thinks about events, and casts them in a more positive light. Note: the parent still may or may not be validating the child's emotion, but the parent is trying to help the child think differently about the situation. Only code instances in which the parent is using positive thinking strategies that are high in quality. If the parent is dismissing the child's emotions, code under Minimizing/discouraging expression of emotion in response to child negative affect.

Examples:

A child is crying because the child lost in a card game and the parent says, "Well, it's only a game, right?"

A child falls down, cuts his/her thumb, and said how much it hurt. The parent put a band-aid on it and said "Well, remember the time you fell off your bike, I bet that hurt more than this time, right?"

"Ooh, that looks like it really hurts. I'm so sorry you got hurt. Let's get that cleaned up and put a band-aid on it—I bet it will feel better in no time."

Frequency
1. Does not try to help the child focus on the positive
3. Sometimes tries to help the child focus on the positive.
5. Often tries to help the child focus on the positive.
7. Very often tries to help the child focus on the positive.

Limit-Setting in Response to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent responds to the child's negative affect by setting a limit. This might involve telling the child he/she can't have something/do something or telling the child that the child has to do something. For example, if a child is upset that he/she cannot have a cookie, the parent firmly states that the child cannot have the cookie and does not give in to the request. Limit setting does not imply or include parental distress, punitive reactions, or minimization of child negative affect. If any of these occur, they should be coded separately.

Examples:

A child is being told to go to sleep. He whines and asks for 5 more minutes. The parent says no and puts the child to sleep.

A mother asks a child to help clean; the child complains that he/she helped last night. The parent insists that the child has to clean every night.

A child is fighting with his sibling over the remote control and gets upset. The parent says the child will have to wait his turn to choose programs.

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Frequency	**Quality (only rate if frequency > 1)**
1. Does not set limits	1. Uses limit setting strategies that are low in quality
3. Sometimes sets limits	3 Uses limit setting strategies that are somewhat low in quality
5. Often set limits	5. Uses limit setting strategies that are moderate in quality
7. Very often sets limits	7. Uses limit setting strategies that are high in quality

Parental compromises in response to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent responds to the child's negative affect by offering a compromise. This might involve telling the child he/she can't have something/do something but suggesting a suitable substitution. The parent tries to resolve the issue upsetting the child by meeting the child's requests at a middle point where both are satisfied. Even if child does not accept the proposal, parental attempts at reaching compromises should be coded. Parental compromises do not imply or include parental distress, punitive reactions, or minimization of child negative affect. If any of these occur, they should be coded separately.

Examples:

If a child is upset that he/she cannot have a cookie, the parent firmly states that the child cannot have the cookie but offers an apple instead.

A child does not want to go to sleep. The parent says he/she will read her a story if the child promises to go to sleep after that.

A parent needs to run errands. The child wants to stay home. The parent says he/she will stop for ice cream if the child comes along and behaves.

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Frequency	Quality (only rate if frequency > 1)
1. Does not try to reach compromises	1. Uses comprising strategies that are low in quality
3. Sometimes tries to reach compromises	3 Uses comprising strategies that are somewhat low in quality
5. Often tries to reach compromises	5. Uses comprising strategies that are moderate in quality
7. Very often tries to reach compromises	7. Uses comprising strategies that are high in quality

Parent "Gives In" in response to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent responds to the child's negative affect by giving in to the child's requests/wishes in order to assuage child negative affect. Even if child negative affect does not lessen after the parent gives in, this should be coded. *Note: the difference between solving a child's problem and giving in to his/her wishes is often subtle. Giving in implies that the parent does/allows something he/she was not planning/wanting to do that the child is expressly demanding.

Examples:

If a child is upset that he/she cannot have a cookie, the parent gives in and allows the child to have the cookie.

A mother reads a child a bedtime story. When she is done, the child complains and whines until the mother reads him/her another one.

A child is in backseat screaming at mother to stop and get some fast food. In order to soothe the child, the mother agrees to do so.

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Frequency
1. Does not give in to child wishes
3. Sometimes gives in to child wishes

5. Often gives in to child wishes
7. Very often tries gives in to child wishes

Parent Argues with child in response to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent responds to the child's negative affect by getting into an argument with the child about the problem that the child is upset about. Parental arguments do not imply or include parental distress, punitive reactions, or minimization of child negative affect. If any of these occur, they should also be coded.

Examples:

If a child is upset that he/she cannot have a cookie, the parent starts an argument about why the child cannot have the cookie/ how the child is misbehaving/etc.

A mom asks a child to pick up his/her toys. The child says he has already done so, in a nasty tone. The mother starts lecturing.

A mother asks a boy to get out of the tub. The boy refuses and screams. The mother starts arguing that the boy always gets water all over the floor and that he uses too much soap.

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Frequency
1. Does not argue with child about the problem causing negative affect
3. Sometimes argues with child about the problem causing negative affect
5. Often argues with child about the problem causing negative affect
7. Very often argues with child about the problem causing negative affect

Parent Reasoning/Clarifying in response to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent responds to the child's negative affect using reasoning or by

working together with the child to clear up a misunderstanding. The difference between arguing and reasoning is typically a difference of tone.

*Note: Parental reasoning/clarification does not imply or include parental distress, punitive reactions, or minimization of child negative affect. If any of these occur, they should be coded separately. The difference between parent reasoning/clarifying and compromise is that reasoning/clarifying simply explains the reason why a child can or can't do something whereas compromise involves suggesting another alternative.

Examples:

A child is upset that he/she cannot have a cookie, the parent talks with the child about why the child cannot have the cookie at that moment because cookies are not breakfast, etc.

A child whines, "I don't want orange juice!" and the parent says, "Well what do you want to drink?"

A child screams, "I don't want to wear sneakers!" The parents says, "Don't you want to be able to run around the jungle gym with your friends?"

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Frequency	**Quality (only rate if frequency > 1)**
1. Does not try to clarify/reason with child in response to negative affect	1. Uses clarifying /reasoning strategies that are low in quality
3. Sometimes tries to clarify/reason with child in response to negative affect	3 Uses clarifying /reasoning strategies that are somewhat low in quality
5. Often tries to clarify/reason with child in response to negative affect	5. Uses clarifying /reasoning strategies that are moderate in quality
7. Very often tries to clarify/reason with child in response to negative affect	7. Uses clarifying /reasoning strategies that are high in quality

Parent Redirection in response to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent responds to the child's negative affect by redirecting the child's attention in order to assuage child's distress. Even if child negative affect does not lessen after the parent tries to re-direct it's attention, redirection should be coded. Parental redirection does not imply or include parental distress, punitive reactions, or minimization of child negative affect. If any of these occur, they should also be coded.

Examples:

If a child is upset that he/she cannot have a cookie, the parent talks to the child about a cartoon, gives the child a toy, or does any other attempt at distracting child from the source of conflict/negative affect.

A child is frustrated that his sister won't share her toy. The parent goes over and stars playing with him with a different toy.

A child falls over and starts screaming, the parent comes over and distracts the child by telling him/her to look at the birds nearby.

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Frequency	Quality (only rate if frequency > 1)
1. Does not try to redirect the child's attention from source of conflict	1. Uses redirection strategies that are low in quality
3. Sometimes tires to redirect the child's attention from source of conflict	3 Uses redirection strategies that are somewhat low in quality
5. Often tries to redirect the child's attention from source of conflict	5. Uses redirection strategies that are moderate in quality
7. Very often tries to redirect the child's attention from source of conflict	7. Uses redirection strategies that are high in quality

Parent DOES NOT RESPOND to Child Negative Affect. Please rate the degree to which the parent does not responds to the child's negative affect. The parent should completely ignore the child negative affect (but does not necessarily ignore the child). If the parent redirect' the child's attention, argues with the child, is distressed, or minimizes child negative affect, this code does not apply. If any of these occur, they should be coded separately. *Note: Minimizing involves actively dismissing child negative anger; although not responding implies, to some extent, minimization, please code separately.

Example

If a child is upset that he/she cannot have a cookie, the parent continues doing what he/she was previously doing, talks to other people, etc., and does not acknowledge either the tone or content of the expressed negative affect.

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Frequency
1. Does not ignore child negative affect
3. Sometimes ignores child negative affect
5. Often ignores child negative affect
7. Very often ignores child negative affect

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