ABSTRACT

SIBLEY, PATSY ANNE. Engendering Emotional Difference: How Mothers' Beliefs about Gender and Emotion Interact to Predict their Socialization of Children's Negative Emotions. (Under the direction of Amy G. Halberstadt.).

Parents’ responses to children’s negative emotional expressions are an important aspect of parents’ overall socialization of children’s emotions (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998). These reactions are affected by parents’ beliefs about emotions (Wong, McElwain, & Halberstadt, 2009) and may also be affected by their beliefs about gender and whether the negative emotional expression is considered gender-congruent or gender-incongruent. Beliefs about gender and beliefs about emotion are deeply connected in modern, Westernized cultures, with negative emotional expression being viewed as more or less appropriate depending on both the emotion being expressed and the gender of the person expressing it (Shields, 2002; Brody & Hall, 2008). Despite this, socialization research has yet to consider how parents’ beliefs about emotion relate to parents’ beliefs about gender, and how these beliefs may affect parents’ responses to children’s negative emotions. The current study explores the co-construction and collective effects of mothers’ emotion beliefs and gender beliefs and how mothers’ responses to children’s negative emotions are affected by their emotion beliefs, gender beliefs, and whether or not the specific emotional expression is gender congruent. The study explores these beliefs using self-report measures of both beliefs (Halberstadt, Dunsmore et al., 2008; Hoffman & Kloska, 1995, Gervai, Turner, & Hinde, 1995) and behaviors (Fabes, Eisenberg & Bernzweig, 1990) in a racially and socioeconomically mixed group of 115 mothers of third grade children. Results showed a positive correlation between mothers’ gender beliefs and their beliefs about the danger of emotional expression and a negative correlation between mothers’ gender beliefs and their
beliefs about the value of negative emotions, as predicted. Further, in regression analyses mothers’ gender beliefs moderated the association between mothers’ danger beliefs and mothers’ minimizing/punishing responses to children’s negative emotions, as predicted. An interesting interaction also emerged between mothers’ danger beliefs and the sex of the child being socialized, such that mothers of boys with high danger beliefs responded to their boys’ negative emotions with minimizing/punishing responses more so than mothers of boys with low danger beliefs or mothers of girls. These results suggest that predicting mothers’ socialization behaviors in response to their children’s negative emotions may require consideration of not just their beliefs about emotions, but also culturally related sets of beliefs, such as those regarding gendered emotional display rules and gendered expectations, as well as the gender of the child being socialized.
Engendering Emotional Difference: How Mothers' Beliefs about Gender and Emotion Interact to Predict their Socialization of Children's Negative Emotion

by
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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of North Carolina State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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DEDICATION

For Code – who always knew that I’d be “Il Dottore” one day.
BIOGRAPHY

Patsy Anne Sibley was a nomad long before entering academia. After a childhood spent in Jackson, Mississippi, she moved to Tuscaloosa, Alabama where she received a B.A. in Psychology from her beloved alma mater, the University of Alabama, in May of 2007. An interlude in “the real world” took her to Atlanta, Georgia for several years where she developed a passion for questioning social expectations and assumptions regarding issues of gender. This personal passion was channeled into academic purpose when she moved to Raleigh, North Carolina to enter the doctoral program in Lifespan Developmental Psychology at North Carolina State University under the direction of Dr. Amy Halberstadt where her academic journey continues.
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Children begin developing beliefs about gender at an early age, and in some ways, the development of their beliefs about gender follows a predictable developmental trajectory. At just ten months, children can already detect gender-related categories (Levy & Haaf, 1994). In the second year of life, preferences for gender stereotypical toys begin to emerge (Serbin, Poulin-Dubois, Colburn, Sen, & Eichstedt, 2001), and between two- and three-years children develop explicit knowledge of gender roles (Halim & Ruble, 2010; Poulin-Dubois et al., 2002). By four years, beliefs and stereotypes are well-developed (Fagot, Leinbach, & O’Boyle, 1992), but it is not until approximately eight years of age that children’s gender beliefs become complex, flexible, and similar to those of adults (Martin, Wood, & Little, 1990; Trautner et al., 2005).

Trautner and colleagues (2005) have proposed that children’s beliefs about gender follow a relatively predictable developmental pattern across early and middle childhood in which they first learn gender-related characteristics during the preschool years, then learn and consolidate new gender-related information into rigid, essentialist beliefs, and finally, move into a phase of relative flexibility. It is in this flexible phase that personal gender beliefs begin to truly be of consequence. That is, children’s personal endorsements of specific gender beliefs may be based heavily on stereotypical understandings of cultural expectations until around eight years of age, when they move into a new stage of understanding gender. Given this shift in how gender is understood, middle childhood is an ideal time to examine the messages regarding gender that children are receiving from their environment, as this may be when children are shifting from an understanding of gender
based on stereotypes to a more fully-formed and personally-based understanding of how gender is structured and performed.

Children do not develop these concepts in a vacuum. Children acquire information about gendered expectations from a variety of sources, including their families, the media, and their peers. Parents, in particular, are early and pervasive socializing agents regarding gender via both their beliefs and their behaviors (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). Whereas modern parents may put less emphasis on purposefully developing gender differences in children than was once the norm, many parents still hold differing expectations regarding behavior, appearance, and emotional display rules for boys and girls (Endendijk, Groeneveld, van Berkel, Hallers-Haalboom, Mesman, & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2013; Kinsburgy & Coplan, 2012).

The primary goal of socialization within the family and specifically within parent-child relationships is for parents to prepare their children for the cultural and social situations that they will be expected to live and function within as adults. As children’s first socializers, parents and primary caregivers provide an important and valuable environment for learning about the social world and how one behaves within it (Bandura, 1977; Goodnow, 2005). Most theories of child development acknowledge the importance of parents in teaching and shaping children’s understanding of the social and emotional world. For example, according to social cognitive theory, by modeling and encouraging certain behaviors, parents consciously and sometimes inadvertently send important messages to their children about what is and is not appropriate in a variety of realms – including emotional expression and
gendered behavioral expectations (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Pasterski, Golombok & Hines, 2010; Mischel, 1966).

The process of socialization is shaped by a variety of forces, but parents’ beliefs about their children and the socialization behaviors that they enact in interactions with their children are both thought to be influential (Dunsmore, Her, Halberstadt, & Perez-Rivera, 2009; Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; Lozada, Halberstadt, Craig, Dennis, & Dunsmore, 2015).

**Beliefs and Behaviors**

The process by which social cognitions, including beliefs, affect behavior is a complex one. However, before delving into this connection, I first define the term *beliefs* and how parental beliefs differ from closely related constructs, such as attitudes and stereotypes. Drawing from a definition of beliefs first set forth by Sigel (1985), I conceptualize beliefs as cognitive representations of how reality functions that may or may not be based in evidence but that nonetheless are perceived as true by the individual who holds them. In Sigel’s (1985) own terms, beliefs are “truth constructions” (p. 349), and should therefore be considered as having been built within and affected by the specific cultural space inhabited by the individual.

To clarify, beliefs are the underlying ideas upon which attitudes are formed (McGillicuddy-DeLisi & Sigel, 1995). Beliefs indirectly influence behavior through attitudes (Fiske & Taylor, 2013). Beliefs also differ from stereotypes, which are “generalizations about a class of people that distinguish that class from others” (McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980, p. 197). Stereotypes include predictions about behavior based on knowledge of group
membership and therefore often inform beliefs and expectations about individuals (McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980). In fact, several researchers have suggested that parents hold both general conceptualizations of children, which may be based in stereotypes, and specific sets of beliefs about their own children. These general, stereotypically-based beliefs affect parents’ beliefs about their own children and, therefore, may affect parents’ socialization behaviors (see Jacobs & Eccles, 1992; Stratton, 1988).

There are now several lines of empirical evidence suggesting that parents’ beliefs affect their socialization behaviors across a number of domains. For example, parents’ belief in the value of fostering children’s socioemotional development predicted their use of authoritative parenting practices in both Indian and Chinese parents, whereas parents’ beliefs in the importance of filial piety (or familial respect) predicted their use of authoritarian and training practices (Rao, McHale, & Pearson, 2003). These studies suggest that parents’ socialization behaviors are based on their beliefs about how children should behave and function within social spaces. In emotion-related domains, parents with more accepting beliefs about children’s negative emotions reported fewer non-supportive reactions to children’s emotions (Wong, McElwain, & Halberstadt, 2009). Given this evidence, it is likely that parental beliefs function as heuristics that affect parenting behaviors, thereby affecting children within the parent-child dyad (McGillicuddy-DeLisi & Sigel, 1995).

The current study focuses primarily on two types of parental beliefs, parents’ beliefs about the value of children’s emotions and parents’ beliefs about children’s gendered behaviors, how these belief systems may be related, and how they may predict parents’ socialization of children’s negative emotions. Before moving into a more specific discussion
of the current study, however, I provide a brief overview of the connections between gender beliefs and emotion beliefs.

**Intersection of Gender and Emotion Beliefs**

Beliefs about gender and beliefs about emotion are deeply connected in modern, Westernized cultures. Cultural stereotypes about gender often include expectations regarding men and women that cut across several emotional domains. For example, in American samples, participants reported beliefs that, compared to men, women were more emotionally expressive, more emotionally intense (Robinson & Johnson, 1997), and more skilled in their use of nonverbal emotional cues (Briton & Hall, 1995). In fact, this stereotype that women are more “emotional” than men is pervasive across a number of cultures (Timmers, Fischer, & Manstead, 2003), particularly Western cultures (Fischer & Manstead, 2000; Lloyd, 1984; Shields, 2002).

These types of gender stereotypes contain an implicit prescriptive aspect in the form of display rules, which are culturally based norms regarding when, where, and to what degree emotions can be expressed by women and men in a specific culture (see Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Safdar, Friedlmeier, Matsumoto, et al., 2009). The violation of cultural display rules often has social consequences, such as social rejection (Adler, Kless, & Adler, 1992; Brody, 2000), and these consequences also tend to fall along gendered lines. In fact, there is abundant evidence that differing forms of emotional expression are acceptable for men and women in many Westernized cultures. The expression of submissive emotions such as sadness, fear, and anxiety are not in line with American ideals of masculinity, and therefore men who display these emotions are viewed as “unmanly” and evaluated more negatively
than women expressing the same emotions (Siegel & Alloy, 1990; Brody, 1999). In contrast, anger and aggression are dominant emotional expressions that are viewed as being more acceptable for men but not women to express. For example, in a study using videotaped actors portraying professionals in a business setting, women who expressed anger (a “masculine” coded emotion) were perceived as being less competent and were accorded lower wages than were actors portraying angry men, sad women, and unemotional women (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). In fact, it may be that cultural beliefs about emotion are not simply related to cultural beliefs about gender, but that the social constructions of the two ideas are deeply linked and central to one another (Shields, 2002; 2013).

Despite evidence for the interconnected nature of gender beliefs and emotion beliefs, the connections between these two sets of beliefs have not previously been considered in the context of parental socialization.

**Parents’ Gender Beliefs**

Gender beliefs are beliefs about the roles and behaviors that are appropriate for men and women or boys and girls, as well as beliefs about whether these differences are intrinsically based or culturally ascribed. Gender beliefs often include ideas about differing roles in the workplace, the household, and the social sphere that are appropriate for men and women, as well as differing behaviors and emotional expectations (Pasterski, Golombok & Hines, 2010; Shields, 2013). For example, in Westernized cultures a parent with more traditional gender beliefs might endorse the idea that certain toys (such as dolls or kitchen sets) are more appropriate for girls than they are for boys. In contrast, a parent with more egalitarian beliefs may express that gender should not dictate children’s toy choices. In
regards to emotions, a parent with traditional gender beliefs may endorse the idea that it is
more appropriate for girls to cry than it is for boys to cry, whereas a parent with more
egalitarian beliefs would not endorse such gendered differentiation in emotional expressivity.

Parents’ beliefs about gender influence their socialization behaviors with their
children (Kingsbury & Coplan, 2012), how mothers discuss gender-related events with their
children (Friedman, Leaper, & Bigler, 2007), and children’s own beliefs about gender
(Bohannon & Blanton, 1999; Endendijk et al., 2013; Smith & Self, 1980). Parents who hold
traditional gender beliefs are more likely to have children who also endorse these kinds of
beliefs (Bohannon & Blanton, 1999; Smith & Self, 1980), whereas parents who hold
egalitarian gender beliefs offer their children more counter-stereotypic information during
gender-based conversations (Friedman, Leaper, & Bigler, 2007) possibly leading to more
flexible understandings of gender roles.

Therefore, it would seem that parents with traditional gender beliefs and parents with
egalitarian gender beliefs convey differing messages to their children about what behaviors
and roles are appropriate for boys and girls, often leading to significant differences in
children’s behavior (Kingsbury & Coplan, 2012; McGillicuddy-Delisi, 1992). There is some
evidence that parents’ gender beliefs may be particularly important in predicting their
responses to children’s gender-incongruent behaviors. For example, Kingsbury and Coplan
(2012) hypothesized that mothers with traditional gender beliefs would be more likely to
respond harshly to their sons’ shyness (a gender incongruent behavior for boys) than to their
sons’ aggressive behaviors (a gender congruent behavior for boys). These hypotheses were
partially supported as mothers who held traditional gender beliefs reported a lower likelihood
of responding at all to their sons’ shyness and reported that they perceived fewer benefits to their sons’ shyness than did mothers who held egalitarian beliefs. Less thoroughly studied are the ways in which mothers’ beliefs about gender may affect how they respond to and socialize their children’s expressions of gender-incongruent negative emotions. Given the evidence outlined above that suggests that beliefs about emotions and beliefs about gender may be highly related, it seems valuable to examine how these beliefs intertwine to affect parents’ emotion socialization.

**Parents’ Beliefs about Emotions**

Parents' beliefs about emotions likely guide their emotion-related socialization behaviors, and thereby influence children's outcomes both directly and indirectly (Dix, 1992, 1993; Dunsmore & Halberstadt, 1997; Lozada, Halberstadt, Craig, Dennis, & Dunsmore, 2015). Parents' beliefs about children's emotions cover many emotion-related dimensions, including learning opportunities that emotions may provide (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996), who is responsible for guiding children's emotions (Halberstadt et al., 2008; Hakim-Larson, Parker, Lee, Goodwin, & Voelker, 2006), how acceptable or valuable certain emotions are (Dunsmore et al., 2009; Halberstadt et al., 2008), whether children are able to control their own emotions, whether children have the right to emotional privacy, and whether emotional expression is dangerous (Parker et al., 2012; Castro, Halberstadt, Lozada, & Craig, 2015).

Value beliefs about emotion refer to the acceptability and use for emotional experiences within one's daily life. Which emotions are considered acceptable are likely to vary in that some parents will view all emotions as contributing in valuable ways to an
emotional life, whereas others may believe that positive emotions are acceptable but negative emotions are unacceptable. Parents may also have the belief that all emotions are dangerous and that children can be harmed by experiencing emotions too intensely or too often (see Parker et al., 2012). The ways in which value beliefs influence parents' behaviors is likely to vary depending on the belief. For example, parents who view negative emotions as being valuable reported that they were less likely to minimize or punish their children’s expressions of negative emotions (Wong, McElwain, & Halberstadt, 2009). Parents who believe that emotions are problematic or dangerous report greater masking of their emotional expressions and lower expressivity overall, thus providing their children with fewer emotional cues and less emotional information (Dunsmore, Her, Halberstadt, & Perez-Rivera, 2009).

The current study focuses on mothers’ beliefs about the value of emotions, as I hypothesize that this set of emotion beliefs will be related to mothers’ beliefs about gender. This hypothesized connection is based primarily on the theory that mothers co-construct their beliefs about gender and beliefs about emotions. If a mother has egalitarian gender beliefs, she would be less invested in maintaining traditionally gendered expectations of emotional expression, it makes sense that she would also view emotions as being less dangerous. Similarly, if these beliefs are as deeply related as I hypothesize, a mother with egalitarian gender beliefs is more likely to acknowledge the valuable aspects of negative emotional expression as she may not be as concerned about the social consequences of expressing the wrong kind of negative emotions that comes with traditionally gendered expectations. Despite evidence that Westernized cultural beliefs about emotion and beliefs about gender are deeply intertwined (Brody & Hall, 2010; Shields, 2002, 2013), the relationship between
these sets of beliefs in parents has not yet been examined. Therefore, the first aim of the current study is to explore how mothers’ beliefs about gendered behavior and gendered display rules relate to their beliefs about the value and danger of children’s emotions. Specifically, I predict positive associations between mothers’ traditionality with regard to gender and beliefs that emotions are dangerous, but negative associations between mothers’ traditionality with regard to gender and beliefs that emotions are valuable.

In addition to exploring the relationship between these two sets of beliefs, the current study also aims to establish how these two sets of beliefs predict mothers’ socialization behaviors. The second aim is to explore this relationship and identify how mothers’ beliefs about gender and mothers’ emotion beliefs interact to predict mothers’ responses to children’s negative emotions. I predict that gender beliefs will moderate the relationship between mothers’ emotion beliefs and mothers’ socialization behaviors (see Figure 1). For example, a mother who believes that emotions are dangerous and also believes in traditional gender roles may be more likely to respond to children’s expressions of negative emotions in ways that will reduce the likelihood of those expressions continuing than mothers with other combinations of gender beliefs and beliefs about the danger of emotions. Previous research has found that mothers who hold a strong belief that emotions are dangerous use less acknowledgement, encouragement, and teaching during emotional conversations with their children (Lozada et al., 2015), so a connection between this particular belief and mothers’ socialization behaviors has been established. Therefore, I expect that mothers’ beliefs that emotions are dangerous will positively predict mothers’ punitive and minimizing responses to children’s negative emotions, such that mothers’ danger beliefs will predict nonsupportive
responses to children’s negative emotions, with high danger beliefs predicting more nonsupportive responses to negative emotions than lower danger beliefs. However, I also expect that mothers’ gender beliefs will moderate this relationship, such that mothers who report high danger beliefs and high traditionality in gender beliefs will report more nonsupportive reactions to their children’s negative emotions than mothers with low danger beliefs and high traditionality in gender beliefs or mothers with either high or low danger beliefs and egalitarian gender beliefs.

Figure 1. Aim 2 moderation model – the association between mothers’ beliefs about emotion and mothers’ socialization behaviors will be moderated by their gender beliefs.

Similarly, a mother who believes that negative emotions have value and also holds egalitarian gender beliefs may be less likely to respond to children’s expressions of negative emotions with minimizing or punishing reactions than mothers with other combinations of gender beliefs and beliefs about the value of negative emotions, as they acknowledge the importance of negative emotions while also not basing their emotional socialization behaviors as strongly on expectations of gendered display rules. Prior research has shown
that both mothers and fathers who believe in the value of negative emotions report fewer nonsupportive reactions to their children’s expressions of negative emotions (Wong, McElwain, & Halberstadt, 2009). I expect to replicate this finding, such that mothers’ beliefs in the value of negative emotions will be associated with lower use of nonsupportive responses. However, I also expect that mothers’ gender beliefs will moderate this relationship such that mothers who report low value beliefs and high traditionality of gender beliefs will report more nonsupportive reactions to their children’s negative emotions than mothers who hold high value beliefs and high traditionality of gender beliefs or mothers with either low or high value beliefs and egalitarian gender beliefs.

Socialization of Negative Emotions by Gender

Parents socialize children’s emotions differently based on the sex and gendered expectations of the child. Even before children can speak, gendered expectations affect how adults appraise and respond to children’s emotional expressions (e.g., Condry & Condry, 1976). For example, mothers display a greater variety and a greater intensity of facial expressions of emotion with daughters than sons in their first year of life (Malatesta, Culver, Tesman, & Shepard, 1989). Mothers converse and interact more with girl children than with boy children, even when the children are as young as six months (Clearfield & Nelson, 2006), and mothers talk more about emotion with their girl children than with their boy children (Dunn, Bretherton, & Munn, 1987; Fivush, 1989; Leaper, Anderson, & Sanders, 1998). In a New Zealand sample, mothers of daughters used more elaborative statements than mothers of sons when reminiscing about both positive and negative events (Reese & Newcombe, 2007).
This gender-based difference in responding to children’s emotions is particularly evident when considering children’s negative emotions. For example, both mothers and fathers discuss sadness more with girls than with boys, and they use more anger-related words with boys than with girls (Adams, Kuebli, Boyle, & Fivush, 1995; Chaplin, Cole, & Zahn-Waxler, 2005; Fivush, 1989; Fivush, Broman, Buckner, & Goodman, 2000). In fact, during early childhood parents focus on sadness more with girls than with boys despite the fact that girls are not talking more about sadness at this age than boys, which may be an indication that this difference is based more in parents’ beliefs about gender than in actual differences being elicited by the child (Fivush, Brotman, Buckner, & Goodman, 2000; Fivush & Zaman, 2013).

These gender-based differences in how parents respond to children’s negative emotions also matter, not simply because they are a space of gendered socialization, but also because parental responses to children’s negative emotions have themselves been found to be a highly influential aspect of emotional socialization (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; Nelson, O’Brien, Blankson, Calkins, & Keane, 2009). For example, parental reactions to children’s expressions of negative emotions may affect how likely children are to acknowledge or express their negative emotions in the future (Eisenberg et al., 1999) and their success in peer relationships (Hooven, Gottman, & Katz, 1995). Positive, supportive responses to children’s negative emotions have been linked with more socially competent behavior in school-age children and with children who express less anger in peer conflicts (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1994; Eisenberg, Fabes, Carlo, & Karbon, 1992; Eisenberg, Fabes, & Murphy, 1996). In contrast, punitive and minimizing responses to children’s negative
emotions have been linked to lower social and emotional competence in children (Denham, 1993; Eisenberg et al., 1996, 1999; Jones, Eisenberg, Fabes, & MacKinnon, 2002). Given the importance of these socialization behaviors, the current study aims to identify how mothers’ responses to their children’s negative emotions may be affected by mothers’ beliefs about gender and beliefs about emotions, particularly how mothers respond to both children’s gender-congruent and gender-incongruent negative emotions.

As previously discussed, men are judged more negatively than are women when displaying submissive negative emotions (Siegel & Alloy, 1990; Shields, 2002). This difference in the social acceptability of expressing submissive emotions may be because submissive negative emotions are seen as being gender-incongruent for men, as the expression of these types of negative emotions are not in line with traditional expectations of American masculinity. However, the expressions of these same submissive negative emotions are expected of women, and would therefore be considered gender congruent when expressed by women. Dominant negative emotions, on the other hand, are considered acceptable for men to express but are less acceptable for women to express (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008; Shields, 2002), and would therefore be considered gender incongruent for women and gender congruent for men. As has already been discussed, parents’ beliefs about emotions and gender affect parents’ socialization of their children’s negative emotions. If parents’ beliefs about emotions and their beliefs about gender are intertwined, as I hypothesize, then mothers’ responses to children’s negative emotions should be predicted by mothers’ beliefs about emotions, mothers’ beliefs about gender, the gender of the child, and whether the negative emotion being expressed is gender congruent or gender incongruent.
At least for the mothers of early school-aged children, mothers’ gender beliefs have been shown to interact with child gender to predict mothers’ reactions to children’s gender incongruent behaviors. Specifically, mothers of preschool-aged boys who held egalitarian gender beliefs reported greater anticipated benefits to boys’ expressions of shyness and were more likely to respond to boys’ shyness than mothers who held more traditional gender beliefs (Kingsbury & Coplan, 2012). In this case, both the sex of the child and the gender beliefs held by the mother were important in predicting how the mother chose to respond to her child’s gender-incongruent problem behavior. The current study aims to build upon and extend this finding by including a measure that captures mothers’ beliefs about children’s emotions to examine how the inclusion of these beliefs may further predict mothers’ behavior in response to children’s gender-incongruent emotional expressions. Testing this model is the third aim of the current study, and the hypothesized model for this aim is included in Figure 2.
Figure 2. Aim 3 moderation model – mothers’ beliefs about gender, mothers’ beliefs about emotion, and sex of child will all interact to predict mothers’ response to negative emotions.

I expect that child sex will further moderate the relationship between mothers’ beliefs that emotions are dangerous, mothers’ gender beliefs, and mothers’ nonsupportive responses to both children’s dominant negative and dominant submissive emotions. Specifically, I expect that mothers who hold a general belief that emotions are dangerous and hold traditional gender beliefs will react the most unfavorably to their boys’ expressions of submissive negative emotions compared to their girls’ expressions of these emotions, and to their girls’ expressions of dominant negative emotions compared to their boys’ expressions of those emotions. In the case of mothers with high danger beliefs and egalitarian gender beliefs, I expect that mothers will respond to their children’s negative emotions with elevated levels of nonsupportive reactions in response to both submissive emotions and dominant emotions. For mothers who report low danger beliefs and egalitarian gender beliefs, I expect
low levels of nonsupportive responses to both boys’ and girls’ dominant and submissive negative emotions.

When considering mothers’ beliefs about the value of emotions in conjunction with gender beliefs, I expect that child sex will further moderate the relationship between mothers’ beliefs that negative emotions have value, mothers’ gender beliefs, and mothers’ nonsupportive responses to children’s dominant negative and submissive negative emotions. Specifically, I expect high value beliefs and egalitarian gender beliefs to predict the lowest levels of nonsupportive responses to children’s emotions. For mothers who report low beliefs in the value of negative emotions, I expect that gender beliefs score will dictate their response, with egalitarian mothers reporting similar responses to their children’s expressions of negative dominant and negative submissive emotions, whereas mothers with traditional gender beliefs will report gender differentiated responses.

The Current Study

As outlined above, parents’ beliefs about the value of children’s emotions affect how they respond to children’s expressions of negative emotions. Parents’ beliefs about gender predict their responses to children’s gender-congruent and incongruent behaviors such that parents with traditional gender beliefs respond more harshly to gender-incongruent behaviors (Kingsbury & Coplan, 2012). I hypothesize that these two sets of beliefs may inform each other to predict maternal responses to children’s gender-congruent and gender-incongruent negative emotions. As such, the current study aims to assess how mothers’ beliefs about gender interact with their beliefs about emotions to predict when mothers respond in discouraging ways to the negative emotional expressions of their third-grade children. First, I
examine the relationship between the two sets of beliefs, predicting that traditionality in
gender beliefs will be positively associated with beliefs about the danger of emotion and
negatively associated with beliefs about the value of emotion (Aim 1). Second, I examine
how these two sets of beliefs are associated with mothers’ socialization behaviors, predicting
that gender beliefs will moderate the relationship between mothers’ emotion beliefs and
mothers’ socialization behaviors (Aim 2). Finally, I will test a model that includes mothers’
gender beliefs, mothers’ emotion beliefs, and the sex of the child in order to predict mothers’
responses to children’s negative emotions (Aim 3). In this final Aim, I predict that mothers’
gender beliefs, mothers’ emotion beliefs, and the sex of the child will interact such that
mothers’ reactions to children’s negative emotions will differ based on whether or not the
negative emotion being expressed by the child is gender congruent.

Method

Participants

Participants were 115 mothers drawn from a sample participating in a larger
longitudinal study \( n = 127 \) and an additional sample of mothers recruited to supplement that
sample \( n = 76 \). Mothers who were part of the longitudinal sample were recruited through
the Durham Child Health and Development Study (DCHDS), an investigation that has
followed children from the age of 3 months through third grade. The present study collected
data from this sample when the children were in third grade. Exclusion criteria for
participation in DCHDS included birth complications, multiple births, premature birth greater
than one month, parental plans to leave the community within three years, and maternal age
under 18 at the time of the child’s birth. The research team recruited additional families through referrals, flyers, announcements in local elementary schools, and social media. Every effort was made to maintain the racially mixed and socioeconomically balanced nature of the study sample.

The 76 supplemental mother-child dyads did not differ from the 127 mother-child dyads in the longitudinal sample in representation of African American and European American families (56% AA families in the supplemental sample and 60% AA families in the longitudinal sample). However, the newly recruited sample did include children who were slightly older than the original sample ($M_{age}= 8.82$, $SD = 0.35$ and $M_{age}= 8.71$, $SD = 0.30$, respectively, $F = 5.76$, $p = .017$), and families who had higher standardized SES scores ($M_{SES}= 6.85$, $SD = 2.93$ and $M_{SES}= 4.63$, $SD = 2.25$, respectively, $F = 31.63$, $p < .001$).

The sample was tested over a two-year period, and the gender beliefs questionnaire (GBQ) was administered in the second wave of data collection only. Therefore, the sample for the current study consists of 115 mothers who completed the gender beliefs questionnaire. Of these 115 mothers, 78 were African American (54% mothers of girls) and 37 were European American (32% mothers of girls). There were no significant differences between mothers who completed the GBQ and mothers who did not complete the GBQ in standardized SES score ($M_{SES}= 5.46$, $SD = 2.79$ and $M_{SES}= 5.44$, $SD = 2.99$, $F = 0.01$, $p = .948$, $\eta^2=.00$), child’s age ($M_{age}= 8.74$, $SD = 0.34$ and $M_{age}= 8.75$, $SD = 0.35$, $F = 0.07$, $p = .796$, $\eta^2=.00$), use of minimizing and punishing ($M_{MinPun}= 2.58$, $SD = 0.83$ and $M_{MinPun}= 2.55$, $SD = 0.76$, $F = .09$, $p = .764$, $\eta^2=.00$), danger beliefs ($M_{Danger}= 2.58$, $SD = 0.92$ and
\( M_{\text{Danger}} = 2.52, SD = 0.89, F = 0.20, p = .653, \eta^2 = .001 \), or value beliefs (\( M_{\text{Value}} = 4.35, SD = 0.81 \) and \( M_{\text{Value}} = 4.42, SD = 0.85, F = 0.35, p = .557, \eta^2 = .002 \)).

**Measures**

**Gender Traditionality Beliefs Questionnaire.** This 17-item scale was adapted for the current study from two previously available and widely used scales measuring gendered attitudes and beliefs: Hoffman and Kloska’s (1995) Gendered Attitudes Toward Child Rearing Scale and Gervai, Turner, and Hinde’s (1995) Sex-Bias Scale. Both scales included items designed to assess parents’ attitudes about the gender-appropriate behavior of children. Items included in the current study address five primary areas in which individuals’ beliefs regarding gender are culturally salient. These were: (a) gender essentialism, or the belief that gendered categories contain some fundamental, unchangeable information regarding the nature of individuals (see Gelman, 2004; e.g., “There will always be differences in the capabilities of most men and women”); (b) gendered display rules, or the belief that certain forms or levels of emotional expression are more appropriate depending on one’s gender (e.g., “It is more acceptable for girls to cry than for boys); (c) gendered behavior, or the belief that certain behaviors are more or less appropriate depending on one’s gender (e.g., “Rough and tumble play is more acceptable in boys than in girls); (d) gendered appearance, or the belief that specific norms of appearance should be maintained by men and women or boys and girls (e.g., “I don’t like to see a baby boy dressed in pink”); and (e) gendered labor expectations, or beliefs that work in the public or private sphere is more or less appropriate based on one’s gender (e.g., “It’s okay for children to help around the house, but I would not ask a son to dust or set the table”). To avoid overloading mothers with items that did not
address the constructs of interest, I included only items that assessed parents' beliefs about
the gender-appropriate behavior of children. Beliefs regarding gendered work were not
included, and two items regarding beliefs about gender and educating children were dropped,
due to a lack of variability in mothers’ responses.

Mothers responded using a 5-point Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly
agree (5). The GBQ is scored by reverse scoring items that reflect egalitarian beliefs and
averaging all responses; a higher score reflects more traditional gender beliefs. For the
current study, a single scale was computed that combined the questions related to essentialist
beliefs, display rules, behaviors, and appearance in order to produce a single score that
captured each mother’s level of traditionality in regards to her beliefs about gender (11-items,
α = .77; see Appendix A for copy of the full questionnaire).

Parents’ Beliefs about Children’s Emotions Questionnaire (PBACE;
Halberstadt, Dunsmore et al., 2008). This questionnaire includes 11 subscales representing
a variety of parental beliefs about children’s emotions. These 11 subscales were organized
into five groupings and presented in a randomized order. Mothers responded using 6-point
Likert scales ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). Construct validity for
the PBACE has been supported by relations with parents’ expression of feelings and
emotion-related discussions following both mildly and intensely emotional events
(Dunsmore et al., 2009; Halberstadt et al., 2008; Perez Rivera & Dunsmore, 2011) and
children’s various forms of coping and feelings about their parents (Halberstadt et al., 2008;
Stelter & Halberstadt, 2011).
The two subscales of particular interest for the current study tap in to parents’ beliefs about the value or danger of children’s negative emotions: “negative emotions are valuable” (12 items; α = 0.87; “Expressing anger is a good way for a child to let his/her desires and opinions be known”), and “all emotions are dangerous” (13 items; α = 0.89; “Children who feel emotions strongly are likely to face a lot of trouble in life”).

**Coping with Children’s Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES; Fabes, Eisenberg & Bernzweig, 1990; modified by Stelter & Halberstadt, 2013).** The modified version of the CCNES used in the current study consists of 16 hypothetical vignettes involving children’s expressions of negative emotions. Because the original CCNES primarily focuses on children’s distress, fear, and sadness, and includes only one item on anger, Stelter & Halberstadt (2013) modified the scale by adding five additional items that involve situations evoking frustration or anger and altering one item slightly to identify anger more clearly as the target emotion. The final scale given to participants in the current study contains 16 vignettes; 11 that address children’s expressions of submissive negative emotions such as sadness, fear, or anxiety (e.g., “If my child begins to cry because he/she has just learned that his/her first pet has died, I would…”) and 5 that address children’s expressions of dominant negative emotions such as anger (e.g., “If my child yells and throws a game piece after losing a game he/she was playing, I would…”).

Parents respond to each vignette by rating the likelihood that they would respond to the target child’s negative emotion with each of six different behaviors, using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from very unlikely (1) to very likely (7). The original CCNES has demonstrated good internal consistency, reliability over time, and construct validity (e.g.,
Eisenberg & Fabes, 1994; Eisenberg et al., 1999; Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002). The current study is only concerned with nonsupportive reactions to children’s negative emotions and therefore does not consider the supportive subscale of the CCNES. The minimizing/punitive reactions subscale consists of punitive reactions (e.g., “tell my child to behave or we’ll go home”) and minimizing reactions (e.g., “tell my child not to make a big deal out of it”). The minimizing/punitive reactions subscale has 32 items, 16 each of punitive and minimizing reactions, and has previously shown strong psychometric properties (α = 0.91; Fabes et al., 2002).

From these nonsupportive reactions, two subscales were calculated. The first combines parents’ punitive and minimizing reactions in response to children’s submissive emotions to form a Minimizing/Punitive Submissive subscale (e.g., sadness, anxiety; 22 total items; α =0.90; MinPunSub), and the second combines parents’ punitive and minimizing reactions in response to children’s dominant emotions to form a Minimizing/Punitive Dominant subscale (e.g., anger; 10 total items; α = 0.71; MinPunDom). Descriptive statistics are included in Table 1.

**Sociodemographic variables.** Child’s age, child’s gender, and mother’s self-reported racial identity were collected during participant screening via mothers’ reports. Mothers’ years of education and family income were collected via electronic questionnaire at the end of the lab visit. The socioeconomic (SES) variable used for the current study was calculated by calculating standardized z-scores for the mothers’ years of education and family income variables. These variables were then combined, and, by examining the frequency of the combined income and education variable, each participant was given a score
of 1-10, where a score of one represents the lowest combination of education and income and a score of ten represents the highest combination of education and income \( (M=5.43, SD=2.80) \). The goal of this variable was to reflect the contribution of both education and family income, while maintaining a roughly equal distribution (see Wang & Huguley, 2012 for an example).

**Procedure**

Before coming to the lab, a packet of questionnaires including the measure of emotion socialization behavior (CCNES) was mailed to the family’s home, and mothers were asked to complete the packet before their arrival at the lab. After providing informed consent, mothers completed a questionnaire on their beliefs about their children’s emotions along with several other questionnaires. Mothers and children were then asked to participate in dyadic tasks not germane to the goals described above, followed by more questionnaires that were completed individually. Mothers completed the questionnaire designed to assess their beliefs about traditional gender roles during the second battery of questionnaires. Thus, the questionnaires utilized in this study were completed in separate sessions and contexts. Finally, demographic information was collected from mothers via computer at the end of the protocol. Mothers were thanked, paid $50 for their time, and reimbursed for travel to the lab. The total session length for the study as a whole was approximately two hours, with time for a break and a snack at the one-hour mark. All tasks were administered by trained research assistants in a standard order across all participants. Research teams were mixed race and mixed gender whenever possible.
Results

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to beginning the primary analyses, a power analysis was conducted using G*Power 3.1 (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007), to ensure the presence of the necessary statistical power to accurately interpret each of the primary analyses. In a multiple regression analysis with seven tested predictors (i.e., child sex, maternal gender belief, maternal emotion beliefs and the resulting interaction terms), a sample size of 115, and an estimated medium effect size ($f^2 = .15$), the current study achieved adequate power of 0.85 (Mayr, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Faul, 2007).

Descriptive statistics regarding the demographics of the sample and the major variables in the current study are provided in Table 1. Included are: child sex, mothers’ gender beliefs, mothers’ danger beliefs, mothers’ value beliefs, mothers’ minimizing and punishing responses to children’s dominant negative emotions (MinPunDom), and mothers’ minimizing and punishing responses to children’s submissive negative emotions (MinPunSub). Means, standard deviation, skew and kurtosis were examined; none revealed problematic skew, although mothers’ use of minimizing and punishing in response to children’s submissive negative emotions was somewhat positively skewed. Perhaps unsurprisingly, mothers reported low frequency in using punishment and minimizing in response to their children’s expressions of submissive negative emotions such as sadness and anxiety.
Table 1. Descriptive statistics for child sex, mothers’ beliefs, and mothers socialization behaviors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Skew</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child Sex</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.00 – 1.00</td>
<td>-0.12 (.23)</td>
<td>-2.02 (0.45)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender beliefs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>1.00 – 4.33</td>
<td>-0.36 (0.33)</td>
<td>0.32 (0.64)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>1.22 – 4.44</td>
<td>-0.32 (0.31)</td>
<td>-0.30 (0.60)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.00 – 4.44</td>
<td>-0.35 (0.23)</td>
<td>-0.08 (0.45)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danger beliefs</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.00 – 5.38</td>
<td>0.63 (0.33)</td>
<td>0.09 (0.64)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>1.13 – 5.06</td>
<td>0.60 (0.31)</td>
<td>0.55 (0.60)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1.00 – 5.38</td>
<td>0.67 (.23)</td>
<td>0.46 (0.45)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value beliefs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>2.67 – 6.00</td>
<td>-0.35 (0.33)</td>
<td>-0.74 (0.64)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>2.17 – 6.00</td>
<td>-0.35 (0.31)</td>
<td>0.24 (0.60)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>2.17 – 6.00</td>
<td>-0.32 (0.23)</td>
<td>-0.27 (0.45)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MinPun Dominant</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1.80 – 6.00</td>
<td>-0.05 (0.34)</td>
<td>0.07 (0.67)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.30 – 6.70</td>
<td>0.20 (0.31)</td>
<td>-0.46 (0.61)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>1.30 – 6.70</td>
<td>0.14 (0.23)</td>
<td>-0.25 (0.46)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MinPun Submissive</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.00 – 6.00</td>
<td>2.11 (0.34)</td>
<td>6.55 (0.66)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>1.03 – 5.23</td>
<td>1.78 (0.31)</td>
<td>2.97 (0.61)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>1.00 – 6.00</td>
<td>1.85 (0.23)</td>
<td>4.14 (0.46)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Child sex is coded as M=1 and F=0.
I calculated correlations among the primary variables in order to examine possible relationships. Please see Table 2. Mothers’ gender traditionality beliefs were significantly positively correlated with mothers’ beliefs about the danger of expressing emotions and negatively correlated with mothers’ beliefs about the value of negative emotions.

Mothers’ gender traditionality beliefs were moderately positively correlated with mothers’ minimizing and punishing responses to children’s submissive negative emotions but were not significantly related to their responses to dominant negative emotions. Mothers’ beliefs about the value of negative emotions was negatively correlated with mothers’ beliefs about the danger of negative emotions. Mothers’ beliefs about the value of negative emotions was also negatively correlated with their use of minimizing and punishing in response to children’s submissive negative emotions, but not in response to the children’s dominant negative emotions. Mothers’ beliefs about the danger of emotions was positively correlated with mothers’ minimizing and punishing of their children’s negative emotions, including both submissive and dominant emotions. Finally, minimizing and punishing responses to children’s dominant negative emotions correlated with minimizing/punishing responses to their submissive negative emotions, suggesting consistency in parental responses across the two types of negative emotions.
Table 2. Bivariate correlations for child sex, mothers’ beliefs, and mothers’ socialization behaviors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family Race</th>
<th>Family SES</th>
<th>Beliefs</th>
<th>Behaviors</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Gender</td>
<td>Danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Sex</td>
<td>.26**</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Race</td>
<td>.36***</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.31***</td>
<td>-.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family SES</td>
<td>-.23*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.29**</td>
<td>.25**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Beliefs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender Beliefs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>.36***</td>
<td>-.34***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.32***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Behaviors</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>MinPun Dominant</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MinPun Submissive</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. **p<.01; ***p<.001. Child sex is coded as M=1 and F=0. Family race is coded as EA=1 and AA=0.*
**Aim 1 – Mothers’ gender beliefs and emotion beliefs are interrelated.**

For the first aim of the current study, I explored the connections between mothers’ beliefs about gender and mothers’ beliefs about emotions. As shown in preliminary correlational analyses, mothers’ gender beliefs were positively correlated with mothers’ danger beliefs and negatively correlated with mothers’ beliefs about the value of negative emotions. Within emotion beliefs, danger beliefs and value beliefs were negatively correlated.

To further explore these associations, and to remove the effects of demographic variability, I ran partial correlations with mothers’ gender beliefs, mothers’ danger beliefs, and mothers’ value beliefs while controlling for family race, family SES, and child sex. Although the magnitude dropped slightly, all three correlations remained significant. Specifically, when controlling for demographic variables, the correlations between mothers’ gender beliefs and danger beliefs, mothers’ gender beliefs and value beliefs, and mothers’ danger beliefs and value beliefs were $r_{s}(104) = .28$, $-.24$, and $-.28$, $p_{s}=.004$, .012, and .004, respectively. These results provide support for the hypothesis of Aim 1, that mothers’ gender beliefs would be positively related to mothers’ beliefs about the danger of emotions and negatively related to mothers’ beliefs about the value of negative emotions.

**Aim 2 – Gender beliefs will moderate the relationship between mothers’ emotion beliefs and mothers’ emotion socialization behaviors.**

For the second aim of the current study, I tested whether the relationship between mothers’ beliefs about emotions and mothers’ socialization behaviors in response to
children’s negative emotions is moderated by mothers’ gender beliefs. Since mothers’ socialization of dominant negative emotions and submissive negative emotions were related, and I had no emotion-specific hypotheses for this aim, I combined socialization responses to dominant and submissive negative emotions. I ran two separate moderation models, one to test the interaction between mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ danger beliefs in predicting their socialization of children’s negative emotions and a second to test the interaction between mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ value beliefs in predicting their socialization of children’s negative emotions. Initially, I ran all of the models with family race and family SES entered as predictors, but because these demographic variables had no significant impact, I trimmed these variables from the models presented here.

For the first model of Aim 2, I ran a multiple linear regression analysis to examine how mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ beliefs about the dangers of emotions predict mothers’ minimizing and punishing reactions to their children’s expressions of negative emotions. I centered all predictor variables prior to entering them into the regression models. In the first step of the model, I added mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ danger beliefs as predictors. As shown in Table 3, the overall model was significant. Mothers’ beliefs about the danger of negative emotions significantly predicted minimizing and punishing responses, with minimizing and punishing of negative emotions increasing by a predicted 0.35 points with each point increase in mothers’ danger beliefs. However, mothers’ gender beliefs were not a significant predictor of minimizing and punishing behaviors.

For the second step of the regression, I calculated an interaction variable representing the intersection of mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ danger beliefs and entered it into the
model. The overall model was significant and explained significantly more variance than the previous model. Mothers’ beliefs about the danger of negative emotions remained a significant predictor of minimizing and punishing behavior, with minimizing and punishing of negative emotions increasing by a predicted 0.27 points with each point increase in mothers’ danger beliefs. The interaction term between mothers’ danger beliefs and mothers’ gender beliefs was also significant, so mothers’ level of gender beliefs significantly moderated the relationship between mothers’ danger beliefs and mothers’ minimizing and punishing reactions to children’s negative emotions.

I used simple slopes analyses to explore the association between danger beliefs and gender beliefs at low (-1 SD below the mean of GBQ) and high (+1 SD above the mean of GBQ score) levels of gender traditionality beliefs (Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2006). The simple slopes analysis for high levels of gender traditionality beliefs revealed a significant positive association between danger beliefs and minimizing/punishing, $t (105) = 5.07, p < .001, d = 0.99$. At low levels of gender beliefs (egalitarian mothers), no relationship was found between danger beliefs and minimizing/punishing, $t (105) = 0.29, p = .774, d = 0.06$.

As displayed in Figure 3, mothers who report low danger beliefs and traditional gender beliefs ($M= 2.39, SD=0.78$) report similar levels of minimizing and punishing to mothers who report low danger beliefs and egalitarian gender beliefs ($M=2.32, SD= 0.55$), $t (54) = 0.35, p = 0.64, d = 0.10$. However, mothers who report high danger beliefs and traditional gender beliefs ($M=3.09, SD= 0.96$) report using significantly higher levels of minimizing and punishing in response to children’s negative emotions than do mothers who report high
danger beliefs and egalitarian gender beliefs \((M = 2.49, SD = 0.75)\), \(t(52) = 2.46, p = .009, d = 0.70\).

![Graph showing interaction of mothers’ danger beliefs and mothers’ gender beliefs predicting mothers’ minimizing and punishing responses to children’s negative emotions.](image)

Figure 3. Interaction of mothers’ danger beliefs and mothers’ gender beliefs predicting mothers’ minimizing and punishing responses to children’s negative emotions.

Note. ** Significant contrast at \(p < .01\). Error bars depict standard errors. High and low values depicted are graphed at +1 SD above and -1 SD below the mean of each variable, respectively.

I ran a second linear regression to examine how mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ beliefs about the value of negative emotions predict mothers’ minimizing and punishing reactions to their children’s expressions of negative emotions. In the first step of the model, I added mothers’ beliefs about gender and mothers’ beliefs about the value of negative emotions as predictors. I calculated a variable representing the interaction of mothers’ gender
beliefs and mothers’ value beliefs and entered it into the second step of the regression model. The overall model was significant, as shown in Table 4. In step one of the regression, mothers’ value beliefs were not significantly predictive of mothers’ minimizing and punishing behaviors, although mothers’ gender traditionality beliefs reached trend-level significance. With the addition of the interaction variable in the second step, the overall model remained significant. Mothers’ value beliefs did not significantly predict mothers’ minimizing and punish behaviors, nor did the interaction term. However, in this step, mothers’ gender beliefs reached significance as a predictor, suggesting, as in the correlational analyses, that mothers with more traditional gender beliefs react to their children’s expressions of negative emotions with more minimizing and punishing behaviors. Minimizing and punishing of negative emotions increase 0.22 points with each point increase in mothers’ traditional gender beliefs. Although this model reaches statistical significance, with a p-value less than .05, it is important to note that given the number of models included in the current study and the size of the confidence interval, I am interpreting this finding with caution. Considering the fact that the confidence interval so closely approaches zero, it is possible that this particular finding is due to a random artifact of the data.

**Aim 3 – Sex of child will further moderate the relationship between gender beliefs and emotions beliefs to predict socialization behaviors.**

For the final aim of the current study, I investigated whether mothers’ gender beliefs, mothers’ emotion beliefs, and the sex of the child interact, with the prediction that mothers’ reactions to children’s negative emotions differ based on whether or not the negative emotion
being expressed by the child is or is not gender congruent. I tested this general hypothesis by running a series of four regression models.

First, a linear regression was run with three steps to examine how mothers’ gender beliefs, mothers’ danger beliefs, and the sex of the child interact to predict mothers’ minimizing and punishing behaviors in response to children’s expressions of dominant negative emotions, such as anger. In the first step, I added mothers’ gender beliefs (GBQ) and mothers’ beliefs about the dangers of children’s emotions (Danger) to the model.

There was no significant main effect of gender beliefs. However, as shown before with overall minimizing and punishing, danger beliefs did significantly predict mothers’ minimizing and punishing of negative dominant emotions. Specifically, minimizing and punishing of dominant negative emotions increases by a predicted 0.31 points with each point increase in mothers’ danger beliefs.

In the second step I added the two-way interaction terms to examine the relationships between mothers’ gender beliefs and child’s sex (GBQ x Sex), mothers’ danger beliefs and child’s sex (Danger x Sex), and the interaction between mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ danger beliefs (GBQ x Danger). After adding the interaction terms, variables that had previously been significant predictors of minimizing and punishing dominant negative emotions dropped out and no longer achieved significance. The model as a whole was significant, but there were no significant individual main effects. The GBQ x Sex interaction was not significant, nor was GBQ x Danger. However, the Danger x Sex interaction was significant.
Table 3. Mothers’ gender traditionality beliefs and beliefs about the dangers of emotions predict their minimizing and punishing responses to children’s negative emotions.

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<td>0.11</td>
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<td>2, 106</td>
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<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>0.17 – 0.52</td>
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<td>0.09 – 0.44</td>
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<td>0.004***</td>
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*Note.* *p*<.05; **p**<.01; ***p***<.001

Table 4. Mothers’ gender traditionality beliefs and beliefs about the value of negative emotions predict their minimizing and punishing responses to children’s negative emotions.

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<td></td>
<td>Value</td>
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<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>-1.76</td>
<td>-0.38 – 0.02</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>GBQ</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>0.01 – 0.44</td>
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<td>3.79*</td>
<td>3, 105</td>
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<td>-1.67</td>
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*Note.* *p*<.05; **p**<.01; ***p***<.001
I used simple slopes analyses to explore this interaction and found that the relationship between mothers’ danger beliefs and mothers’ minimizing and punishing of dominant negative emotions was significant for mothers of boys, $t (102) = 3.48, p = .001; d = 0.69$, but not for mothers of girls, $t (102) = 0.17, p = .862; d = 0.03$. As shown in Figure 4, mothers of girls report responding to their daughters’ dominant negative emotions with similar levels of minimizing and punishing regardless of whether they have high or low levels of danger beliefs ($M = 3.65, SD = 0.98$ and $M = 3.61, SD = 0.77$, respectively), $t (47) = 0.16, p = .563, d = 0.05$. For mothers of boys, however, high danger beliefs predicted more minimizing and punishing responses to dominant negative emotions ($M = 4.22, SD = 1.06$) than did low danger beliefs ($M = 3.15, SD = 0.97$), $t (57) = 4.03, p < .001, d = 1.05$.

In the fourth and final step, I added a three-way interaction term to examine the interaction between mothers’ gender beliefs, mothers’ danger beliefs, and child sex. This three-way interaction term was not a significant predictor of mothers’ reactions to dominant negative emotions. Full results for this model are in Table 5.
Figure 4. Mothers’ danger beliefs and the sex of the child interact to predict mothers’ minimizing and punishing of children’s dominant negative emotions.

Note. ** Significant contrast at \( p = .001 \). Error bars depict standard errors. High and low values depicted are graphed at +1 SD above and -1 SD below the mean of each variable, respectively.

For the second model of Aim 3, I ran a linear regression similar to the previous model but examining how this set of variables predicts mothers’ minimizing and punishing behaviors in response to children’s expressions of submissive negative emotions, such as sadness and anxiety. I hypothesized that mothers’ gender beliefs, mothers’ emotion beliefs, and the sex of the child all affect mothers’ socialization of negative emotions. In the first step, I added gender beliefs and danger beliefs to the model. The model as a whole was significant. Mothers’ gender beliefs were not significant in predicting minimizing and punishing of submissive negative emotions. There was a main effect for danger beliefs such
that minimizing and punishing of submissive negative emotions increase by 0.33 points with each point increase in mothers’ danger beliefs.

In the second step of the model, I added the two-way interaction terms to examine the relationships between mothers’ gender beliefs and child sex (GBQ x Sex), mothers’ danger beliefs and child sex (Danger x Sex), and the interaction between mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ danger beliefs (GBQ x Danger). The model as a whole was significant and showed a significant increase from step 1 in the amount of variance the model was able to explain. However, this model showed no unique main effects. The interaction effect of GBQ x Sex was also not significant, however, the interactions of both Danger x Sex and GBQ x Danger were significant.

The Danger x Sex interaction showed a similar pattern to that found in the previous model in Aim 2. Simple slopes analyses (Preacher, Curran, and Bauer, 2006) showed that the relationship between danger beliefs and minimizing/punishing of submissive negative emotions was significant for mothers of boys, $t(102) = 2.76, p = .007; d = 0.55$, but was not significant for mothers of girls, $t(102) = 0.17, p = .862; d = 0.03$. As shown in Figure 5, mothers of girls reported similar levels of minimizing and punishing responses to submissive negative emotions regardless of whether they had high danger beliefs or low danger beliefs ($M = 2.06, SD = 0.85$ and $M = 1.94, SD = 0.95$, respectively), $t = 0.46, p = .676, d = 0.13$. However, once again, for mothers of boys, danger beliefs matter in predicting their responses to boys’ expressions of submissive negative emotions. Specifically, high danger beliefs predicted greater reported usage of minimizing and punishing responses to submissive
negative emotions \((M = 2.44, SD = 1.12)\) than did low danger beliefs \((M = 1.62, SD = 0.66)\), \(t = 3.38, p < .001, d = 0.89\).

Figure 5. Mothers’ danger beliefs and the sex of the child interact to predict mothers’ minimizing and punishing of children’s submissive negative emotions.

Note. ** Significant contrast at \(p<.01\). Error bars depict standard errors. High and low values depicted are graphed at +1 SD above and -1 SD below the mean of each variable, respectively.

Simple slopes analysis revealed a pattern similar to that previously found in Aim 2, wherein a significant positive association between danger beliefs and minimizing/punishing was found at high levels of gender traditionality beliefs (+1 SD of GBQ mean; \(t (102) = 2.24, p = 0.028, d = 0.44\)). Analyzing the slope of this relationship at low levels of gender beliefs (egalitarian mothers; -1 SD of GBQ mean) found no significant relationship between danger beliefs and minimizing/punishing, \(t (102) = -1.12, p = 0.265, d = -0.22\). As shown in Figure
6, mothers with low danger beliefs report similar levels of minimizing and punishing children’s negative submissive emotions, regardless of whether they hold traditional gender beliefs (\(M = 2.01, SD = 1.23\)) or more egalitarian gender beliefs (\(M = 1.94, SD = 0.50\)), \(t(54) = 0.30, p = 0.381, d = 0.07\). Mothers with high danger beliefs were significantly more likely to respond to children’s expressions of submissive negative emotions with minimizing and punishing if they held traditional gender beliefs (\(M = 2.54, SD = 1.10\)) rather than egalitarian gender beliefs (\(M = 1.58, SD = 0.61\)), \(t(52) = 4.09, p < .001, d = 1.08\).

![Figure 6. Interaction of mothers’ danger beliefs and mothers’ gender beliefs predicting mothers’ minimizing and punishing of children’s submissive negative emotions.](image)

Note. * Significant contrast at \(p < .05\). Error bars depict standard errors. High and low values depicted are graphed at +1 SD above and -1 SD below the mean of each variable, respectively.
In the final step of this regression, I added a three-way interaction term to examine the interaction between mothers’ gender beliefs, mothers’ danger beliefs, and child sex. This three-way interaction term was not a significant predictor of mothers’ minimizing and punishing responses to submissive negative emotions. Table 6 contains full results for this model.

For the third model of Aim 3, I ran a linear regression with three steps to examine how mothers’ gender beliefs, mothers’ beliefs about the value of children’s negative emotions, and the sex of the child interact to predict mothers’ minimizing and punishing behaviors in response to children’s expressions of dominant negative emotions. In the first step, I entered mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ beliefs about the value of children’s negative emotions. The model as a whole was not significant and neither of the belief variables in Step 1 showed a significant main effect. In the second step, I added the two-way interaction variables to examine the interactions between mothers’ gender beliefs and child sex (GBQ x Sex), mothers’ value beliefs and child sex (Value x Sex), and mothers’ gender beliefs and value beliefs (GBQ x Value). This model was not significant as a whole, and this step had no significant main effects nor significant interaction effects.

In the third and final step, I added a three-way interaction term to examine the interaction between mothers’ gender beliefs, mothers’ value beliefs, and child sex in predicting responses to dominant negative emotions (GBQ x Value x Sex). Again, the model as a whole was not significant, there were no significant main effects, and there were no significant interaction effects. Table 7 contains full results for this model.
Table 5. Mothers’ gender traditionality beliefs, beliefs about the dangers of emotions, and child sex predict their minimizing and punishing responses to children’s negative dominant emotions.

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*Note. *p<.05; **p<.01; *** p<.001*
Table 6. Mothers’ gender traditionality beliefs, beliefs about the dangers of emotions, and child sex predict their minimizing and punishing responses to children’s negative submissive emotions.

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<td>0.13 – 0.53</td>
<td>0.001**</td>
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<td>0.005**</td>
<td>5.66***</td>
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</table>

Note. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
Table 7. Mothers’ gender traditionality beliefs, beliefs about the value of negative emotions, and child sex predict their minimizing and punishing responses to children’s negative dominant emotions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>0.630</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>0.19</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
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<td>-0.71 – 0.05</td>
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<td>GBQ x Sex</td>
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<td>0.29</td>
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<td>-0.40 – 0.75</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>0.26</td>
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<td>-0.35 – 0.25</td>
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<td>0.21</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Value</td>
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<td>0.19</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>-1.66</td>
<td>-0.71 – 0.06</td>
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<td>GBQ x Sex</td>
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<td>0.30</td>
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<td>GBQ x Value</td>
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<td>0.24</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.66</td>
<td>-0.64 – 0.32</td>
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<td></td>
<td>GBQ x Value x Sex</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>-0.43 – 0.80</td>
<td>0.551</td>
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*Note.* *p*<.05; **p**<.01; ***p***<.001
Table 8. Mothers’ gender traditionality beliefs, beliefs about the value of negative emotions, and child sex predict their minimizing and punishing responses to children’s negative submissive emotions.

<table>
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<th>SE</th>
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<th>t</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>ΔR²</th>
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<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.97</td>
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<td>4.02**</td>
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<td>-0.01 – 0.48</td>
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<td>Value</td>
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<td>0.12</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>-2.02</td>
<td>-0.47 – -0.01</td>
<td>0.046*</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>0.18</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
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<td>-0.51 – 0.19</td>
<td>0.357</td>
<td>2.41*</td>
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<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>0.03 – 0.81</td>
<td>0.033*</td>
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<td>Value</td>
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<td>0.17</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.77</td>
<td>-0.48 – 0.21</td>
<td>0.446</td>
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<tr>
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<td>GBQ x Sex</td>
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<td>-0.18</td>
<td>-1.19</td>
<td>-0.83 – 0.21</td>
<td>0.238</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Value x Sex</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-0.68</td>
<td>-0.63 – 0.31</td>
<td>0.498</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GBQ x Value</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-1.21</td>
<td>-0.43 – 0.11</td>
<td>0.230</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sex</td>
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<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.50</td>
<td>-0.46 – 0.27</td>
<td>0.617</td>
<td>2.34*</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.14</td>
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<td>GBQ</td>
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<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>0.10 – 0.90</td>
<td>0.015*</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
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<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-0.67</td>
<td>-0.46 – 0.23</td>
<td>0.502</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GBQ x Sex</td>
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<td>-0.22</td>
<td>-1.40</td>
<td>-0.89 – 0.16</td>
<td>0.166</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Value x Sex</td>
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<td>0.24</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.82</td>
<td>-0.66 – 0.27</td>
<td>0.412</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GBQ x Value</td>
<td>-0.39</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>-1.80</td>
<td>-0.82 – 0.04</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GBQ x Value x Sex</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>-0.18 – 0.92</td>
<td>0.184</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
For the fourth and final model of Aim 3, I ran a similar model including gender beliefs, value beliefs, and the sex of the child predicting mothers’ use of minimizing and punishing behaviors in response to children’s *submissive* negative emotions (MinPunSub). In the first step, I added gender beliefs and value beliefs to the model. The model as a whole was significant. Value beliefs showed a significant main effect, such that lower beliefs in the value of negative emotions predicted greater use of minimizing and punishing behaviors in response to submissive negative emotions. Specifically, minimizing and punishing of submissive negative emotions was predicted to decrease by 0.24 points for every point increase in value beliefs.

In the second step, I added interaction terms for gender beliefs and sex (GBQ x Sex), value beliefs and sex (Value x Sex), and gender beliefs and value beliefs (GBQ x Value) to the model. Although significant, this model explained less variance than the previous model. There were no significant interaction effects in this step, and with the addition of the interactions, there were several changes in the presented main effects. Value beliefs no longer significantly predicted minimizing and punishing submissive negative emotions in step 2. However, gender beliefs did show a significant effect such that more traditional gender beliefs predicted greater use of minimizing and punishing in response to submissive negative emotions. Specifically, minimizing and punishing of submissive negative emotions increase by 0.42 points for every point increase in gender traditionality beliefs.

In the final step of the model, I added a three-way interaction variable (GBQ x Value x Sex). Again, the model as a whole remained significant, but the new model did not predict significantly more variance than the previous model. With the addition of the three-way
interaction variable, gender beliefs continued to significantly predict minimizing and punishing of submissive negative emotions with more traditional gender beliefs predicting greater use of minimizing and punishing in response to children’s negative submissive emotions. This model showed an increase in the effect of gender beliefs, with minimizing and punishing of submissive negative emotions increasing by 0.50 points for every point increase in gender traditionality beliefs. None of the interaction effects reached statistical significance. Full results for this model can be found in Table 8.

**Discussion**

The present study is unique in considering how parents’ emotion socialization behaviors may be affected not only by their beliefs about children’s emotions but also by other culturally related sets of beliefs, such as those regarding gender. Results suggest that parents’ responses to their children’s negative emotions may be informed not only by their beliefs about the emotions themselves, but also by their beliefs about gendered emotional display rules, gendered expectations, and in some cases by the sex of their child. These results inform our understanding of several important socialization processes, such as emotion socialization, the socialization of gendered expectations, and our understanding of how parental beliefs may affect parenting behaviors.

**The interrelation of gender beliefs and emotion beliefs.**

My hypothesis, that mothers’ gender beliefs and mothers’ emotion beliefs would be related to one another, was supported in several ways. Mothers’ gender beliefs were positively related to mothers' beliefs that emotional expression is dangerous and negatively
related to mothers' beliefs that negative emotions are valuable. Therefore, mothers with more traditional beliefs about gender, beliefs that often emphasize the importance of maintaining differences between boys’ and girls’ behaviors, are also more likely to report the belief that the expression of strong emotions can be dangerous.

A broader look at the research on ideological attitudes reveals a number of interesting connections regarding traditional, conservative ideological beliefs and expectations of danger. For example, the uncertainty-threat model of conservatism, first proposed by Jost et al. (2003), suggests that conservative personal ideologies are often motivated by fear management and uncertainty. People who endorse an ideological framework that emphasizes the importance of maintaining the status quo, such as maintaining the clear delineation of a strict gender binary, also report greater discomfort in the face of uncertainty (Jost et al., 2007). Conservative ideologies have also been linked to greater belief that the world is dangerous or threatening (Altemeyer, 1998; Duckitt, 2001), greater need for order and structure, and lower openness to experience, when compared to liberal ideologies (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Jost et al., 2007).

Given this framework, the expression of negative emotions could hold particular threat. Parents who report concerns about the dangers of emotions often are particularly concerned about the social consequences of strong emotional expression and the possibility for emotions to get “out of hand” or to be expressed in disrespectful ways toward adults (Parker, et al., 2012). This fear of emotional expression as being potentially dangerous could be related, more generally, to an ideological orientation that views any cultural space of uncertainty or change as a source of threat to the status quo. Perhaps the relationship, then,
between parents’ beliefs that emotions are dangerous, and parents’ traditional gender beliefs is based in a more global concern with maintaining the status quo in order to reduce what they view as uncertainty in messy social systems.

An interpretation that focuses on conservative parents' desire for greater order also fits when considering parents’ beliefs regarding the value of negative emotions. Parents who believe in the value of negative emotions report that it is important for children to learn to express and understand their negative emotions (Parker, et al., 2012). The traditional American belief regarding negative emotions is that they should be reduced and regulated, in favor of expressing positive emotions. Mothers whose personal beliefs regarding negative emotions are in opposition to these overarching cultural beliefs may also be mothers who embrace more flexible social expectations and are less concerned with the maintenance of social hierarchies. Perhaps mothers with egalitarian gender beliefs and high beliefs in the value of negative emotions are also mothers who are less threatened by perceived uncertainty in social systems, are open to new experiences and ideas, have lower need for order and structure, or who view change as less frightening. In order to truly incorporate these findings into the literature on conservative and liberal belief systems, future research needs to be constructed to tap further into the motivations behind mothers’ beliefs, how these motivations relate to other aspects of mothers’ belief systems and socialization behaviors, and how these beliefs and behaviors relate to mothers’ overarching personality traits.

**Gender and emotion beliefs jointly predict socialization behaviors.**

When considering how these beliefs intersect to predict the socialization of negative emotions, the results from Aims 2 and 3 seem to converge on a common story. They show
that mothers’ level of gender traditionality beliefs augment the relationship between mothers’ beliefs about the dangers of expressing negative emotions and mothers’ minimizing and punishing of children’s negative emotions. Specifically, mothers who do not believe that emotional expression is dangerous report similar levels of minimizing and punishing children’s negative emotions, regardless of their beliefs regarding traditional gendered behaviors. However, mothers who believe that emotional expression may be dangerous for children are more likely to minimize or punish their negative emotions if the mother also holds traditional beliefs regarding gendered behaviors and display rules. Aim 3 further clarified this relationship by showing that this finding primarily predicts the use of minimizing and punishing in response to negative submissive emotions, such as sadness and anxiety.

Parents who believe that emotions are dangerous often report concerns regarding when and how children’s emotions are to be expressed (Parker, et al., 2012). Previous research has also found that mothers who hold a strong belief that emotions are dangerous use less acknowledgement and encouragement during emotional conversations with their children (Lozada et al., 2015). Further, the current study shows that danger beliefs also directly predict punishing and minimizing of negative emotions and that gender beliefs function to moderate the relationship between emotion beliefs and mothers’ socialization behaviors. Perhaps, as discussed above, mothers’ beliefs about the value of emotions and mothers’ beliefs about gendered behavior are two sets of beliefs in a wider constellation of ideologies that either embrace change or operate based on the avoidance of uncertainty and change. Within this system, perhaps mothers who view emotions as being dangerous are
reluctant to acknowledge or encourage negative emotions precisely because they wish to minimize them, thereby reducing the possible social consequences that can come along with these types of emotional expressions. Sadness, as an affective state, includes a fair amount of vulnerability. The functional property of sadness, according to differential emotion theory (Izard, 1977; Izard & Malatesta, 1987) is to elicit empathy, assistance, and nurturing from the surrounding social system. Thus, sadness communicates a need for help from those around us. Mothers who view the world as being a dangerous place, or who are uncertain about changing social systems, may be actively socializing their children in ways that reduce the amount of vulnerability those children are expressing to the outside world.

However, this pattern was only significant in predicting mothers’ responses to negative submissive emotions. This finding indicates that it is valuable to consider how combinations of beliefs may uniquely predict the socialization of discrete emotions. In fact, it may be useful for future research to consider socialization phenomena from both an emotion-general and an emotion-specific perspective, to ensure that these differences are not lost to overgeneralization. Other developmental researchers have suggested that the study of emotion socialization has relied too heavily on the search for global processes, thereby approaching the socialization of negative emotions as if it were a monolithic construct. They have suggested, instead, that approaching the socialization of negative emotions in a combination of ways, including both emotion-specific and global hypotheses, may more accurately capture parental behavior (O’Neal & Magai, 2005). The consideration of discrete emotions is particularly important when gendered processes are being considered, as it is
often only when discrete negative emotions are considered independently that gendered socialization is revealed (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002).

**Emotion beliefs predict behaviors differently for mothers of boys and mothers of girls.**

The findings also suggest that gender matters: mothers’ danger beliefs had little impact on their responses to girls’ negative affect, regardless of whether mothers were responding to submissive or dominant negative emotions. In contrast, mothers’ danger beliefs did seem to affect how they responded to boys’ negative affect. Specifically, mothers of boys who believed that the expression of negative emotions is dangerous tended to punish and minimize their boys’ expressions of negative emotions more so than mothers who did not hold this belief.

Perhaps mothers of girls, despite their general beliefs in whether or not negative emotions can be dangerous, recognize that the expression of negative emotions holds fewer social consequences for girls, so these emotion beliefs are less salient in their formation of responses to negative emotions. Some researchers have suggested that because boys tend to be more intensely emotional in infancy, parents discourage the expression of negative emotions beginning in early infancy and, therefore, boys subsequently express fewer negative emotions than girls (e.g., Malatesta & Haviland, 1982). Additionally, research regularly shows that boys are more likely to be disruptive in classroom settings and are more likely to be disciplined in school than are girls (Skiba, Peterson, & Williams, 1997; Taylor & Foster, 1986). Certainly, masculine gender demands are applied earlier in life and are monitored more intensely for boys than feminine role demands are for girls (Basow, 1992; Kilmartin, 2000). Perhaps, then, mothers who are raising boys continue to monitor their
boys’ expressions of negative emotions closely, and particularly if they believe that strong emotional expression could be dangerous or socially damaging, respond to these emotions in ways that are targeted to reduce them.

I originally predicted emotion-specific socialization responses based on the gender of the child and the type of emotion being expressed. Instead, I found that the patterns exhibited by mothers of boys in response to dominant negative emotions and submissive negative emotions were similar, and that whereas their danger beliefs were predictive of the pattern of their response, type of emotion affected only the magnitude of that response. Overall, mothers reported much higher levels of minimizing and punishing in response to dominant negative emotions than they did in response to submissive negative emotions. According to differential emotion theory (Izard, 1977; Izard & Malatesta, 1987), anger functions primarily to communicate aggression and can be a powerful and interpersonally contagious emotion (Magai & McFadden, 1995). Children are often socialized from early childhood to regulate and control the expression of anger (Malatesta & Haviland, 1982), and mothers’ greater use of minimizing and punishing in response to expressions of anger and frustration may serve to meet this goal.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the strengths of the current study, it does have several limitations. Overall, I was unable to capture some important contextual aspects of gender and emotion socialization that may contribute to the shaping of children’s negative emotional experiences. For example, I included only mothers’ beliefs and behaviors in the current study. As with many socialization processes, parents’ socialization of gender and emotional development is likely
a bidirectional process being informed by both the beliefs and behaviors of the parents as well as by the beliefs, behaviors, and responses of the child. Parents often respond to children differently based on a variety of factors, including their knowledge of the individual child, their experiences with the child in the past, and the child’s behavior in the current situation (Collins, 2000). In the current case, it is quite probable that mothers’ responses to their children’s negative emotions, in addition to being influenced by their beliefs regarding emotion and gender, are also being affected by interactional effects within the dyad. Future research that includes information from the child and takes into consideration within-dyad processes that may affect the socialization of children’s negative emotions would be valuable.

Additionally, without fathers and further information regarding the family system, the current sample provides a limited picture of the context in which these children’s socialization is taking place. Researchers have previously demonstrated the importance of fathers’ beliefs and behaviors on children’s gendered socialization and socioemotional development (Lytton & Romney, 1992; Maccoby, 1998; McGillicuddy-Delisi, 1992; Siegel, 1987), and that men display stronger gender beliefs and stronger preferences for gendered behavior in their children (Blakemore & Hill, 2008; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000). Simply having a father who is actively involved in childcare predicts less gender-role stereotypic emotional expression in both sons and daughters (Brody, 1997). Further, boys who have emotionally expressive fathers are more likely to develop strong patterns of emotional expressivity themselves and may be less likely to associate emotional expressivity with threats to masculinity (Balswick, 1988; Kilmartin, 2000). So it is clear that
fathers play important roles in the socialization of both emotion and gender, and that their unique contribution to these forms of socialization should be more widely considered.

Other aspects of family structure, such as the presence of siblings and specific birth order are shown to be important predictors of children’s development of gendered attitudes and expectations (Crouter, Whiteman, McHale, & Osgood, 2007; McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003). Children’s beliefs and behaviors regarding both gender and emotion may be shaped by different kinds of interactions with their mothers versus with their fathers and by observing differential treatment of sisters versus brothers. For this reason, future research that captures the beliefs and behaviors of mothers and fathers, as well as the beliefs and behaviors of their children, would be highly informative in exploring how these processes mutually inform one another. As suggested by McHale, Crouter, and Whiteman (2003), a family systems approach may be particularly informative, as the importance of overall family makeup, including the gender and developmental stages of any siblings within the household, could affect both gender and emotion socialization processes.

Peer relationships may also be strong socializing forces for children in the age group studied. In middle childhood, the context of school and peer relationships become more important as children spend more time away from the home. Children create unique peer cultures that contain their own norms and values that often contain both explicit and implicit rules regarding the expression of emotions (Corsaro & Eder, 1990; Denham, 2007). Display rules within peer groups in middle childhood often favor the regulation and masking of negative emotion. For example, children in middle childhood expect more negative reactions to their expressions of sadness or pain from their peers than from their parents (Zeman &
Garber, 1996). This peer group expectation of regulation of emotional expression has a gender-dependent aspect, of course, with boys in middle childhood reporting greater reluctance to share their experience of fear with their same sex friends than do girls (Rime, et al., 1996), whereas girls report greater reluctance at the idea of displaying anger toward same sex peers than do boys (Underwood, Coie, & Herbsman, 1992). Given the importance of peer groups in socializing both emotion and gendered processes, future research regarding gender and emotions beliefs should consider how these sets of beliefs interact to predict the policing of emotional expression within peer groups.

The specific measures that I chose to use also include their own limitations, and thus, may limit generalizability of the findings. For example, the strength of my findings using minimizing and punishing of submissive negative emotions as an outcome measure were stronger than those attempting to predict minimizing and punishing of dominant negative emotions. This difference in effect sizes could be tapping into true differences in how mothers socialize submissive versus dominant negative emotions. However, it could also be due, in part, to an imbalance in the structure of the CCNES, the questionnaire that I used to capture these variables. The original CCNES is primarily comprised of items that capture submissive negative emotions. To ameliorate this, I utilized a newer version of the CCNES with additional items written to capture parents’ responses to dominant negative emotions. Nevertheless, there were still only five dominant negative emotion vignettes compared to eleven submissive negative emotion vignettes. Therefore, the comparatively greater strength of my findings regarding submissive negative emotions could be due partially to this imbalance.
The measure created to capture mothers’ gender beliefs also has some limitations. The GBQ was created by combining two widely used scales designed to capture beliefs about gender traditionality. Both of these measures focus on general beliefs regarding women’s place in society and the kinds of behaviors that are appropriate for men and women. Gendered emotional display rules are included as just one aspect of these general belief scales. A more specific scale, designed with the express purpose of measuring parents’ beliefs regarding gendered emotional display rules, may have been able to assess more fully the way that beliefs about emotion and beliefs about gender interact to predict parents’ responses to children’s emotional expressions.

Finally, all measures were self-report, and thus the study depends on the assumption that mothers can accurately identify and report their own beliefs and socialization behaviors. There is an increasing web of construct validity, however, suggesting that these self-report measures may accurately reflect parents’ beliefs and behaviors. The PBACE, for example, has been associated with parents’ expressiveness in emotional situations, masking of emotions with their children, and frequency of discussing a highly emotional situation (Dunsmore, Her, Halberstadt, & Perez-Rivera, 2009; Halberstadt, Thompson, Parker, & Dunsmore, 2008). The CCNES has been shown to significantly relate to other parental socialization behaviors such as the level of parental control exhibited in the parent/child relationship (Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002). Nevertheless, because the measures are all derived from a single reporter, I acknowledge the possibility of shared method variance. Thus, this area of inquiry would benefit from future studies using multi-method approaches to capturing emotion socialization behaviors.
Conclusions

Although this data set has limitations, it also serves important exploratory purposes in an area previously not considered from a developmental perspective. This study clearly showed that mothers’ socialization of children’s emotions is affected not only by their beliefs about emotions, but also by other culturally-related sets of beliefs, such as beliefs about gender. Additionally, this study supported the idea that emotion beliefs may manifest themselves in socialization processes differently based on whether the target of socialization is a boy or a girl. As the first study to identify these inter-relationships, it is my hope to generate energy in this field of research, and to encourage developmental researchers to further consider the inter-relations of gender beliefs and emotion beliefs and how these beliefs may affect developmental processes.
References


APPENDICES
Appendix A

MOTHER’S GENDER BELIEFS QUESTIONNAIRE
(adapted from Hoffman & Kloska and Turner & Gervai)

The statements listed describe attitudes different people have towards roles for men and women or boys and girls. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. Please express your personal opinion (not the feelings you think other people have).

Note. Items denoted with an asterisk are those used in the current study.

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<th>Item</th>
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<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>*1. There will always be differences in the capabilities of most men and women.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*2. It is more acceptable for girls to cry than for boys (excluding major injuries).</td>
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<td>*3. I like boys to look like boys and girls to look like girls.</td>
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<td>4. It is as important to steer a daughter toward a good job as it is with a son.</td>
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<td>*5. Rough and tumble play is more acceptable in boys than in girls.</td>
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<tr>
<td>*6. It is important for a boy to learn to act like a boy and for a girl to act like a girl.</td>
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<td>7. It is more important to raise a son to be strong and independent than to raise a daughter that way.</td>
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<td>8. I would give a daughter as much encouragement and help in getting an education as I would a son.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>I see nothing wrong with giving a little boy a doll to play with.</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>It's okay for children to help around the house, but I would not ask a son to dust or set the table.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>It is more important for boys to learn to control their emotions than it is for girls.</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>I think it is more acceptable for girls to act like boys than for boys to act like girls.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>I don't like to see a baby boy dressed in pink.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Boys are naturally more adventurous than girls.</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Education is important for both sons and daughters, but it is more important for a son.</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Unmannerly behavior, such as showing off, talking back, or speaking angrily to adults is even more unattractive in girls than in boys.</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>It's important to raise a son so he will be able to hold down a good job when he's grown, but that's not so major with a daughter.</td>
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Appendix B

Parents’ Beliefs about Children’s Emotions (Form V)

**Instructions:** These statements express different beliefs about children’s emotional development. Please read each statement and write in the number that shows how much you agree with the statement. Put this response in the column titled “Answer.” Please think about children who are in third grade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Slightly disagree</th>
<th>Slightly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Getting mad can help children do things they need to, like sticking with a task that’s hard, or standing up for themselves.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>It is okay when children feel angry, and it is okay when they don’t.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Showing emotions isn't a good thing or a bad thing, it's just part of being human.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>It's good for the family when children share their positive emotions.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>It is important for children to be able to show when they are happy.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>It is important for children to express their happiness when they feel it.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Feeling sad sometimes is just a part of life.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>It is good for children to feel sad at times.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Feeling negative emotions is sort of a dead end street, and children should do whatever they can to avoid going down it.</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Showing anger is not a good idea for children.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Feeling all emotions is a part of life, like breathing.</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>When children get angry they create more problems for themselves.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>It is important for children to develop lots of ways to be happy.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Feeling angry sometimes is just a part of life.</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Feeling sad is just not good for children.</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>It is important for children to show others when they feel upset.</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>It is okay when children feel sad, and it is okay when they don't.</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>When children are too loving others take advantage of them.</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Children’s anger can be a relief to them, like a storm that clears the air.</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>It is useful for children to feel angry sometimes.</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Joy is an important emotion to feel.</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Sometimes it is good for a child to sit down and have a good cry.</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>When children get angry, it can only lead to problems.</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Having lots of joy is very important for a child.</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Showing sadness is neither bad nor good, it is just part of being human.</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>When children are too happy, they can get out of control.</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>When children show pride in what they have done, it is a good thing.</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>It is good for children to let their anger out.</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>When children show anger, they are letting you know that something is important to them.</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>It is important for children to avoid feeling sad whenever possible.</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>It is important for children to share their positive emotions with others.</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Being sad isn't &quot;good&quot; or &quot;bad&quot; -- it is just a part of life.</td>
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<td>Strongly disagree</td>
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<td>It is important for children to feel pride in their accomplishments.</td>
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<td>Being angry isn't &quot;good&quot; or &quot;bad&quot; -- it is just a part of life.</td>
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<td>It is important for children to be proud of a job well done.</td>
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<td>Feeling sad helps children to know what is important to them.</td>
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<td>When children express anger, someone in the family ends up having to deal with the consequences.</td>
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<td>Anger in children can be emotionally dangerous.</td>
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<td>The experience of anger can be a useful motivation for action.</td>
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<td>It is okay when children feel happy, and it is okay when they don't.</td>
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<td>Children can think more clearly when emotions don't get in the way.</td>
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<td>Children's feelings can get hurt if they love too much.</td>
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<td>Being angry can motivate children to change or fix something in their lives.</td>
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<td>Expressing anger is a good way for a child to let his/her desires and opinions be known.</td>
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<td>When children start to show strong emotions, one never knows where it will end up.</td>
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Appendix C

CCNES (Coping with Children’s Negative Emotions Scale)

Instructions: In the following items, please indicate on a scale from 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely) the likelihood that you would respond in the ways listed for each item. Please read each item carefully and respond as honestly and sincerely as you can. For each response, please circle a number from 1-7.

----------

Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very UnlikelySomewhat LikelyVery Likely

----------

1. If my child becomes angry because he/she is sick or hurt and can't go to his/her friend's birthday party, I would:
   a. send my child to his/her room to cool off 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. get angry at my child 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. help my child think about ways that he/she can still be with friends (e.g., invite some friends over after the party) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. tell my child not to make a big deal out of missing the party 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. encourage my child to express his/her feelings of anger and frustration 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. soothe my child and do something fun with him/her to make him/her feel better about missing the party 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. If my child falls off his/her bike and breaks it, and then gets sad and cries, I would:
   a. remain calm and not let myself get anxious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. comfort my child and try to get him/her to forget about the accident 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. help my child figure out how to get the bike fixed 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. tell my child it's ok to cry 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. tell my child to stop crying or he/she won't be allowed to ride his/her bike anytime soon 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. If my child loses some prized possession and reacts with tears, I would:
   a. get upset with him/her for being so careless and then crying about it 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. help my child think of places he/she hasn't looked yet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. distract my child by talking about happy things 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. tell him/her it's ok to cry when you feel unhappy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. tell him/her that's what happens when you're not careful 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4. If my child is afraid of injections/shots and becomes quite shaky and teary while waiting for his/her turn to get a shot, I would:
   a. tell him/her to shape up or he/she won’t be allowed
to do something he/she likes to do (e.g., watch TV)  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. encourage my child to talk about his/her fears  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. tell my child not to make big deal of the shot  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
d. tell him/her not to embarrass us by crying  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
e. comfort him/her before and after the shot  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. talk to my child about ways to make it hurt less
   (such as relaxing so it won’t hurt or taking deep breaths).  1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. If my child is going over to spend the afternoon at a friend's house and becomes nervous and upset because I can’t stay there with him/her, I would:
   a. distract my child by talking about all the fun he/she will
   have with his/her friend  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. help my child think of things that he/she could do so that
   being at the friend's house without me wasn't scary
   (e.g., take a favorite book or toy with him/her)  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
c. tell my child to quit over-reacting and being a baby  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
d. tell the child that if he/she doesn't stop that he/she
   won't be allowed to go out anymore  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
e. feel upset and uncomfortable because of my child's reactions  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. encourage my child to talk about his/her nervous feelings  1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. If my child is participating in some group activity with his/her friends and proceeds to make a mistake and then looks embarrassed and is about to cry, I would:
   a. comfort my child and try to make him/her feel better  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
c. feel uncomfortable and embarrassed myself  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
d. tell my child to straighten up or we'll go home right away  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
e. encourage my child to talk about his/her feelings
   of embarrassment  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. tell my child that I'll help him/her practice so that
   he/she can do better next time  1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. If my child is about to appear in a recital or sports activity and becomes visibly nervous
   about people watching him/her, I would:
   a. help my child think of things that he/she could do to
   get ready for his/her turn (e.g., to do some warm-ups and
   not to look at the audience)  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. suggest that my child think about something relaxing
   so that his/her nervousness will go away  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
c. remain calm and not get nervous myself  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
d. tell my child that he/she is being a baby about it  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
e. tell my child that if he/she doesn’t calm down, we’ll
   have to leave and go home right away  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. encourage my child to talk about his/her nervous feelings  1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8. If my child receives an undesirable birthday gift from a friend and looks obviously disappointed after opening it in the presence of the friend, I would:
   a. encourage my child to express his/her disappointed feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. tell my child that the present can be exchanged for something the child wants 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. NOT be annoyed with my child for being rude 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. scold my child for being insensitive to the friend's feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. try to get my child to feel better by doing something fun 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. If my child is panicky and can't go to sleep after watching a scary TV show, I would:
   a. encourage my child to talk about what scared him/her 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. get upset with him/her for being silly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. tell my child that he/she is over-reacting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. help my child think of something to do so that he/she can get to sleep (e.g., take a toy to bed, leave the lights on) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. tell him/her to go to bed or he/she won't be allowed to watch any more TV 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. do something fun with my child to help him/her forget about what scared him/her 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. If my child is playing with other children and one of them calls him/her names, and my child then becomes tearful, I would:
   a. tell my child not to make a big deal out of it 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. feel upset myself 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. tell my child to behave or we'll have to go home right away 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. help my child think of constructive things to do when other children tease him/her (e.g., find other things to do) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. comfort him/her and play a game to take his/her mind off the upsetting event 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. encourage him/her to talk about how it hurts to be teased 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. If my child yells and kicks the shopping cart when he/she cannot have a toy when we are grocery shopping, I would:
   a. get angry/upset with my child 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. tell my child that he/she will be sent to his/her room when we get home from the store 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. tell my child that he/she is being immature and that the toy is silly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. distract my child by talking about a fun activity we could do later that day 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. tell my child that he/she can use some of his/her allowance money for the toy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. tell my child that it is okay to have strong feelings when you don't get something you want 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
12. If my child begins to cry because he/she has just learned that his/her first pet has died, I would:
   a. stay calm and not show my child that I am sad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. tell my child that is what happens when pets are not taken care of 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. tell my child that the pet was old anyways so he/she should not be that sad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. distract my child by talking about a fun activity we can do together 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. help my child in having a small funeral for the pet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. encourage my child to talk about his/her sad thoughts and feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. If my child becomes angry because he/she has to go to afterschool tutoring instead of a fun activity, I would:
   a. become upset with my child 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. tell my child that he/she will not be allowed to attend the next fun activity either 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. tell my child he/she is overreacting and that the activity will not be much fun 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. comfort my child and try to get him/her to think about doing something fun after tutoring 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. help my child think of things he/she could do to have fun after tutoring 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. encourage my child to talk about his/her anger 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. If my child yells and throws a game piece after losing a game he/she was playing, I would:
   a. not be annoyed with my child for being angry 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. send my child to his/her room to calm down 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. tell my child he/she is overreacting and being a sore loser 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. suggest that my child try doing something fun on his/her own in the next game 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. help my child to practice the game so he/she will do better 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. tell my child that sometimes people feel angry when they lose 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. If my child is presenting his/her book report in class that day and becomes nervous and upset about speaking in front of the class, I would:
   a. distract my child by talking about all the fun he/she will have talking about what he/she has learned 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   b. help my child think of things that he/she could do so that speaking in front of the class will not be as scary (e.g. look at his/her friends or read from a script) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   c. tell my child to quit over-reacting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   d. tell my child that if he/she doesn’t stop that he/she will not get to play his/her favorite game after school 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   e. feel upset and uncomfortable because of my child’s reactions 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
   f. encourage my child to talk about his/her nervous feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
16. If my child throws his/her pencil or crumples up his/her paper in frustration while working on his/her homework assignments, I would:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>become angry with my child</td>
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<td>b.</td>
<td>tell my child that he/she cannot go anywhere until his/her homework is finished</td>
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<td>c.</td>
<td>tell my child that getting angry isn’t going to help get his/her homework done any faster</td>
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<td>d.</td>
<td>comfort my child and try to get him/her to forget about his/her frustrations</td>
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<td>e.</td>
<td>help my child to finish his/her homework</td>
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<td>f.</td>
<td>tell my child it is okay to get angry and frustrated when things are challenging</td>
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