

ABSTRACT

LEARY, KEVIN ANDREW. Parental Socialization of Children's Pride and the Relationship Between Pride and Children's Social Functioning. (Under the direction of Amy Halberstadt, Ph.D.).

Throughout childhood, parents attempt to socialize their children's socio-emotional competence in an effort to foster culturally appropriate behavior and forms of expression (Cole & Tan, 2007; Ogbu, 1981) and parental socialization behaviors are based, in part, upon the beliefs that parents possess concerning children's emotions (Halberstadt, Thompson, Parker, & Dunsmore, 2008; McGillicuddy-DeLisi & Sigel, 1995). Parents may attempt to socialize their children's emotions in any number of ways, including modeling through their own expressions of emotions, engaging in emotion-related discussions with children, and responding to children's expressions of emotion (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998). As children get older, the emotions that parents socialize become more complex yet continue to be important for children's self-regulatory skills and interpersonal relations. Of particular interest is the emotion of pride, which develops gradually throughout childhood as children's self-views become increasingly capable of accommodating the thoughts and perceptions of others. This study examined the socialization of children's feelings and expressions of pride in a sample of African-American and European American mother-child dyads ($N = 196$). The sample consisted of children in third grade because children at this age are able to interpret others' thoughts and feelings as well as accurately self-report their own feelings and behaviors. Mothers' self-reported beliefs about the value of positive emotions, beliefs about the danger of emotion, and positive expressiveness were examined in relation to children's self-reported feelings and expressions of pride. In addition, the relationship between children's pride and social functioning was investigated via teacher reports of children's social skills and behavior. Results revealed that mothers' beliefs about the value of positive

emotion and the danger of emotion were significantly and positively related to children's feelings of pride and mothers' belief about the value of positive emotion was significantly associated with children's expressions of pride. Mothers' positive expressiveness in the family did not relate to children's pride. Children's expressions of pride were uniquely related to children's externalizing behavior even when controlling for emotion regulation whereas children's feelings of pride were not. Interestingly, differential relationships were found for the socialization of pride with the relations between children's pride and social functioning on the basis of ethnicity. The results of this study provide initial insight into the socialization of children's pride, the impact of pride on children's social behavior, and the cultural differences that may influence the construction, meaning, socialization, and implications of children's pride.

Parental Socialization of Children's Pride and the Relationship Between
Pride and Children's Social Functioning

by
Kevin Andrew Leary

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APPROVED BY:

Amy G. Halberstadt, Ph.D.
Committee Chair

Rupert Nacoste, Ph.D.

Daniel Grühn, Ph.D.

Heather A. Davis, Ph.D.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my dissertation to my parents Mark and Wendy, my brother Collin, and my wife Julie, whose continual love, support, and encouragement have made all the difference.

BIOGRAPHY

Kevin Leary was born in Austin, Texas and was raised in Kernersville, North Carolina. He graduated from East Forsyth High School in 2003. He went on to attend North Carolina State University in Raleigh, North Carolina and graduated in 2007 with a B.A. in Psychology and a minor in Sociology. He received his M.A. in Psychology from Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina in 2009 before returning to North Carolina State University and enrolling in the doctoral program in Life-Span Developmental Psychology. Kevin is a member of the American Psychological Association, the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Society for Research in Child Development, and the Society for Research on Adolescence.

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Introduction

The parent-child relationship is one of the most powerful contexts for the socialization of emotion, beginning early in life, continuing throughout the lifespan, and crossing a variety of contexts (Dix, 1991; Dunsmore & Halberstadt, 1997; Grusec, 2011; Halberstadt, Crisp, & Eaton, 1999; Maccoby, 1992). Parents may socialize their children's emotions in a number of ways and research addressing parental socialization of children's emotions suggests that the manner in which parents react to their children's emotions, discuss emotional experiences with their children, and express their own emotions in the presence of children have significant implications for children's experiences and expressions of emotion (see Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998, for a review). Cumulating evidence suggests that the beliefs that parents possess concerning children's emotions are foundational in organizing and guiding parental socialization behaviors (e.g., Dix, 1991; Halberstadt, Parker, Thompson, & Dunsmore, 2008; McGillicuddy-DeLisi & Sigel, 1995). Moreover, these beliefs are thought to reflect the value and importance of particular emotional outcomes given one's cultural-ecological perspective (e.g., Halberstadt & Lozada, 2011; Ogbu, 1981; Super & Harkness 1986). The present study explored mothers' beliefs regarding the value and danger associated with children's emotions, and also mothers' positive expressiveness in relation to children's own experience and expression of pride.

Pride is a complex emotion that requires the emergence of cognitive processes that allow children to perceive and understand the effects of one's own behavior on the thoughts and feelings of others. As a result of the developmental trajectory of such cognitive processes, parents can shape children's pride throughout childhood as children's self-

representations become increasingly developed and complex (Harter, 2006). Moreover, children's developing theory of mind, self-esteem, and social comparison abilities all impact the development of pride as well as its implications for social functioning.

Despite research supporting the association between pride and interpersonal outcomes in adulthood, no work has yet explored the associations between pride and social outcomes in children. Thus, the present study also examined children's experience and expression of pride in relation to social functioning in the school context above and beyond children's ability to regulate their emotions, which has been found to be a strong predictor of children's social functioning (Eisenberg et al., 1997; Eisenberg, Fabes, Guthrie, & Reiser, 2000; Rothbart & Bates, 2006; Spinrad et al., 2006). Additionally, because cultural and gender differences have been noted for other emotions (Eid & Diener, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) as well as the manner in which emotions are socialized (Fivush, 1989; Fivush, Brotman, Buckner, & Goodman, 2000), gender and ethnicity were preliminarily examined in the socialization of children's feelings and expressions of pride as well as in the relations between children's pride and social outcomes.

Goals and Aims of the Study

The primary goals of the current study were to examine the socialization of children's feelings and expressions of pride via mothers' belief about the value of positive emotion, belief about the danger of emotion, and positive expressiveness within the family and to explore the implications of children's feelings and expressions of pride for children's social skills and behavior (e.g., externalizing behavior, social problem solving). Further, the present study sought to provide a preliminary investigation of the manner in which cultural

expectations impact the relations between parental socialization and children's pride as well as children's pride and social behavior. To that end, gender and ethnicity differences in the associations among variables were examined to offer initial insight as to the extent to which cultural differences in emotion-related socialization may moderate the hypothesized relationships (see Figure 1 for theoretical model).

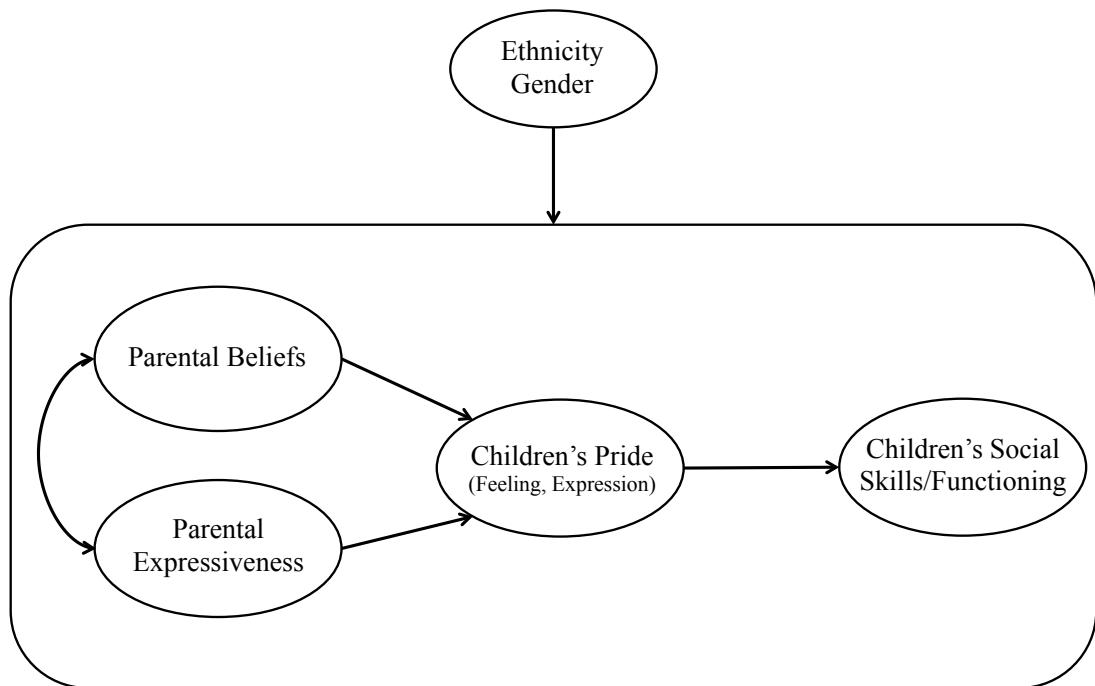


Figure 1. *Theoretical model displaying hypothesized relationships among parental beliefs, children's pride, and children's social functioning.*

In sum, the current study had four aims:

Aim 1: To examine mothers' beliefs about the value of emotion (1a) and beliefs about the danger of emotion (1b) as they relate to children's feelings and expressions of pride.

Aim 2: To determine the extent to which the expression of mothers' positive emotions within the familial context relates to children's feelings and expressions of pride.

Aim 3: To determine the extent to which children's feelings and expressions of pride relate to children's social functioning, including externalizing behavior (3a) and sociocognitive skills (3b).

Aim 4: To preliminarily explore the extent to which culture impacts the socialization of pride and the relationship between pride and children's social functioning by examining differences in the relationships among variables as a function of child gender (4a) and ethnicity (4b).

Below I describe the major constructs assessed in this study and the hypothesized relations among them. I begin with parental socialization of children's emotions with a focus on the importance of parental beliefs and patterns of expressiveness. I then focus on the function pride, the process of its development throughout childhood, and its' importance for social functioning. Finally, I discuss the potential role of culture in determining the value, purpose, and expression of pride and how this may relate to parental socialization of children's pride.

Parental Socialization of Children's Emotions

Parental beliefs. Parental beliefs are thought to be the foundations upon which attitudes are based and serve to organize and guide parental behaviors. Parental beliefs about children's emotions are differentiated from similar constructs such as parental attitudes, goals, and attributions regarding children's emotions. Specifically, parental beliefs lack the evaluative component of attitudes as well as the desire for particular outcomes associated

with parental goals. Attributions are simply the guidelines that parents follow in applying their emotion-related beliefs (McGillicuddy-DeLisi & Sigel, 1995; see Parker et al., 2012). For example, parents who believe that positive emotions are valuable should be more likely to have a positive attitude toward children's expression of positive emotions, including pride.

An accumulating literature supports the associations between parental emotion-related beliefs and parents' emotion socialization behaviors in affecting child outcomes (Dunsmore & Halberstadt, 1997; Dunsmore, Her, Halberstadt, & Perez-Rivera, 2009; Halberstadt et al., 2008; Wong, McElwain, & Halberstadt, 2009). Such work suggests that parental beliefs may serve to organize and guide parents' subsequent socialization behaviors, which then impact children's emotion-related outcomes. For example, parents who believe negative emotions provide valuable emotional experiences for children report reacting less nonsupportively to children's displays of negative emotions (Wong et al., 2008). Similarly, parents who believe that emotions are dangerous for children tend to exhibit less emotional expressiveness and greater masking of emotion in the presence of children (Halberstadt et al., 2008).

With respect to the impact of parental beliefs on child outcomes, parents' belief about the danger of emotion has been positively related to children's likelihood of engaging in avoidant and distraction coping strategies, ultimately resulting in children's avoidance of emotion in real-world situations (e.g., the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001; Halberstadt et al., 2008). Conversely, children of parents who believe in the value of emotion tend to engage in greater support-seeking and problem-solving coping strategies than children of parents who believe less strongly in the value of emotion (Halberstadt et al., 2008).

Relatedly, an inverse relation has been found between parents' belief that children can learn about emotions on their own (i.e., without parental guidance) and children's emotion understanding, suggesting that a laissez-faire approach to the socialization of their children's emotions may result in children having less emotion understanding than when parents take an active role in socializing their children's emotional development (Perez-Rivera & Dunsmore, 2011). This line of work suggests that parents' beliefs about their children's emotions may guide their socialization behaviors and that such behaviors effectively inculcate particular styles of emotion expression, regulation, and understanding in children (see also Dunsmore & Karn 2001, 2004).

The current study focused specifically on the extent to which parents' beliefs about the value of positive emotions and the danger of emotion related to children's reported feelings and expressions of pride. Parents' belief about the value of children's positive emotion may be important in relation to the development of pride because parents who value positive emotions in their children may be more likely to inculcate and encourage feelings of pride in an effort to increase the positive emotions experienced by their children. Parents' belief about the danger of children's emotions may be important to study because parents who believe that emotions are dangerous may tend to view pride more negatively and associate feelings of pride with aversive or problematic behaviors and characteristics, including hubris, narcissism, arrogance, and feelings of entitlement.

Additionally, the extent to which parental socialization beliefs and behaviors were differentially related to children's pride as a function of gender and ethnicity were preliminarily explored. Parental socialization behaviors are thought to be enacted based upon

the beliefs that parents possess concerning children's emotions (McGillicuddy-DeLisi & Sigel, 1995; Parker et al., 2012) and such socialization efforts likely reflect the value and importance of particular socioemotional outcomes from parents' cultural-ecological perspective (Ogbu, 1981). In this way, gender and ethnic differences in the associations between parental socialization variables and children's pride may reflect meaningful cultural differences in the extent to which pride is valued by parents and manner in which it is socialized.

Parental expressivity. Parental expression of emotion within the familial context is thought to have important implications for children's emotional experience, expression, and understanding, as well as other forms of social competence (Eisenberg et al., 1998; Halberstadt et al., 1999; Halberstadt & Eaton, 2002). Parental emotional reactions socialize children's emotions by modeling appropriate emotion-related behavior, exposing children to a range of emotions, and providing contingent feedback (e.g., approval and disapproval) about children's emotions and behavior (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Additionally, through parental modeling of emotional expression within the family context, children learn acceptable contexts for expressing emotion as well as how to understand their own emotion-related experiences (Dunsmore & Halberstadt, 1997).

Throughout childhood, children's developing sense of self-worth and self-esteem are shaped by parental feedback and expressivity (Halberstadt et al., 1999). Parental expression of positive affect has been related to greater self-esteem in children, as well as greater teacher-rated academic, social, and emotional functioning (Bronstein, Fitzgerald, Briones, Pieniadz, & D'Ari, 1993; Denham, Mitchell-Copeland, Strandberg, Auerbach & Blair, 1997;

Denham, Zoller, & Couchoud, 1994; Laible & Song, 2006). Interestingly, Dunsmore, Bradburn, Costanzo, and Fredrickson (2009) found that maternal expressiveness of positive and negative-dominant emotions was linked to children's lower self-ratings of prosocial characteristics (e.g., loving, honest, caring, helpful, nice). These findings may suggest that parental expression of high levels of positive and negative-dominant (e.g., anger) emotions may result in the development of poor social skills in children, albeit through different means. High levels of parental expression of positive emotion may tend to include episodes of non-contingent praise in which parents provide children with undeserved positive feedback. This may inflate children's egos and sense of self, resulting in a greater likelihood of displaying narcissistic tendencies resulting in poor social functioning. Conversely, greater parental expression of anger in the absence of positive expression may result in lower self-esteem in children and lead to greater internalizing and externalizing behaviors.

Illustrating a more nuanced relationship between parental expressivity and children's outcomes, Valiente and colleagues (2004) found a curvilinear relationship between parental positive expressivity and sympathy in elementary school-aged children. Specifically, children of parents with moderate levels of positive expressivity showed greater sympathy than children of parents who were either high or low in positive expressivity. Such findings suggest that high levels of parental positive expressivity may result in poor social outcomes for children, perhaps by fostering children's narcissistic tendencies resulting in less sympathy for others. Thus, in the present study, both linear and curvilinear relationships between mothers' positive expressiveness and children's feelings and expressions of pride were examined.

Pride

The function of pride. Despite cultural differences in the value and acceptance of particular emotions, theorists have posited that emotions are universal and have evolved to serve specific functions that are likely to result in the most adaptive outcomes in a given situation (Averill, 1980; Ekman, 1992; Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Kemper, 1984). Kemper (1984) noted that emotions were not simply mechanisms to promote biological survival, but were also important for social survival in that they facilitated the establishment and preservation of social organization. During our evolutionary past, social bonding was likely vital for survival, as an individual excluded from the social group was less likely to survive and reproduce (Ainsworth, 1989; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Bowlby, 1969). Consequently, as humans evolved and acquired self-awareness, other self-related mechanisms (e.g., self-esteem, self-reflection) may have developed to provide feedback concerning one's standing in the social group and motivate behavioral change to reduce the likelihood of social exclusion (Leary, 2007; Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995).

In the process, the evolutionary emergence of self-reflection allowed humans to begin to experience self-relevant or “self-conscious” emotions as a form of salient feedback regarding the attainment of social goals, including the promotion of status and avoidance of rejection (Tracy & Robins, 2004a). For example, shame, guilt, and embarrassment are usually aversive emotional experiences that provide feedback regarding the social acceptability of our behaviors or actions and guide future behavior in an effort to avoid such feelings (Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Miller, 2007; Tangney, 1995; Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

Conversely, the positive feelings associated with pride motivate and reinforce individuals' engagement in socially valued behavior so as to increase the likelihood of experiencing desired social outcomes, such as higher social status and positive interpersonal interactions (Hart & Matsuba, 2007; Tracy & Robins, 2007a). Pride may not always have entirely positive outcomes, however. Too much pride may have important negative repercussions for social status and interpersonal functioning, and has been associated with a number of anti-social outcomes, including narcissism, aggression, self-aggrandizement, and low self-esteem (Baumeister, Bushman, & Campbell, 2000; Tracy & Robins, 2007b).

Development of pride. Although research examining the development of pride is limited, evidence suggests that pride—as well as self-conscious emotions broadly—requires the emergence of a complex and integrated series of self-related developmental milestones that include self-awareness, theory of mind, social comparison, and self-evaluation (Lagattuta & Thompson, 2007). Children's expression of pride following successful completion of difficult experimental tasks is first seen between two and three years of age (Belsky, Domitrovich, & Crnic, 1997; Lewis, Alessandri, & Sullivan, 1992; Reissland & Harris, 1991; Stipek, Recchia, McClintic, & Lewis, 1992). In contrast to children's expressions of pride, children's understanding of pride appears to first begin to emerge during the preschool years, and continues to develop further through preschool and elementary school. By four years of age, children are capable of expressing pride following their own successes and reliably recognize and identify prototypical expressions of pride in others at rates similar to basic emotions such as anger and sadness (Tracy, Robins, & Lagattuta, 2005).

Not coincidentally, children's ability to understand the thoughts and perspectives of others (i.e., theory of mind) increases substantially around the fourth year of life (Wimmer & Perner, 1983; Wellman, Cross, & Watson, 2001). Children's developing theory of mind at this age allows for children to begin to understand contextual variables in other's feelings of pride and to distinguish pride from emotions with similar expressions (e.g., happiness). However, the ability to fully understand pride does not appear to be developed until 8 or 9 years of age, at which point children are capable of making distinctions among the causes of success for themselves and others (i.e., luck or effort) and can attribute pride accordingly (Kornilaki & Chlouverakis, 2004). Moreover, by this age children have developed stable self-representations and are able to internalize the standards and expectations of others and use them to guide their behavior (Harter, 1999; Stipek et al., 1992).

For children who experience normal cognitive development, individual differences in pride likely emerge as a result of socialization differences that are embedded within the values and expectations that parents possess based upon their cultural background (Halberstadt & Lozada, 2011). For example, promoting positive self-feelings in children is thought to be an important task for parents in individualistic cultures (Chao, 1995). How parents socialize pride, by responding to their children's successes and accomplishments or otherwise socializing positive emotionality may have important implications for children's propensity for feeling and expressing pride. For instance, positive expressions and praise focusing on children's abilities or characteristics rather than effort have been found to predict short-term pride, but lower achievement motivation over time (see Dweck, 2007; Kamins & Dweck, 1999; Mueller & Dweck, 1998). Parental positive expressivity has also been linked

to children's self-image and prosocial behaviors in intriguing ways. For example, overly positive parental expressivity predicts lower prosocial characteristics in children (Dunsmore et al., 2009; Valiente et al., 2004). Some researchers have gone so far as to suggest that the steadily increasing rates of narcissism found among college students in the United States is attributable to the so-called "self-esteem movement" in which parents have begun to provide children with unwarranted praise in an effort to produce high self-esteem and positive self-feelings in children (Harter, 2012). In their attempts to increase children's positive self-regard by providing non-contingent praise, parents are also likely shaping children's understanding of when and how to feel and express pride in themselves.

Pride and social functioning. Research supports the existence of two facets of pride that possess unique personality profiles and have different implications for social functioning (Lewis, 2000; Tracy & Robins, 2007b; Tracy, Shariff, & Cheng, 2010). Authentic pride is based on specific accomplishments and is accompanied by a genuine, realistic sense of self-worth, whereas hubristic pride consists of a distorted, self-aggrandized perception of the self as a whole and global appraisals of the self that are more loosely tied to particular events and accomplishments. Authentic pride has been positively associated with prosocial and achievement-oriented personality characteristics, including agreeableness, conscientiousness, and openness as well as emotional stability and stable self-esteem, and hubristic pride has been negatively related to agreeableness and conscientiousness and positively related to narcissism and aggression (Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich, 2010; Tracy, Cheng, Robins, & Trzesniewski, 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007b). Thus, distorted, excessive feelings of pride in one's accomplishments appear to be associated with negative personality characteristics (e.g.,

narcissism), anti-social behaviors, and aggression, perhaps as a result of low self-esteem (Baumeister et al., 2000; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). No work has yet explored authentic and hubristic pride in children and the impact of such characteristics on social behavioral outcomes. Although assessments of authentic and hubristic pride were not directly assessed in the present study, these forms might occur with greater frequency in children at different points in the spectrum of felt and/or expressed pride. For example, children at the high extreme of pride expression may be more likely to possess hubristic tendencies than children who express pride less readily and have more social difficulties as a result.

It is also possible that pride is curvilinearly rather than linearly related to children's social outcomes. For example, children who are either low in pride or very prideful may both be more likely to engage in externalizing behavior, albeit for different reasons. For children who are low in pride, poor self-image may lead to greater externalizing behavior as individuals attempt to improve self-esteem by engaging in externalizing behaviors and aggressing against others (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Donnellan, Trzesniewski, Robins, Moffitt, & Caspi, 2005; Lochman & Dodge, 1994). For children who express pride most intensely, hubris and narcissism may be more prevalent and result in greater aggression and other externalizing behaviors as feelings of pride and self-worth tend to be less stable for these individuals. Thus, children who report high levels of pride may be more likely to respond to threats to the self with aggression and externalizing behavior in order to enhance or protect self-feelings. The current study examined the curvilinear relationships between children's pride and social functioning to ascertain whether tendencies toward being very

prideful and experiencing or expressing very little pride were both associated with maladaptive social behavior.

Additionally, children's success in social interactions is affected by their overall emotionality or emotional intensity (Rothbart & Bates, 2006; Sallquist et al., 2009), as well as the extent to which they are able to regulate their emotions (Eisenberg et al., 1997; Eisenberg et al., 2000; Spinrad et al., 2006). Such research suggests that this is particularly true for children who are more emotionally intense (Eisenberg et al., 1997; Eisenberg et al., 2000; Gross, 2002). Positive emotionality in general seems especially important for children's successful navigation of social interactions and peer relationships, as the expression of positive emotion signals interest in and desire for interpersonal affiliations (Abe, Beetham, & Izard, 2002; Schultz, Izard, Stapleton, Buckingham-Howes, & Bear, 2009). As mentioned above, pride may motivate and draw attention to engagement socially valued behaviors and, thus, promote one's social standing. With respect to the regulation of pride, the extent to which a child is able to modulate the expression of pride may impact whether such expression is interpreted positively (e.g., child is viewed as humble, modest) or negatively (e.g., child is perceived as arrogant or boastful). Moreover, children's pride may also relate to social functioning independent of emotion regulation. In such a case, children's self-feelings that underlie the propensity to feel or express pride may prompt behaviors that impact social outcomes regardless of emotion regulation in general. In the present study, the unique effect of pride on children's social functioning was examined while controlling for overall emotion regulation ability. The present study is the first to assess the socialization of

both feelings and expressions of pride in children and their concomitant relations with social behavior.

Culture and Pride

As suggested above, parents' socialization behaviors are likely guided by beliefs that reflect the value and importance of particular emotional outcomes given one's cultural-ecological perspective (Ogbu, 1981). More specifically, parents' culture and ethnicity shape the goals, beliefs, and practices that guide parents' socialization of their children (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Super & Harkness, 1986) by impacting the relative emphasis caregivers place on particular emotions (e.g., pride) in the context of raising children (Cole & Tan, 2007; Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Keller et al., 2006). Based on the shared values and expectations of one's culture, parents engage in differential socialization strategies as they strive to rear socially and emotionally competent children within that culture (Cole & Tan, 2007; Halberstadt & Lozada, 2011; Ogbu, 1981). From this perspective, ethnic minorities may also attempt to socialize specific socioemotional competencies that they believe are likely to result in the most positive outcomes for their children based on the history of discrimination and racism the group has historically experienced as well as the discrimination minority individuals continue to face (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). In these ways, culture influences socialization goals, practices for rearing competent children, and beliefs about how children develop, all of which affect the day-to-day socialization of children. Thus, cultural differences in parental expression and socialization of emotion may affect the ways in which parents' attempt to shape the emotional development of their children and are important considerations in understanding parental socialization of children's pride.

Although differences exist within any demographic subgroup, for the purposes of the present study, ethnicity and gender were conceptualized as cultural variables that impact the manner in which pride is socialized and relates to social behavior. This decision was based on the broad, group-based differences in socioemotional norms, values, expectations, and collective histories that have been noted in previous research and are discussed below.

The culturally defined value of particular emotion skills or ways of expressing emotion may result in socializing emotions that are adaptive in one cultural group, but maladaptive in another (Friedlmeier, Corapci, & Cole, 2011). As such, children's socioemotional competence should be considered within the context of the child's culture (Halberstadt, Denham, & Dunsmore, 2001). For example, African American parents tend to discourage their children's expression of negative emotion and distress through greater control and reprimand than European American parents (Nelson, Leerkes, O'Brien, Calkins, & Marcovitch, 2012). Further, parental encouragement of negative expressiveness has been related to poorer social functioning for African American children, whereas encouragement of negative expressiveness has been linked to more positive social interactions for European American children (Nelson, Leerkes, Perry, O'Brien, Calkins, & Marcovitch, *in press*). Additionally, African American mothers' tendency to be more punitive of their children's displays of negative emotions likely reflects the belief that expression of negative emotion is more dangerous and is more likely to result in negative social consequences for African American children relative to European American children (Nelson, Leerkes, O'Brien et al., 2012). For positive emotional expressiveness, European American mothers tend to express, and value expressing, positive emotions with their children more so than African American

mothers (Deater-Deckard, Atzaba-Poria, & Pike, 2004; Zahn-Waxler, Friedman, Cole, Mizuta, & Hiruma, 1996). Again, it is important to note that while no cultural subgroup is entirely homogeneous, group differences in values, norms, and expectations that are based on collective social histories and on-going personal experiences (i.e., discrimination, marginalization, societal expectations) likely shape parents' socialization of children's socioemotional behavior. For this reason, ethnicity and child gender were conceptualized as instantiations of culture by which parents attempt to differentially socialize their children.

With respect to pride, African American mothers may be motivated to inculcate strong feelings and expressions of pride relative to European Americans in an attempt to buffer children from possible future instances of discrimination by instilling more positive feelings of self-worth. However, African Americans also tend to attend church more regularly and interpret the bible more literally than European Americans (Shelton & Emerson, 2012). Thus, African American mothers may also perceive pride more negatively than European American mothers in line with the Christian idiom that "pride goes before a fall". Therefore, African American parents may work to inculcate strong feelings of pride in their children, but attempt to instill the importance of masking one's pride so as to present one's self as modest and humble, whereas European American parents may be less concerned with teaching their children to mask their pride.

Additionally, gender stereotypes concerning the appropriate and acceptable expression of emotion for males and females within particular cultures may guide parental socialization of children's emotions (Brody & Hall, 2000; Brown, Craig, & Halberstadt, 2013; Kennedy Root & Denham, 2010). For example, parents tend to use more emotion

words in discussions of sad events with girls than boys (Fivush et al., 2000) and mothers have been found to discuss past events involving children's anger to a greater extent with their sons than with their daughters (Fivush, 1989). These findings further illustrate the need to be mindful of the role of gender in examinations of socialization of children's emotions.

Traditionally, it may be more socially acceptable for males to express pride in an effort to obtain or assert social dominance, whereas females may be expected to express less pride and to present themselves as modest and humble in social contexts (Eagly & Wood, 2012). However, observational work with young children has found no gender differences in children's propensity to express pride (Alessandri & Lewis, 1996; Lewis et al., 1992). As such, the sample of 8- to 9-year-olds included in the current study allowed for insight into children's feelings and expression of pride at a point in which children have developed the necessary cognitive abilities (e.g., self-awareness, theory of mind) to experience pride, but are still in process of being socialized by parents in culturally relevant ways. I hypothesized that boys would report expressing pride to a greater extent than girls, based the traditional cultural stereotypes that deem it more acceptable for boys to assert themselves and express displays of social dominance than girls. However, research with large samples of college students demonstrates only very small gender differences in self-reported pride (Brebner, 2003). No differences were expected in children's feelings of pride as a function of gender, as cultural values regarding the outward expression of the emotion may not pertain to internal experiences.

As with parental socialization, it is important to consider the effects of pride on children's social outcomes from a perspective that accounts for cultural differences in the

expected expression of emotion. Halberstadt et al. (2001) suggested that awareness of one's own emotional experiences in a given context and the appropriateness of the manner in which those emotional messages are conveyed has important implications for social functioning. With respect to pride, not masking one's emotions in specific social contexts—and thus displaying greater pride—may result in poorer social outcomes and social difficulties as children who do so may be more likely to be perceived as arrogant and narcissistic than children who can mask or dampen their expressions of pride. Further, cultural differences may result in disparate relations between children's pride and social behaviors as a result of differences in the rules concerning proper contexts for expressing one's self. In the present study the potentially moderating role of ethnicity and child gender in the associations between children's pride and children's social functioning were preliminarily explored. This approach allowed for an initial investigation of the differential impact of pride on social outcomes as a function of cultural norms and expectations. Although the effects of children's expressions of pride on children's social functioning were not expected to differ as a function of ethnicity, boys were expected experience fewer negative social consequences as a result of pride relative to girls due to cultural norms regarding the differential appropriateness of expressions of pride for boys and girls.

Method

Participants

Participants were 196 (94 female, 102 male) mother-child dyads participating in a larger study (Halberstadt & Garrett-Peters, 2010). One hundred twenty-one families were initially recruited through birth records by the Durham Child Health and Development Study

(DCHDS), a longitudinal investigation involving data collection at multiple time points when the children were between 3 and 36 months, and yearly during kindergarten, first grade, and second grade. Participants were recruited from a small city and surrounding suburban areas in central North Carolina. The present study collected data during the children's third grade year. In addition, to increase the sample size, seventy-five families were recruited via word of mouth by the original sample, announcements in elementary schools, and flyers in various locations in the city in which the research was conducted. Every attempt was made to maintain the ethnic and broad socioeconomic distribution achieved in the original sample. Of the 196 families in the final sample, 117 (53.8% female) were African American and 79 (39.2% female) were European American. The children were between 8 and 9 years old ($M_{age} = 8.73$ years, $S.D. = .34$).

Teachers of children were recruited to participate as well. Following the completion of each data collection session, mothers were asked to consent to our contacting their children's teachers as well as to provide contact information for teachers. Teachers who agreed to participate were mailed packets of measures along with pre-stamped and addressed envelopes to increase the ease and likelihood of measures being returned. One hundred sixty-six (84.6% of possible total) teachers returned completed measures.

Procedure

Mother-child dyads were contacted and scheduled to attend data collection sessions at their convenience. Two research assistants (one for mother, one for child) provided measures and administered tasks to the respective participants; a third assistant video-recorded the sessions.

Mothers were mailed a set of questionnaires prior to their scheduled session and brought these with them to the lab during their scheduled data collection session. Upon arrival for the study, participants were greeted by the researchers and welcomed to the lab. After obtaining informed consent and assent for the study activities, mothers and children were separated and taken to separate rooms for individual tasks.

Mothers began by completing questionnaires on a laptop computer. They then participated in dyadic activities not relevant to the present research. Demographic information was collected at the end of the session. At this point mothers were asked if the child's teacher could be contacted so as to collect additional information about the child regarding academic and social functioning in the school environment. Mothers were thanked and paid \$50 for their participation.

Following consent and assent, each child was interviewed by a research assistant, participated with their mother in several dyadic tasks, and filled out various questionnaires. Children received tickets for each task as they completed it. Regardless of the number of tickets donated, children were thanked and invited to select a toy as a gift for their participation. Data collection sessions averaged about two hours, with a snack in the middle. All interviews and dyadic tasks were video-recorded for later transcription and coding.

Research assistants engaged in extensive training prior to working with families. In addition to ethics certification and studying task-related manuals, research assistants participated in the tasks themselves as much as possible, and simulated the protocol with each other. Research assistants were also certified prior to working with families. Research teams were mixed race whenever possible and occasionally mixed gender as well.

Questionnaires were sent via mail to the teacher of each child whose mother provided the consent and contact information for the teacher. Teachers were contacted in the second school semester so that they had ample time to get to know their students. Teachers who completed and returned the questionnaires were sent \$25 as compensation for their time.

Measures

Parents' Beliefs About Children's Emotions Questionnaire (PBACE; Halberstadt, Dunsmore et al., 2008; see Appendix A). This questionnaire includes 11 subscales representing a variety of parental beliefs about children's emotions; the 11 scales were organized into five groupings and presented in random order. Mothers responded using 6-point Likert scales ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). Construct validity is supported by relations with parents' expression of feelings and emotion-related discussions following both mildly and intensely emotional events (Dunsmore, Her, 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; Perez Rivera & Dunsmore, 2011; Stelter & Halberstadt, 2011).

The subscales of theoretical interest in the current study were the 10-item "Positive emotions are valuable" subscale (e.g., "It is important for children to share their positive emotions with others", "It is important for children to feel pride in their accomplishments") and the 13-item "Emotions are problematic or dangerous" subscale (e.g., "Children who feel emotions strongly are likely to face a lot of trouble in life", "When children are too happy, they can get out of control"). Three items assessing the value of positive emotions explicitly addressed the importance or value of children feeling pride. In the present sample, internal

reliability estimates were $\alpha = .90$ and $\alpha = .87$ for positive emotions are valuable and emotions are dangerous, respectively.

Self-Expressiveness in the Family (SEFQ; Halberstadt, Cassidy, Stifter, Parke, & Fox, 1995; see Appendix B). The SEFQ is a 40-item instrument developed to measure the style of emotional expressiveness within the family. Mothers reported how frequently they engaged in emotionally expressive behavior within the family by responding to items on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not at all frequently) to 9 (Very frequently). For the larger data collection, of which this study was a part, a 29-item version was developed so that a sufficient number of both negative-submissive and negative-dominant items would be included in addition to the short form of the positive expressiveness scale. Items assessed expressiveness of positive emotions (e.g., “Praising someone for good work”, “Spontaneously hugging a family member”; 12 items; $\alpha = .88$), expressiveness of negative dominant emotions (e.g., “Showing contempt for (making fun of) another's actions”, “Quarreling with a family member”; 8 items; $\alpha = .73$), and expressiveness of negative submissive emotions (e.g., “Sulking (pouting) over unfair treatment by a family member”, “Falling to pieces when tension builds up”; 9 items; $\alpha = .77$). The SEFQ has demonstrated substantial reliability over 8 months and 1 year, as well as convergent and discriminant validity (Halberstadt et al., 1995). Of primary interest in the current study was the positive expressiveness subscale.

Emotion Regulation Checklist (ERC; Shields & Cicchetti, 1997; see Appendix C). Teachers responded to this 24-item checklist using a 4-point Likert scale (1 = Rarely/Never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Often, and 4 = Almost always). The measure consists of

two subscales. The Lability/Negativity subscale measures lack of flexibility and the inability to regulate negative affect. Sample items include “Exhibits wide mood swings” and “Is prone to angry outbursts”. The Emotion Regulation subscale measures children’s regulatory ability, empathy, and emotional self-awareness including “Can modulate excitement (doesn’t get ‘carried away’ in high energy situations)”, “Is empathic toward others”, and “Can say when s/he is feeling sad, angry or mad, fearful or afraid”. The ERC has shown strong convergence with other established behavioral measures (e.g., Minnesota Behavior Ratings, CBCL; Shields & Cicchetti, 1997). The emotion regulation subscale was of primary interest and was found to possess sufficient internal reliability in this sample ($\alpha = .87$).

Pride (see Appendix D). Children’s proclivity to experience and express pride was assessed via responses to five vignettes and questions created for this study. Vignettes were designed to assess a breadth of situations in which children commonly experience pride. The five vignettes were (a) getting the highest grade in the class on a difficult test, (b) being chosen by the teacher for a special activity, (c) scoring the winning point for one’s team while playing a game, (d) being acknowledged for doing a great job while helping your mother cook dinner, and (e) being thanked and acknowledged for being a good friend after helping a friend who gets hurt. For each vignette, children were asked to imagine that they were in the situation and to respond with how proud they would feel in that situation as well as how much pride they would show, using a 5-point Likert type scale (1 = Not at all, 5 = Very much). Vignettes were read aloud to children who could also read the questions along with the research assistant if they chose. Scores for feeling and expressing pride were

computed by averaging relevant items. Internal consistency estimates of Cronbach's alpha were .62 and .70 for feeling and showing pride, respectively.

Social Skills Rating System (SSRS; Gresham & Elliott, 1990; see Appendix E).

The SSRS is a 55-item measure that assesses children's social skills and problem behaviors across six domains. The social skills subscales include cooperation, assertion, and self-control. The cooperation subscale assesses behaviors such as helping others, sharing materials, and complying with rules and directions. The assertion subscale measures initiating behaviors such as asking others for information, introducing oneself and responding to the actions of others. The self-control subscale assesses behaviors that emerge in conflict situations, such as controlling one's temper, and in non-conflict situations that require taking turns and compromising. The problem behavior domains include externalizing (verbal or physical aggression) and internalizing (sadness, anxiety, low self-esteem) subscales.

Both teachers and parents responded to each item on a scale from 0 to 2, where 0 = never, 1 = sometimes, and 2 = very often. Scores were summed across subscale items to produce composite scores. The SSRS has demonstrated evidence of internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and construct validity (Gresham & Elliott, 1990; Burchinal, Roberts, Zeisel, & Rowley, 2008) and invariance for African American and European American populations (Decker, Dona, and Christenson, 2007). In the current study, internal consistency estimates ranged from .87 to .92 across all subscales. The subscale assessing children's externalizing behavior was the subscale of primary interest, because of its theoretical associations with hubristic pride, narcissism, and aggressive or anti-social behaviors.

Social Cognitive Skills Rating Scale-Teacher Version (SCSRS-T; Kupersmidt, Stelter, & Parker, 2013; see Appendix F). This 11-item scale assessed teachers' perceptions of children's social-cognitive functioning with peers through teachers' ratings of children's sociocognitive difficulties and sociocognitive strengths. Teachers responded to items on a 4-point Likert-type scale (0 = Not at all and 3 = Very often). Subscale scores were computed by averaging across items. Reliability estimates showed sufficient internal consistency within the subscales for sociocognitive difficulties and sociocognitive strengths as well ($\alpha = .84$ and $\alpha = .95$, respectively). The subscale of children's sociocognitive strengths was the scale of theoretical interest for the study. This subscale included items assessing social problem solving (e.g., "This child chooses good solutions to solving problems with other children") and concern for others' emotions subscale (e.g., "This child cares about other children's feelings").

Results

Analytical Approach

In order to obtain reasonably stable parameter estimates, it is recommended that a sample be larger enough to have 10 participants per model parameter (Kline, 1998). The full theoretical model did not meet these requirements and, thus, two separate path analyses were conducted. The first was intended to concurrently test the associations between parental socialization variables and children's feelings and expression of pride. The second path analysis tested the linear and curvilinear effects of children's feelings and expressions of pride on children's socio-behavioral and socio-cognitive outcomes. First, correlations among all variables were examined for the overall sample as well as separately for males, females,

European Americans, and African Americans. Fisher's r-to-z transformations were then used to test differences between the strengths of the associations among variables by gender and ethnicity. This approach allowed for a preliminary exploration of possible interaction effects despite the inability to test moderation through multi-group analyses. Additionally, preliminary analyses were conducted to test for mean differences in all variables of interest by gender and ethnicity prior to testing the path models.

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to analysis, all variables were examined for cases in which values were more than three standard deviations from the mean. Tests of the effect of outliers on estimates of coefficients (e.g., Leverage, Mahalanobis Distance, Cook's D) were also used to identify outliers that might assert undue influence on slope estimates in the analyses. Only one such case was identified and this outlier was removed from all subsequent analyses.

Next, descriptive statistics for all variables of interest were examined, including means, standard deviation, skew, and kurtosis. As seen in Table 1, mothers' belief about the value of positive emotions was the sole variable that was significantly negatively skewed. Perhaps unsurprisingly, mothers reported adhering strongly to the belief that it is important for children to feel positive emotions such as happiness and pride.

Mean differences for gender and ethnicity were also examined for all variables of interest in the present study. As shown in Table 2, mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotions, beliefs about the danger of emotions, and mothers' positive expressiveness did not differ as a function of child gender. Teachers reported that girls demonstrated significantly higher emotion regulation, sociocognitive skills (e.g., social

problem solving), and fewer externalizing behaviors relative to boys. Further, girls reported a greater tendency than boys to feel and express pride. With regard to ethnicity, no differences were found in the extent to which mothers' expressed positive emotions in the family.

However, African American mothers reported stronger beliefs in both the value of positive emotion and the danger of emotion compared to European American mothers. Teachers rated European American children as having significantly greater emotion regulation, greater sociocognitive skills, and fewer externalizing behaviors than African American children. Finally, African American children self-reported feeling and expressing more pride than their European American counterparts.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Mothers' Beliefs and Expressiveness, Children's Pride, and Children's Social Skills

	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	Skew	S.E. Skew	Kurtosis	S.E. Kurtosis
Mother-rated Variables							
Value of Pos. Emotion	195	5.75	0.39	-2.27	0.17	6.52	0.34
Danger of Emotions	195	2.62	0.92	0.60	0.17	0.52	0.34
Pos. Expressiveness	195	7.16	1.22	-0.96	0.17	1.31	0.34
Child-rated variables							
Pride (Feel)	199	3.11	0.60	-0.69	0.17	0.12	0.34
Pride (Express)	199	1.82	1.06	0.19	0.17	-0.84	0.34
Teacher-rated variables							
Emotion Regulation	159	3.18	0.57	-0.84	0.19	0.47	0.38
Externalizing Behavior	159	2.13	3.00	1.83	0.19	2.94	0.38
Sociocognitive Skills	157	1.91	0.77	-0.21	0.19	-0.84	0.38

Table 2

Means (SD) and Difference Tests for All Variables by Gender and Ethnicity

Variable	Child Gender			Ethnicity		Gen X Eth	
	Male	Female	<i>d</i>	EA	AA	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i>
Mother Reported Variables							
Value of Positive Emotion	5.77 (0.36)	5.73 (0.43)	0.10	5.67 (0.46)	5.80 (0.33)	0.33*	1.22
Danger of Emotion	2.62 (0.87)	2.64 (0.97)	0.02	2.34 (0.69)	2.82 (1.00)	0.56***	0.15
Positive Expressiveness	7.12 (1.21)	7.20 (1.23)	0.07	7.32 (1.04)	7.05 (1.32)	0.23	0.29
Child Reported Variables							
Pride (Feel)	3.01 (0.60)	3.21 (0.59)	0.34*	2.87 (0.66)	3.27 (0.49)	0.69***	0.00
Pride (Express)	1.64 (1.01)	2.01 (1.09)	0.35*	1.40 (0.95)	2.10 (1.05)	0.70***	1.07
Teacher Reported Variables							
Emotion Regulation	3.04 (0.52)	3.33 (0.59)	0.52**	3.31 (0.48)	3.08 (0.61)	0.42*	0.22
Externalizing Behavior	2.77 (3.35)	1.41 (2.37)	0.47**	1.26 (1.95)	2.73 (3.43)	0.43**	0.33
Sociocognitive Skills	1.76 (0.74)	2.07 (0.77)	0.41*	2.16 (0.69)	1.74 (0.87)	0.53**	0.01

Correlational Analyses

As shown in Table 3, mothers' positive expressiveness in the family was significantly correlated with mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion and negatively associated with mothers' beliefs about the danger of emotion. Mothers' positive expressiveness was not, however, related to children's feelings or expressions of pride. The quadratic associations between mothers' positive expressiveness and children's pride were also examined to test for possible curvilinear effects. Results revealed no curvilinear relationship between mothers' positive expressiveness within the family and children's feelings of pride ($r = .03, p = .71$) nor between mothers' positive expressiveness and children's expression of pride ($r = .00, p = .95$). Mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion and the danger of emotion were significantly related to children's feelings of pride, and belief about the value of positive emotion was significantly correlated with children's expression of pride. Surprisingly, mothers' belief about the danger of emotion was positively related to children's feelings of pride. Feelings of pride were also significantly correlated with children's expression of pride.

Additionally, Fisher's r -to- z transformations were used to explore group differences in the relationships between variables on the basis of gender and ethnicity. As can be seen in Table 4, no gender differences were found, suggesting similarities across child gender in the relationships between the measured parental socialization variables and children's pride-related feelings and social behavior.

Table 3

Correlations Among Parental Emotion-Related Socialization Variables, Children's Pride, and Child Socio-emotional Variables

	Mother Report	Child Report		Teacher Report		1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
	1	2	3	4	5		
Mother Reported Variables							
1. Value of Positive Emotions							
2. Danger of Emotions		.04					
3. Positive Expressiveness	.21**		-.15*				
Child Reported Variables							
4. Pride (Feel)	.27***	.17*		.13†			
5. Pride (Express)	.16*		.14†	.08	.53***		
Teacher Reported Variables							
6. Emotion Regulation	-.02	-.10	.09	.04	-.06		
7. Externalizing Behavior	.09		.19*	-.03	-.17*	.15†	
8. Sociocognitive Skills	-.07		-.25**	.18*	-.06	-.13	
					.70***	-.61***	

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

Table 4

Test of Gender Differences Between Correlations of Variables (z-scores)

	Mother Report			Child Report		Teacher Report	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mother Reported Variables							
1. Value of Positive Emotions							
2. Danger of Emotions		0.84					
3. Positive Expressiveness	0.22		1.07				
Child Reported Variables							
4. Pride (Feel)	0.01	0.73		-0.21			
5. Pride (Express)	0.00	-0.11	0.35		-0.97		
Teacher Reported Variables							
6. Emotion Regulation	-0.06	-0.09	-0.57	0.13		-0.71	
7. Externalizing Behavior	-0.69	1.50	0.25	0.13	-0.61		-0.84
8. Sociocognitive Skills	0.26	-0.87	-0.61	1.16	0.53	0.90	0.44

Note. ^a $p < .10$.

Table 5

Test of Ethnicity Differences Between Correlations of Variables (z-scores)

	Mother Report		Child Report		Teacher Report		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mother Reported Variables							
1. Value of Positive Emotions							
2. Danger of Emotions		-0.15					
3. Positive Expressiveness	1.00		0.25				
Child Reported Variables							
4. Pride (Feel)	1.28	0.12		-0.31			
5. Pride (Express)	2.17*	0.34	-0.22		0.84		
Teacher Reported Variables							
6. Emotion Regulation	-0.72	0.13	-1.01	-1.01	-0.67		
7. Externalizing Behavior	0.02	0.25	0.37	1.46	0.78	0.44	
8. Sociocognitive Skills	-1.52	0.44	-0.95	-2.67**	-2.10*	-0.98	0.20

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

However, as shown in Table 5, significant differences emerged among correlations on the basis of ethnicity. Once again, few differences were found in the correlations between mother-reported emotion socialization variables and children's pride. However, the association between mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion and children's expression of pride was significantly stronger for European American families ($r = .29, p = .01$) than African American families ($r = -.02, p = .84$). This finding indicates that the extent to which mothers valued positive emotions in children was related to a greater propensity for children to express pride in European American families relative to African American families. This finding may suggest differences in the way that pride is constructed and conceptualized within different socio-cultural groups.

Additionally, significant differences were found in the correlations between children's feelings and expressions of pride and children's sociocognitive skills for European American and African American children. These results revealed that feeling pride ($r = -.21, p = .09$) and expressing pride ($r = -.27, p = .03$) were inversely related to children's sociocognitive skills in European American children, which differed significantly from the correlations with feeling pride ($r = .23, p = .03$) and expressing pride ($r = .08, p = .47$) among African American children.

Path Analyses

To test the proposed relationships shown in the theoretical model in Figure 1, two separate path analyses were conducted. The first examined the effects of mothers' socialization variables on children's feelings and expressions of pride whereas the second explored the impact of children's feelings and expressions of pride on children's social

behavior and functioning. This approach allowed for an examination of the associations among parental socialization variables while concurrently testing the relationships between mothers' beliefs and behaviors and children's feelings and expressions of pride. As can be seen in Figure 2, this model was used to investigate the socialization of children's pride by examining the independent effects mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotions, beliefs about the danger of emotion, and positive expressivity as they relate to children's propensity to feel and express pride.

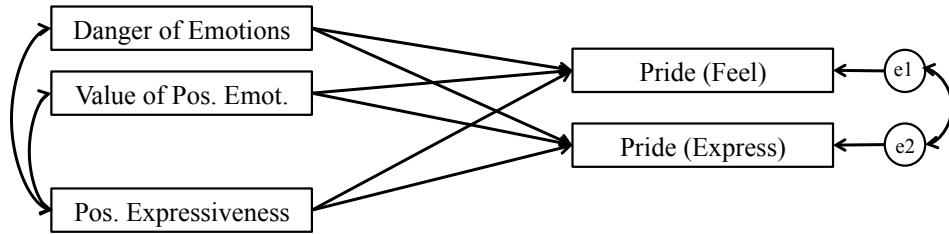


Figure 2. Model testing effects of parental socialization variables on children's pride.

Parental socialization of children's pride. As shown in Table 3, mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion and the danger of emotion were unrelated. Thus, to reduce the number of parameters estimated and increase parsimony, this path was not included in the initial model. Additionally, given the strength of the correlation between children's feelings and expressions of pride shown in Table 3, a path was included to estimate the relationship between these variables in the model. As endogenous variables, the correlation between the error terms reflects the association between children's feelings and

expressions of pride after controlling for variance accounted for by mothers' beliefs and positive expressiveness. In this sense, the relationship between children's feelings and expressions of pride estimated in this model can be interpreted as a partial correlation. That is, this correlation reflects the relationship between children's feelings and expressions of pride after accounting for variance shared by both variables with mothers' beliefs and expressiveness. This model was found to have adequate fit; $\chi^2(1) = 0.31$, $p = .58$; TLI = 1.08; CFI = 1.00; RMSEA = .00.

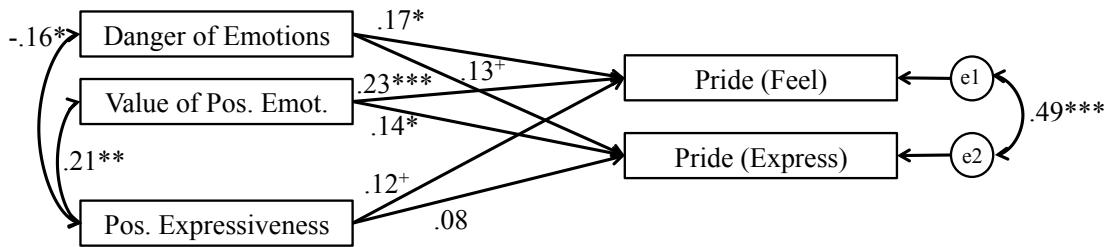


Figure 3. Results of model testing effects of parental socialization variables on children's pride.

Note. $^+p < .10$. $^*p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

The results of this model are shown in Figure 3. As can be seen, mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion significantly and uniquely predicted both children's feelings and expressions of pride. However, the r -to- z transformations reported earlier suggest that this relationship may be moderated by ethnicity although the present sample size precluded the ability to test such moderation in the current model. Mothers' positive expressiveness, however, was not related to children's feelings or expressions of pride, although the relationship between mothers' positive expressiveness and children's feelings of

pride approached significance. Interestingly, mothers' beliefs about the danger of emotions significantly and positively predicted children's feelings of pride and the relation between beliefs about the danger of emotion and children's expression of pride approached significance. In total, the parental socialization variables included in this model accounted for approximately 10% of the variance in children's feelings of pride and 5% of the variance in children's expressions of pride.

Pride and children's social behavior. In order to assess the independent effects of children's feelings and expression of pride on children's social outcomes over and above the effect of emotion regulation in general, an additional path analysis was conducted. As illustrated in Figure 4, children's propensities to feel pride, express pride, and regulate their emotions served as exogenous predictor variables with children's externalizing behavior and sociocognitive skills (i.e., social problem solving, concern for others' emotions) as endogenous outcome variables. Additionally, to examine the possible curvilinear nature of the relationships between children's pride and social behavior, the variables assessing children's feelings and expressions of pride were centered and quadratic terms were computed and included in the model. The centered linear terms for feeling and expression pride were entered as predictors in the model along with the quadratic terms. As seen in Table 3, emotion regulation was not correlated with children's feelings or expression of pride. Thus, these correlations were not included in the model. Additionally, preliminary analyses showed that children's externalizing behavior and sociocognitive skills were strongly correlated and, as such, the partial correlation between these two endogenous

variables was modeled as well. Results indicated poor fit for this initial model; $\chi^2 (6) = 20.35$, $p = .002$; TLI = .79; CFI = .96; RMSEA = .11.

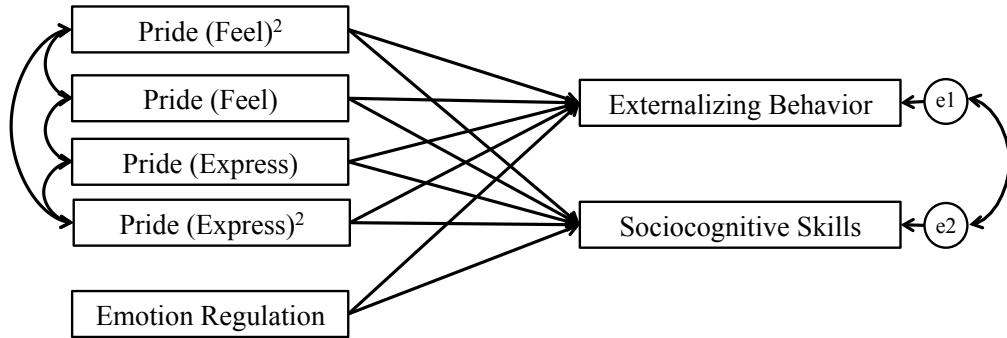


Figure 4. Initial model testing effects of pride on children's social behavior.
Note. ² denotes quadratic term.

Table 6 shows the correlations among the linear and quadratic predictor terms and Table 7 shows the standardized and unstandardized coefficients from the model. As can be seen, the linear terms for children's feelings and expressions of pride were not significantly and independently related to children's externalizing behavior or sociocognitive skills. Therefore, children's feelings and expression of pride were removed from the model. The paths testing the curvilinear relationships between children's feelings and expressions of pride and children's sociocognitive skills were removed as well given that they were not found to be significant. This re-specified and more parsimonious model (see Figure 5) was found to demonstrate reasonable fit; $\chi^2 (4) = 5.85$, $p = .21$; TLI = .96; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .05. Additionally, the predictors in this model explained approximately 20% of the variance

in children's externalizing behavior and 49% of the variance in children's sociocognitive skills.

Table 6

Correlations Among Linear and Quadratic Pride Terms

Variable	1	2	3
1. Pride (Feel)			
2. Pride (Express)	.53***		
3. Pride (Feel) - Quadratic	-.48***	-.17*	
4. Pride (Express) - Quadratic	.21**	.18*	.23**

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 7

Results of Path Analysis Testing Linear and Curvilinear Effects of Children's Pride on Social Behavior

Exogenous Variable	Endogenous Variables					
	Externalizing Behavior			Sociocognitive Skills		
	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β
Pride (Feel)	0.26	0.41	.05	0.00	0.09	.00
Pride (Express)	0.04	0.23	.01	-0.04	0.05	-.05
Pride (Feel) ² - Quadratic	-0.33	0.17	-.14 [†]	0.05	0.04	.09
Pride (Express) ² - Quadratic	0.62	0.20	.22**	-0.03	0.04	-.04
Emotion Regulation	-2.06	0.37	-.39***	0.95	0.08	.70***

Note. [†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

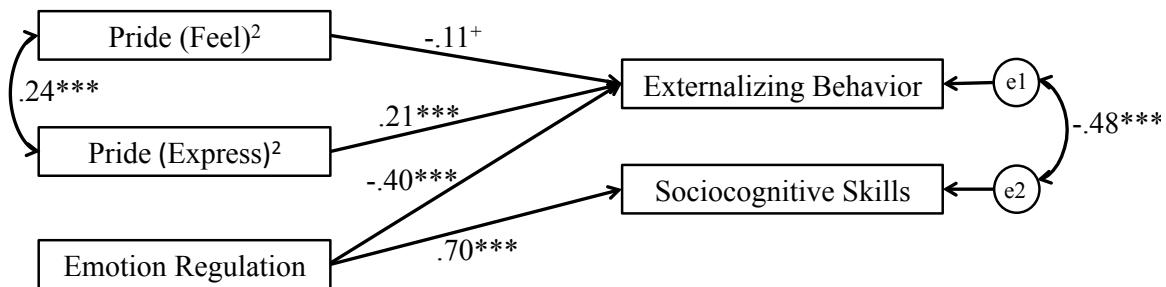


Figure 5. Final model testing effects of pride on children's social behavior.
Note. ² denotes quadratic term.

The coefficients estimated in this model showed that children's emotion regulation was a strong predictor of children's social functioning. Specifically, children with better emotion regulation displayed less externalizing behavior and better sociocognitive skills. Additionally, the quadratic term for children's expression of pride was significantly related to children's externalizing behavior independent of children's feelings of pride and their emotion regulation ability. This finding suggests the existence of a curvilinear relationship between children's tendency to express pride and externalizing behavior. In Figure 6, the smoothed trend line overlaying the scatterplot illustrates the curvilinear relationship between children's expressions of pride and externalizing behavior. As can be seen, children who reported high *or* low levels of pride expression tended to engage in greater externalizing behavior than children who reported expressing pride in moderation.

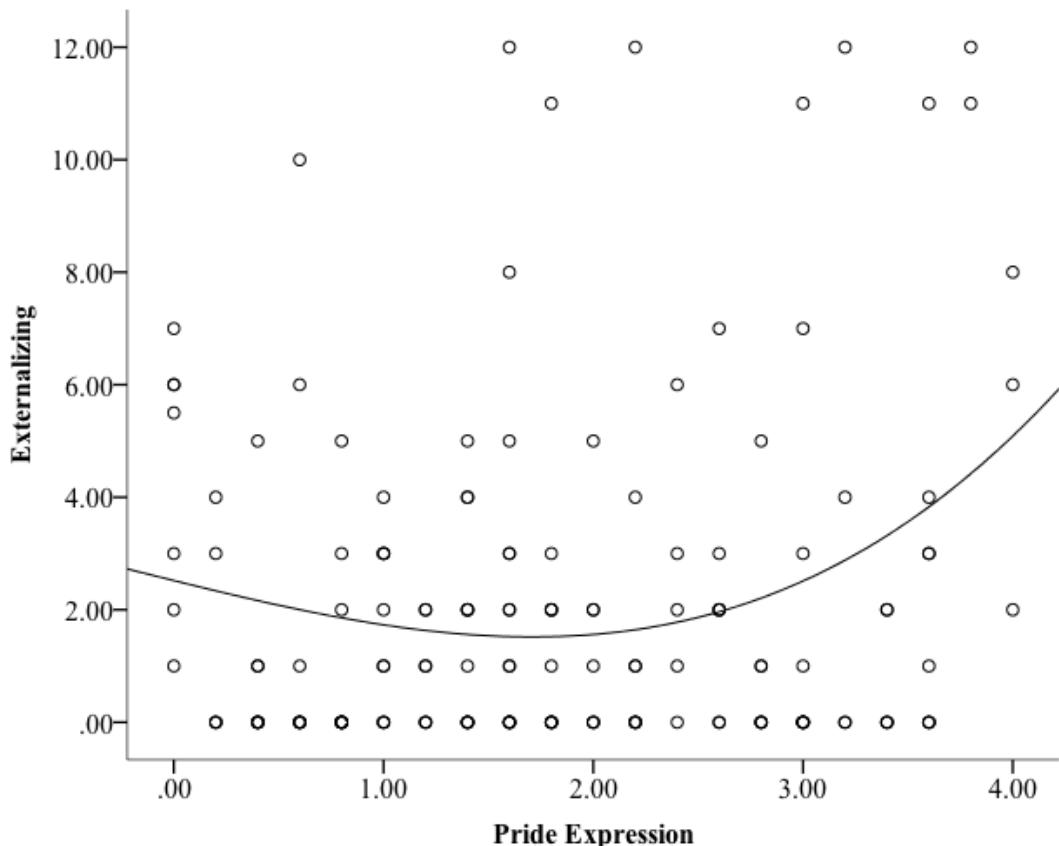


Figure 6. Curvilinear relationship between children's expression of pride and externalizing behavior.

Discussion

This study explored the effects of mothers' emotion-related beliefs and positive expressiveness on children's tendencies to feel and express pride. Further, this study examined the extent to which children's pride was linearly and curvilinearly related to externalizing behavior and sociocognitive skills (e.g., social problem solving, concern for others' emotions) independent of children's general emotion regulation ability. In addition, analyses were undertaken to explore possible gender and ethnic differences in children's

pride as well as to preliminarily investigate the potentially moderating role of gender and ethnicity in the associations among mothers' beliefs about children's emotions, positive expressiveness, children's pride, children's externalizing behavior, and children's sociocognitive skills.

Overall, there was support for the unique effects of mothers' beliefs about children's emotions on children's reported feelings and expressions of pride as well as for the existence of a curvilinear relationship between children's pride and externalizing behavior. In the following discussion, I first summarize the findings and discuss the relations of these results to the extant literature concerning the development of pride and its implications for children's social functioning. Next, I describe preliminary findings relating to the impact of culture on the socialization of pride. Third, I discuss the limitations of the current study and then conclude with suggestions of future directions for work in this line of research.

Parental Beliefs About Children's Emotions as Predictors of Children's Feelings and Expressions of Pride

In this study, mothers who more strongly valued positive emotions for children tended to have children who reported feeling more pride than children whose mothers valued positive emotions less strongly. This effect was independent of mothers' beliefs about the danger of emotion or mothers' expression of positive emotion in the family. Mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotions were also significantly and independently related to the extent to which children reported expressing pride. These results largely corroborate earlier evidence that parental beliefs underlie and guide parents' socialization of children's emotions (Halberstadt et al., 2008; McGillicuddy-DeLisi & Sigel, 1995; Wong et al. 2009).

The relationship between mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion and children's reported feelings and expression of pride suggests that mothers who see value in the experiencing of positive emotion for their children may tend to inculcate in their children the importance of feeling and expressing positive emotions, including pride. Although parents' beliefs are thought to influence parental emotion socialization practices, the manner in which those beliefs are reflected in the socialization of children's emotions may differ dramatically. For example, parents who value children's pride may attempt to socialize their children's understanding and displays of pride through a variety of socialization behaviors including discussing pride-inducing events with children, encouraging children to display their pride, modeling the appropriate expression of pride, and responding less punitively to children's expressions of pride. The association between mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion and mothers' positive expressiveness within the family highlights the correspondence between maternal beliefs and behaviors as mothers who valued children's positive emotions to a greater extent were themselves more positively expressive. Additionally, mothers' beliefs about the danger of emotions for children were negatively related to positive expressivity within the family.

Interestingly—and counter to expectations—mothers' beliefs about the danger of emotion also significantly and positively predicted children's feelings of pride. Halberstadt and colleagues (2008) reported that parents who believed that children's emotions were dangerous were more likely to discuss highly emotional events with their children than parents who did not believe that emotions were dangerous. Moreover, they posited that greater belief in the danger of emotions may compel parents to discuss emotionally-charged

events with children in an effort to help their children make sense of and process potentially threatening emotions. From this perspective, parents who believe that emotions are dangerous may actively work to instill strong feelings of self-worth and pride in their children through discussions of pride-eliciting events in order to counteract any possible aversive emotional experiences that their children may encounter in the future. For example, parents who are concerned that their children are at greater risk for emotional distress or suffering hurt feelings from emotions felt too strongly may attempt to enhance the pride those children feel in themselves in hopes of combating painful emotions that their children may later experience. Mothers' belief about the danger of emotion, however, was not independently related to children's expressions of pride, although this relationship approached significance. Considered alongside the significant relationships between mothers' belief about the danger of emotion and children's feelings of pride, this may further support the notion that parents who worry about the potential danger of emotion for their children seek to inculcate feelings of pride to a greater extent than expressions of pride in their children to help buffer them from threatening emotions.

Additionally, parents who believe that emotions are dangerous for children may be less expressive themselves as a result such beliefs. For example, parents who believe that children who love too strongly are at greater risk for being emotionally hurt may be less likely to express affection and warmth toward their children relative to parents who believe that such emotions are not dangerous. Positive parenting has been related to children's expressions of pride such that children of parents who are less positive and provide less praise and support for their child tend to express greater pride following successes as a result

of the need to feel good about themselves (Belsky et al., 1997). Similarly, lack of parental affection and support has been suggested to produce narcissistic tendencies by leading children to create inflated self-perceptions in an effort to protect themselves from feelings of rejection and low self-esteem (Thomaes, Bushman, De Castro, & Stegge, 2009). Given the considerable association between hubristic pride and narcissism (Cheng et al., 2010; Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007b), perhaps parents' belief that emotions are dangerous results in less expression of affection and lower emotional support which, in turn, leads children to develop a greater propensity to feel pride in order to buffer themselves from the aversive self-feelings resulting from a lack of emotional engagement with parents. An interesting avenue for future research would be to explore the manner in which authentic and hubristic pride differentially develop in response to parental emotional engagement with children.

Mothers' Positive Expressiveness and Children's Feelings and Expressions of Pride

Given the correspondence between parental emotion-related beliefs and parental expressivity in this study and others (e.g., Halberstadt et al., 2008; Wong et al., 2009), as well as the relations between parental expressivity and children's own expressiveness (see Halberstadt & Eaton, 2002), the lack of a relationship between positive expressiveness and children's feelings or expressions of pride is somewhat surprising. Parental expression of emotion has been suggested to be of primary importance in the socialization of children's emotions as it is this context within the family in which children first begin to learn rules concerning the appropriate display of emotion through parental modeling (Eisenberg et al., 1998; Halberstadt et al., 1995). Additionally, parental emotional expression has long been

thought to be an important factor impacting the development of children's socio-emotional competence (Dix, 1991) and has repeatedly been found to predict children's expressions of emotion (Halberstadt & Eaton, 2002).

The lack of relationships found between parental positive expressiveness and children's pride may suggest differences in the manner in which parental expression relates to pride and other self-conscious emotions. That is, pride may be less easily socialized through modeling, as parents' experiences and expressions of pride may occur with less frequency in family-related contexts than basic emotions. As such, display rules for basic emotions such as anger or happiness may be more likely to be directly transmitted via parental expression within the family relative to pride as a result of common day-to-day emotional interactions among household members. For example, parents may express anger within the family following frustration with a partner or over a child's misbehavior, whereas pride may occur with greater frequency outside of the home (e.g., job success, community involvement) as it is more likely to be expressed in situations of personal success or achievement. Consequently, children may have little access to parental expressions of pride and, thus, be unlikely to be socialized as to how to feel and express pride through parental modeling.

Furthermore, whereas parental expressivity involves a very limited range of possible socialization practices (i.e., to express or not to express particular emotions), parental beliefs may motivate any number of potential socialization behaviors that parents think will be effective in fostering appropriate and socially acceptable emotional behavior in their children. For instance, parents may choose specific ways of interacting and responding to

their children or constructing children's environments so as to scaffold their emotional development. Thus, children may be largely socialized as to when and how to feel and express pride through means of socialization other than parental expressivity, such as pride-related discussions with children and parental responses to children's expressions of pride (e.g., reprimanding a child for boasting in front of a peer). Parental modeling may also be less likely to foster the socio-cognitive aspects of pride, including understanding the thoughts and perceptions of others in context, than more directed parent-child emotion-related interactions. As opposed to parental modeling of pride, parental expression of excitement, encouragement, or support in response to children's achievements may shape the manner in which children come to understand the types of events in which they should feel pride and the extent to which they should express or regulate their displays of pride in those situations.

The extent to which individuals feel and express pride may also be attributable, in part, to the manner in which parents emphasize and foster the importance of the self or otherwise influence children's self-representations. Although the self is, first and foremost, a cognitive construction that requires the development of particular cognitive processes throughout childhood and adolescence (Harter, 2006; Lagattuta & Thompson, 2007), it is also a social construction in that children's self-representations are contingent upon their interactions with parents, teachers, and peers, as well as the broader socio-cultural context (Harter, 2006; 2012). For example, Thomaes and colleagues (2009) suggested that parents who provide their children with non-contingent praise (i.e., praise their children for being "special" rather than for specific successes and accomplishments) risk inculcating self-representations that result in narcissistic tendencies. Parental reactions to children's successes

and parent-child discussions about prideful events are likely to play prominent roles in the socialization of interindividual differences in children's pride. Parents who are warm, supportive, and emotionally connected with their children may foster positive self-perceptions in their children that ultimately result in greater feelings of authentic pride.

Children's Pride and Social Functioning

The present study sought to examine the effects of children's pride on social functioning independent of children's overall emotion regulation. Children's inability to regulate their emotions has been associated with poor social functioning and problem behavior (Eisenberg et al., 1995; Eisenberg et al., 1997; Eisenberg et al., 2000; Rothbart & Bates, 2006; Sallquist et al., 2009; Spinrad et al., 2006). Thus, it was important to control for children's general emotion regulation ability to ensure that any effects of children's pride were not attributable to overall emotion expression.

Findings showed that emotion regulation was strongly associated with indicators of children's social functioning. Specifically, children with greater emotion regulation were found to display fewer externalizing behaviors and greater sociocognitive skills than children with poorer emotion regulation. Children's feelings of pride, however, did not significantly predict children's externalizing behavior or sociocognitive skills independent of overall emotion regulation. Interestingly, the extent to which children reported expressing pride was significantly related to children's externalizing behavior. Moreover, this relationship was found to follow a curvilinear trend such that children at the low and high extremes of pride expression were more likely to engage in externalizing behavior than children with moderate levels of pride expression.

It is possible that the greater externalizing behavior seen for children at the low and high extremes of pride expression results from differences in the manner in which self-perceptions are constructed. That is, children who express pride most strongly and readily may have greater hubristic and narcissistic tendencies resulting in greater aggression and other externalizing behaviors. Although hubristic pride has been associated with arrogance and grandiose self-perceptions, it is also related to social discomfort, relationship anxiety, and insecurity about being liked and accepted by others (Tracy et al., 2009). For hubristic children, feelings of pride and self-worth are based largely on global aspects of the self rather than specific accomplishments. Thus, children who report being highly expressive of pride may tend to be more hubristic and more likely to respond to threats to the self with aggression and externalizing behavior in order to enhance or protect self-feelings.

The trend of greater externalizing co-occurring with lower expressions of pride is somewhat perplexing, however. Although a few studies have reported associations between low self-esteem and externalizing behavior (Donnellan et al., 2005; Lochman & Dodge, 1994), much of the research exploring the relations between low self-esteem and externalizing behavior in childhood and adolescence has not found a consistent link between the two variables (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998; Esposito, Kobak, & Little, 2005; Olweus, 1994; Prinstein, Boergers, & Vernberg, 2001; Thomaes, Bushman, Stegge, & Olthof, 2008). With respect to the current findings, the relation between children's low expression of pride and externalizing behavior may be partially attributable to the development of children's self-understanding and social comparison abilities. In the present study, most children were between 8 and 9 years of age and at a point in their cognitive development when the ability to

accurately view one's self and compare one's self to others is only just emerging. Prior to this age, children's self-representations tend to be very positive and skills and abilities tend to be overestimated (Harter, 2006). Among children who are 8- to 9-years old, those who tend to express very little pride while also engaging in greater externalizing behavior may be those for whom social comparison abilities have emerged and given way to negative self-feelings and low self-esteem. Some researchers have speculated that poor self-image may lead to greater externalizing behavior as individuals attempt to improve self-esteem by aggressing against others (see Bushman & Baumeister, 1998), which is supported by the finding of higher externalizing behavior among children who are lowest in expressions of pride relative to children who express pride moderately.

The pattern of results presented here provides insight into the potential pitfalls of socializing children's pride and presents a cautionary tale to parents. During the so-called "self-esteem movement", many parents have begun to heap praise and positive regard upon their children regardless of whether such was deserved in an effort to ensure that their children would develop high self-esteem and feel positively about themselves (Harter, 2012). This cultural change in parenting behavior may be partly responsible for the steadily increasing rates of narcissism found among college students over the past several decades (Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008). Although inculcating positive self-feelings and high self-esteem in children is to be encouraged, the prospect of doing so is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, non-contingent praise and unwarranted positive feedback may make children feel good about themselves, but also foster the development of unstable and grandiose self-perceptions that correspond with hubristic pride and narcissistic

tendencies. Such characteristics appear to be associated with social difficulties and externalizing behavior problems independent of general emotion regulation ability. On the other hand, children with poor self-perceptions who very rarely express pride may also be at risk for developing maladaptive social behaviors, perhaps as a result of using negative social behaviors such as aggression to counteract low self-esteem and promote positive self-feelings. Thus, the task for parents is to instill in their children authentic, realistic feelings of pride that result from specific accomplishments, which children can then learn to express in moderation.

The Potential Impact of Gender and Ethnicity in the Socialization of Pride and the Relations Between Pride and Children's Social Functioning

The final aim of the current study was to provide a preliminary exploration of the role of gender and ethnicity in the socialization of children's pride and the relation between children's pride and social functioning. Although culture is a broad and encompassing term, ethnicity and gender were conceptualized as instantiations of culture for the purposes of this study based on the differences in the collective social histories of these subgroups and the social norms, values, and expectations that are derived from group-level differences in past and present socio-cultural experiences.

Counter to expectations, girls reported feeling greater pride and expressing greater pride than boys. However, no notable differences emerged in the correlations between parental socialization variables and children's pride as a function of child gender. Although teachers rated girls as having better sociocognitive skills and fewer externalizing behaviors than boys, the relations between pride and children's social behavior did not differ by gender.

Perhaps gender-based differences in parental socialization of emotion lead girls to an earlier understanding of emotions as they relate to interactions with others. More specifically, children show gender-linked roles and emotions early in development (Zahn-Waxler, Shirtcliff, & Marceau, 2008) and parents have been found to encourage the expression of emotions that promote positive social interactions for girls and emotions that support autonomy and authority in boys (Zahn-Waxler, 2010). Thus, from an early age parents may be socializing boys and girls to develop their understanding of self-conscious emotions at different rates as a result of gender differences in socio-cultural expectations for children's social behavior. Parental socialization that focuses on encouraging girls to express emotions in a way that promotes social connectedness may lead to an early understanding of and willingness to report or express pride and other self-conscious emotions relative to boys who instead are more likely to be socialized to express anger and other autonomy or dominance-oriented emotions.

With respect to ethnicity, group differences were found for most variables of interest. African American mothers reported even stronger beliefs concerning the value of positive emotions than European American mothers. Additionally, African American children reported stronger feelings and greater expression of pride than their European American counterparts. Interestingly, however, the relation between mothers' belief about the value of positive emotions and children's expressions of pride was found to be moderately correlated in European American families, whereas no relationship was found between these variables among African American families. Thus, although African American mothers reported believing more strongly in the value and importance of positive emotions in children and

African American children reported greater expression of pride, there was no relationship between mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion and children's expression of pride for African American families.

The mean differences in feelings and expression of pride favoring African American children support the hypothesis that the shared history of oppression and discrimination, as well as parents' on-going experiences of discrimination, among African Americans compels parents to socialize their children in a manner consistent with specific cultural responses to societal demands of the past and present (Consedine & Magai, 2002; Garcia Coll et al., 1996). That is, African American parents may try to socialize their children to feel and express pride more readily than European American parents by promoting strong feelings of pride and self-esteem in an effort to protect them from possible future episodes of discrimination. However, the lack of a relation between mothers' belief about the value of positive emotion and children's pride in African American families suggests that the socialization of pride may not be based on these mothers' notions of the importance of positive emotions for their children. Instead, ethnic differences in children's pride may reflect differences in how pride is constructed within each cultural subgroup. In minority groups, pride may be more related to one's cultural identity than is the case for persons in the majority culture. That is, for African Americans pride may be thought of as an important aspect of the self that reflects upon other group members and promotes a sense of social connection and support whereas pride may simply be thought of as an individualistic emotion for European Americans. In this sense, pride may be socialized as a protective emotion that

promotes social cohesion and support for minority children and provides a potential buffer against future episodes of discrimination.

Further support for cultural differences in the purpose and meaning of pride stems from the finding that pride was positively associated with sociocognitive skills for African American children, but inversely related among European American children. These findings may suggest that pride among African Americans is related to a sense of ethnic pride and group membership and feelings of pride correspond to feelings of communalism and concern for others. For European Americans, conversely, pride may be focused more intensely on one's self and be less collectivistic in orientation and, as such, relate to lower prosocial concerns and behaviors. Future work should explore in greater detail the role of culture in the socialization of children's pride by explicating the construction and utility of pride in disparate ethnic groups as well as how cultural differences in self-representations impact children's development and understanding of pride and its subsequent impact on social behavior.

Limitations

The present sample size ($N = 196$) limited the ability to examine parental socialization variables and children's social behavior and cognitions in association with pride in the same model. Consequently, direct and indirect effects of parental socialization variables on children's social functioning could not be tested simultaneously. Moreover, the limited sample precluded the ability to truly test for moderation effects as it was not possible to conduct multi-group analyses with a model that examined group differences in the relations among parental socialization, children's pride, and children's social behavior

simultaneously. Such an approach would allow for a more clear determination of the effect of culture on the socialization of pride and its effects on social functioning.

Additionally, the present study was somewhat limited in the number of socialization variables included. Although mothers' beliefs about children's emotion were found to predict children's pride, there was no relationship found between maternal positive expressiveness within the family and children's pride. A more focused measure of parental expressiveness that assessed when and how parents show praise toward their children and express emotion in response to children's accomplishments would have provided more insight into how parental expressiveness in specific pride-related contexts relates to children's feelings or expressions of pride. Also, given the importance of the self in feeling and expressing pride, the absence of a measure of children's self-esteem or self-perceptions in the current study limits the ability to draw specific conclusions regarding the relations between pride and children's self-esteem, or how the relationships between children's pride and social functioning are impacted by self-feelings.

Given the importance of distinguishing between hubristic and authentic pride with regard to parental socialization and children's social functioning, including a measure that adequately measured and distinguished the two types of pride would have been ideal. Although the current study provided insight into the relationships among mothers' beliefs and behaviors and children's pride as well as the relations between children's pride and social outcomes, the inability to determine the differences in parental socialization that result in authentic or hubristic pride is a limitation.

The number of parental socialization variables assessed was also somewhat limited. Parents may engage in a multitude of behaviors based on any number of beliefs in an effort to socialize their children's emotions in a culturally acceptable way. It is reasonable to expect that the present study did not address aspects of parental socialization that are important in the socialization of children's pride. Apart from variables concerning parental socialization of children's emotions, work involving self-conscious emotions should incorporate measures of parents' socialization of children's sense of self and self-esteem. Parents and caregivers play an important role in the socialization of the self (Harter, 2006) and the inclusion of such variables assessing the socialization of the self are needed in order to understand how differences in pride are socialized and relate to children's social functioning. In addition, the inclusion of fathers in the sample would have allowed for an exploration of potential differences in socialization effects as a function of parent gender.

Directions for Future Research

Although the present study informed our understanding of how mothers' beliefs relate to children's pride and the relations of pride to children's social behavior, much work is still to be done. First, more focused attention should be placed upon the socialization of the self in relation to the development of children's tendencies toward pride. Although the development of pride requires the emergence of self-awareness and self-perceptions, no work has yet examined how varying parental socialization practices might differentially impact the development of self-esteem, self-worth, or self-perceptions in conjunction with how such socialization of the self may relate to interindividual differences in how children feel and express pride. Thus, future work should highlight the role of the socialization of self-relevant

variables (e.g., self-esteem, self-compassion, self-awareness) in the development of children's pride.

Although no relationship was found between mothers' positive expressiveness and children's pride, previous findings suggest that overly positive parental expressivity may negatively impact children's social outcomes (Dunsmore et al., 2009; Valiente et al., 2004). Similar to the finding that greater maternal positive expressiveness relates to lower levels of child sympathy (Valiente et al., 2004), perhaps too much positive expressiveness on the part of parents fosters hubristic and narcissistic tendencies that then increase the likelihood of problem social behaviors for children (e.g., aggression). Although the current study did not directly assess children's self-views, nor the distinction between authentic pride and hubristic pride, future research would benefit from explicating the nature of the relationship between parental expressivity and children's pride.

Another direction for future work concerns the possibility that children's feelings and expressions of pride may not match one another and differential combinations of feeling and expression may have meaningful implications for children's social outcomes. For example, children who feel pride strongly, but show moderate pride may have more positive social outcomes than children who express extreme pride regardless of how proud they actually feel. For the former, strong feelings of pride may motivate future socially valued behavior while the moderate expression of pride signals social value without appearing boastful. For the latter, the expression of pride in the absence of behaviors that warrant it may actually highlight a lack of social value to peers and decrease the likelihood of positive peer relations. To further complicate the relationship between feelings and expressions of pride, children's

overall ability to regulate their emotions may impact the associations between children's feelings of pride, expressions of pride, and children's social functioning. For instance, children with better emotion regulation skills and a greater propensity to feel pride may have more positive social outcomes than children who feel greater pride but have poor regulatory skills. Although testing such interaction effects was not possible in the present study given the size of the sample and issues of power, future work exploring these interactive effects will contribute to the literature an understanding of how different combinations of feeling and expressing pride impact children's social outcomes in addition to how the effect of those combinations on social functioning differ as a result of children's emotion regulation ability.

Although it is clear that parents play a sizeable role in the socialization of children's emotions, particularly in early to middle childhood, much work has also demonstrated the bidirectional nature of parent-child socialization. Parents may enact various practices or behaviors in an effort to socialize their children's emotions. However, characteristics of the child may cause parents to renegotiate their approach or the manner in which they attempt to socialize their child's emotions. With respect to pride, for instance, parents may generally strive to socialize their children to feel pride. However, upon the realization that children are becoming too prideful, parents may adjust their socialization strategies to try to modulate their children's pride and inculcate modesty and humility. Thus, future research in this area would be well served by exploring the bidirectional nature of parental socialization of children's pride by examining how parents alter their socialization behaviors as a result of children's pride or other characteristics.

The current study provided initial evidence of the relation between mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotions and the danger of emotion and children's tendencies toward feeling and expressing pride. Despite this, future work involving parental beliefs would benefit from assessing parental beliefs about pride in particular in addition to beliefs about emotion more generally. Whereas the present study assessed beliefs about the value of positive emotions in general, pride (and other self-conscious emotions) may be socialized differently relative to basic emotions despite similar valence. For example, parents may value both happiness and pride in their children, but socialize happiness through positive expressiveness in the family and pride through directed conversations about children's successes and accomplishments. Importantly, parental beliefs are thought to be the foundations upon which parental socialization behaviors are based and, as such, the targeted measurement of parental beliefs about children's pride would provide a more accurate estimation of the links between parental beliefs and children's pride. Additionally, this would allow for an examination of possible differences in the effects of parental beliefs about children's pride compared to the relations between broader socialization beliefs (e.g., emotions are dangerous) and children's pride.

Lastly, the present sample size limited the ability to test for cultural differences in the socialization of pride or the relations between pride and children's social outcomes. Although preliminary evidence of the potential role of culture in the socialization of pride was found in the current study, such differences need to be further investigated and more clearly explicated. Differences in cultural histories and implications of expression for various groups may result in different paths of socialization for pride and different relations with social

behavior and functioning. Moreover, with respect to self-conscious emotions, cultural differences might emerge in the construction of the self (i.e., independent vs. interdependent) and these would then impact how feelings and expressions are socialized. Thus, an important and potentially fruitful direction for future research includes the in-depth examination of the role of culture in the socialization of children's pride.

Conclusion

This study is the first to examine the socialization of both children's feelings and expressions of pride through mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion, beliefs about the danger of emotion, and positive expressiveness within the family. Additionally, the independent relations between children's feelings and expressions of pride and social behavior were examined while controlling for children's emotion regulation. Results indicated that mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotions and the danger of emotion significantly predicted children's feelings and expressions of pride. However, mothers' positive expressiveness was not significantly related to children's pride. These findings suggest that pride may require more direct parental approaches to socialization (e.g., parental discussions) relative to basic emotions as the complexity of understanding self-conscious emotions may make the socialization of emotions such as pride, guilt, or shame less amenable to indirect methods of parental socialization (i.e., modeling, parental expression of emotion).

Additionally, ethnic differences in the socialization of children's pride were found. Specifically, African American mothers reported valuing positive emotions to a greater extent than European American mothers and African American children reported stronger

feelings and expression of pride relative to their European American counterparts. In addition to these mean differences, mothers' beliefs about the value of positive emotion and children's expressions of pride were significantly related among European Americans, but not related among African Americans. Moreover, pride was positively related to children's sociocognitive skills among African American children and negatively related among European American children. These findings suggest the possibility of interesting cultural differences in the construction and meaning of pride and how pride motivates or impacts children's social behavior. Elucidating the role of culture in the socialization of pride and its impact on children's social functioning is an important direction for future research.

With regard to the relation between children's pride and social behavior, children's expressions of pride were found to relate to children's externalizing behavior independent of children's feelings of pride or ability to regulate their emotions. Interestingly, this relationship was found to follow a U-shaped function with children at the low and high extremes of pride expression engaging in more externalizing behavior. This finding suggests that children who express moderate amounts of pride may demonstrate the most positive social outcomes as compared to children who express pride most frequently or infrequently. Children who are socialized to express pride too readily may be more likely to be perceived negatively by peers and to possess more narcissistic and hubristic characteristics that have been associated with greater aggression and anti-social behavior. For children who express very little pride, externalizing behavior may serve as a means to increase positive self-feelings. Overall, this work provides a note of caution to parents. Although it is important to

for parents to instill positive self-feelings and high self-esteem in their children, the manner in which parents attempt to do so may put their children at greater risk for social difficulties.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions (Value of Positive Emotion)

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.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

		Answer
1	It's good for the family when children share their positive emotions.	
2	It is important for children to be able to show when they are happy.	
3	It is important for children to express their happiness when they feel it.	
4	It is important for children to develop lots of ways to be happy.	
5	Joy is an important emotion to feel.	
6	Having lots of joy is very important for a child.	
7	When children show pride in what they have done, it is a good thing.	
8	It is important for children to share their positive emotions with others.	
9	It is important for children to feel pride in their accomplishments.	

10	It is important for children to be proud of a job well done.	
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Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions (Emotions Are Dangerous)

		Answer
1	Feeling negative emotions is sort of a dead end street, and children should do whatever they can to avoid going down it.	
2	Showing anger is not a good idea for children.	
3	When children get angry, they create more problems for themselves.	
4	Feeling sad is just not good for children.	
5	When children are too loving, others take advantage of them.	
6	When children get angry, it can only lead to problems.	
7	When children are too happy, they can get out of control.	
8	It is important for children to avoid feeling sad whenever possible.	
9	When children express anger, someone in the family ends up having to deal with the consequences.	
10	Anger in children can be emotionally dangerous.	
11	Children can think more clearly when emotions don't get in the way.	
12	Children's feelings can get hurt if they love too much.	
13	When children start to show strong emotions, one never knows where it will end up.	

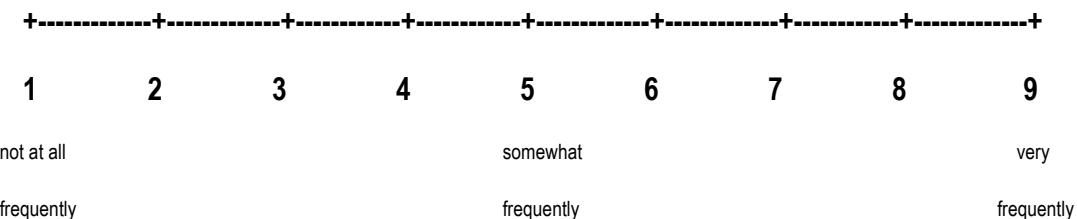
Appendix B

Self-Expressiveness in the Family Questionnaire

(shortened from Halberstadt et al., 1995)

This is a questionnaire about the expressiveness people show in their families. To answer the questionnaire, try to think of how frequently you express yourself during each of the following situations with family members. Please write in the number that best indicates how frequently you express yourself in that situation when it occurs. Thus, if you never or rarely express those feelings, write down a 1, 2, or 3 in the space beside the statement. If you express those feelings with some or moderate frequency, write down a 4, 5, or 6. And if you express those feelings very frequently, write down a 7, 8 or 9.

Some items may be difficult to judge. However, it is important to answer every item. Try to respond quickly and honestly about yourself. There are no right or wrong answers, and we don't believe that any answer is better than another.



1. Telling someone how nice they look. _____
2. Showing contempt (making fun) of another's actions. _____
3. Expressing dissatisfaction with someone's behavior. _____
4. Praising someone for good work. _____
5. Blaming another family member for problems. _____
6. Surprising someone with a little gift or favor. _____
7. Crying after an unpleasant disagreement. _____

8. Putting down other people's interests. _____
9. Showing dislike for someone. _____
10. Seeking approval for something you did. _____
11. Expressing embarrassment over a stupid mistake. _____
12. Falling to pieces when tension builds up. _____
13. Expressing excitement over future plans. _____
14. Showing admiration. _____
15. Expressing disappointment over something that didn't work out. _____
16. Expressing sympathy for someone's troubles. _____
17. Expressing deep affection or love for someone. _____
18. Quarreling with a family member. _____
19. Spontaneously hugging a family member. _____
20. Sulking (pouting) over unfair treatment by a family member. _____
21. Cuddling with a family member. _____
22. Showing how upset you are after a bad day. _____
23. Trying to cheer up someone who is sad. _____
24. Crying when a loved one goes away for a time. _____
25. Telling family members how happy you are. _____
26. Threatening someone. _____
27. Criticizing someone for being late. _____
28. Expressing gratitude for a favor. _____
29. Apologizing for being late. _____

Appendix C
Children's Emotion Regulation Checklist

The following questions are about ranges of emotions that children often display. Please circle the answer you feel best describes how often your child displays these emotions.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
1. S/he is a cheerful child.	1	2	3	4
2. S/he exhibits wide mood swings (for example, the child's emotional state is difficult to anticipate because s/he moves quickly from very happy to very sad or mad)	1	2	3	4
3. S/he responds positively when adults talk to or pay attention to her/him.	1	2	3	4
4. S/he transitions well from one activity to another (for example, does not become anxious, angry, distressed, or overly excited when moving from one activity to another)	1	2	3	4
5. S/he can recover quickly from episodes of upset or distress (for example, does not pout or remain sullen, anxious, or sad after emotionally distressing events)	1	2	3	4
6. S/he is easily frustrated.	1	2	3	4
7. S/he responds positively when other children talk to or pay attention to her/him.	1	2	3	4

8. S/he is prone to angry outbursts/tantrums easily.	1	2	3	4
9. S/he is able to delay gratification; can wait for something when asked to do so.	1	2	3	4
10. S/he takes pleasure in the distress of others (for example, laughs when another person gets hurt or punished; enjoys teasing others.)	1	2	3	4
11. S/he can modulate excitement in emotionally arousing situations (for example, does not get “carried away” in high energy play situations, or overly excited in inappropriate contexts.)	1	2	3	4
	Never	Sometimes	Often	Always
12. S/he is whiny or clingy with adults.	1	2	3	4
13. S/he is prone to disruptive outbursts of energy and exuberance.	1	2	3	4
14. S/he responds angrily to limit-setting by adults (for example, gets upset when told “no”)	1	2	3	4
15. S/he can say when s/he is sad, angry, mad, fearful or afraid.	1	2	3	4
16. S/he seems sad or listless.	1	2	3	4
17. S/he is overly exuberant/exitable when attempting to engage others in play.	1	2	3	4
18. S/he displays flat affect (for example, expression is vacant and unexpressive, child	1	2	3	4

seems emotionally absent)				
19. S/he responds negatively when children talk to or pay attention to her/him (for example, speaks in an angry tone of voice or responds angrily)	1	2	3	4
20. S/he is impulsive.	1	2	3	4
21. S/he is empathic towards others; shows concern or sadness when others are upset or distressed.	1	2	3	4
22. S/he displays exuberance that others find intrusive or disruptive.	1	2	3	4
23. S/he displays appropriate negative affect (for example, anger, fear, frustration, distress) in response to hostile, aggressive or intrusive play by peers.	1	2	3	4
24. S/he displays negative affect when attempting to engage others in play.	1	2	3	4

Appendix D

Children's Pride Vignettes

And here are some other situations I would like to ask you about:

1. Imagine that you are at school and you just found out that you got the highest grade on a test that was very hard. How proud would you be?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

- 1a. Would you show people how proud you were for getting the highest grade?

IF CHILD SAYS YES: How proud would you show people you were?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

2. Imagine that your teacher chooses one student to do something special. She chooses you. How proud would you be?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

2a. Would you show people how proud you were for getting chosen by the teacher?

IF CHILD SAYS YES: how proud would you show people you were?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

3. Imagine that you are playing a game and your team wins because you scored the winning point. How proud would you be?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

3a. Would you show people how proud you were for scoring the winning point?

IF CHILD SAYS YES: how proud would you show people you were?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

4. Imagine that your mother asks you to help cook dinner. You do a great job and she tells you that you are a wonderful cook. How proud would you be?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

4a. Would you show people how proud you were for being told you are a wonderful cook?

IF CHILD SAYS YES: how proud would you show people you were?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

5. Imagine that you are playing with a friend who falls down and hurts himself/herself. You help your friend get home and your friend's mom thanks you for helping. She tells you that you are a great friend. How proud would you be?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

5a. Would you show people how proud you were for being told you are a great friend?

IF CHILD SAYS YES: how proud would you show people you were?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

6. Imagine that one night you and your family decide to go see a movie. How proud would you be?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

6a. Would you show people how proud you were for going to a movie with your family?

IF CHILD SAYS YES: how proud would you show people you were?

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all proud	A little bit proud	Somewhat proud	Very proud	Extremely proud

Appendix E

Social Skills Rating System (SSRS)

Next, read each item and think about your child's present behavior. Decide **how often** your child does the behavior described.

If your child **never** does this behavior, circle the **0**.

If your child **sometimes** does this behavior, circle the **1**.

If your child **very often** does this behavior, circle the **2**.

For items 1-38, you should also rate **how important** each of these behaviors is for success in *your* classroom.

If the behavior is **not important** for your child's development, circle the **0**.

If the behavior is **important** for your child's development, circle the **1**.

If the behavior is **critical** for your child's development, circle the **2**.

There are no right or wrong answers. You may take as much time as you like.

	Social Skills	How Often?			How Important?		
		Never	Sometimes	Very Often	Not	Important	Critical
					Important		
1	Uses free time at home in an acceptable way.	0	1	2	0	1	2
2	Keeps room clean and neat without being reminded.	0	1	2	0	1	2
3	Speaks in an appropriate tone of voice at home.	0	1	2	0	1	2
4	Joins group activities without being told to.	0	1	2	0	1	2
5	Introduced herself or himself to new people without being told.	0	1	2	0	1	2
6	Responds appropriately when hit or pushed by other children.	0	1	2	0	1	2

7	Asks sales clerks for help or assistance.	0	1	2		0	1	2
8	Attends to speakers at meeting such as church or youth groups.	0	1	2		0	1	2
9	Politely refuses unreasonable requests of others.	0	1	2		0	1	2
10	Invites others to your home.	0	1	2		0	1	2
11	Congratulates family members on accomplishments.	0	1	2		0	1	2
12	Makes friends easily.	0	1	2		0	1	2
13	Shows interest in a variety of things.	0	1	2		0	1	2
14	Avoids situations that are likely to result in trouble.	0	1	2		0	1	2
15	Puts away toys or other household property.	0	1	2		0	1	2
16	Volunteers to help family members with tasks.	0	1	2		0	1	2
17	Receives criticism well.	0	1	2		0	1	2

	Social Skills (continued)	How Often?			How Important?		
		Never	Sometimes	Very Often	Not	Important	Critical
					Important		
18	Answers the phone appropriately.	0	1	2	0	1	2
19	Helps you with household tasks without being asked.	0	1	2	0	1	2
20	Appropriately questions household rules that may be unfair.	0	1	2	0	1	2
21	Attempts household tasks before asking for your help	0	1	2	0	1	2

22	Controls temper when arguing with other children.	0	1	2		0	1	2
23	Is liked by others.	0	1	2		0	1	2
24	Starts conversations rather than waiting for others to talk first.	0	1	2		0	1	2
25	Ends disagreements with you calmly.	0	1	2		0	1	2
26	Controls temper in conflict situations with you.	0	1	2		0	1	2
27	Gives compliments to friends or other children in the family.	0	1	2		0	1	2
28	Completes household tasks within a reasonable time.	0	1	2		0	1	2
29	Asks permission before using another family member's property.	0	1	2		0	1	2
30	Is self-confident in social situations such as parties or group outings.	0	1	2		0	1	2
31	Requests permission before leaving the house.	0	1	2		0	1	2
32	Responds appropriately to teasing from friends or relatives of his or her own age.	0	1	2		0	1	2
33	Uses time appropriately while waiting for your help with homework or some other task.	0	1	2		0	1	2
34	Accepts friends' ideas for playing.	0	1	2		0	1	2
35	Easily changes from one activity to another.	0	1	2		0	1	2
36	Cooperates with family members without being asked to do so.	0	1	2		0	1	2
37	Acknowledges compliments or praise from friends.	0	1	2		0	1	2
38	Reports accidents to appropriate persons.	0	1	2		0	1	2

Problem Behaviors		How Often?		
		Never	Sometimes	Very Often
39	Fights with others.	0	1	2
40	Acts sad or depressed.	0	1	2
41	Appears lonely.	0	1	2
42	Has low self-esteem.	0	1	2
43	Threatens or bullies others.	0	1	2
44	Disturbs ongoing activities.	0	1	2
45	Shows anxiety about being with a group of children	0	1	2
46	Argues with others.	0	1	2
47	Fidgets or moves excessively.	0	1	2
48	Disobeys rules or requests.	0	1	2
49	Talks back to adults when corrected.	0	1	2
50	Acts impulsively.	0	1	2
51	Doesn't listen to what others say.	0	1	2
52	Is easily embarrassed.	0	1	2
53	Is easily distracted.	0	1	2
54	Gets angry easily.	0	1	2
55	Has temper tantrums.	0	1	2

Stop. Please check to be sure all items have been marked.

Appendix F

Social Cognitive Skills Rating Scale (SCSRS)

How frequently do the following happen? (Please fill in your response below).

1. This child only pays attention to the negative parts of situations with peers and doesn't tend to notice the positives.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2. This child jumps to conclusions when it is not clear what other children are saying or doing.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3. This child assumes the worst when it is not clear what other children are saying or doing.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4. This child cares more about possessions, money, or other material goods than getting along with other children.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5. It is really important to this child to be in control of other children and to dominate the situation.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6. This child can reason well about problems with other children.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

7. This child can usually think of several good solutions to problems with friends or other children.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. This child chooses good solutions to solving problems with other children.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. This child understands other children's feelings.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. This child cares about other children's feelings.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

11. This child is sensitive to and concerned about other children.

Not at all	A little	Quite often	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>