

## **ABSTRACT**

LOZADA, FANTASY TAINA. The Contribution of Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions to Parents' Emotion-Related Socialization Behaviors. (Under the direction of Dr. Amy Halberstadt.)

The current study examined the relationship between parents' beliefs about the value of and guidance of children's emotions and parental socialization behaviors. Although previous studies have examined parental beliefs in relation to socialization behaviors, these studies have often done so with only one parental belief predicting one socialization behavior. The goals of the current study were three-fold: (1) to examine the frequency of parents' labeling, acknowledgement, encouragement, and shaping/teaching behaviors during emotion-related conversations between parents and their children; (2) to compare how the frequencies of these behaviors relate to one another; and (3) to examine whether parental beliefs about the value and guidance of emotion predict parental socialization behaviors. Participants were 125 parents and their 9 to 10-year old children, from three American ethnic groups: African American, European American, and Lumbee American Indian. Parents completed the Parents' Beliefs About Children's Emotions (PBACE) scale and parent-child dyads were videotaped while they were playing a board game that involved emotion-related conversation. The emotion-related conversations generated by the board game were coded for the occurrence of parents' labeling, acknowledgement, encouragement, and shaping/teaching behaviors. Results indicate that parents engaged most often in encouragement behaviors followed by shaping/teaching, labeling, and acknowledgement. These behaviors were related, such that the more parents engage in one of these types of socialization behaviors, the more they tended to engage in the other types of socialization behaviors. Finally, parents beliefs about the value and guidance of children's emotions

predicted parents' socialization behaviors; these relationships were sometimes moderated by the amount of negatively valenced material discussed during the emotion conversation.

The Contribution of Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions to Parents' Emotion-Related Socialization Behaviors.

by  
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## **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this project to my family. To my mom and dad, Sheila and Freddie, who have supported me in reaching any goal and meeting any challenge. To my brothers, John and Justin, who always reminded me that they were proud of anything I did. And to my friends, Amanda and Mychal, who always kept pushing me to never give up and to never settle for less than I deserve.

## **BIOGRAPHY**

Fantasy Taina Lozada is from Fayetteville, North Carolina. She graduate from Westover High School in 2004 and went on to attend the University of North Carolina at Pembroke. She graduated from UNC-P in 2008 with a Bachelor of Science degree, summa cum laude, in Psychology, with honors. In 2008, she enrolled in the graduate program in Developmental Psychology at North Carolina State University. Her primary research interest is in the socialization of emotion and race in the family context.

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## **Introduction**

The family context has been widely recognized as important for children's social competence (Lindsey, Cremeens, & Caldera, 2010; Shook, Jones, Dorsey, & Brody, 2010), emotion understanding (Denham, Mitchell-Copeland, Strandberg, Auerbach, & Blair, 1997; Dunn & Brown, 1994) and emotion regulation (Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers, & Robinson, 2007). Parents and caregivers are thought to provide a valuable learning environment as they are children's first socializers (Gitelson & McDermott, 2006; Goodnow, 2005) and provide real social interactions (Bandura, 1977). Further, parental practices directly related to emotion management appear to affect children's emotion regulation and competence. For example, parents' punitive reactions to children's negative emotion expression are associated with children's inappropriate emotion regulation strategies (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1994) and with lower socio-emotional competence in general (Jones, Eisenberg, Fabes, & MacKinnon, 2002), whereas parents' encouragement of children's emotion expression is associated with higher levels of children's social functioning (Roberts & Strayer, 1987).

Within the realm of emotion socialization, parents may utilize many different kinds of behaviors. For example, parents are known to model behavior for their children, to react in different ways to children's behavior, to have conversations with children about emotion-related events, and to select contexts for their children which minimize or maximize the likelihood of experiencing particular emotions (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; Fredrickson, 1998; Parke & McDowell, 1998). Different kinds of socialization strategies can also be specified within the broad socialization domain of conversations with children. For example, parents might behave in ways that acknowledge children's emotional experience,

further encourage emotion-related conversation with their children, teach children about emotions, and shape children's emotional experience (O'Neal & Magai, 2005; Parke, 1994; Roberts & Strayer, 1987). The variation in socialization techniques depicts the nuanced behavioral context parents provide to teach their children about emotions. The first goal of this study was to examine the different socialization behaviors parents use with their children and their frequency of use.

In addition to learning more about the usage of different parental socialization strategies, I wanted to know more about what relates to parents' choices in their behaviors. Two bodies of work suggest that parental beliefs predict parents' socialization related behaviors: the research on meta-emotions and the research distinguishing beliefs from behaviors. Gottman and colleagues define parental meta-emotion philosophy as the organizational set of thoughts and feelings that parents have about their own and their children's emotions. Emphasis is placed on parents' ideas about emotions as being of value or appropriate and parents' responses to their children's emotions. This work assumes that parents' beliefs and behaviors are highly inter-correlated, so much so that meta-emotion researchers do not distinguish them as separate characteristics of parental behavior (Gottman, Hooven, & Katz, 1995, Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996; Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1997). However, the work disentangling beliefs from behaviors has identified different types of beliefs and suggests that they may differentially predict behaviors. For example, parents with more accepting beliefs about children's negative emotions did report fewer non-supportive reactions to children's emotions (Wong, McElwain, & Halberstadt, 2009), suggesting that parents' beliefs and behaviors are reflective of one another. However, two very different

kinds of beliefs, parents' beliefs about the danger and value of children's negative emotion, were both positively related to parents' frequency of discussing the 9/11 terrorist attacks with their children during the first week after the event, yet only parental beliefs about danger were negatively related to their emotion expression regarding the attack in front of their child (Halberstadt, Thompson, Parker, & Dunsmore, 2008). Further, parents' belief about the danger of emotions was related to their self-reported masking emotion expression when they believed their children were watching them (Dunsmore, Her, Halberstadt, & Perez-Rivera, 2009).

One issue in the field of parental beliefs and behaviors is that almost all studies include a limited number of behaviors and one or two beliefs at most. The current study examined four separate supportive socialization behaviors and five beliefs which can be organized into two dimensions of beliefs (value and guidance). Thus, the second goal of the current study was to examine how the individual socialization techniques were related to one another. The third and final goal of this study was to examine whether parents' beliefs about emotion predict socialization behaviors.

### **Parents' Socialization of Emotion**

Parental socialization is the process by which information about societal norms and expectancies are transmitted from parent to child. In particular, parental socialization of emotion refers to this process in terms of children's understanding, expression, and regulation of emotion and can be manifested through parents' implicit and explicit behaviors. These behaviors, termed "emotion-related socialization behaviors" (ERSBs; Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998) allow parents to communicate to children how to label,

interpret, or evaluate emotions (Saarni, 2008). Further, these behaviors shape the way that children learn to send, receive, and experience emotional information (Halberstadt, Denham, & Dunsmore, 2001).

Eisenberg et al. (1998) and commentators (Fredrickson, 1998; McDowell & Parke, 1998) categorize ERSBs into four broad groupings: parental expression of emotion, parental discussion of emotion, parental reactions to children's emotion expression, and parental situation selection. In particular, emotion conversations have substantial predictive power for children's performance on emotion understanding tasks (Hughes & Dunn, 1998) and is considered to be one of the most instrumental agents of family socialization (Stafford, 2004). Further, emotion conversation provides a rich, ecologically valid context with which to study parental techniques of socialization. Within this context, parents have a range of opportunities to respond to children's emotional expression and/or queries, as well as to demonstrate their own emotion expression and recognition of their own and children's emotions (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Evidence suggests that individuals have particular styles of communication/emotion expression in conversations (Halberstadt, Crisp, & Eaton, 1999), thus, it is likely that ERSBs will also vary during parent-child interactions. The current study focused on the ERSB of parental discussion of emotion in an attempt to further refine our understanding of this socialization behavior. Four behaviors which may occur in this context that are of particular interest are the labeling of emotion words, acknowledgement of emotional experience, encouragement of emotion-related conversation, and teaching about and shaping of emotional experiences.

Naming what children are experiencing by using descriptive emotion labels is the most basic way that parents describe and share emotion related experiences. Naming, or labeling, also helps children to better understand their emotional experiences and the emotional experience of others. Parents and teachers are encouraged to use this socialization behavior by labeling their own and children's emotions to provide children with emotional vocabulary (Denham & Burton, 1996; Joseph, Strain & Ostrosky, 2005). When used in the context of intervention, labeling and other socio-emotional targeted techniques resulted in an improvement in at-risk preschoolers' externalizing and internalizing problems and teacher-rated social competence (Denham & Burton, 1996). Emotion discussion contexts are likely to be rich with the labeling of emotion words. However, labeling may also overlap with and be embedded within the more complex ERSBs described below.

Acknowledging others' emotions during social interactions is thought to be a beneficial communication technique in a variety of interpersonal settings. For example, unacknowledged emotions during negotiations are thought to challenge effective business negotiations, as ignoring these emotions or dismissing them may provoke a stronger emotional response in the person trying to express the emotion. Fisher and Ury (1983) posit that the first step in tackling this issue is to acknowledge the emotions that are present and being expressed. With regard to parent and child emotion discussion, acknowledging children's emotions could be used as a regulatory technique to ensure that children know that parents have received their emotional messages. Acknowledgement by nurses of patients' emotional cues is associated with patients' increased recall of information given about treatment (Jansen et al., 2010). This may provide evidence that simply acknowledging

emotion expression may result in more memory for the information being conveyed by the acknowledger. In the context of emotion discussions, children may take note of the emotion expression that parents acknowledge and may use that information to determine which emotions are important in interactions with their parents and others.

Encouragement of emotion has generally been studied within the context of children's negative emotions (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Murphy, 1996; Fabes et al., 2002), and is generally considered supportive (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1994, Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002), sympathetic and nurturing (Tomkins, 1963). Encouragement of emotion expression encompasses behaviors that foster and support children's affect, such as by encouraging a child to talk about, explain, or engage further in their emotional experience. Roberts and Strayer (1987) operationalized encouragement of emotion as (a) valuing and encouraging emotion expression for cathartic value, (b) allowing for emotional expression while still focusing on compliance or problem-solving, (c) distracting the child from the negative emotion or denying its expression, (d) teaching emotional control, and (e) suppressing emotion expression through contempt, physical punishment or threats. However, this definition of encouragement may be too broad as it encompasses other ERSBs. It may be more appropriate to differentiate between these varied socialization behaviors as these behaviors might be linked to differential outcomes for children's emotional development.

Teaching is a behavior in which parents specifically explain the rules and causation of emotional experience. Parke (1994) suggested that direct teaching or coaching of the rules and regulations of emotions is one important way in which parents, teachers, and peers socialize children about emotion. This ERSB is thought of as being more active and direct

(Parke & McDowell, 2009), in that parents impart knowledge specifically to engage children in the understanding of emotional experience, as well as how to empathize with others' emotions (Fivush, 1989). Teaching behaviors give parents the opportunity to directly socialize children in the way to express and handle emotions appropriately without necessarily inviting children to explore their emotional experience. Teaching about causation and consequences of emotion is reportedly better for children's emotion knowledge and understanding than simply labeling emotions with children in conversation (Garner, Jones, Gaddy, & Rennie, 1997) and is related to children's knowledge of emotion expression rules and regulation techniques (Garner, 1999).

Teaching about the norms of expression and causation of emotions has been discussed extensively in the literature of parents' socialization of emotion. This ERSB may include a wide array of related techniques. For example, teaching probably includes advice about techniques for coping with emotion or about appropriate affective responses to a variety of emotion invoking situations (Kliewer, Fearnow, & Miller, 1996). Other teaching behaviors may include validating and/or labeling emotions and helping children to understand and/or problem-solve about their emotional experience (Lunkenheimer, Shields, & Cortina, 2007). This coding operationalizes coaching in a broad sense while encompassing several ERSBs. Differentiating these behaviors may provide a more complete picture of the socialization process. Attempting to shape or shift an emotional experience may occur under the rubric of teaching about emotion (I refer to this behavior as "shaping"). Shaping attempts to change or reconstruct children's emotional experience by directing children in how they

should experience or think of an emotion. It may be structured in the way parents help children probe and properly describe their emotional experiences. Parents may do this indirectly through questioning children as they explain about their own emotional experiences or may be more direct in that they tell the child how they should feel in a given situation. Shaping is also mentioned in the emotion coaching literature in which parents modulate children's experience and expression of anger and sadness (Gottman et al., 1996). O'Neal and Magai (2005) describe an override parental behavior which seems to describe a more direct form of shaping where parents may not only tell the child that they should feel a certain way, but in some cases by telling the child that they actually do or did feel a certain way in a given situation. They suggest that during emotion conversation, parents may use this behavior to help a child control their emotion expression (e.g., a parent telling a child to not be afraid when they're scared) or to discourage that emotional expression in a particular context (e.g., a parent telling a child that they don't really feel happy when their brother gets hurt after making fun of them, but that instead they feel sorry for him). I am particularly interested in shaping behaviors that promote an exploration of children's emotional experiences rather than a way that discourages a child from feeling an emotion.

As these behaviors relate to parent-child emotion conversations, one can imagine how parents may build a socialization repertoire that teaches children about the meaning and use of emotions. During a discussion in which children have described their emotions, parents' acceptance or acknowledgement of those emotions may let children know that they are free to continue this line of conversation or that they can comfortably share future experiences of that emotion. Parents may also not only acknowledge that an emotion was expressed by the

child, but may further encourage the child to describe that emotion or the context in which it was felt. Finally, parents may not simply encourage a child to continue the line of conversation, but may take an active role in the conversation by taking the opportunity to teach the child about appropriate emotion causes and consequences. They may even do this in a way that attempts to shape the child's emotional experience by scaffolding a child's emotional narrative to help them better understand their emotional experience or by telling the child that they should feel a different emotion than the one they experienced. These socialization behaviors are manifested within conversation but have rarely been discussed within the context of emotion socialization. The current study examines these socialization behaviors as they occur during an emotion-related discussion between parents and their children.

The population of interest is children of 9 to 10 years old because children demonstrate greater autonomy at this age than previously, while still relying on parents for emotional support. Further, children at this age have a mastery of basic emotional skill (Pons, Harris, & deRosnay, 2004) and can think and talk about emotional experiences. Parents also tend to expect children to show greater emotion-related skills compared with children who are in early childhood (Cassano, Perry-Parrish, & Zeman, 2007). Finally, 9- to 10- year old children are not to the point of adolescence, during which there may be greater heterogeneity in emotionality due to biological changes and shifts in socio-emotional domains of self, identity, and peer interactions. To my knowledge, this is the first study to describe the usage of each of these socialization behaviors.

### **Emotion Valence in Parental Socialization**

The parental socialization literature focuses largely on the socialization of negative emotions. Due to the generally aversive nature of children's distress, many researchers assume that this context provides parents with the most opportunity to actively socialize their children (Fabes et al., 2002; Gottman et al., 1996). However, Fredrickson (1998) argues that parents participate just as actively in children's socialization of positive emotions by reflecting on their positive emotional experiences. The only study (to my knowledge) that examines parents' socialization of positive and negative emotions, found that only socialization of negative emotions contributed to children's emotion regulation (Lunkenheimer et al., 2007). The effect of positive emotion socialization may be demonstrated in other child outcomes, however, and should not be discounted as unmeaningful to a child's overall emotional background. Therefore, to continue to test the relationship between parents' beliefs about emotion and parents' socialization behavior, the current study included both positive and negative emotions in the study of parent-child interactions.

### **Parents' Beliefs about Emotions**

Parents' beliefs about children's emotions cover a wide array of dimensions encompassing beliefs about children's socio-emotional development (Rao, McHale, & Pearson, 2003), the opportunities emotions provide (Gottman et al., 1996), the value or acceptability of emotions in their daily lives (Dunsmore et al., 2009, Hakim-Larson, Parker, Lee, Goodwin, & Voelker, 2006; Halberstadt et al., 2008; Wong et al., 2007), the agents responsible for guiding emotions (Halberstadt et al., 2008; Hakim-Larson, et al., 2006),

whether emotional development is a process or more temperamentally based, whether children have the right to emotional privacy, and children's ability to control emotions (Halberstadt et al., 2011). The current study focuses on the belief dimensions of value and guidance as these may specifically contribute to parents' supportive socialization behaviors.

Value beliefs about emotion refer to the acceptability and use for emotional experiences within one's daily life. Which emotions are considered to be acceptable are likely to vary in that some parents may believe that positive emotions are acceptable while negative emotions are unacceptable. Parents may also have the belief that all emotions are dangerous and that children can be harmed by experiencing emotions too intensely or too often. The ways in which value beliefs influence parents' behaviors is likely to vary depending on the belief. For example, if parents believe that positive emotions are valuable they may be more likely to acknowledge emotion more when children express positive emotions than when they express negative emotion or may simply talk less about negative emotions than positive emotions. Also, if parents believe that emotions are dangerous, they may avoid children's talk about children's experience of emotions as they may believe that this will help children avoid a "dangerous" experience.

Guidance beliefs instead refer to the agents that are responsible for guiding children in their emotional experiences. Specifically, parents may feel that they are solely responsible for helping children explore their emotions, whereas other parents may feel that children can figure out their emotions for themselves. Although these beliefs may initially seem to be competing with one another, a parent may very easily have both of these beliefs. Having both sets of beliefs might then result in a more complex display of socialization in which children

are encouraged to not only rely on their parents for understanding emotions, but also on their own ability in understanding emotion. Parents who believe that children are capable of guiding their own emotional experience may do less teaching about emotion because they believe children are capable of navigating emotional terrain on their own. However, the more parents believe that they are responsible in helping children learn about emotions, the more they might encourage and teach about emotional experiences. It may also be that parents believe both that parents should guide and that children are capable of guiding. The combination of these beliefs could also lead to more encouragement of emotion expression in children as a means of being an active parent and encouraging children to navigate their own emotional experiences.

It is likely that value and guidance beliefs might occur together in different combinations that will affect parents' socialization behaviors. As described above, any combination of beliefs can result in different frequencies of socialization behaviors. Specifically, parents who believe that emotions are dangerous and engage in active shaping and teaching may do so because they believe that it is their responsibility to advise children in "dangerous" emotional experiences. Further, parents who avoid children's expression of emotion may simply do so because they believe that emotions are dangerous and that children can handle this experience by themselves. However, before the complexity of these belief combinations can be examined, it would be useful to examine how individual beliefs are related to individual socialization behaviors. Knowing these relationships may make predictions concerning belief combinations more accessible for future research.

In sum, the current investigation sought to capture multiple sub-dimensions of value and guidance beliefs as they predict parents' supportive socialization behaviors. The goals and hypotheses were as follows:

Goal 1: To examine the frequency of parental socialization behaviors (e.g., labeling, acknowledgement, encouragement, shaping/teaching).

Goal 2: To examine how the frequencies of these behaviors are related to each other.

Goal 3: To examine whether or not value and guidance beliefs predict parents' supportive socialization behaviors.

Hypothesis 3a: Value beliefs will significantly predict parents' supportive socialization behaviors (i.e. behaviors which encourage the discussion or expression of emotion), with beliefs about the value of emotion resulting in many instances of socialization behaviors and beliefs about the danger of emotions resulting in few instances of socialization.

Hypothesis 3b: Guidance beliefs will significantly predict parents' supportive socialization behaviors, above and beyond parents' value beliefs, with beliefs about parents' guidance of children's emotions resulting in many instances of socialization behaviors and beliefs about children's emotional capability in figuring out their own emotions resulting in few instances of socialization.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

A racially diverse sample of 127 parents and their children were recruited via community flyers at supermarkets, Boys and Girls Clubs, local churches; and online postings with university alumni listservs. One of the families ethnically classified as "other" was

dropped from the sample because of incomplete tasks due to language barriers. An additional family from the piloting of this study was also dropped because of incompleteness of tasks. The final sample for this study included 125 parent-child dyads (43 African American, 39 European American, 39 Lumbee American Indian, 4 other ethnicities). Families were studied at one of three universities in small to moderate sized Southern cities in North Carolina and Virginia (Dunsmore et al., 2009; Halberstadt et al., 2010; Stelter & Halberstadt, 2011). Children were 9 to 10 years old ( $M = 9.52$ ,  $SD = 0.85$ ).

Parents were 28 to 54 years of age ( $M = 39.19$ ,  $SD = 5.47$ ). The gender distribution of the dyads was: 12.8% father-son dyads, 11.2% father-daughter dyads, 39.2% mother-son dyads, and 36.8% mother-daughter dyads (complete gender distribution by ethnicity is reported in Table 1). Parents also varied in their education levels: 34 with a high school degree and/or some college education, 47 with a college degree, and 44 with a graduate degree.

### **Procedure**

Parents and children were invited to a university laboratory to participate. After parents and children completed informed consents and assents, parents were asked to complete several questionnaires in a separate room from their child, including one concerning parents' beliefs about children's emotions. Children also completed questionnaires unrelated to this study, with a research assistant in a room separate from their parents. Parents and children were then asked to participate in several joint activities which were observed and video recorded. For the samples collected at universities in North Carolina, parent participants were compensated with \$25 for their participation, while

children were given \$5 and a small gift (Stelter & Halberstadt, 2011). For participants collected at the university in Virginia, parents were compensated with \$20 and children were given a t-shirt and a certificate of appreciation (Dunsmore et al., 2009).

## **Measures**

**Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions Scale (PBACE; Halberstadt et al., 2008).** The PBACE questionnaire was developed from a several step process. Following in-depth exploration of the literatures on emotion and culture, a team of researchers created a set of questions to investigate three theoretically derived dimensions of parents' beliefs about emotions. Additionally, the team recruited 12 focus groups from three ethnicities (African American, European American, and Lumbee American Indian) and parents within each ethnicity met for two sessions each to share their beliefs. Qualitative coding of these focus group discussions about children's emotions confirmed the three theoretically-derived dimensions and also identified several more (Parker et al., 2010). The research team then generated more questions so that these dimensions would also be reflected in the ensuing questionnaire. This set of 245 questions was administered to 1108 parents, spanning the three ethnicities (Halberstadt, Dunsmore, Bryant, Parker, Thompson, & Beale, 2008). Exploratory factor and confirmatory factor analyses then resulted in a shorter questionnaire of 105 items validated in the current sample of 125 parents. Relevant to the current study are the dimensions of "value" (e.g., positive emotions are valuable; see Appendix A) and "guidance" (e.g., parents are responsible in guiding children's emotional development; see Appendix B) (Halberstadt et al., 2008).

The value dimension is comprised of three subscales which have been demonstrated to be internally reliable in a large sample (Halberstadt et al., 2011) as well as in the current study (all reliability analyses reported below were conducted with the current sample): “positive emotions are valuable” (10 items;  $\alpha = .88$ ; “It’s important for children to be able to show when they are happy”), “negative emotions are valuable” (12 items;  $\alpha = .78$ ; “It is good for children to feel sad sometimes), and “all emotions are dangerous” (13 items;  $\alpha = .83$ ; “When children are too happy, they can get out of control”). Convergent and discriminant reliability has been demonstrated for these various subscales. Specifically, the “negative emotions are valuable has been associated with parents’ reactions to children’s negative emotions in emotion-focused, problem-focused, and encouraging ways, whereas the belief that “positive emotions are good” has been shown to be negatively related to parental discomfort with children’s positive emotions (Halberstadt et al., 2010).

The guidance dimension encompasses two subscales which were internally reliable in this sample: “parents should guide children’s emotions” (9 items;  $\alpha = .81$ ; “It’s the parent’s job to teach children how to handle negative feelings”) and “children are emotional capable on their own” (8 items;  $\alpha = .78$ ; “Children can learn how to manage their emotions without help from their parents”). Inter-correlations for value and guidance beliefs in the present data set are presented in Table 3. The correlation analyses indicated that the value subscales appeared to be more related as a group in comparison with the relation between the two guidance subscales. Also, the two guidance scales were also more correlated with each other than with the value subscales.

**Coding of parents' socialization behaviors.** Parents' emotion socialization behaviors were coded from emotion-related discussions with their children while they played a board game together. The age-appropriate board game was LifeStories®, which elicited conversation about life experiences. Directions to play the game were like those of other board games. The player rolled the dice and moved the appropriate spaces on the board. Upon landing on the particular space on the board, the participant pulled a card from the corresponding deck with the similar symbol. There were three decks of cards which participants could draw from depending on the space they landed on in the game: “Memories”, “Etchings”, and “Valuables”. A fourth deck of cards, labeled “Alternatives,” could be drawn from if the participant did not want to answer the question or could not think of a relevant experience to answer the question. The “Alternative” cards had participants engage in silly activities (e.g., “Skip in place while clapping your hands”). Participants were instructed that they could only draw from the “Alternatives” deck twice per game. Most families chose to use this deck as directed (number of times chosen from alternatives deck:  $M = 2.30$ ,  $SD = 2.32$ , modal frequency: 2.00).

For the study, 115 of the original cards were used and six new cards were added. To assess the degree of emotionality of the original 115 cards, post hoc coding with 14 undergraduate coders from the three ethnicities represented in this sample coded each card as positive, negative, ambivalent (including both positive and negative elements), or neutral ( $Mean\ kappa = .69$ ). Of the 115 possible cards parent-child dyads could have received during the game, 47 were coded positive, 9 negative, 57 were neutral. Two copies of three additional questions were added and included early in the deck of cards (e.g., “Tell about a

time the other player made you angry”; “Tell about a time you and the other player had an argument or disagreement”; “Tell about a happy time you had with your family”). These were included twice each so that parents and children would both have the opportunity to answer these clearly emotion-related cards.

The Virginian sample played the board game for 20 minutes, but due to time constraints, North Carolinian participants played the game for 15 minutes. As expected, the Virginia dyads ( $M = 23.62$ ,  $SD = 7.22$ ) played more cards compared to the sample collected in North Carolina ( $M = 19.63$ ,  $SD = 6.17$ ),  $t(122) = 3.13$ ,  $p = .002$ , as a consequence of having more time available. However, Levene’s Test for Equality of Variances was not significant ( $F = 3.20$ ,  $p = .076$ ), indicating that the two samples have approximately equal variance in the number cards. Thus, the amount of cards the dyad went through during the board game task were summed for each valence (positive, negative, and neutral) and entered into the first step of the regression to account for the difference in experience that each dyad may have had due to the cards they were exposed to in game play.

Three coding schemes were used to code the parental socialization behaviors occurring during emotion-related discussions with their children. Relevant components and methodology for each construct are discussed below. During the development of the coding procedures, directions and examples were written or reviewed by members from all three ethnicities represented in the sample. Additionally, given findings suggesting the importance of same-ethnicity coding teams (Gonzales, Cauce, & Mason, 1997), all coding teams included members of at least two of the ethnicities represented in the sample.

**Labeling.** Labeling refers to instances in which the parent labels or names either her/his emotional experience or that of the other player. Labeling could be about any emotion and can be done with any verb tense. However, emotion labeling could only apply to emotional experiences and not to situations (e.g., “It was fun”). For example, during a conversation about the time a water pipe burst in the house, the parent said, “I was so mad, but also scared of what your daddy was gonna say!” In this example, the emotions “mad” and “scared” were labeled and therefore received two codes for labeling (see Appendix C for more examples).

Parents’ labeling behaviors were coded specifically at the level of the parents’ conversational phrase. That is, if during the conversation of a game card question, the parent engaged in several instances of labeling, each phrase would be counted as one instance of the behavior as long as it was linked to a different emotion (see example above). Thus, labeling codes were not constrained to the game card questions and so theoretically could occur spontaneously during conversation, independently of the child’s emotion expression during the conversation or whether or not the child initiated the conversation. Labeling codes also could accumulate multiple times during the discussion of a question.

A coding team of three undergraduate students (2 European Americans, and 1 Lumbee American Indian) examined the transcripts for instances of labeling. Because of the time-intensive nature of this coding, each coder coded 2/3 of the transcripts in a round-robin design that allowed each student to be paired with each other student an equal number of times and provided two ratings for each dyad. Kappas ranged from  $kappa = .75 - .88$  between coder pairs across 46% of all transcripts). In order to resolve discrepancies, coders

met to discuss their discrepant codes and to come to an agreement for the final code to be assigned. The third coder was present in this meeting and served as an additional judge and tie-breaker when needed. A composite score of labeling was calculated for each parent based on a sum of the total labeling behaviors agreed upon in the final coding of this behavior.

Labeling behavior, defined as the use of any emotion word, necessarily overlapped with the other socialization behaviors observed during this task, and so, labeling codes were used as a coding cue and basis for subsequent coding (e.g., the word “sad” in the transcript served as a cue that there may be a socialization behavior that occurred in response to this labeling of emotion). Thus, this was used for descriptive analyses, only.

***Acknowledgement.*** Acknowledgement refers to instances where the parent acknowledges or gives confirmation of the child’s emotional experience. This could be an emotional experience during the past, present, or future. This is different from labeling in that acknowledgement is not contingent on the parent giving a name to the child’s feelings. For example, during a conversation about the parent’s happiest memory, the parent told the child that her happiest memory was when she had both of her children. The child replied, “I remember when you brought [the sibling] home and I was really excited!” The parent demonstrated acknowledgement by replying, “Oh yes, I remember that.” The child further went on to explain how excited she was and the parent continued to say “yes I remember” and “uh huh”.

Because the parent is still acknowledging the same emotion, this is only coded as one instance of acknowledgement. However, if during the conversation, the child also said that she was “scared about dropping the baby” and the parent replied “oh yea? I couldn’t tell”,

then the parent would have received another code for acknowledgement (see Appendix D for more examples).

Parents' acknowledgement behaviors were coded specifically at the level of the parents' conversation phrase. That is, if during the conversation of a game card question, the parent engaged in several instances of acknowledgement, each phrase would be counted as one instance of the behavior as long as it was linked to a different emotion. Thus, acknowledgement codes were not constrained to the game card questions and so theoretically could occur spontaneously during conversation, independently of the child's emotion expression during the conversation or whether or not the child initiated the conversation. Acknowledgement codes also could accumulate multiple times during the discussion of a question. A composite score of acknowledgement was calculated for each parent based on a sum of the total acknowledgement behaviors agreed upon in the final coding of this behavior.

***Encouragement.*** Encouragement was defined as the parent's overall verbal and nonverbal validation, corroboration, and/or coaching of a child's expression of positive and/or negative emotion per response to game card questions. Positive encouragement was defined as whether or not the parent encouraged the child's expression of positive emotion. Negative encouragement was defined as whether or not the parent encouraged the child's expression of negative emotion. An example of verbal encouragement is, in response to a child's story about the time she fell off of her bike: "Oh I remember when that happened! I felt so bad for you! You were crying so hard", and an example of nonverbal encouragement, in response to a child's account of a happy time, is a parent laughing and giving a high-five

to the child (see Appendix E for more examples). Verbal/nonverbal status was not accounted for separately in the coding, but was simply considered in combination during ratings.

The coding scheme was adapted from codes developed by Julie Dunsmore (personal communications, summer, 2008). Coders first watched the entire videotaped segment of board-game playing once, and then returned to code each game card, separately. For each game card question a child answered, coders indicated if no emotion or either a positive or negative emotion was expressed verbally or nonverbally, and the occurrence of parents' encouragement behavior to that emotion. Thus, parents' encouragement behaviors were coded only in response to their children's expression of emotion.

Parents' encouraging behaviors were coded as responses to children's expression of their own emotion. Therefore, the number of times the child expressed emotion during the emotion discussion task was entered in to the regression model to ensure that effects of parents' beliefs could be discussed above and beyond the effect of children's expression of emotion. Encouragement coding occurred at the level of the child's game card question and only when the child expressed an emotion during the task. If a child answered a game card question without expressing or talking about an emotion, the coders did not code for encouragement behaviors.

A multi-ethnic coding team (2 African Americans and 1 European American) collected these codes. Again, two coders judged every video, and each coder was paired equally often with each other coder. Inter-rater reliability was acceptable across 27% of transcripts ( $kappa = .82$  and  $.81$ , for positive and negative emotion, respectively). Again, in order to resolve any discrepancies between the two coders on any given video, coders met to

discuss these codes and came to an agreement for the final coding assigned to the dyad. The third coder was present in this meeting to serve as the final decision maker in coding when the original two coders could not come to an agreement.

A composite score of encouragement was calculated for each parent based on a sum of positive encouragement and negative encouragement behaviors.

***Shaping/Teaching.*** Shaping/teaching refers to instances of socialization behaviors where parents discussed the causes and consequences of emotion or when they helped their child to elaborate or explore their emotional experience. Shaping refers to an event in which the parent attempts to shift the child's emotional experience or ideas about that emotion (e.g., "You shouldn't be angry about that. That should make you happy"). Teaching refers to instances in which a rationale is provided to the experience of an emotion (e.g., "I get really happy when you and your brother look out for one another"). Although these two behaviors were initially thought to be theoretically different, we were unable to reliably distinguish the two behaviors. Retrospectively, it makes sense that these two socialization behaviors are intertwined. For example, teaching can occur within the context of shaping (e.g., "You shouldn't be happy when you upset your brother because you don't like it when your brother gets on your nerves or upsets you"). This example depicts both shaping (e.g., "you shouldn't be happy") and teaching (e.g., "because you don't like it when your brother gets on your nerves or upsets you"; see Appendix C for more examples). Therefore, the occurrences of these two socialization behaviors were combined to make a composite score of parents' shaping/teaching behaviors.

Parents' shaping/teaching behaviors were also coded specifically at the level of the parents' conversation phrase. That is, if during the conversation of a game card question, the parent engaged in several instances of shaping/teaching, each phrase would be counted as one instance of the behavior as long as it conveyed a different meaning or referred to a different emotion. Shaping/teaching codes were not constrained to the game card questions and so theoretically could occur spontaneously during conversation, independently of the child's emotion expression during the conversation or whether or not the child initiated the conversation, or could accumulate multiple times during the discussion of a question.

A coding team of three undergraduate students (2 European Americans, and 1 Lumbee American Indian; the same coding team from labeling coding) examined the transcripts to identify all emotion-related phrases or words (in a 2/3 round-robin design similar to that described above). Reliability for shaping/teaching codes was acceptable ( $kappa = .94 - .99$ ) for 46% of all transcripts. Again, discrepant codes were discussed and decided upon by the two original coders on the transcript, with the third coder present in the meeting and serving as a tie-breaker as needed.

A composite score of shaping/teaching was calculated for each parent based on a sum of the total shaping/teaching behaviors agreed upon in the final coding of this behavior.

## **Results**

The purpose of the current study was three-fold: (1) to examine the frequencies of several parental socialization behaviors (labeling, acknowledgement, encouragement, and shaping/teaching) as they occur in a game-playing activity that focuses on emotion-related

sharing, (2) to compare the frequencies of these behaviors, and (3) to examine how parental beliefs relate to each socialization behavior.

### **Assessment of Normality**

First, each variable was examined for meeting assumptions of normality. Descriptive statistics indicated that three of the parental beliefs relating to value were normally distributed. However, the “positive emotions are good” subscale was negatively skewed and leptokurtic, with the majority of parents scoring above 5 on a 6-point scale. In fact, there was only once score below the mid-score of this subscale (3.5), indicating that the majority of parents in our sample believed that “positive emotions are good”. Although skewed, the distribution of this variable is not unexpected because such a belief may be representative of the type of parents who were willing to participate in this type of study. Thus, I did not transform this variable before including it in the regression analysis. Descriptive statistics for the guidance subscales indicated that both “parents should guide” and “children are capable” were both normally distributed.

Descriptive statistics indicated that the behavioral variables (labeling, acknowledgement, encouragement, and shaping/teaching) were not normally distributed. As suggested by Gardner, Mulvey, and Shaw (1995), count variables often result in very small means (<10 as a general rule). Count variables also tend to be positively skewed and kurtotic and generally have a low number of observations and no scores below zero (Coxe, West, & Aiken, 2009). Poisson distributions are recommended by these researchers as being ideal in handling observed count data because their reliance on general linear model assumptions allow for transformations of predicted outcomes. This transformation can linearize the

potential non-linear relationships that are present in observed count data. A comparison of the distribution of the behavioral variables can be seen before and after the Poisson distribution was performed in Figures 1-3.

### **Goal 1- Frequency of Socialization Behaviors**

As shown in Table 2, parents engaged in encouragement most often, followed by shaping/teaching and then labeling. Parents engaged in acknowledgement behaviors least during the task. In order to determine if these differences in socialization behaviors were significant, a Wilcoxon signed-rank test was conducted. Results indicated that parents did significantly more encouragement than shaping/teaching ( $z = -8.91, p < .001, r = -0.80$ ), labeling ( $z = -8.88, p < .001, r = -0.80$ ), and acknowledgement behaviors ( $z = -9.33, p < .001, r = -0.84$ ). Parents' shaping/teaching and labeling were not significantly different in frequency ( $z = -0.56, p > .05, r = -0.05$ ), but parents engaged in more shaping/teaching in relation to acknowledgement ( $z = -2.14, p < .05, r = -0.19$ ). Finally, although parents labeled children's emotions more frequently than they acknowledged them, the difference was not statistically significant ( $z = -0.49, p > .05, r = -0.04$ ). In terms of the modal use of these socialization behaviors, the predominance of encouragement was clear, with 94 parents using encouragement the most, seven using shaping/teaching the most, seven using labeling the most, and three using acknowledgement the most. Also, 12 parents engaged in two or more behaviors with equally high frequency. Most parents varied their strategies during the session: 80% of parents used three or four of the strategies during emotion-related conversation, 13.6% engaged in two of the strategies, and only 5.6% employed one strategy. One parent did not engage in any of the coded strategies.

## **Goal 2 –Intracorrelations among Socialization Variables**

Kendall's tau non-parametric correlations were conducted to examine the relationship among the socialization variables. As shown in Table 3, the socialization techniques were significantly and positively related to each other, with the exception of the relationship between labeling and acknowledgement. These correlations are small to moderate, suggesting a shared construct but also the relative independence of each type of behavior.

## **Goal 3 – The Relationship between Beliefs and Behaviors**

Regression analyses were conducted to examine relationships between the parental beliefs and parents' socialization behaviors. Poisson regressions were used for these analyses for the reasons described below.

**Description of Poisson regressions.** Gardner and colleagues (1995) suggest that count data, such as those used in this study, result in biased standard errors and significance tests in ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions. The conditions of skewed and kurtotic data with low means, as described earlier, tend to result in biased regression coefficients and may affect the statistical power to detect true effects in the model. As the dependent variables in this study are all count variables observed within a given period of time (15 minute period), with a known average rate (mean), and whose occurrence are independent of the time since the last event occurred, the Poisson regression is appropriate to model relationships within these data (Gardner et al., 1995; Coxe, et al., 2009).

Two statistics of Poisson regression analyses must be considered in the interpretation of the results. First, although the Poisson regression yields an unstandardized regression coefficient similar to the OLS regression, it is interpreted as the change in units of the

predictor representing a transformation of the outcome. In other words, the coefficient is interpreted as relationship in which a change in the predictor is associated with a change in the natural log of the outcome. To interpret the coefficient in terms of how the predictors are expected to affect the number of times an event or behavior occurs, Coxe and colleagues (2009) suggest calculating an exponentiation of the regression coefficient with the use of a constant ( $e^{b1}$ , where  $e$  is the constant 2.718). This transformed regression coefficient can now be interpreted in terms of 1-unit changes in the predictor. Specifically, the exponentiation of the regression coefficient is now interpreted as the multiplicative effect that the predictor has on the outcome variable, holding all other variables constant. Second, in terms of measuring the proportion of variance in the outcome accounted for by the predictors, the Poisson regression does not yield an  $R^2$  value as is found in OLS regression. Instead, a *deviance* value (i.e., assessment of the fit of the model in comparison to another model) is given. The deviance value represents how much worse the current model is from one that fits the data perfectly. A pseudo  $R^2$  value is then interpreted from the deviance statistic to represent the reduction in deviance by including the variables in the regression. These statistics are reported in Tables 5-7, for each socialization behavior.

Poisson regression analyses are conducted similarly to hierarchical linear regressions, in that multiple steps are used in each model to examine the amount of variance accounted for in the dependent variable by each block of independent variables. Each regression was conducted in three steps. Covariate variables for the number of game cards the dyad received were entered in the first step, PBACE value subscales in the second step, and PBACE guidance subscales in the third step. The numbers of positive, negative, and neutral cards

each dyad received were added as covariates in the first step to remove variance in parental behaviors that may be attributed to some dyads receiving more opportunities to talk about emotion-related topics than families who received less of these cards. The correlations between positive/neutral, negative/neutral, and positive/negative were 0.39, 0.14, and 0.09, respectively. Value subscales preceded the guidance subscales, as they theoretically relate to more broad conceptualizations of emotion, whereas guidance relates to a more specific idea of how emotional experience and knowledge should be guided. See Table 4 for intercorrelations among PBACE subscales.

**Acknowledgement.** As shown in Table 5, parents' acknowledgement behaviors were not affected by the card valence covariates in step 1. Although the value set of variables in step 2 accounted for a non-significant decrease in deviance in comparison to step 1 ( $\Delta\chi^2(3) = 4.92, p > .05$ ), one belief, that "positive emotions are valuable", was significantly related to parents' acknowledgement. For this relationship, a 1-unit increase in the belief that "positive emotions are valuable" was related to a multiplicative decrease of 0.77 in acknowledgment. This relationship did not hold, however, when I included the guidance beliefs in step 3. The inclusion of the guidance beliefs in step 3 resulted in a non-significant decrease of approximately 1% in deviance as compared to step 2 ( $\Delta\chi^2(2) = 1.21, p > .05$ ), indicating that neither the belief that "parents should guide children's emotions" or that "children are emotionally capable on their own" predicted acknowledgement behaviors.

**Encouragement.** As shown in Table 6, parents' encouragement behaviors were affected by the covariate of the number of positive cards the dyad received in step 1. The inclusion of the value beliefs in step 2 accounted for a significant decrease of 8% in deviance

in comparison to step 1 ( $\Delta\chi^2(3) = 11.18, p < .05$ ), indicating that the beliefs that “positive emotions are valuable” and that “all emotions are dangerous” related negatively to parents’ encouragement, even when controlling for the number of emotion valenced cards the dyad received. A 1-unit increase in the belief that “positive emotions are valuable” was associated with a multiplicative decrease of 0.81 in encouragement behaviors. For example, a parent who scored a 4 on the “positive emotions are valuable” subscale engaged in 0.81 times fewer encouragement behaviors as a parent who scored a 3 on the subscale. In addition, a 1-unit increase in the belief that “all emotions are dangerous” was associated with a multiplicative decrease of 0.91 in encouragement behaviors.

The inclusion of the guidance beliefs in step 3 accounted for an additional 4% decrease in deviance in comparison to step 2 ( $\Delta\chi^2(2) = 5.71, p > .05$ ). The effect of “positive emotions are valuable” held with the inclusion of the guidance beliefs in step 3, although the effect of “all emotions are dangerous” did not. There was no effect found for the belief that “negative emotions are valuable” in the encouragement model. Also, the beliefs that “parents should guide children’s emotions” ( $B = -0.13, SE = 0.07, p = .06$ ) and “children are emotionally capable on their own” ( $B = -0.09, SE = 0.05, p = .06$ ) showed trends of predicting encouragement behaviors above and beyond value beliefs. A 1-unit increase in the belief that “parents should guide” children’s emotions tended to be associated with a multiplicative decrease of 0.85 in encouragement behaviors. For the belief that “children are emotionally capable on their own”, a 1-unit increase tended to be associated with a multiplicative decrease of 0.91 in encouragement behaviors.

**Shaping/Teaching.** As shown in Table 7, parents' shaping/teaching behaviors were affected by the covariate of the number of negative cards the dyad received in step 1. The inclusion of value beliefs in step 2 accounted for a significant 5% decrease in deviance ( $\Delta\chi^2(3) = 18.97, p < .001$ ) indicating that "positive emotions are valuable" was significantly related to parents' shaping/teaching, even when controlling for the number of emotion valenced cards the dyad received. A 1-unit increase in the belief that "positive emotions are valuable" was associated with a multiplicative decrease of 0.61 in shaping/teaching behaviors. The inclusion of the guidance beliefs in step 3 accounted for an additional 1% decrease in deviance in comparison step 2 ( $\Delta\chi^2(2) = 2.54, p > .05$ ). There were no significant effects found for either the "parents should guide children's emotions" or "children are emotionally capable on their own" beliefs.

**Post Hoc Analyses: "Positive Emotions Are Valuable"**

Overall, the significant effects indicating that the belief that "positive emotions are valuable" was *negatively* related to acknowledgement, encouragement, and shaping/teaching were contrary to my original hypothesis, and, thus, warranted further investigation. I wondered if the affective context was relevant to parents' decisions to socialize their children's emotions. Because all may be well regarding the emotion-related content discussed for positively valenced cards, no socialization may be necessary, and it may be that socialization efforts are more closely linked to beliefs only when negative affect is likely to be present. If so, perhaps parents who believe that "positive emotions are valuable" may engage in fewer socialization behaviors when there are a high number of negative cards during the emotion discussion than when there are a low number of negative cards; if parents

can't broaden or build positive emotions then they may say or do nothing at all but move on to a more positive-creating opportunity. To explore this further, I included the number of positively and negatively valenced game cards as moderators of the relationships between the beliefs and socialization behaviors. To ensure that I was able to compare these possible interactions above and beyond any group differences in the number of cards the dyad received across the different methodologies for the Virginia and North Carolina samples, I included a dummy coded variable of the testing site (0 = Virginia and 1 = North Carolina). All variables in the model were centered and two-way interaction terms for the belief that "positive emotions are valuable" were created with the number of positive cards and the number of negative cards and entered into the regression. This procedure was repeated for acknowledgement, encouragement, and shaping/teaching; please see Tables 8, 9, and 10.

**Acknowledgement.** As shown in Table 8, the addition of the interaction terms accounted for only 1% further reduction in deviance in comparison to the regression step 2 in Table 5 that only included card covariates and value beliefs; this was not significant. Further, neither the amount of positive cards nor the amount of negative cards had a moderating effect on the relationship between "positive emotions are valuable" and encouragement.

**Encouragement.** As shown in Table 9, the inclusion of the interaction terms accounted for an additional 2% reduction in deviance in comparison to step 2 in Table 6 which only included card covariates and value beliefs; this was not significant. There was no moderating effect for the amount of positive cards the dyad received on the relationship between "positive emotions are valuable" and encouragement. However, the moderating

effect of the amount of negative cards on the relationship between “positive emotions are valuable” and encouragement approached significance, indicating a trend in this relationship ( $p = .08$ ). To visualize this interaction effect, simple regression lines were plotted in Figure 4 for low ( $-1 SD$ ) and high ( $+1 SD$ ) numbers of negative cards the dyad received. These results indicate that when parents received only a few negatively valenced cards, parents’ beliefs about the value of positive emotions did not affect their encouragement behavior. However, when the dyad received a high number of negatively valenced cards, parents’ beliefs about the value of positive emotions did predict their encouragement behavior, such that parents who value positive emotions were less encouraging of their children’s emotion talk, compared to parents who did not value positive emotions.

**Shaping/Teaching.** As shown in Table 10, the inclusion of the interaction terms accounted for an additional 6% reduction in deviance in comparison to the step 2 in Table 7, which only included card covariates and value beliefs; this was significant. There was no moderating effect for the amount of positive cards the dyad received on the relationship between “positive emotions are valuable” and shaping/teaching. However, the moderating effect of the amount of negative cards on the relationship between “positive emotions are valuable” and shaping/teaching was significant. To visualize this interaction effect, simple regression lines were plotted in Figure 5 for low ( $-1 SD$ ) and high ( $+1 SD$ ) numbers of negative cards the dyad received. These results indicated that when parents received only a few negatively valenced cards, parents’ beliefs about the value of positive emotions did not affect their shaping/teaching behavior. However, when the dyad received a high number of negatively valenced cards, parents’ beliefs about the value of positive emotions did predict

their shaping/teaching behavior, such that parents who valued positive emotions shaped/taught their children's emotion talk less, compared to parents who did not value positive emotions.

### **Post Hoc Analyses: "Parents Should Guide"**

The trend indicating the belief that "parents should guide" was *negatively* related to parents' encouragement was also contrary to my original hypothesis, and, thus, warranted further investigation. I again wondered if the affective context moderated parents' decisions to socialize their children's emotions and to explore this further, I included the number of positively and negatively valenced game cards as moderators of the relationships between the belief that "parents should guide" and encouragement. To ensure that I was able to compare these possible interactions above and beyond any group differences in the number of cards the dyad received across the different methodologies for the Virginia and North Carolina samples, I included a dummy coded variable of the testing site (0 = Virginia and 1 = North Carolina). All variables in the model were centered and two-way interaction terms for the belief that "parents should guide" were created with the number of positive cards and the number of negative cards and entered into the regression. I only ran this analysis in relation to the encouragement behaviors, as these were the only ones that suggested an effect for the guidance subscales.

As shown in Table 11, the inclusion of the interaction terms accounted for an additional 4% reduction in variance in comparison to step 3 in Table 6, which only included card covariates, value beliefs, and guidance beliefs; this was not a significant reduction. There was no moderating effect for the amount of positive cards the dyad received on the

relationship between “parents should guide” and encouragement. However, the moderating effect of the amount of negative cards on the relationship between “parents should guide children’s emotions” and encouragement was significant. To visualize this interaction effect, simple regression lines were plotted in Figure 6 for low ( $-1 SD$ ) and high ( $+1 SD$ ) numbers of negative cards the dyad received. These results indicated that when parents received only a few negatively valenced cards, parents’ beliefs about the guidance of children’s emotions did not affect their encouragement behavior. However, when the dyad received a high number of negatively valenced cards, parents’ beliefs about the guidance of children’s emotions did predict their encouragement behavior, such that parents who believed that “parents should guide children’s emotions” encouraged their children’s emotion talk less, compared to parents who did not hold this belief.

### **Discussion**

Discussion of emotion with children provides rich opportunities for parents to socialize children’s emotion expression, understanding, and experience (Eisenberg et al., 1998). However, no one has examined the particular methods parents use during conversation to socialize children’s emotion talk or the frequencies with which they use them. Further, some strategies may be more effective than others in teaching children about emotion and may also have differential outcomes for children’s emotional experiences. By understanding what predicts the frequency of socialization, researchers may begin to have a more complete picture of the socialization process, one in which identifiable predictors such as beliefs can be targeted and modified for beneficial outcomes in children’s emotion understanding. Overall, the current study demonstrates that parents differentially use

encouragement, shaping/teaching, labeling, and acknowledgement behaviors during emotion discussions and that parents' beliefs about the value and guidance of children's emotions significantly predict these behaviors. These results suggest that parents' emotion-related beliefs are important precursors to their emotion socialization behaviors.

### **Frequency of Socialization Behaviors**

Parents in this sample engaged most often in encouragement behaviors during emotion discussions with their children, followed by shaping/teaching, labeling, and acknowledgement. That is, parents were more likely to utilize socialization strategies that promote children's comfort in expressing their emotions and understanding their experiences. In fact, 75% of parents used encouragement more frequently than any other technique assessed in this study. Specifically, when parents interact with their children, they seem to most often validate and corroborate children's emotion expression, either verbally or nonverbally, in a way that may make children feel comfortable in sharing emotional experiences and might encourage children to share emotional experiences again in the future. Unlike shaping/teaching which may contribute directly to children's emotion knowledge, encouragement may contribute to children's emotion expression instead (Warren & Stifter, 2008). Interestingly, parents were least likely to acknowledge their children's emotions despite the relatively smaller investment (e.g., "Yeah, I know") required of the parent to provide a response of affirmation compared to a more complex encouraging response. It may also be possible that because parents recognized that they were being monitored while engaging in the task, they felt as if they should do more than simply acknowledge what their children were saying.

Encouragement behaviors may also have been the predominant response for parents due to the developmental stage of the child, as parents use strategies that they believe to be more developmentally appropriate for their children (Eisenberg et al., 1998; Calkins & Bell, 1999). Labeling may be a response that is more appropriate when children are younger, as the ability to consciously recognize and label emotions is considered more of a preschool competency (Denham & Burton, 1996). By middle childhood children are developing a more complex view of their social world and hence are trying to better understand the emotional experiences of their selves and others (Colle & Del Giudice, 2010; Pons, Harris, & De Rosnay, 2004). Consequently, parents may use more complex socialization techniques such as encouragement and shaping/teaching to help their children explore and make sense of emotions during these years. Now that these coding schemes have been developed, future studies could examine how parents' socialization techniques differ as a function of children's age and developmental stage.

It must be noted that the comparison of these frequencies should be considered with caution. Although these behaviors occurred within the same context, they were coded under differing conditions. For instance, encouragement was coded only in circumstances in which the child had expressed or talked about experiencing an emotion. However, acknowledgement, labeling, and shaping/teaching could theoretically occur independent of the input the child may have given during the conversation. Thus, comparing these behaviors may be like comparing apples to oranges, although these are all valid socialization techniques, their occurrence is hard to compare without considering the precursors to the behavior in context. Future studies should examine the type of behaviors and cues parents

receive from their children which might lead them to react with a particular socialization behavior.

### **Relations between Socialization Behaviors**

As predicted, these socialization behaviors were significantly related to one another, with the exception of labeling with acknowledgement. The low to moderate correlations suggest some overlap among these strategies, but also that these parenting behaviors are somewhat independent from one another. Roberts and Strayer (1987) also found some overlapping yet distinct constructs within parental responses of warmth and responsiveness to children's emotion expression, further supporting the idea that although parental strategies may be related, they exhibit some independence in their use. The results of the current study also suggest that parents generally use several socialization techniques, with 85% of the sample utilizing two or more socialization techniques during the discussion. Although some studies have described the number of parents using particular strategies in response to children's emotion expression (O'Neal & Magai, 2005; Roberts & Strayer, 1987), the current study is the only one of its kind to specifically document how often parents' socialization strategies co-occur in context.

### **Parents' Beliefs about Emotions Predicting Socialization Behaviors**

Overall, my hypotheses regarding parental beliefs' ability to predict socialization behaviors were partially supported, in that both value and guidance beliefs predicted two of the three socialization behaviors. However, the parental belief that "positive emotions are valuable" predicted *fewer* instances of socialization behaviors, and the belief that "all emotions are dangerous" predicted less encouragement behaviors, although not above and

beyond the effects of guidance beliefs. Finally, both guidance beliefs, that “parents should guide” children’s emotions and that “children are capable” showed trends, again in the direction of predicting *less* encouragement. These effects were demonstrated above and beyond the contribution of value beliefs.

The findings specific to “all emotions are dangerous” and “children are capable” partially support my previous predictions that these beliefs would result in fewer instances of parents’ acknowledgement, encouragement, and shaping/teaching. However, the findings related to “positive emotions are valuable” and “parents should guide” are in complete contrast to my original predictions.

Parents’ belief that emotions are dangerous has been associated with parents being less emotionally expressive during intensely emotional events (e.g., 9/11 terrorist attacks; Halberstadt et al., 2008), experiencing greater emotional intensity in response to emotion-eliciting stimuli, and masking emotional expression (Dunsmore et al., 2009). These relationships consistently suggest that the belief that emotions are dangerous affects the way parents send emotional information to their children. The findings of the current study show a similar effect in which parents who believe that emotions are dangerous also avoid socializing their children about emotions during conversation. These parents may want to avoid engaging in these behaviors when given the choice, so as not to highlight or draw attention to emotion-related talk. This process may have implications for children’s emotion-related outcomes. Specifically, parents who believe that emotions are dangerous and, as a consequence, avoid supportive emotion-related socialization behaviors may have children who show some disadvantage in emotion recognition or emotion expression. Future research

may want to investigate the process by which parents' beliefs directly influence their behaviors and whether or not this directly affects children's emotional skill.

The current study is the first to incorporate the belief that "children are capable" of figuring out their own emotions into the study of parental emotion-related beliefs and socialization behaviors. As predicted, parents who had this belief engaged in fewer socialization behaviors than parents who did not hold this belief strongly, although this only approached significance for the more frequently occurring encouragement behaviors. Thus, parents who felt that children were able to conduct their own emotional lives without interference may be more "hands off" in their parenting style. This may be especially true in this sample because of the age of the children. Parents generally expect more with regard to emotional skills of their older children (e.g., middle childhood) than their younger children (e.g., early childhood; Cassano et al., 2007).

The relationships of the other two beliefs ("positive emotions are valuable" and "parents should guide children's emotions") with parents' socialization behaviors are perplexing. First, parents' belief that "positive emotions are valuable" was negatively related to parents' acknowledgment, encouragement, and shaping/teaching behaviors. This initially seems in contrast with work suggesting that people communicate their positive experiences to others to help prolong the emotional experience (Bryant, 2003; Langston, 1994; Tugade & Frederickson, 2006). One might imagine that parents who believe that positive emotions are valuable would encourage children to express themselves so as to prolong that experience for their children, but the evidence in this study suggests quite the contrary. Instead, it may be that parents who value positive emotions do not further the development of positive emotions

by encouraging or teaching their children to talk about them, but rather, by inculcating positivity via socialization strategies not within the realm of this study, for example, more carefully selecting children's niches (e.g., choosing activities for children that broaden and build their positive experiences, or ensuring that they get sufficient sleep to increase resiliency; Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Cumberland, 1998b; Fredrickson, 1998; Parke & McDowell, 1998). Thus, it could be that parents who value positive emotions may talk less about them but create niches that provide more opportunities for positive emotions and reduce negative experiences. Perhaps future studies should examine parental predictors associated with niche-creating. Another possibility is that the developmental age during which parents engage in these behaviors is earlier than the age studied, and by nine and ten years old, parents are in transition with the type of strategies they use with their children having either succeeded or given up in changing their children's behavior by the time (Eisenberg, et al., 1999; Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007). Yet another possibility, and one tested in the post hoc analyses, is that the affective context matters, and that parents who value positive emotions may be more responsive to the needs presented in the affective context; this possibility is discussed further below.

The tendency toward a negative relationship between the belief that parents should guide their children's emotional experience and socialization behaviors is also difficult to explain. Dunsmore et al. (2009) found that parents' belief about parental guidance was unrelated to parents' nonverbal expressions of emotion, and suggested that this belief might relate to parents' verbalizations. They also suggested that although parents may believe that they should guide their children's emotions, they may be trying to help their child in

developing autonomy around the age of 9 or 10 years and therefore engage in less guiding behaviors to help foster this skill. Although the current study did find a predictive relationship between this belief and parents' emotion-related socialization behaviors, the negative relationship suggests that these parents do not guide through their verbalizations in this context or that perhaps parents truly are being purposeful about fostering children's autonomy at this age. It may also be that parents with this belief may not "jump into action" until children are exhibiting intense emotional experiences. As the emotion discussion task was not designed to elicit such emotional responses out of children, parents with this belief may not have seen a need to engage in these supportive ERSBs in high amounts. High-emotionally arousing events such as a loss of a pet may be a more appropriate context in which parents exhibit guiding behaviors. Future research may be able to make this distinction through differential methodology, and compare contexts in which parents engage in some socialization techniques more than others.

More detailed analyses of the affective context helped make sense of these perplexing relationships, and furthered the idea that parents who value positive emotions might try to inculcate positive emotions in children by means other than trying to socialize their children to talk about their emotions. Instead, they might choose to react less in circumstances in which they cannot immediately foster greater positivity.

The follow-up analyses demonstrated that the relationship between parents' beliefs about the value of positive emotions (and parents' responsibility in guiding children's emotions) and their socialization behaviors differed depending on the amount of valenced material in the emotion discussion. Parents did not vary by beliefs when emotion discussions

focused on positive topics, perhaps because there was little to scaffold, given that children and parents were already talking about positive emotions. They did vary however, when emotion discussions focused on negative topics. In that condition, parents who believed that “positive emotions are good” tended to engage in fewer socialization behaviors than parents who did not have this belief. Parents who valued positive emotions did not encourage their children to talk about negative emotions, nor did they try to teach them something more about negatively valenced topics, and in so doing, they may be sending messages to their children that there should be less talk about negative emotions. Parents who were low in this belief tended to engage in more socialization when there was a lot of negative content to discuss. As the current study only found a significant effect for this moderating relationship for shaping/teaching and a trend of this effect in encouragement, future studies should attempt to confirm whether the emotional context of a conversation affects the relationship between parents’ beliefs about emotions and their socialization techniques.

Parents with the belief that “parents should guide children’s emotions” encouraged their children to talk about emotions less often than parents without this belief, but only in the presence of high amounts of negative emotional talk. Parents with this belief may be guiding children’s emotions by simply not encouraging their children to talk about emotion as much, when expressing negative emotion. By not encouraging emotion talk during negatively valenced contexts, parents may be directing children to not focus as much on these negative emotions. Again, exploring with parents *how* they choose to socialize their children toward their own goals may be a useful next step in determining if emotion discussion is as important with 9-year old children as other socialization strategies.

Although results from the post hoc analyses suggest that the amount of negative topics in an emotion discussion influences parents' socialization behaviors, it does not address the likely temporal nature of this context. For instance, during the emotion discussion, it may be that parents' beliefs about emotion don't really matter or have an effect until after the dyad has had to discuss several negative cards in a row. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of the current study. However, future analyses can investigate the effect that one negative conversation or exchange might have on parents' subsequent socialization behaviors through lag analyses. Studies might also examine the relationship between beliefs and behaviors in for both positively valenced contexts and negatively valenced contexts separately, so that a comparison could be drawn between the two.

Overall, the relations among these variables highlight that parental beliefs cohere in a meaningful way with one another and in relation to parents' socialization behaviors; parents' beliefs do seem to contribute to parents' behaviors in predictable, yet surprising ways. These findings are consistent with the previous literature that parents' behaviors vary according to the domain and type of beliefs they have about children and their development (Dunsmore et al., 2009; Wong et al., 2007). This complex picture of how parents' beliefs affect their behaviors should encourage future researchers to further explicate the nuances between these relationships.

### **Benefits and Limitations**

There are several limitations to this study. One of these limitations is the lack of other socialization behaviors that parents might engage in, particularly those classified as non-supportive or discouraging of emotional conversation. Coding schemes were initially put in

place to capture behaviors such as reinforcement of children's emotion (sharing the child's emotion expression by taking part in or amplifying the child's emotional experience), discouragement of emotional talk, punishment of emotion expression or emotional talk, and un-acknowledgement of emotion expression or emotional talk. However, our sample yielded very low frequencies of these behaviors. First, the low occurrence of reinforcement may have been a product of parents not feeling comfortable in amplifying their children's emotion experience in an unfamiliar setting. With regard to the amount of supportive behaviors relative to non-supportive behaviors, it is possible that our sample was so high in encouraging and supportive behaviors because of the nature of the parent-child interaction task. The emotion discussion task was not designed to invoke high arousing emotion in participants, and so it may be that children's emotion expression was not high enough to warrant parents' use of non-supportive or discouraging socialization behaviors. It may also be more difficult to observe this sort of parental behavior in lab settings because it may not be thought of as socially desirable to act this way in front of non-familiar research assistants or recording equipment. Finally, the low occurrence of non-supportive behaviors might also be a function of the sample that was self-selected into this study. Approximately 70% of this sample had a college degree or higher, which may be indicative of the parenting styles in these dyads. Higher educated may be more supportive of their children overall and may feel more comfortable interacting with their children in front of unfamiliar people. Also, as 2/3 of the sample were minorities, it may have been that they were concerned with showing interactions with their children in a more positive light, simply because they felt it was their responsibility to be good representatives of their communities.

The current study also uses distal measures of the true context of emotion discussion, by taking into account the opportunity dyads had to talk about positively or negatively valenced topics through the amount of game cards the dyad received. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to examine the true context of the emotion discussion by examining further the types of emotion that children were expressing and how parents responded to those emotions. Further analyses of these data should include the amount of times children expressed positive or negative emotions and how these situations might moderate how parents' beliefs affect their behaviors.

I must also recognize the amount of directionality that this study assumes by examining the predictive nature of beliefs on behaviors. Although it is clear that beliefs are a contributor to parents' behaviors, it may also be that parents' behaviors equally contribute to parents' beliefs about children's emotions. This may be particularly true as parents evaluate the efficacy of the strategies they use to help their children navigate their emotional terrain. Future studies need to further disentangle the relationship between beliefs and behaviors to examine how both of these components contribute to parents' effective parenting.

Finally, the psychometric properties of the coding schemes used in this study are unknown. These schemes were developed through the guidance of the literature on parents' emotional socialization, input from parents, and input from representatives of each of the ethnic groups represented in our sample. It is not clear how reliable these codes may be over time and what type of convergent validity they might demonstrate with parent reports of their own socialization. I invite future studies to use the coding schemes developed in order to examine parent-child interactions longitudinally as well as in relation to parents' and

children's perceptions of parental socialization. Such studies would provide insight into the psychometric characteristics of these coding schemes.

Despite these difficulties, this study offers new information about the frequency and co-occurrence of socialization behaviors, as well as which parental beliefs contribute to parental behaviors, and the importance of the affective context when predicting when parents' beliefs will be associated with their socialization behaviors. Further, parents' use of non-action, that is, moving their children through a negatively valenced context by *not* discussing it, rather than focusing on such content, may be an understudied strategy that parents use more than previously considered. Parents' non-responsiveness in the face of a negatively-valenced context may, in fact, be a form of niche selection that allows children to experience negative affect without dwelling on it.

The current study adds to the body of work on parental socialization in several ways. First, the coding of socialization behaviors captured in this design provides careful consideration of the context in which parents socialize children's emotions. For example, the constructs of interest in this study include a socialization technique that occurs in the context of a child's labeling or expression of emotion, while also capturing spontaneous explanations of emotion experience. Differentiation of these behaviors provides a more complex view of the parental socialization context, which is supported by the low to moderate correlations between the various behaviors. Second, the present study included a multitude of parental beliefs about children's positive and negative emotions. Previous studies have examined only one or two types of beliefs (Dunsmore et al., 2009, Halberstadt et al, 2008; Wong et al., 2007). Analyzing more beliefs in combination with a differentiated set of socialization

behaviors adds to a more complete view of socialization in which one can see how particular beliefs about emotion may predict particular socialization behaviors above and beyond other beliefs. Finally, the current study used an ethnically diverse sample, with ethnically diverse coding teams. Few studies, with the exceptions of Hersh & Hussong (2009) and Lunkenheimer et al. (2007) have included ethnically diverse samples in basic emotion socialization research, yet doing so increases the generalizability of the findings.

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Table 1.

*Gender Distribution of Parent-Child Dyads*

Gender Composition	Total Sample	African American	European American	Lumbee American Indian	Other
Father- Daughter	14	1	10	3	0
Father-Son	16	4	6	5	1
Mother- Daughter	46	16	11	18	1
Mother -Son	49	22	12	13	2
Total	125	43	39	39	4

Table 2.

*Descriptive Statistics for Socialization Beliefs and Behaviors*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	Skew	Kurtosis
<b>Socialization Beliefs</b>					
Positive Emotions are Good	5.60	0.50	3.00	-2.64	8.87
Negative Emotions are Good	4.34	0.70	3.33	-0.20	-0.41
All Emotions are Dangerous	2.94	0.88	4.62	0.35	-0.05
Parents Should Guide	5.29	0.56	2.89	-0.77	0.65
Children are Capable	2.86	0.86	4.00	0.25	-0.40
<b>Socialization Behaviors</b>					
Labeling	2.06	2.82	12.00	1.48	1.62
Acknowledgement	1.84	1.66	8.00	1.45	2.78
Encouragement	6.53	3.19	18.00	0.61	0.94
Shaping/Teaching	2.51	2.39	15.00	2.20	7.58

Table 3.

*Intercorrelations for Parents' Socialization Behaviors*

	Acknowledgement	Encouragement	Shaping/Teaching
Labeling	.13	.18**	.23**
Acknowledgement	--	.26**	.28**
Encouragement	--	--	.26**

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\*\* $p < .01$

Table 4. *Intercorrelations for PBACE subscales*

	<u>Value Beliefs</u>			<u>Guidance Beliefs</u>	
	Neg	Danger	Life	Parents	Children
Positive emotions are valuable	.39**	-.13	.42**	.33**	-.09
Negative emotions are valuable	--	-.32**	.53**	.20*	-.01
Emotions are dangerous	--	--	-.21	.13	.03
Emotions are a part of life	--	--	--	.07	.11
Parents should guide	--	--	--	--	-.35**
Children are capable	--	--	--	--	--

*Note:* Parent belief subscale scores can range from 1 to 6.

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

Table 5  
*Poisson Regression of Value and Guidance Beliefs Predicting Acknowledgement Behaviors*

Variable	Coefficient <sup>a</sup>	S.E.	95% Confidence Interval	$e^{bI}$	Df, Deviance	Pseudo $R^2$	$\chi^2$ <sup>b</sup>
Step 1					120, 182.54	0.03	6.45
# of Positive Cards	0.45	0.03	-0.00, 0.09	1.57			
# of Negative Cards	0.43	0.03	-0.02, 0.10	1.54			
# of Neutral Cards	-0.03	0.02	-0.06, 0.00	0.97			
Step 2					116, 177.15	0.06	11.37
# of Positive Cards	0.04	0.03	-0.01, 0.09	1.04			
# of Negative Cards	0.05	0.03	-0.01, 0.11	1.05			
# of Neutral Cards	-0.04*	0.02	-0.07, -0.00	0.96			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.26*	0.13	-0.52, -0.01	0.77			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.00	0.10	0.20, 0.00	1.00			
All Emotions are Dangerous	0.04	0.08	0.19, 0.24	1.04			
Step 3					114, 175.93	0.01	12.58
# of Positive Cards	0.04	0.03	-0.01, 0.00	1.04			
# of Negative Cards	0.05	0.03	-0.01, 0.11	1.05			
# of Neutral Cards	-0.03	0.02	-0.07, -0.00	0.97			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.24	0.14	-0.51, 0.04	0.79			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.02	0.11	-0.19, 0.23	1.02			
All Emotions are Dangerous	0.07	0.08	-0.10, 0.23	1.07			
Parents Should Guide	-0.12	0.14	-0.39, 0.15	0.89			
Children Are Capable	-0.09	0.09	-0.27, 0.09	0.91			

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

<sup>a</sup>Regression coefficients are on a log scale.

<sup>b</sup>Chi-square significance is in comparison to the previous step of the model. For significance at the first step of the model, this chi-square is compared to a regression model with no predictors.

Table 6  
*Poisson Regression of Value and Guidance Beliefs Predicting Encouragement Behaviors*

Variable	Coefficient <sup>a</sup>	S.E.	95% Confidence Interval	$e^{b1}$	Df, Deviance	Pseudo $R^2$	$\chi^2$ <sup>b</sup>
Step 1					120, 155.59	0.23	46.94***
# of Positive Cards	0.07***	0.01	0.04, 0.09	1.07			
# of Negative Cards	0.00	0.02	-0.03, 0.03	1.00			
# of Neutral Cards	0.02	0.01	-0.00, 0.03	1.02			
Step 2					116, 143.98	0.07	58.12*
# of Positive Cards	0.07***	0.01	0.04, 0.09	1.07			
# of Negative Cards	0.01	0.01	-0.01, 0.05	1.01			
# of Neutral Cards	0.01	0.01	-0.00, 0.03	1.01			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.21**	0.07	-0.35, -0.07	0.81			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.07	0.06	-0.04, 0.18	1.07			
All Emotions are Dangerous	-0.09*	0.04	-0.17, -0.00	0.91			
Step 3					114, 138.66	0.04	63.83
# of Positive Cards	0.07***	0.01	0.04, 0.09	1.07			
# of Negative Cards	0.02	0.02	-0.02, 0.05	1.02			
# of Neutral Cards	0.01	0.01	-0.00, 0.03	1.01			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.17*	0.08	-0.33, -0.02	0.86			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.09	0.06	-0.02, 0.21	1.09			
All Emotions are Dangerous	-0.06	0.05	-0.15, 0.03	0.94			
Parents Should Guide	-0.13†	0.07	-0.27, 0.01	0.88			
Children Are Capable	-0.09†	0.05	-0.18, 0.00	0.91			

† $p = .06$ . \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

<sup>a</sup>Regression coefficients are on a log scale.

<sup>b</sup>Chi-square significance is in comparison to the previous step of the model. For significance at the first step of the model, this chi-square is compared to a regression model with no predictors.

Table 7  
*Poisson Regression of Value and Guidance Beliefs Predicting Shaping/Teaching Behaviors*

Variable	Coefficient <sup>a</sup>	S.E.	95% Confidence Interval	$e^{bI}$	Df, Deviance	Pseudo $R^2$	$\chi^2$ <sup>b</sup>
Step 1					120, 236.77	0.05	13.44**
# of Positive Cards	0.03	0.02	-0.01, 0.08	1.03			
# of Negative Cards	0.08***	0.02	0.03, 0.13	1.08			
# of Neutral Cards	-0.03	0.01	-0.05, 0.00	0.97			
Step 2					116, 217.69	0.08	32.41***
# of Positive Cards	0.03	0.02	-0.01, 0.08	1.03			
# of Negative Cards	0.10***	0.03	0.05, 0.15	1.11			
# of Neutral Cards	-0.03*	0.01	-0.06, -0.01	0.97			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.47**	0.11	-0.69, -0.27	0.61			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.12	0.09	-0.06, 0.30	1.13			
All Emotions are Dangerous	-0.11	0.07	-0.25, 0.02	0.89			
Step 3					114, 215.15	0.01	34.95
# of Positive Cards	0.03	0.02	-0.01, 0.07	1.03			
# of Negative Cards	0.10***	0.03	0.05, 0.15	1.11			
# of Neutral Cards	-0.03*	0.01	-0.06, -0.00	0.97			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.41***	0.12	-0.64, -0.18	0.66			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.12	0.09	-0.07, 0.30	1.12			
All Emotions are Dangerous	-0.09	0.07	-0.23, 0.05	0.91			
Parents Should Guide	-0.18	0.12	-0.41, -0.04	0.83			
Children Are Capable	-0.04	0.08	-0.19, 0.12	0.96			

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

<sup>a</sup>Regression coefficients are on a log scale.

<sup>b</sup>Chi-square significance is in comparison to the previous step of the model. For significance at the first step of the model, this chi-square is compared to a regression model with no predictors.

Table 8  
*Poisson Regression of Value Beliefs with Card Valence Interaction Terms Predicting Acknowledgement Behaviors*

Variable	Coefficient <sup>a</sup>	S.E.	95% Confidence Interval	$e^{b1}$	Df, Deviance	Pseudo $R^2$	$\chi^2$
Model					114, 174.21	0.01	13.31
# of Positive Cards	0.04	0.03	-0.01, 0.09	1.04			
# of Negative Cards	0.05	0.03	-0.01, 0.11	1.05			
# of Neutral Cards	-0.03	0.02	-0.07, 0.00	0.97			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.20	0.14	-0.47, 0.08	0.82			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.02	0.10	-0.19, 0.22	1.02			
All Emotions are Dangerous	0.04	0.08	-0.12, 0.19	1.04			
Pos Cards X Positive Are Valuable	-0.09	0.06	-0.19, 0.06	0.94			
Neg Cards X Positive Are Valuable	0.06	0.05	-0.04, 0.15	1.06			

<sup>a</sup> Regression coefficients are on a log scale.

Table 9  
*Poisson Regression of Value Beliefs with Card Valence Interaction Terms Predicting Encouragement Behaviors*

Variable	Coefficient <sup>a</sup>	S.E.	95% Confidence Interval	$e^{bI}$	Df, Deviance	Pseudo $R^2$	$\chi^2$
Model					114, 140.12	0.03	62.37
# of Positive Cards	0.07***	0.01	0.04, 0.09	1.07			
# of Negative Cards	0.01	0.02	-0.02, 0.04	1.01			
# of Neutral Cards	0.02	0.01	-0.00, 0.03	1.02			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.22**	0.07	-0.37, -0.08	0.80			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.08	0.06	-0.03, 0.20	1.08			
All Emotions are Dangerous	-0.08	0.04	-0.17, 0.00	0.92			
Pos Cards X Positive Are Valuable	-0.01	0.03	-0.08, 0.06	0.99			
Neg Cards X Positive Are Valuable	-0.05†	0.03	-0.11, 0.00	0.95			

† $p = .07$ . \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

<sup>a</sup>Regression coefficients are on a log scale.

Table 10  
*Poisson Regression of Value Beliefs with Card Valence Interaction Terms Predicting Shaping/Teaching Behaviors*

Variable	Coefficient <sup>a</sup>	S.E.	95% Confidence Interval	$e^{b1}$	Df, Deviance	Pseudo $R^2$	$\chi^2$ <sup>b</sup>
Model					114, 207.68	0.12	42.43
# of Positive Cards	0.04	0.02	-0.01, 0.08	1.04			
# of Negative Cards	0.11	0.03	0.06, 0.15	1.12			
# of Neutral Cards	-0.04**	0.02	-0.07, -0.01	0.96			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.41***	0.12	-0.65, -0.18	0.66			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.09	0.09	-0.09, 0.27	1.10			
All Emotions are Dangerous	-0.13	0.07	-0.26, 0.01	0.88			
Pos Cards X Positive Are Valuable	0.04	0.06	-0.07, 0.15	1.04			
Neg Cards X Positive Are Valuable	0.13**	0.04	0.04, 0.21	1.13			

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

<sup>a</sup> Regression coefficients are on a log scale.

Table 11

*Poisson Regression of Guidance Beliefs with Card Valence Interaction Terms Predicting Encouragement Behaviors*

Variable	Coefficient <sup>a</sup>	S.E.	95% Confidence Interval	$e^{b1}$	Df, Deviance	Pseudo $R^2$	$\chi^2$
Model					112, 131.11	0.05	71.38*
# of Positive Cards	0.24	0.15	-0.05, 0.53	1.27			
# of Negative Cards	0.35**	0.13	0.10, 0.61	1.41			
# of Neutral Cards	0.02	0.01	-0.00, 0.03	1.02			
Positive Emotions are Valuable	-0.15*	0.08	-0.31, -0.00	0.86			
Negative Emotions are Valuable	0.11	0.06	-0.00, 0.23	1.12			
All Emotions are Dangerous	-0.06	0.05	-0.15, 0.03	0.94			
Parents Should Guide	0.32	0.22	-0.12, 0.76	1.38			
Children Are Capable	-0.11*	0.05	-0.20, -0.01	0.90			
Pos Cards X Parents Should Guide	-0.03	0.03	-0.08, 0.02	0.97			
Neg Cards X Parents Should Guide	-0.06**	0.02	-0.11, -0.02	0.94			

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

<sup>a</sup> Regression coefficients are on a log scale.

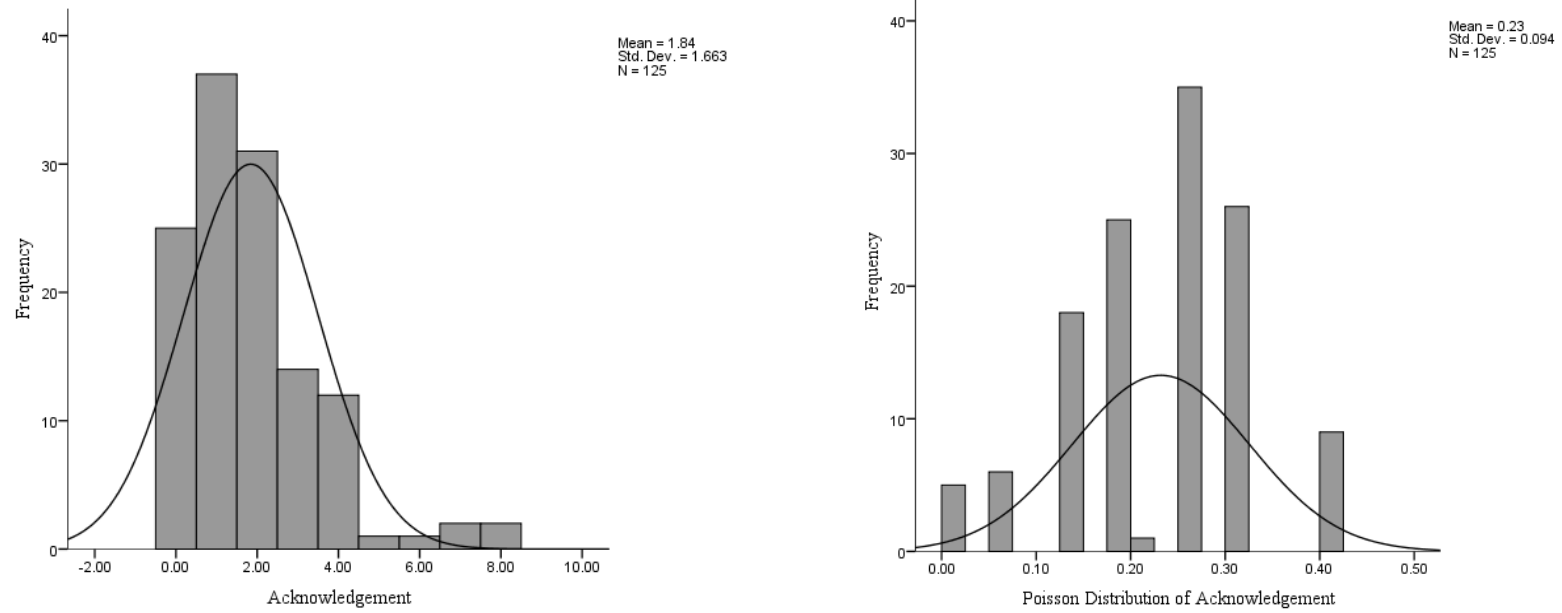


Figure 1  
*Standard and Poisson Distributions for Parents' Acknowledgement Behaviors*

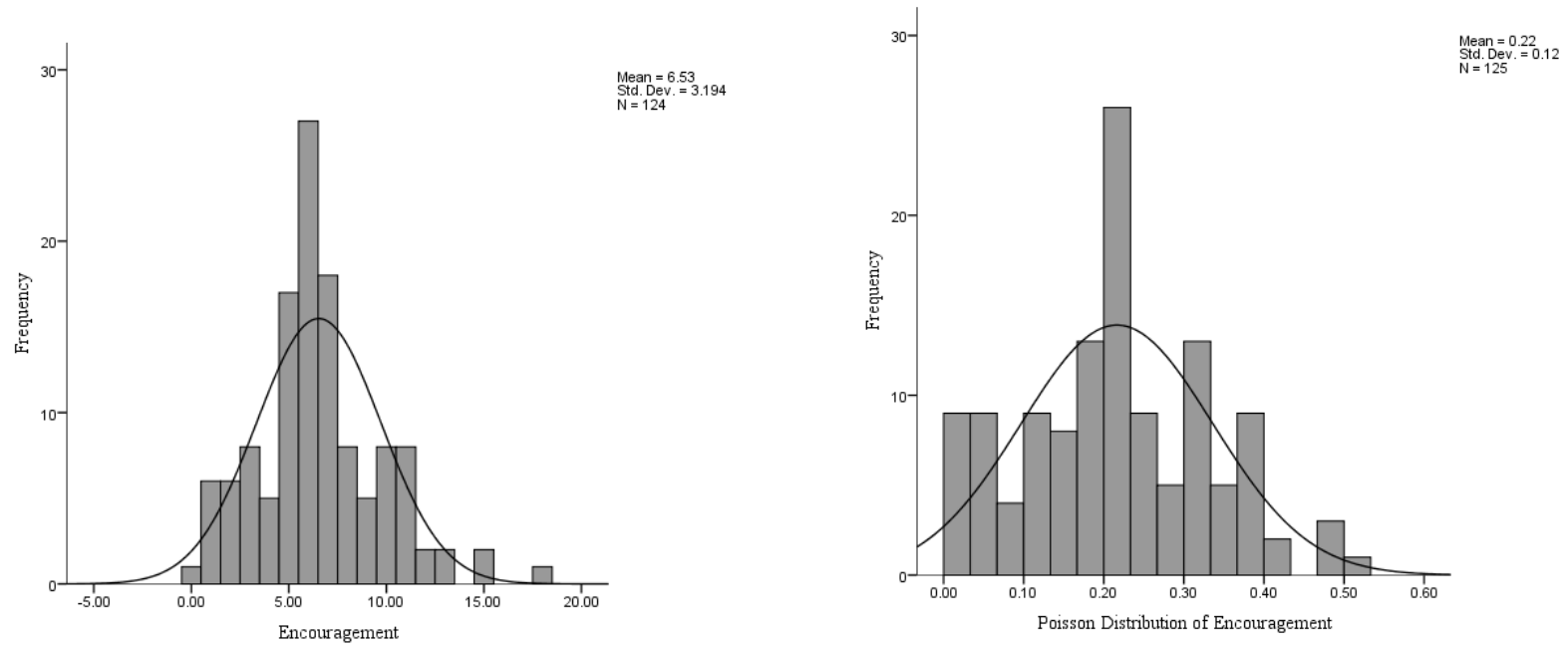


Figure 2  
*Standard and Poisson Distributions for Parents' Encouragement Behaviors*

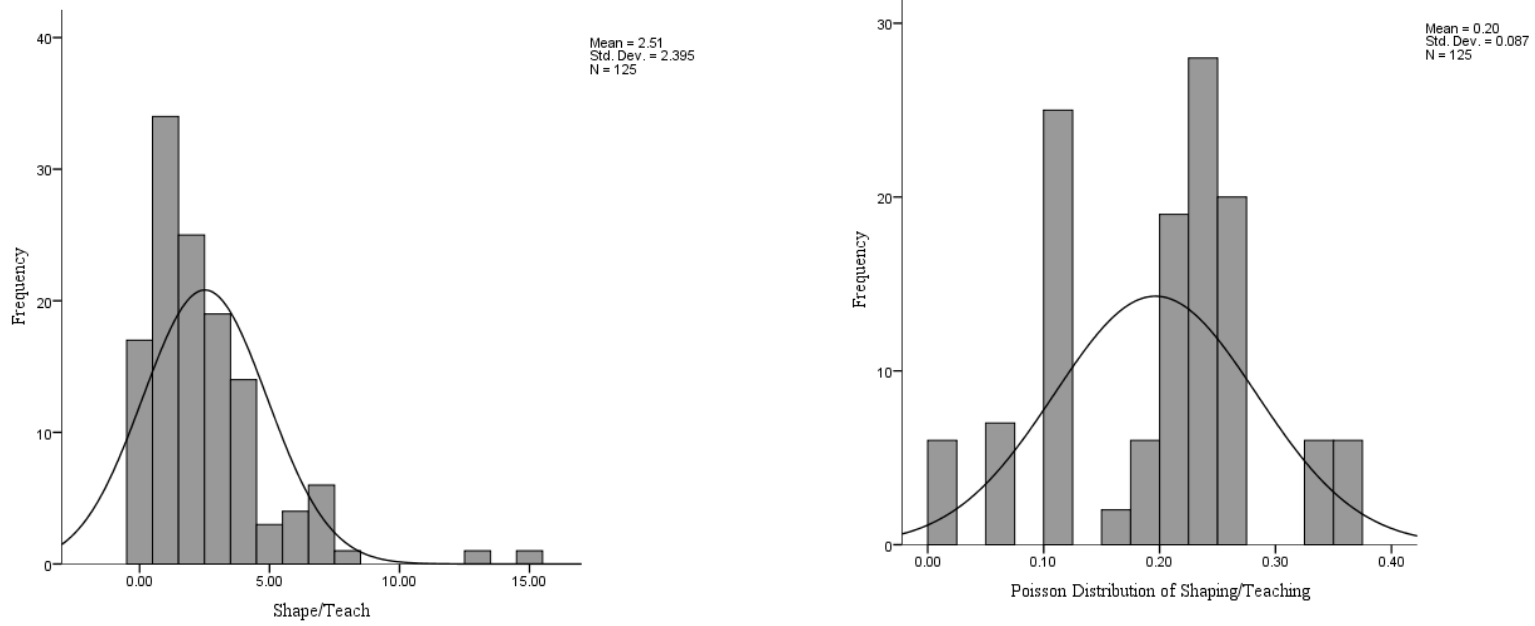


Figure 3  
*Standard and Poisson Distributions of Shaping/Teaching Behaviors*

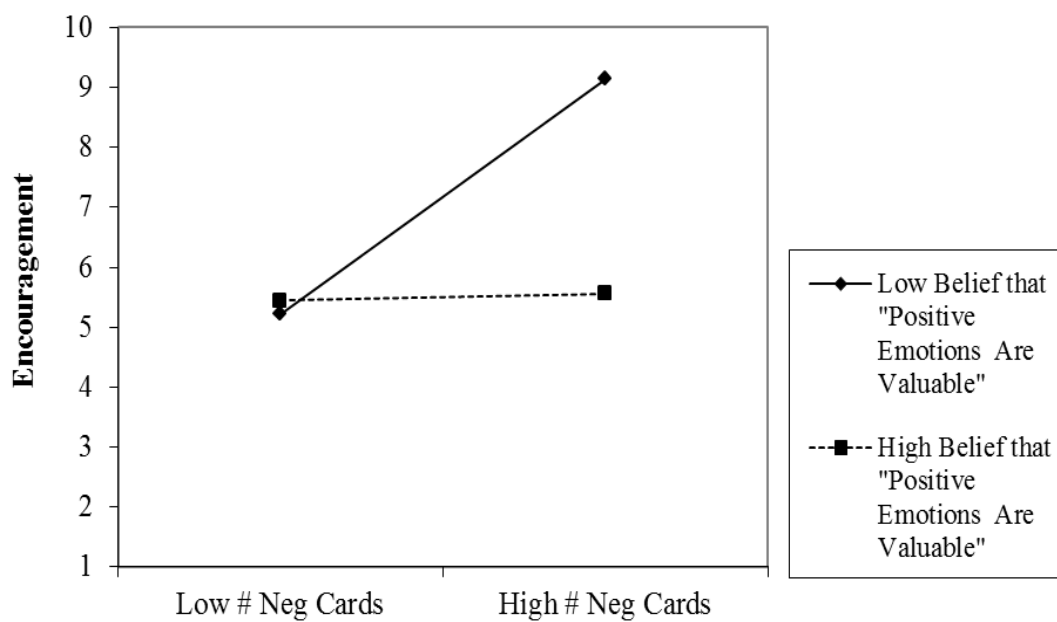


Figure 4  
*Relationship of Positive Emotions are Valuable and Encouragement at Low and High Instances of Negative Cards*

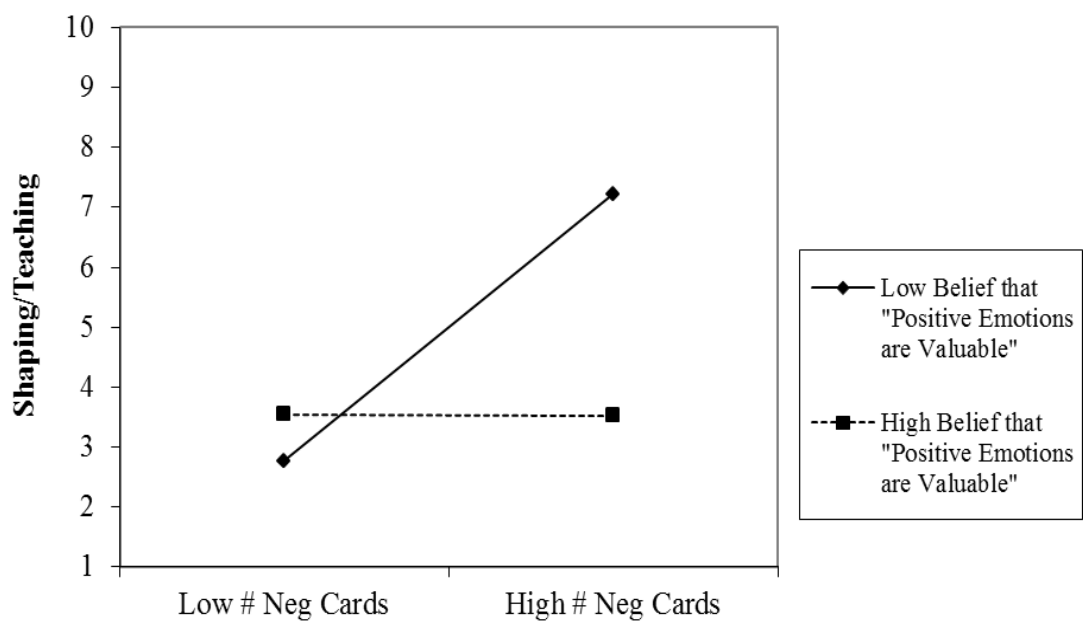


Figure 5  
*Relationship of Positive Emotions are Valuable and Shaping/Teaching at Low and High Instances of Negative Cards*

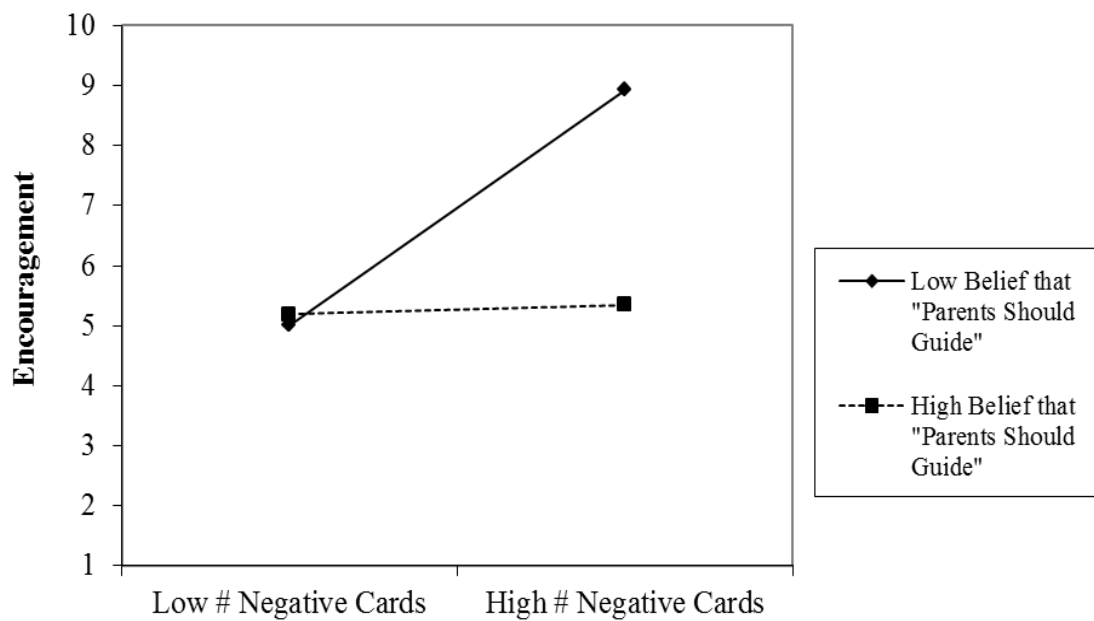


Figure 6  
*Relationship of Parents Should Guide and Encouragement at Low and High Instances of Negative Cards*

**APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A

### Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions (Value Dimension)

**Instructions:** These statements express some 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 your response in the column titled "Answer." Because children's abilities may develop over time, please pick a child age (somewhere between the ages of 4 and 10) that you are familiar with, and respond to these statements for children of that age.

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

		Answer
1	Getting mad can help children do things they need to, like sticking with a task that's hard, or standing up for themselves.	
2	It is okay when children feel angry, and it is okay when they don't.	
3	Showing emotions isn't a good thing or a bad thing, it's just part of being human.	
4	It's good for the family when children share their positive emotions.	
5	It is important for children to be able to show when they are happy.	
6	It is important for children to express their happiness when they feel it.	
7	Feeling sad sometimes is just a part of life.	
8	It is good for children to feel sad at times.	
9	Feeling negative emotions is sort of a dead end street, and children should do whatever they can to avoid going down it.	
10	Showing anger is not a good idea for children.	
11	Feeling all emotions is a part of life, like breathing.	
12	When children get angry they create more problems for themselves.	

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

		Answer
13	It is important for children to develop lots of ways to be happy.	
14	Feeling angry sometimes is just a part of life.	
15	Feeling sad is just not good for children.	
16	It is important for children to show others when they feel upset.	
17	It is okay when children feel sad, and it is okay when they don't.	
18	When children are too loving others take advantage of them.	
19	Children's anger can be a relief to them, like a storm that clears the air.	
20	It is useful for children to feel angry sometimes.	
21	Joy is an important emotion to feel.	
22	Sometimes it is good for a child to sit down and have a good cry.	
23	When children get angry, it can only lead to problems.	
24	Having lots of joy is very important for a child.	
25	Showing sadness is neither bad nor good, it is just part of being human.	
26	When children are too happy, they can get out of control.	
27	When children show pride in what they have done, it is a good thing.	
28	It is good for children to let their anger out.	
29	When children show anger, they are letting you know that something is important to them.	
30	It is important for children to avoid feeling sad whenever possible.	

31	It is important for children to share their positive emotions with others.					
32	Being sad isn't "good" or "bad" -- it is just a part of life.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree	

		Answer
33	It is important for children to feel pride in their accomplishments.	
34	Being angry isn't "good" or "bad" -- it is just a part of life.	
35	It is important for children to be proud of a job well done.	
36	Feeling sad helps children to know what is important to them.	
37	When children express anger, someone in the family ends up having to deal with the consequences.	
38	Anger in children can be emotionally dangerous.	
39	The experience of anger can be a useful motivation for action.	
40	It is okay when children feel happy, and it is okay when they don't.	
41	Children can think more clearly when emotions don't get in the way.	
42	Children's feelings can get hurt if they love too much.	
43	Being angry can motivate children to change or fix something in their lives.	
44	Expressing anger is a good way for a child to let his/her desires and opinions be known.	
45	When children start to show strong emotions, one never knows where it will end up.	

**Scoring for Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions, Form V (beliefs about value)**

<b>Positive emotions are valuable</b>	<b>Negative emotions are valuable</b>	<b>All emotions are dangerous</b>	<b>Emotions just are</b>
4	1	9	2
5	8	10	3
6	16	12	7
13	19	15	11
21	20	18	14
24	22	23	17
27	28	26	25
31	29	30	32
33	36	37	34
35	39	38	40
	43	41	
	44	42	
		45	

There are no item reversals for this scale.

## APPENDIX B

### Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions (Form G)

**Instructions:** These statements express some 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 your response in the column titled "Answer." Because children's abilities may develop over time, please pick a child age (somewhere between the ages of 4 and 10) that you are familiar with, and respond to these statements for children of that age.

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

		Answer
1	Children can learn to manage their emotions without help from parents.	
2	It's the parent's job to teach children how to handle negative feelings.	
3	It's the parent's job to help children know when and how to express their positive emotions.	
4	How and when to show positive emotions is something that children have to figure out for themselves.	
5	It's important for parents to help a child who is feeling sad.	
6	It is important for parents to teach children when and how to show pride in themselves.	
7	It's the parent's job to teach children about happiness.	
8	When children are feeling angry, parents can help them work through those feelings.	
9	Children can figure out how to express sad feelings on their own.	
10	It is the parent's job to teach their children how to handle their emotions.	
11	Children generally learn how to deal with their angry feelings, without parents telling them how.	

12	It's usually best to let a child work through their negative feelings on their own.	
----	---	--

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

		Answer
13	When children become sad or upset, parents can let them manage their feelings on their own.	
14	It's important for parents to teach children the best ways to express their feelings.	
15	It's the parent's job to teach children how to deal with distress and other upsetting feelings.	
16	When children are angry, it is best to just let them work it through on their own.	
17	Children can figure out how to express their feelings on their own.	

**Scoring for Parents' Beliefs about Children's Emotions, Form G (Belief about Guidance)**

<b>Parents need to guide</b>	<b>Children are capable on their own</b>
<i>item</i>	<i>item</i>
2	1
3	4
5	9
6	11
7	12
8	13
10	16
14	17
15	

There are no item reversals for this scale.

## APPENDIX C

### Socialization I Coding Manual: Labeling, Shaping, Teaching

The purpose of this set of codes is to identify verbal phenomena that indicate socialization of emotional experience or understanding. For this pass at coding, we will consider three kinds of socialization processes: Labeling is the naming of an emotion, Shaping is the shifting of an experience or understanding of an emotion, and Teaching is the pedagogical process that supports shaping. This coding manual describes the three processes and how to code for them, with examples. Also included are descriptions of what we are *not* coding for, so as to distinguish what we do want.

**Labeling:** Labeling refers to instances in which one participant labels or names either her/his own emotional experience or that of the other player. Labeling can be about any emotion (positive or negative) and can be done with any verb tense (past, present, future). Only label emotions, however, and not situations such as “It was a horrible scene” or “It was fun.” Labeling will be compared to total number of words.

1. **First, an emotion word or phrase needs to be uttered, and it needs to be about the speaker him/herself, about the other, about the collective, or about someone else:**
  - a. Self: When the parent or child labels hers/his own emotion – denoted by “S” (e.g., “you made me mad”)
  - b. Other: When the parent or child labels another person’s emotion – denoted by “O” (e.g., “you were sad?”)
  - c. Dyad: When the parent or child uses the first-person plural to describe his/her emotion and that of the other player (e.g., “We were so scared.”) – denoted by “D”
  - d. Third party: When the parent or child describes another person’s emotion (e.g., “She was really freaked out.”) – denoted by “T”
- ❖ For labeling, we want to catch all the situations in which a child or parent names their own or the other’s emotions. When these occur spontaneously, coding should be smooth. However:
  - **what to do when the game card leads to the naming of an emotion?** When the game card leads the naming of an emotion, only include the naming of the emotion when it becomes “real”, in that an actual reason for the emotion is given, or a time or place context is used (“I was sad yesterday.” Or “I was sad at the park.”)
    - If the response was prompted by the game card question it will be denoted in the column “Reiteration” by an “X”.

- (e.g., if the card question was “Name one thing that makes you **angry** at the other player” and the response is “it makes me **angry** when you don’t give me privacy” then angry will be counted as labeling and additionally check off for reiterating the initial question.
- **And what to do with repetitive labeling?** Once an emotion is named, do not code for that emotion again unless something changes. That might include a qualifier (Mother previously said “I was upset with you” and that was coded as a label. She uses that again in her description, but we don’t code it. Now Mother says “I’m really upset with you.” That indicates a change and gets coded.) or a change in thinking (Parent says “Okay, but, you were **sad** because you didn’t get your way?” See example below.)
  - **Please Note:** when the parent argues with the parent about what was felt we do want that.

**2. Once the above criteria are met, three additional pieces of information will be recorded:**

- a. **Central phrase from Card Question:** Just list the central phrase or word from the card question so we can trace back as needed. So, for example “Describe a time when the other player made you angry” would be listed as “angry”. And “describe your favorite movie” would be listed as “favorite movie”. And “Name a clothing fashion you have liked or disliked and why” would be listed as “clothing fashion”.
- b. **Speaker’s Emotion Phrase:** The actual emotion term used by the speaker along with any qualifying descriptors, such as adverbs or adjectives (e.g., “I was *surprised a lot of times*,” “*Not* that I was *angry*”, “Gave me a *heart attack*.”)
- c. **Is the emotion directly from the Game Card Question, or is it spontaneous?**
  - i. So, for example, if the player got the game card “Describe a time when the other player made you angry” and she said, “I was really **mad** when you . . .” that is not the same exact term but it is really the same emotion, so yes, it is directly from the game card question.
  - ii. If the game card is “describe your favorite movie” and the child said “I **enjoy** seeing Hitchcock films because they are so scary,” then that would be considered an indirect emotion, because the comment is pulled for by the card. That is, the player could have chosen a million movies and could prefer a movie for the action, the psychological drama, the humor as well as the emotion, but the comment emerges because of the card.

- iii. However, if the card is “describe your favorite movie” and the parent then says, “I really like going to the movies with you. Remember your birthday party, and how we all went to the movies and then out to dinner and we had that crazy cake with the dolphin on it? That really made me **happy**.”, this seems to be far enough removed to be spontaneous. That is, it is not really pulled out of the card so much as a kind of random or spontaneously generated thought, and more like what they might bring up if they were not playing the game.

### 3. Examples: What is and is not Labeling.

#### *Example 1*

CQ: Describe a time when the other player made you feel sad.

C: I just got this one!

P: You get those! Do it again. When else did I make you sad?

(child reaches for another card)

P: Nuh-huh, do it...say it again.

C: You made me feel sad when

P: What are other things that make you feel sad?

C: you made me sad...

P (looks at card): at the other player; okay.

C: You made me feel **sad** when you left to go with, umm, what's his, what's her name to the mall and left me xxx

P: S\_\_\_ (laughs); why were you sad?

C: xxx I wanted to go, I like the mall.

P: Okay, but, you were **sad** because you didn't get your way?

C: yes (nods)

P: That's not a time to be **sad**, is it? (rolls dice)

#### *Example 2*

C: You are not listening to me, Mom. I'm only asking for you to think about getting me a cell phone, and you're getting upset!

#### *Example 3*

P: Ok, well you know what I apologize. Next time I'll say, D, this is not just appropriate for you. But I thought that's what I was saying, was that this was not for kids, this was something between grown-ups.

C: (shakes head) Nope, you were saying “back off, my business, not yours”.

*Example 4*

P: You've gotta say something great about me. Cuz you're in the center.

C: You're a nice mom, and I gotta pick up from here, see?

*Example 5*

P: We went out. We went to the movie. We went to the mall. We had fun.

**Shaping.** Shaping refers to one participant's attempt to shift the other's emotional experience or idea about emotions. Shaping may guide a participant about how s/he should experience, conceive of, or respond broadly to an emotion or a class of emotions. At its best, shaping may be structured guidance provided by the parent to help the child navigate and become more aware of her/his own emotional experience. This can involve the parent telling the child what s/he *should* feel, conceive of, or respond to a specific situation, or how to distinguish between two different emotional situations, and the functions of different emotional states. Shaping can be "soft", or indirect shaping, as in questioning, or it can be "hard" shaping, in which the parent "tells it like it is". In no case should a rationale be provided; that would move the character of the process into teaching. Shaping codes are at the level of speaker turns.

1. Examples of shaping are:

- a. Evaluating the other speaker's emotional expression either directly ("You shouldn't be feeling that way", "We weren't arguing, D, we were discussing.") or indirectly ("So what?").
- b. This is shaping (not teaching) because **no rationale** is provided.  
*C: Uhhhhh. Umm. I think that you and daddy should stop arguing.*  
*P: Ha. Ok. You call it arguing we call it...what we call it?*  
*C: Uhh*  
*P: Discussions.*
- c. "(Laughs) anything, you guys think anything is arguing. Sometimes you just have to talk, that's just what it is."
- d. "D, you're not still mad about that? [asked incredulously] That was kindergarten!"
- e. P: Shouldn't be getting upset about that should you?  
 C: No  
 P: But you do, don't cha? What makes you mad about that?

**Teaching:** Teaching is shaping plus a pedagogical process. It often utilizes 'if..., then...' conditions and causal statements (i.e., "because") to explicitly inform the other

participants as to how to respond to specific emotion-eliciting situations given a rationale. Whereas shaping may provide guidance about how one *should* respond in a specific emotion-eliciting situation or about how one must respond in general to a class of emotion-eliciting situations, teaching additionally provides a rationale. If there is confusion whether a speaker turn is an example of shaping or teaching, choose teaching. Teaching is essentially a more specific form of shaping and supersedes shaping in this category scheme. Teaching is at the level of speaker turns.

1. Examples are:

- a. “So our argument, so it wasn’t really, it was a disagreement it wasn’t an argument *because* you didn’t say anything back.”
- b. “and what?! you...So what! And you know, this should be no big deal for you. ‘*Cause* guess what, it doesn’t matter.”
- c. “*If* you really thought that this was such an important issue, you should have brought it up before.”

\*\*NOTE: If a phrase can be classified as BOTH shaping AND teaching, this phrase is then coded as shaping, as it is generally the stronger of the two socialization behaviors.

Counting only emotion and only socialization

- Please note that we are only interested in labeling, shaping, teaching of emotion. Parents and children may be labeling and shaping each other’s politeness, ways to carry on a conversation, etc., but we are only interested in their labeling and shaping of emotion.
- Further, we are not trying to code when someone is having an emotion: we are only trying to get at the *socialization* processes.
- Additionally:
  1. We are not coding desires or wants (unless the want is directly emotion-related)
  2. We are coding feelings not situations
  3. We are only coding “like” when it is emotion-related i.e. when referring to liking someone and NOT some thing, event, or situation. “I **like** you” versus “I like shopping”. BUT we will code “love” not only when referring to people (I love you) but also when there is an added qualifier such as really, always, a lot, etc (I really **love** when we go to the park).
  4. Only code “good” when it is referring to something feeling “good” or possibly if someone says that they are doing “good” [sic], but use the context to be sure they are talking about how they feel, and not their financial successes, etc.
  5. You can code emotion-related behaviors, but they should be very closely linked to emotion, like yelling, laughing, crying.
    - Do not label behaviors unless it is paired with an emotion (e.g., When you **yell** at me it makes me sad)
    - Emotion-related behaviors can be used in the shaping/teaching process (e.g., You shouldn’t be **crying** about that)

### Counting Socialization Behaviors as Distinct Entities

Labels are at the level of a word; shaping and teaching are at the level of a speaker turn. Thus, it is possible to have labeling and shaping or teaching co-occur in the same speaker turn. In the rare event that that happens, and you have two “things” in the same speaker turn, then go ahead and code both of them. However, for the most part, anything that is identified as labeling *or* shaping *or* teaching should be one or the other; so, in general, no “thing” should be coded as more than one process.

### Why verbal only, and will that impinge on finding cultural or gender differences?

The purpose is not to locate the text within the context of the dyads’ culture and the discussion. In fact, by only looking at the text at an objective level, we are likely to miss some nuances at the cultural and dyadic level. This is OK, because finding differences between cultural groups and dyads would tell us that there are some messages that are textual and others that occur at various other levels of communication. Consequently, it is not necessary to watch the video unless the words do not themselves make sense.

## APPENDIX D

### Socialization II Coding Manual: Acknowledgement, Reinforcement, and Punishment

The purpose of this set of codes is to identify verbal phenomena that indicate socialization of emotional experience or understanding. For this pass at coding, we will consider three kinds of socialization processes: Acknowledgement, Positive Reinforcement, and Positive Punishment. This coding manual describes the three processes and how to code for them, with examples. Also included are descriptions of what we are *not* coding for, so as to distinguish what we do want.

#### Counting only emotion and only socialization

- Please note that we are only interested in acknowledgement, reinforcement, and punishment of *emotion*. Parents and children may acknowledge, reinforce, or punish others' politeness, ways to carry on a conversation, etc., but we are only interested in their acknowledgement, reinforcement, and punishment of each others' *emotion*.
- Further, we are not trying to code when someone is having an emotion: we are only trying to get at the *socialization* processes.
- We are only interested in emotion within the dyad. In other words, we are only coding instances of emotion in which a person has labeled their own emotion (e.g., I was happy when...) or if the partner in the dyad labels the other's emotion and that person accepts the emotion as their own (e.g., P: did that make you happy? C: Yes). In instances where one partner labels the other's emotion and that person does not affirm that they felt that way, the emotion word is ignored. We DO NOT code instances of emotion in which a person outside of the dyad's emotion is being described (e.g., grandma was mad at grandpa, wasn't she?). This kind of socialization was already captured as "labeling," "shaping," or "teaching" in previous coding passes. We can code hypothetical or future emotions, however, the player must still accept the emotion.
- Additionally:
  1. We are not coding desires or wants (unless the want is directly emotion-related)
  2. We are coding feelings, not situations. For example, we are only coding "like" and "love" when they about a person.
    - In other words, liking *someone* or personal qualities or characteristics about an individual. This DOES NOT include general qualities (e.g., I like people who are smart), it must be clear who the subject is.
      - Examples include:
        - I like you, dad.

- What I like about you – you’re smart, ummm, you’re pretty, um you’re hard working, most of the time you’re truthful, honest, polite.
  - NOT “I like when you make me dinner”, which is about a situation OR “I like Aunt Barbara because she always usually throws a surprise in”, because ‘throwing a surprise in’ is not personal quality or characteristic.
  - We do have an exception to this for like and love with a qualifier (really, a lot, all the time): Thus, we do include “I really love when you make me dinner.”
- 3. Sometimes it is hard to know what a feeling is.
  - Only code “good” when it refers to something feeling “good” or possibly if someone says that they are doing “good” [sic], but use the context to be sure they are talking about how they feel, and not their financial successes, etc.
    - Similarly, we will code “I feel bad” and “I’m tired of…” as long as it implies that one is feeling sorry or frustrated/irritated, respectively, about something, not if they are using the term as a way to describe a physiological state such as being sick or sleepy.
  - Only code “fun” when it refers to someone “having fun.” (e.g., “I had so much fun at the park.”) However, “the park was fun” would not be coded.
    - The same rules apply for “having a good time”, “enjoyable”, and “good experience”.
    - Though we do not code ‘it was fun or it was a good time’ the ‘it’ (implying the event) rule does not apply to emotion words. For instance, “it was scary” is coded because for something to be scary it implies that the individual was scared.
- 4. You can code emotion-related behaviors, but they should be very closely linked to emotion, like yelling, laughing, crying.
  - This is also a tightrope walk in that you will see that we have coded some emotion-related behaviors in the previous pass at coding for labeling, shaping, and teaching. So, for example, we did code “I cried when you did that” for labeling (Soc I) because it is a behavior reflecting an emotion, *AND* we will code “You shouldn’t cry about that” for punishment because it is so strongly implied that you should not feel that way either.
  - Examples include:
    - P: Now why are you crying? Are you crying? Wait a minute. That’s different, I don’t get why you are crying at this point. Look at me. A\_ lets just call it quits and forget about the questions and all of that. Why are you crying? Hm? Are you mad at me? Then what’s wrong with you? Be honest and tell

me why your eyes are tearing up. Be honest and tell me. I promise you I'm not gonna get upset. I'm not gonna get angry. Just tell me why; I want to understand. (*The emotion-related behavior is crying. We code this even though C has not spoken because it is clear that C is experiencing an emotion and is providing some nonverbal information for the parent who is responding to that information- This example would be coded as acknowledgement*)

5. In some cases there are multiple emotion phrases within the same speaker turn. If the other player acknowledges the emotion each emotion phrase will be coded; one as 'acknowledged' and the other as 'uncodable'. However, if the other player does not acknowledge the emotion the entire speaker turn will be coded as 'unacknowledged'.
  - For example:
    - P: Describe one of your best or worst teachers. Oh, I had a teacher in Ireland and she was horrible. She taught Irish and she scared me. She was scary. I didn't like her.
    - C: Oh, I can choose to go that way. That would take longer. I'll just stick with this way. (rolls die) Six.

*In this example, C does not respond to either emotion phrase so it will be coded as 'unacknowledged' only once. However, if C responded to the emotion phrase 'she scared me' that response would be coded as 'acknowledgement'. The emotion phrase 'I didn't like her' would then be coded as 'uncodable'.*
6. As a general rule, if the emotion phrase is repeated as reiteration we only code it once. However, if the other player's response changes the second time the emotion phrase is repeated we will code both instances.
  - For example:
    - C: (whispers) Sorry.
    - P: *What is it?*
    - C: A rubber band.
    - P: Why you chewing a rubber band?
    - C: (shrugs shoulders and whispers) Sorry.
    - P: *Don't keep saying you're sorry. Answer my question. Go, more your spaces, 6.*

*The first time C said "sorry" the response, "what is it?" was coded as unacknowledged. The second time C said "sorry" the parent's response changed, so we coded it as punishment. If the parent had not acknowledged C saying sorry either time, only the first instance would have been coded.*
7. A specific emotion word does not have to be present for an emotion phrase to be coded.

- During the Lifestories game, when the card question includes an emotion word (e.g. happy, proud, angry) it is inferred that the player's response reflects that emotion. Thus, their response is sufficient as an emotion phrase whether they repeat the emotion word or not.
  - *This rule also applies to the 'happy times' discussion. The instructions for this portion are to discuss a time that made each player happy, a 'happy time' for them. Thus, when the player states their 'happy time' we will assume happiness, thus this is considered an emotion phrase.*
8. In Socialization I coding (labeling, shaping, teaching), we have omitted these terms as not sufficiently emotional: interested, curious, respect, bored, powerful, others????
  9. The following terms have been determined to be emotional, thus they are coded: admiration, courage, humor, passion, satisfaction, 'missing' someone, irritation, frustration, harrowing, & aggravation.

**Acknowledgement.** Acknowledgement refers to instances where one player acknowledges that the other is experiencing and/or has experienced an emotion. This is different from labeling, as acknowledgement is not contingent on a participant giving a name to the other person's feelings, but rather simply noting that the other person feels a certain way.

Examples of acknowledgement:

CQ: describe a time when the other player made you feel sad

C: um, when my mom made me wake me up  
(parent laughs)

C: and I had to go to school at nine o'clock

P: *ok, I thought the same thing*

P: Are you saying I embarrassed you?

C: Yes.

P: *Well, I apologize for embarrassing you, but I thought I had a good time at the party, are you saying that you didn't have a good time?*

C: We can cut it, it's just like the problem is you always cut it so it's like a buzz cut

P: Oh that, that's a problem... (XX)... I was mad.

C: *I know you were* but you still do it too slow and it takes too long (ID# 204, page 8 & 9)

These examples are instances when it is acknowledgement of the event, yet it is so closely related with the emotion, that you still count this as acknowledgement.

P: I was upset\_because, it wasn't last night it was two nights ago.

C: *It was two nights ago.*

**P:** I was upset that time we went to the mall and you got lost.

**C:** *Oh yeah, I remember that.*

This last example would be coded because it seems that its acknowledging not only the event but the emotion. This would NOT be coded if the child had said: “Oh, I remember getting lost.”

**Un-acknowledged.** Un-acknowledged refers to instances where one partner ignores or does not attend to the emotion that the other partner is experiencing and/or has experienced.

Examples of unacknowledged:

**C:** last night at dinner, B\_\_\_ was really mean to me, I was so mad

**P:** *oh, that reminds me, we need to go to the grocery store after we leave here.*

**C:** oo! What are we going to have?

**Uncodable.** Sometimes an emotion will be stated in the context of a much larger conversation and may get lost by the time it is appropriate for the other partner to begin speaking, thus we will not “penalize” participants who do not acknowledge those emotional instances that are embedded in a much larger text. In instances like these, best to code the socialization as “uncodable” rather than unacknowledged.

Examples of “uncodable”:

**P:** We were just very proud of you last night. We had fun you know, ate a little pizza and then after that went out to eat again and...what else did we do?

**C:** That’s all. (*In this case it is ‘uncodable’ because “what else did we do?” acted as an interjection that interrupted C responding to the emotion phrase*)

**Positive Reinforcement.** Positive reinforcement refers to comments that socially reward the other participants’ emotional expressions. For example, a parent/child may confirm the other person’s emotion as valid and valuable. In such situations, the partner is acknowledging the other partner’s feeling, but is going one more step beyond that to additionally compliment the other’s feelings. Reinforcement may also occur if one participant says that the other person makes them feel a certain way (e.g. happy) and the other person in response thanks them for expressing that emotion.

Examples of reinforcement:

- i. **C:** One of the proudest moments of my life was when I found out that I got all 4s on my EOG tests and I passed on to the 4<sup>th</sup> grade.  
**P:** *Yeah, that was a proud moment for all of us (ID # 214, pg. 1)*

Note that in this example, a response of acknowledgement might be “Yeah, you were really proud that day!” The example we include here goes one step beyond acknowledgement to reinforcement by giving the compliment: “we were all proud of you too”.)

- ii. **CQ:** describe a time when you felt you were lucky.  
**C:** “...And I’m really lucky to have parents like you and mom who got me, who got me Bandit.”  
**P:** *Well, I’m lucky to be your dad. (ID # 214, pg. 2)*
- iii. **C:** Well, it made me feel sad when well, you made me feel sad when grandpa died and everybody started tearing up. You made me feel sad about that.  
**P:** *I think we were all sad then. (ID# 214, pg. 3)*
- iv. **C:** “...something that I really like about you dad is that you are always there for me; you’re there when I cry. You’re here for mom, you’re here for N\_\_ and you’re here for...  
**P:** *Well, thank you. I appreciate that. (ID#, pg. 4)*
- v. **P:** What’s your favorite movie?  
**C:** Lion King—I like the songs, but it still makes me sad when the daddy lion dies.  
**P:** *Well, sometimes it’s nice to watch a sad movie and have a good cry—the end is happy right?*

This is an example of when the response is acknowledging but not strong enough to be reinforcement.

- C:** We had fun that day cause we got all wet.  
**P:** *We sure did.*

Sometimes, reinforcement occurs through mirroring or expressing the same emotion as the other player. In these cases, the socialization phrase also introduces a player experiencing a new emotion. The response will be coded as a reinforcing phrase as well as a new emotion phrase to be coded independently.

- C:** Sad. We returned it.  
**P:** *Shrek made me have tears. I cried at the end of Shrek.*

**C: When?**

In this example, ‘Shrek made me have tears. I cried at the end of Shrek’ is coded as reinforcement of C feeling sad. It is also a new emotion phrase, so ‘when?’ is coded as acknowledgement of P crying during Shrek.

**Positive Punishment (minimizing, discouraging):** Positive punishment refers to instances in which a parent/child disconfirms or devalues the other person’s emotion. This may occur when a participant responds sarcastically or plays down the other person’s emotion.

Examples

i. **P:** you answer it this time. Name one thing that makes you angry at me.

**C:** ummm... when you make us do... when you make us clean up all day long.

**P:** *ah, that’s your chores buddy (laughs). Get over it. (ID# 2P1, pg. 6)*

ii. **P:** Are you saying I embarrassed you?

**C:** Yes.

**P:** Well, I apologize for embarrassing you, but I thought I had a good time at the party, are you saying that you didn’t have a good time?

**C:** Yeah, I did but you...

**P:** *You’re pulling that one little thing out of all the good time that you had? You’re dwelling on that? That’s not good, man... it’s not good.*

**(ID# 206, pg. 9&10)**

iii. **PQ:** Tell about your best day.

**C:** When I won that soccer game against that number 1 team—we killed ‘em and I went right up to them and did my crazy happy dance.

**P:** *Sometimes it’s not nice too rub your happiness in someone else’s face when they have lost a game- you should be a good winner just as much as the other team should be good losers.*

## APPENDIX E

### Encouraging/Discouraging Coding Manual

- Watch ENTIRE tape first!
- Code for overall Quality of Interaction
- Code all questions except for the Alternatives

#### Global Rating: Quality of Interaction

After watching the entire tape, rate the overall quality of interaction between the child and parent.

- -1 = disengagement, hostility, lack of reciprocity, arguing
- 0 = engaged, reciprocity, civil conversation, conversation etiquette; or a mixture of -1 and +1 that averages out to 0 (labile)
- +1 = engaged AND warmth, affection, attunement; there is more interaction between these two and more attention being paid to the answers

This rating should be based on overall interaction: multiple instances of a behavior in any given category. In addition, if there are multiple instances of multiple behaviors from different categories (ie. -1 and +1) average them out (ie. code as a 0).

Time: First, record the onset of the game, from the roll of the first die. Later, return to include the end of the game.

- For each line, include the time of the question asked

#### Turn ID

- C = Child
- P = Parent
- Example: C1 = child, first question, P2 = parent, second question, etc. Numbers continue in order, regardless of whether it is child or parent answering (e.g., P1, C2, P3, C4, etc.)

#### Card emotion

- Simply record the agreed emotion (positive 2, positive 1, neutral, negative 1, and negative 2) for each card

#### Response?

- Pick one: S = Spontaneous, P = Prompted, or A = Avoidance
- If avoided (A) then stop (player picked an alternative card), fill in ‘.’ for the rest. If a partner says something like “No, we don’t argue” and then moves on without picking an Alternative and without really engaging the question, it is still not coded as Avoided. When proceeding to Reference to emotion, code it as 0 (no emotion).
- P = means added more information. The other person did more than just repeat the question, did more than give a definition. Give a P if the other player guided the answer towards something, for instance, if the player gave a suggestion or helped the

person remember something specific that was not part of the question on the card. However, if one player gives a suggestion which is not accepted, then it is not P for prompted.

Reference to emotion? (*This is specific to the player's response related to the question on the card*)

- Were there any emotion words in the player's response to the card, any dramatizations of emotion, or any other nonverbal indicators of emotion (e.g., marked change in tone of voice, facial expression, body language)?
- If the card emotion is 2+, for positive emotions; if the card is 2-, for negative emotions:
  - '.' = player avoided the card
  - 0 = no emotion, so this will not be coded for a 2+ or 2- card. If the player avoided the card, a '.' should have been filled in. If the player responds to the card, either a '1' or '2' should be coded.
  - 1 = consistent or mild. Because 2+ and 2- cards strongly imply emotional experience, this will be coded *for the emotion consistent with the card emotion* if the player gives a response that is simply consistent with the question (even if there are no emotion words mentioned and no nonverbal expressions of emotion).
  - 2 = multiple or strong. Because 2+ and 2- cards strongly imply emotional experience, this will be coded *for the emotion consistent with the card emotion* if the player makes at least one reference to emotion (e.g., uses an emotion term, dramatizes emotion, shows nonverbal expression of emotion).
- If the card emotion is 1+, 0, or 1-, and for negative emotion in responses to 2+ cards and positive emotion in responses to 2- cards:
  - '.' = player avoided the card.
  - 0 = no emotion.
  - 1 = consistent or mild. This will be coded if the player makes one reference to emotion (e.g., uses an emotion term, dramatizes emotion, shows nonverbal expression of emotion).
  - 2 = multiple or strong. This will be coded if the player makes more than one reference to emotion or shows very strong emotional intensity (e.g., uses an emotion term + dramatizes emotion, uses an emotion term + shows nonverbal expression of emotion, shows strong verbal or nonverbal indicators of emotion).
- '.' Avoided
- Remember to always code for both positive and negative emotions regardless of card emotion.
- Emotion terms: angry, afraid, anxious, guilty, ashamed, sad, envious, jealous, disgusted, happy, joyful, proud, relieved, love (if about "desiring or participating in affection", as with a person or other animal) (from Lazarus, 1991); synonyms count, too (e.g., "pissed off" for "angry"). We also include bored.

- Be careful: “like”, “love”, and “enjoy” can be used as a preference towards something and in those cases are not emotion terms (e.g., “I like/love/enjoy riding my bicycle”)

**All of the below are related to the *other player’s* response:**

Encouraging

\* To help decide which column (+/-) the encouraging code falls under use the reference to emotion rating. Generally, the reference to emotion (+/-) will match the encouraging columns. If there is no reference to emotion in either column (0) because there was no emotion, then the encouraging rating is likely to be in the + column. HOWEVER, in some cases it is important to think about the valence of the emotion that is being encouraged. Here is an example: parent discusses getting parking tickets with no emotion, and the child says “that was really frustrating when that would happen”; this would be coded as encouraging of negative emotion (child is supporting parent feeling of frustration, even if parent did not express it in the first place). If the child says “but now we live in the country and this doesn’t happen any more”, then the child is directing the emotion toward the positive valence, and so the rating gets placed in the + column.

- ‘.’ = player avoided the card
- 0 = other player shows no encouragement; for example, does not respond or is discouraging
- 1 = other player acknowledges the facts or discusses the *event*
  - this is more than just saying “okay” and moving on; “That’s true” is a zero unless there is a strong non-verbal attached to it. Or “alright”.
  - Examples: “yeah, and we were waiting for her to try on jeans,” “oh, now I remember that,” “what was that game we were playing?”
- 2 = other player acknowledges the *emotion* (can be nonverbal)
  - nonverbal: mirroring of emotion; pat on back; shows awareness of the emotion. Here is a caveat about smiling though: Smiling is especially difficult to use as evidence because of the other purposes of smiling, such as social facilitation of an interaction. It is not always reflective of what a person is feeling, but is also sometimes motivational to encourage the other person to be sharing a social experience. So for smiling and any other nonverbal expression, if not sure what is being conveyed, then err on the side of a neutral score. Be confident of your codes as you move away from 0.
  - this should be a clear acknowledgement of the *emotion* and not of the event
  - even if the other player joins in the conversation or shows recognition of the event it doesn’t mean they have acknowledged the expressed emotion per se
- 3 = coaching (validate or label emotions)
  - talking about causes and consequences of the emotion
  - other player helps the responding player to verbally label the emotions in their response
  - other player seeks intimacy or teaching opportunity about the responding player’s emotion

- other player verbally empathizes with or validates the responding player's emotion
- other player helps the responding player to problem solve
- Examples: 'How did you feel when that happened?', 'Were you angry?', 'I could tell you were mad because you walked away', 'Can you think of anything that would have made it easier?', 'Yeah, I can see how you feel...'
- If parent is coaching, ie. asking questions about emotions, and child responds to questions, consider this as reference to emotion

### Discouraging

- '.' = player avoided the card
- 0 = other player shows no discouragement; for example, does not respond or is encouraging
- 1 = other player argues the events/facts or dismisses the event
  - this is more than just moving on rapidly
  - Examples: "I did not do that," "whatever," making a rude noise
- 2 = other player is dismissive of the *emotion*
  - Invalidate, criticize, avoid or actively distract the responding player from emotions
  - Devalue the responding player's emotions verbally or nonverbally
  - Convey the notion that the given emotion is wrong or unimportant
  - Belittle the responding player's expression or create an unsafe climate for discussing feelings.
  - Examples: 'It wasn't anything to get upset over', 'Let's just not talk about that'
  - Examples of dismissive behavior: abrupt change of topic, talking over the person, engaging in distracting behaviors, making superficial off-task comments
- 3 = other player overrides the emotion
  - other player corrects the responding player in his/her emotion. Tells the responding player that in fact it was a different emotion that he or she felt or that he or she really felt nothing.
  - Examples: 'No, you weren't upset about that, you really liked it', 'you did not even notice that at the time, you're just making it up now'
- 4 = other player shows contempt
  - other player devalues or dismisses the responding player *as a person* because of his/her emotions
  - examples: 'only a stupidhead would get upset over something like that', 'why are you always too sensitive?'
  - eye rolling and other contemptuous expressions and laughter or ridicule; name calling: 'he's a brat when he's angry', 'don't be a crybaby'.

### General Comments:

- Higher scores trump lower ones: if you see evidence for both acknowledging of the event AND of the emotion, you should code that as *Encouraging 3*. In other words, when separate pieces of evidence support a lower and higher score, go with the higher score
- When one piece of evidence is in between two scores, go with the lower one. For instance, if you are undecided between a '2' and a '3' for a reference to emotion, go with a '2' – be conservative
- Both encouragement and discouragement are always coded – responses may show both encouragement and discouragement, one or the other, or neither
- Code encouragement/discouragement separately for positive emotions and negative emotions
- Can have encouragement/discouragement without any reference to emotion originally being brought up by the responding player
- Dramatization of event can be seen as mirroring the expressed emotion
- When conversation is off topic, don't code
- Emotion words we've come across: upset, excited

#### More Examples:

##### *Encouraging 2:*

Child is talking about a situation that made him sad and Mom says: "I can understand why you are sad, but ..."

In this case, Mom clearly acknowledges the child's emotion even though she quickly goes on to talk about the reason she did what she did.

##### *Encouraging 3:*

Mom talks about something that made her mad and at some point the child says: "why did it make you mad?". This shows awareness on the part of the child to Mom's feelings. In addition, by asking "why", the child is seeking to further understand the cause of that emotion.

##### *Discouraging 2:*

Mom talks about a time she was upset and how her feelings were hurt. Although child acknowledges her feelings he proceeds to say that "you were being mean". He therefore, devalues her feelings by putting the blame on her.