

12-2018

THE EFFECTS OF EMOTION SOCIALIZATION ON INTERNALIZING BEHAVIORS IN YOUNG ADULTS

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THE EFFECTS OF EMOTION SOCIALIZATION ON INTERNALIZING
BEHAVIORS IN YOUNG ADULTS

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Child Development

by
Cristina Ramirez
December 2018

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ABSTRACT

Parents play a significant role in how children learn to express their emotions as well as their child's overall emotional well-being. The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of positive and negative emotion socialization experiences on internalizing disorders in young adult males and females. One-hundred and forty-two young adults between the ages of 18-28 years from a southwestern university participated in the current study. It was hypothesized that early negative emotion socialization experiences would be related to higher levels of anxiety and depression in young adulthood (and, conversely, early positive emotion socialization experiences would be related to lower levels of anxiety and depression). In addition, it was expected that fathers would engage more in negative emotion socialization behaviors than mothers, especially with sons. Participants completed the Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale-Adolescents' Perceptions (CCNES-AP; Fabes & Eisenberg, 1998), the Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI) (Beck, Epstein, Brown, & Steer, 1988), the Beck Depression Inventory-II (BDI-II) (Beck et al., 1961), and a demographics form. Results indicated that parental emotion socialization was significantly related to depression in males but not females. There were limited significant correlations between anxiety and emotion socialization for males, but not females. Findings supported the hypothesis that fathers tend to engage more in negative emotion socialization behaviors than mothers, especially with sons. The long-term impact for males but not females of early emotional socialization experiences is

discussed within the context of gender differences in intimate peer relations throughout development. In addition, the long-term impact of mothers and fathers on how children learn to express their (negative) emotions, and the implications of such for males' mental health, is also discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my graduate mentor Dr. Laura Kamptner for all her assistance. She has not only helped me in the development and execution of my thesis, but also in my development as a researcher. I am tremendously appreciative for her dedication to my professional growth and her unconditional support.

I also want to thank Dr. Amanda Wilcox-Herzog and Dr. Eugene Wong for serving as my thesis committee members. I am thankful for all of the valuable time and feedback they gave me. Lastly, I want to thank my family and friends for their unconditional support in my academic pursuits.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Emotion socialization refers to the processes and behaviors by which children acquire cultural knowledge about their own and others' emotions, including how to recognize, label, and regulate their emotions when dealing with emotionally evocative events (Cassano, Perry-Parrish, & Zeman, 2007; Eisenberg, Fabes, & Murphy, 1996). Emotion socialization occurs primarily through parental beliefs and attitudes about emotions (Baker, Fenning, & Crnic, 2011; Cassano & Zeman, 2010), which influence how they respond to their child's emotions. The purpose of the current study is, in general, to examine the impact of early emotion socialization on internalizing behaviors in early adulthood.

The Impact of Emotion Socialization

The majority of research studies on emotion socialization have focused on early development and have generally found that emotion socialization has important implications for children's socio-emotional development and well-being (Baker et al., 2011; Eisenberg et al., 1996; Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996; Wong, Halberstadt, & McElwain, 2009), including emotion regulation, emotional competence, peer relations, educational success, and it can also play a role in the development of psychopathology.

First, emotional socialization impacts emotional competence, which refers to having the ability to strategically apply knowledge about emotions (e.g., understand one's own and others emotions), and knowing how to negotiate interpersonal exchanges (Denham, Mitchell-Copeland, Strandberg, Auerbach, Blair, 1997; Wilson, Harley, & Havighurst 2014). Emotional competence plays a key role in a child's ability to form and maintain relationships with others (Denham et al., 1997; McDowell, 2001), and it is particularly important for children's success in the first year of school (i.e., kindergarten) because children are making the transition to an environment that is dependent on successful interactions with other children as well as with the teacher (Wilson et al., 2014).

Second, emotion socialization impacts the development of emotional regulation. While emotional competence and emotion regulation are closely related, emotional competence is focused more on having knowledge about emotions. Emotional regulation is the act of applying that knowledge of emotions, and it consists of such internal processes as emotional cognitions, attention shifting, and the management of physiological responses, and it is impacted by external influences such as parents or other individuals who affect the modulating of the occurrence, intensity, and expression of emotions (Morris, Myers, Robinson, Silk, & Steinberg, 2007). According to Morris et al. (2007), a critical contributor to successful emotional development is having the ability to regulate emotional responses and related behaviors in socially-appropriate and adaptive ways. The ability to regulate emotions is an important skill for children to

have, especially during the school years when there is an increased need for maintaining emotional control in order to increase the chances of being accepted into the peer group (Lunkenheimer, Shields, & Cortina, 2007). Through the process of emotion socialization, children learn words to describe their and others' emotions; children who know more emotion words tend to have better emotional regulation (Gerhardt, 2014).

Third, there is a bidirectional relationship between emotion socialization and peer relations. Positive emotion socialization influences peer relations in that children who are emotionally expressive with their parents, especially during physical play, have better peer relations (Cassidy, Parke, Butkovsky, & Braungart, 1992). Positive peer relations in turn influence emotion socialization: "children who have positive peer interactions are less likely to experience negative emotions and negative social interactions" (Fabes, Leonard, Kupanoff, & Martin, 2001, p. 12).

Fourth, emotional and social competencies are thought to impact educational success more than the amount of factual knowledge obtained and reading ability (Goleman, 1995). Aspects of social and emotional development that aid success in school that are related to emotion socialization include being aware of behavioral expectations and being able to abide by those expectations and being able to express one's needs in appropriate ways (Goleman, 1995). In addition, children who acquire emotional and social competencies through emotion socialization are able to pay attention better, and in turn are more

effective learners.

Finally, emotion socialization is implicated in the development of psychopathology (Bowie et al., 2013; Sroufe, Duggal, Weinfield, & Carlson, 2000). For example, children who constantly observe and experience sadness may be at risk for allowing sadness to take over as the dominant emotion, and may then begin to experience internalizing behaviors (e.g., depression) (Denham et al., 1997). Parents also impact a child's ability to regulate his/her emotions in that parents who display dysregulated emotional behaviors (e.g., depressive symptoms) affect children's regulatory abilities which may lead to internalizing and/or externalizing behaviors (Bariola, Gullone, & Hughes, 2011; Bowie et al., 2013).

These outcomes of emotion socialization are interrelated. Emotion regulation is a component of emotional competence; emotional competence has a positive relationship with peer relations. Emotional dysregulation can lead to psychopathology, and psychopathology may negatively affect educational success. Thus, emotion socialization has many important implications for children's development.

The Role of Parents in Emotion Socialization

There are number of factors that influence how parents "socialize" their children's emotions, including the quality of the parent-child attachment relationship and parenting "style", cultural norms, and parents' "meta-emotion

philosophy”.

First, the quality of the parent-child attachment relationship impacts emotional regulation in that early relationships introduce patterns of self-regulation (Sroufe et al., 2000). Young children rely on their parents to teach them how to cope with distress and regulate their emotions. Children with secure attachments have more effective affect-regulation strategies compared to those with insecure attachments (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2012). For example, a securely attached infant may cry when her parents leave, but when the parents return the child will easily be soothed (i.e., she can regulate her emotions). Unlike securely attached children, insecure-avoidant children tend to suppress their emotions. Insecure-avoidant children may put up a façade of security; however, due to their suppressed emotions their ability to cope with adversities is impaired (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2012). During early childhood, parents continue to be the primary socialization agents, and children learn to label, interpret, and cope with emotionally-charged events primarily through their interactions with them (Gerhardt, 2014). The importance of parenting practices for children's long-term psychological adjustment has been at the core of developmental and family psychology (Gottman et al., 1996). During early interactions with parents, some emotional states (e.g., sadness) become increasingly reinforced through experience and they become internalized (Brand & Klimes-Dougan, 2010).

Second, cultural norms also influence how parents teach their children about emotions and their own beliefs regarding emotional expressiveness (Bowie

et al., 2013; Morris et al., 2007). For example, in the U.S. it is generally expected that boys will not express sadness and girls will not express anger (Garner, Robertson, & Smith, 1997). Parents also tend to expect more emotionally-competent behavior as a child becomes older, and consequently modify their expectations and emotion socialization behaviors (Brand & Klimes-Dougan, 2010). For instance, an older child who expresses negative emotions is more likely to experience punitive parental responses compared to a younger child.

Finally, researchers have also outlined the notion of a “meta-emotion philosophy”, i.e., an organized set of thoughts and feelings toward emotions that influence parental responses to children’s emotional expressions (Gottman et al., 1996; Hunter et al., 2011). Meta-emotion philosophy signifies an individual’s emotional acceptance and awareness of emotions in themselves as well as in others (which may vary depending on the emotion that is expressed, e.g., sadness vs. anger) (Morris et al., 2007). Gottman et al. (1996) have identified four types of meta-emotion philosophies: disapproving, dismissing, laissez-faire, and emotion-coaching.

Parents who have a disapproving philosophy invalidate their children’s negative emotions because negative emotions are considered overwhelming (Lunkenheimer et al., 2007) and a sign of weakness (Maliken & Katz, 2013). Parents who disapprove of their child’s emotions are described as contemptuous in that they show no respect for their child’s emotions and do not give their children an opportunity to discuss what they are experiencing (Goleman, 1995).

These parents consider their children's emotions disruptive and threatening (Wong et al., 2009). Some parents may disapprove of their children's negative emotions because they fear that they themselves may lose control of their own emotions (Fabes et al., 2001). If parents have negative beliefs about emotions, those beliefs will influence the emotion socialization of their children in many ways including parents' lack of emotional expressiveness and their failure to provide emotion coaching for their children (Dunsmore, Her, Halberstadt, & Perez-Rivera, 2009).

Parents who have a dismissing philosophy ignore the child's feelings and wait until they blow over (Goleman, 1995). Some of these parents dismiss their children's emotions because they feel they may be the result of poor parenting (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Thigpen, 2006). The dismissing of a child's emotions also occurs when parents are either not aware of their child's negative emotions or they punish the child for expressing negative emotions (Bowie et al., 2013). Gottman et al. (1996) found that parents who dismissed their child's emotions could be accepting of their children's emotions and wanted to assist their children, however, their approach to negative emotions was to ignore or deny the emotions.

Parents who have a laissez-faire philosophy are aware of their children's emotions, but instead of helping their children manage their emotions appropriately, they allow the child to deal with emotions in any manner the child wants (Goleman, 1995). Similar to disapproving and dismissing parents, laissez-

faire parents fail to utilize emotional moments as an opportunity to assist the children in acquiring emotional competence. For example, although laissez-faire parents often do not intervene in their children's emotional dilemmas, when they do intervene they use bribes to solve the problem (Goleman, 1995). Laissez-faire parents tend to have children with diminished emotion regulation skills and consequently tend to have poor peer relations (Schwartz et al., 2006).

Finally, parents who have an emotion-coaching philosophy are aware of their child's emotions and they value the child's emotions as an opportunity for intimacy or teaching: they help the child to verbally label his/her own emotions, they empathize with or validate the child's emotions, and they help the child to problem-solve (Gottman et al., 1996; Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007). For example, if a child is upset because she wants a treat but has to wait until snack time, the parent can talk about a time when he himself was in a similar situation as his child and what solution he came up with to resolve the issue. Emotion coaches are more comfortable dealing with emotions, and have more efficient emotion regulation skills compared to parents who are not emotion-coaches (Gottman et al., 1996). Obviously, these "meta-emotion" philosophies impact the early parent-child relationship and subsequent parenting style.

Specific Ways Parents Socialize Children's Emotions

While attachment quality, cultural norms, and parent "meta-emotion philosophy" influence parents' general ideas about their own as well as their

child(ren)'s emotions, the specific methods parents utilize to socialize their children's emotional competencies include the following: 1) their typical reactions to their child's emotions, 2) the extent to which they are "emotion coaches" for their child, i.e., formal instruction, and 3) how they express their own emotions.

Parents' Reactions to Their Child's Emotions

First, parents socialize their children's emotions directly by how they react to their child's emotions. Many researchers utilize parents' reactions to their children's emotional expressions in their studies of emotion socialization because they provide an accurate record of how emotion socialization takes place in the "real world" (Root & Rubin, 2010, p.52). For example, an adult's reaction to a child's emotional displays (e.g., a negative reaction to a child's tantrum because the child does not get the toy he wants from the store) contributes to that child's understanding of what behaviors are accepted and expected. Research suggests that parents generally approve of positive emotions and disapprove of negative emotions in their children (Root & Rubin, 2010).

Studies also show that parents generally react in a supportive or non-supportive manner to a child's emotions, especially negative emotions. Researchers who study emotion socialization tend to emphasize parents' reactions to children's negative emotions because it is more difficult to manage negative emotions than it is to manage positive emotions (Lunkenheimer et al., 2007).

Supportive Reactions to Children's Negative Emotions. Supportive responses by parents to their child's negative emotions include being positive and accepting, as well as helping the child cope with the emotion he or she is experiencing (Hastings & De, 2008). Supportive parental reactions to children's negative emotions support children's attempts to constructively regulate their emotions and to learn about others' as well as their own needs in emotional situations (Eisenberg et al., 1996). The research literature outlines three supportive reactions to children's negative emotions: encouragement of expressing emotions, "emotion-focused reactions", and "problem-focused reactions" (Eisenberg et al., 1996).

First, parents can support their children's negative emotions by encouraging them to express their emotions. Encouraging a child to express his/her emotions is positively associated with parents' reports of constructive coping and children's self-reported social skills (Eisenberg et al., 1996). Encouraging a child to express his or her emotions is also related to the development of children's emotion regulation, emotional competence, and positive social behaviors (Hastings & De, 2008).

A second way that parents support their child's negative emotional experiences is through "emotion-focused" reactions which refers to comforting the child and trying to help him feel better (Eisenberg et al., 1996). Comforting children and discussing emotions allows children to express their emotions in a socially-appropriate manner (Eisenberg et al., 1996). Parents who respond in this

manner tend to have children who are able to verbalize their feelings of anger which results in lower anger intensity. These parents tend to believe that if they comfort a child or remove the child from the upsetting situation, their child will be given an opportunity to regain their emotional composure (Cassano et al., 2007).

Finally, parents may use “problem-focused” reactions in response to their child’s negative emotions. This refers to helping a child resolve the problem (e.g., helping a child to think of something else to do in which the child is encouraged to, or helped to, deal with the problem). This parental reaction has been found to be associated with 3rd to 6th grade children’s increased social functioning and coping (Eisenberg et al., 1996). Parents who engage in problem-focused reactions tend to want to help their children develop a sense of self-efficacy regarding emotion regulation by providing them with tools to resolve emotion-invoking situations (Cassano et al., 2007).

In general, parents’ positive reactions to their children’s emotions have a positive impact on children’s social and emotional development. Supportive parental reactions have been associated with preschoolers’ low anger intensity in peer conflicts and with relatively low venting of anger (Jones, Eisenberg, Fabes, & MacKinnon, 2002). In addition, supportive parental reactions assist children to appropriately handle their distress and cope successfully with emotional situations; in turn, this success may help foster the development of social skills and reduce negative expectations about social interactions (Jones et al., 2002). Parents’ supportive reactions to their child’s negative emotions are also related to

more coordinated, sophisticated peer play during sharing tasks (McElwain , Halberstadt, & Volling, 2007). Parental support may be especially useful to children's ability to coordinate play with friends in situations in which the potential for conflict and negative emotions is increased.

Non-Supportive Reactions to Children's Negative Emotions. Negative emotions are considered undesirable by parents because they are often viewed as tools used by children for manipulation, a reflection of children's poor character, or being harmful to children (Fabes et al., 2001; Stocker, Richmond, Rhoades, & Kiang, 2007). For this reason, many parents often react to children's negative emotions by using negative control strategies (e.g., punishment) (Fabes et al., 2001). In comparison to parents who believe emotions are not harmful to children, parents who believe that negative emotions are harmful to children are more likely to suppress their child's emotional expression (Dunsmore et al., 2009). The research literature outlines four negative parental reactions to children's negative emotions: minimizing the child's negative emotion, punitive reactions, expressing distress or discomfort in response to the child's negative emotion, and "magnifying".

First, parents utilize the minimization technique to shut down a child's negative emotional behaviors (e.g., minimize the seriousness of the situation or devalue the child's problem by telling the child she is overreacting) (Cassano et al., 2007). When parents minimize a child's emotions, the child is likely to react with anger and often develops poor social competence because the child's

emotions are not taken seriously (Eisenberg et al., 1996). In addition, children may experience sadness and fear which may lead to avoidant coping (i.e., utilizing distracting stimuli or activities to avoid thinking of a situation) (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Minimization of children's negative emotions decreases a child's social skills which subsequently decreases peer acceptance (Eisenberg et al., 1996).

Second, punitive reactions by parents in response to their child's negative emotions refers to attempts by parents to decrease the need to deal with their children's negative emotions (e.g., telling the child that if he starts crying, he will have to go to his room). This may provoke anxiety in the child about punishment, fear, or anger (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Due to this anxiety, children learn to avoid negative emotions as opposed to trying to comprehend and appropriately express negative emotions (Brand & Klimes-Dougan, 2010; Eisenberg et al., 1996, 1998; Morris et al., 2007). Dysregulation may then occur as a result of the child's lack of comprehending how to appropriately express their negative emotions (Brand & Klimes-Dougan, 2010). Parents who have punitive reactions tend to have children who have decreased constructive coping abilities (e.g., positive cognitive restructuring, seeking support) (Eisenberg et al., 1998). The relationship between parental punitive reactions and children's poor social and emotional development is bidirectional over time (Jones et al., 2002). That is, parents' punitive reactions towards their children's expressions of emotions may initially heighten children's poor social competence. Children who are low in

social competence are in turn more likely than children with high social competence to induce punitive parental reactions because children with poor social competence tend to engage in inappropriate behavior (e.g., name-calling) (Jones et al., 2002).

Third, parents may be more prone to view children's negative emotions as undesirable because they themselves become emotionally distressed when their child does (i.e., they feel upset and uncomfortable because of their child's reaction) (Fabes et al., 2001). Parents who respond with distress to children's negative emotions tend to either avoid the child or punish the child (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Children exposed to parental distress reactions may develop externalizing problems and engage in avoidant coping (Eisenberg et al., 1996).

Finally, in addition to the above, research studies have noted a relationship between parental "magnifying" reactions and child outcome (e.g., internalizing problems). "Magnifying" responses occur when a parent experiences the same emotion as the child and in turn reflects it back toward the child (Hastings & De, 2008). Parents who feel and express heightened fear and sadness in reaction to their children's fear and sadness contribute to the development of children's internalizing problems (Hastings & De, 2008).

In summary, parents' supportive reactions to children's emotions (i.e., encouragement of expressing emotion, emotion-focused and problem-focused reactions) enhance the development of children's social and emotional competencies while parents' negative reactions (i.e., minimizing the child's

negative emotions, punitive reactions, and parental distress reactions in response to the child's negative emotion, and “magnifying”) decrease children’s social and emotional competencies (Eisenberg et al., 1998).

“Emotion Coaching”

A second and related way that parents socialize their children’s emotions is the extent to which they are an “emotion coach” for their child. Parents who are “emotion coaches” value their children’s emotions: they are patient with negative emotional displays and are receptive to different emotional states (Schwartz et al., 2006). When faced with children’s negative emotional displays, emotion coaches pay attention, empathize, help children to effectively cope with the emotion, and teach problem-solving skills.

Children appear to benefit the most from discussions with parents that include parents’ sensitive structuring and acceptance of their emotions (Baker et al., 2011; Gottman et al., 1996). Discussing emotions gives children and their parents an opportunity to negotiate shared meanings about emotional experiences (Aldrich & Tenenbaum, 2006). Parents who are aware of their child’s emotions, who validate their child’s emotions, and who encourage their children to express their emotions are engaging in optimal emotion socialization (Denham et al., 1997; Maliken & Katz, 2013).

There are many benefits for children of parents who are effective emotion coaches. First, one of the most studied outcomes of emotion coaching is children’s better emotion regulation (Lunkenheimer et al., 2007). Parents’

acceptance and coaching of children's emotions of sadness and anger at five years of age has been found, for example, to be associated with better emotion regulation and fewer problem behaviors three years later (Gottman et al., 1996). Coaching a child's emotions has a soothing effect on the child. Second, emotion coaching also provides children with opportunities to learn to label their emotions (e.g., pleasure, fear, and frustration) and problem solve with their parents to find the most constructive way to manage emotional situations (Cassano & Zeman, 2010; Havighurst, Wilson, Harley, Prior, & Kehoe, 2010). When children are able to label and describe their emotions, they are less likely to become frustrated (Gerhardt, 2014). Emotion labeling contributes to increases in children's knowledge of emotions. According to Havighurst et al. (2010), "Knowledge about emotions is an essential skill necessary for social functioning, academic success, and prosocial behavior" (p. 1348). Third, emotion coaching also decreases the risk of psychopathology. Stocker et al. (2007), for example, researched emotion coaching and its relationship with internalizing and externalizing behaviors and found that emotion coaching was inversely related to internalizing symptoms in adolescents; however, no relationship between emotion coaching and externalizing behaviors was found. Hunter et al. (2011) found that children of parents who were emotion coaches had fewer depressive symptoms, higher self-esteem, and fewer behavior problems than children with parents who were not coaches. Finally, high levels of emotion coaching have been found to be related to lower levels of negative emotional expression and higher levels of positive

emotional expressions in children (Wong et al., 2009).

Parents must be aware of their child's emotions before they are able to respond to their child's emotions (Maliken & Katz, 2013). Parents who provide emotion-coaching for their children tend to be competent at regulating their own emotional reactions to their child's emotional expressions (Snyder, Stoolmiller, Wilson, & Yamamoto, 2003). Parental emotion coaching tends to have a greater impact on children's and young adolescents' emotional development compared to older adolescents (Stocker et al., 2007). When younger children are in distress, they need and use their parents to help them cope. However, adolescents are more likely to use their friends to help them cope with their emotions (Stocker et al., 2007). Also, as children get older, parents tend to expect them to be better able to regulate their emotions (Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007). In addition, parents tend to be more facilitative and less punitive of younger children's emotional displays compared to those of older children.

In summary, emotion coaching positively impacts children's expressiveness, patterns of specific emotional expression, and reaction to others' emotions (Denham et al., 1997). In addition, children with emotion-coaching parents display fewer behavioral problems, have better physiological emotion regulation, and a better understanding of emotions compared to children of emotion-dismissing, disapproving, and laissez-faire parents (Gottman et al., 1996; Mcdowell, 2001). Parents who disapprove of or dismiss their child's emotions, and use laissez-faire parenting styles negatively impact the

development of children's emotion regulation and emotional competence. Finally, child age contributes to emotion coaching in that younger children depend more on their parents for emotional support, and younger children tend to receive more emotion coaching than older children.

Parental Emotional Expressiveness

The third method that parents utilize to socialize their children's emotions is how they verbally and nonverbally express their own emotions (Root & Denham, 2010; Stocker et al., 2007). Non-verbal expressions include, for example, hugging and crying. Verbal expressions include saying "I'm sorry" and "Thank you!" How parents express their emotions influences children's emotional development in many ways, including impacting a child's developing schema of their own emotions, teaching children cultural rules regarding the expression of emotions, "social referencing", and impacting children's ability to recognize emotions in others.

Impact on a Child's Emotional Schemas. Researchers have suggested that since parents both model and reinforce the expression of emotions in others, they set the tone for expressiveness in the family, including implicitly teaching their children how certain circumstances evoke particular emotions (i.e., they influence children's developing "schemas" about emotions) (Denham et al., 1997; McDowell, 2001). For example, when a child observes his parent yelling at a driver who cut him off, the parent is influencing the way their child learns to express himself (Eisenberg et al., 2001).

Parents' modeling of positive emotions can affect children's ability to successfully negotiate stressful circumstances (McDowell & Parke, 2000). Children of parents who model positive emotions tend to have lower levels of aggression compared to children of parents who model negative emotions (Eisenberg et al., 2001). The expression of positive emotions has been found to be related to children's advanced emotional knowledge, increased positive peer relations, emotional regulation, and effective social skills (Bariola et al., 2011; Roger et al., 2012).

Conversely, when parents model high levels of negative emotions, children's emotional development is negatively impacted, especially when the negative expressions are intense and poorly explained by the parents (Stocker et al., 2007). Children may experience distress because of the high levels of negative emotional expressions and because they are not seeing their parents model successful regulation (Morris et al., 2007). Children who are exposed to higher levels of negative emotions by their parents are less likely to be accepted by peers than children who are exposed to high levels of positive parental expressions (Boyum & Parke, 1995). Parents' expressions of negative emotions are negatively correlated with children's social competence.

Cultural Rules Regarding the Expression of Emotions. Each culture has its own unspoken "rules" about when, where, and how one should express emotions (i.e., "display rules") (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002; McDowell & Parke, 2000). The ways in which parents express their own emotions is important because

children first learn about emotional display rules from their parents (Bariola et al., 2011; Boyum & Parke, 1995). For example, a child may observe his parents gratefully accepting a gift; however, when the person who gave the gift is gone, the parents may make a comment about how they are actually not pleased with the gift. Thus, the child learns that we must appear pleased when receiving a gift from someone, even if we do not like the gift.

Social Referencing. How parents express their emotions influences children's behavioral and emotional reactions to events from an early age. The social referencing literature demonstrates that parental emotional expressiveness guides both behavioral and emotional reactions of infants as young as 8.5 months in both exploratory contexts (e.g., the visual cliff) and social contexts (e.g., the Strange Situation) (Cassidy et al., 1992). Parents' emotional expressions have also been found to be mirrored by infants as young as nine months (Eisenberg et al., 1998), with nine-month-old infants displaying the same emotions that their mothers display. When the mothers express joy, the infants also express joy and when the mothers' express sadness, the infants also express sadness, anger, and gaze aversion (i.e., looking away from their mothers) (Eisenberg et al., 1998).

Impact on Children's Emotion Recognition. Parental expressiveness also provides children with opportunities to understand the meaning of particular emotional expressions in others (i.e., emotion recognition skills) (Cassidy et al., 1992; Dunn & Brown, 1994). However, frequent or intense expressions of

negative emotions by parents contribute to children's poor emotion recognition skills and peer relationships (Dunn & Brown, 1994). Children who struggle with emotion recognition also may lack the understanding of causes and consequences of emotions. In early childhood, increased parental expressiveness is linked to children's emotion recognition; however, in later childhood, decreased parental expressiveness is a better predictor of children's skills in recognizing emotions. It may be that children of parents whose emotions are more difficult to recognize may learn to attend to more subtle and/or ambiguous cues (Dunsmore et al., 2009).

In sum, the way parents express their emotions impacts their children's emotional development by providing a model of how to express emotions, cultural rules regarding the expression of emotions (e.g., "display rules"), and helping children develop schemas about emotions, social referencing, and emotion recognition. Parents' expressions of negative emotions increase children's expressions of negative emotions and aggression, and typically results in children having poor emotion regulation skills, emotion recognition skills, and difficulties with peer relations. Parental expressiveness of positive emotions, however, increases children's expression of positive emotions and tends to result in children having good peer relationships and high emotional competence.

Parent-Child Gender and Emotion Socialization

The majority of primary caregivers are mothers, and therefore most studies on emotion socialization have focused on mothers and not fathers. Thus, there is little research-based information about the impact of fathers on the emotion socialization of children and the different processes mothers and fathers may use to socialize their children's emotions (Baker et al., 2011). The few studies that have included fathers, however, have found that the gender of parent as well as the gender of the child influences the emotion socialization process.

Mothers versus Fathers' Reactions to Their Children's Emotions

Mothers and fathers appear to differ in how they show their own emotions around their children and how they respond to their children's emotions. Furthermore, parents respond differently to the emotional expressions of their sons vs. their daughters. Compared to fathers, mothers are more emotionally expressive toward their children and more involved in their child's emotional life. Mothers are more likely to use emotionally expressive encouragement strategies (e.g., encourage the child to talk about his emotions) with their children than fathers (Cassano et al., 2007). Mothers also tend to have longer conversations with their young children regarding emotional expressiveness compared to fathers (Fivush, Brotman, Buckner, & Goodman, 2000; Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007). In addition, mothers tend to be more responsive to their children's emotional expressions (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002) and to reward and magnify their children's expressions of sadness, fear, and anger compared to

fathers (Brand & Klimes-Dougan, 2010). Finally, daughters and sons are more likely to discuss emotions, including sadness, with their mothers instead of their fathers (Stocker et al., 2007). However, this could simply be because mothers tend to be more available with regard to time than fathers. A retrospective study found that young adults reported that mothers tended to react to a child's expression of negative emotions more than fathers (i.e., fathers were more likely to ignore their child's emotions) (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002).

Compared to mothers, fathers tend to mask their emotions more often (Dunsmore et al., 2009). Fathers who disapprove of emotional expressions are especially more likely to mask their own emotional expressions; e.g., in a frightening situation, a father may pretend he is not afraid by putting on a brave face (Dunsmore et al., 2009). In general, fathers also tend to express negative emotions more frequently than mothers, which has a negative impact on their child's emotional and social development (Eisenberg et al., 1998). For example, fathers' expressions of negative emotions, but not mothers, have been found to be associated with diminished prosocial behavior in preschoolers (e.g., less sharing, higher levels of verbal and physical aggressiveness) (Foster, Reese-Weber, & Kahn, 2007; Garner, 2012; Maliken & Katz, 2013; McDowell & Parke, 2000). Fathers also tend to react less positively to their child's negative emotions than mothers (which tends to be related to an escalation of conflict during peer play) (Baker et al., 2011). Fathers' lack of support of their child's expression of emotions is associated with child depression (Sanders et al., 2015). In addition,

fathers tend to react more negatively when their child expresses emotions not associated with gender stereotypes (e.g., boys expressing sadness) or when their child is not able to regulate his or her emotions (Cassano & Zeman, 2010). A retrospective study found that young adults report that their fathers tended to neglect their child's displays of negative emotions during childhood (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002).

Interestingly, fathers tend to display more emotions during play with their child(ren) than in any other context (Cassidy et al., 1992). According to Root and Rubin (2010), during father–infant interaction, positive arousal (e.g., infant shows clear signs of positive energy, laugh, and exuberance directed toward the parent or toward an object of joint attention) appears to be rapid, and these episodes of peak positive emotion increase in frequency during play. Paternal play has been associated with children's positive peer interactions (Hastings & De, 2008).

Parents' Reactions to Sons versus Daughters

Parents tend to encourage different emotional expressions in boys and girls. They express a greater desire for boys to inhibit sadness and fear (Casey & Fuller, 1994) as these emotions tend to be viewed as making one appear vulnerable. Parents also tend to inhibit the expression of anger in girls (Casey & Fuller, 1994). In addition, parents tend to express more anger towards boys than to girls, and mothers report expressing more positive emotions with their daughters compared to their sons (Garner et al., 1997).

Impact of Early Parental Emotion Socialization on Young Adult Emotional Competencies

How these early emotion socialization experiences impact later adult emotional competencies has not been extensively researched. The few studies that have examined the long-term effect of early positive emotion socialization (e.g., emotion coaching) have found that it generally promotes the development of positive affect in adulthood, including psychological well-being. For example, a link between the early experience of parents encouraging the expression of emotion and positive emotion well-being has been found in adult men (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002).

Studies of the long-term effect of early punitive emotion socialization (e.g., parents dismissing and/or showing disapproval of the child's emotions) have linked it to negative affect, psychological distress, identity separation difficulties, and deliberate self-harm in adulthood for both men and women. For example, parental punishment and neglect of a child's emotions tends to be correlated with "psychological distress" in young adults (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002). While the authors did not test for specific types of psychopathology, they suggested that parental punishment and neglect of a child's emotions may be associated with deficient or "underdeveloped" types of psychopathology (i.e., avoidant personality, antisocial personality). Studies also suggest that parents who disapprove of their young sons' expressions of negative emotions result in their sons having difficulties creating a sense of self later on in adolescence and adulthood (i.e., developing an identity separate from that of their parents)

(Schwartz et al., 2006). It may be that being punished for expressing emotions in childhood and the subsequent lack of emotional reactivity (i.e., the inability to remain calm when others are emotional) contribute to men's difficulty in creating a sense of self. In addition, studies suggest that mothers who disapprove of their young daughters' expressions of negative emotions results in daughters tending to have high levels of "fusion" later on (i.e., an inability to distinguish their emotions and intellect from those of others) (Schwartz et al., 2006).

These findings are consistent with those of attachment studies which have found that individuals' early emotional experiences with parents contribute to the development of attachment security (Wei, Vogel, Ku, & Zakalik, 2005). The absence or loss of attachment security during childhood has been found to contribute to the development of depression in adolescence and adulthood (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007). The securely attached child learns that the parent will comfort him when he is distressed, while the insecurely attached child learns that he cannot rely on his parents to help him regulate his emotions and thus will continue to experience the stressful feelings (Gerhardt, 2015). The key element of insecure attachment is a lack of confidence in parents' emotional availability and support (Gerhardt, 2015). These early experiences establish an internal working model for later emotional life and if the model is insecure, the individual tends to have difficulties coping with stress, regulating emotions, and to lack confidence in coping or in relying on others to help. When stress occurs, cortisol levels increase which cause emotional dysfunction (i.e., anxiety and depression),

and damage occurs to the hippocampus and the ability of prefrontal cortex to think and manage behavior (Gerhardt, 2015). Studies show that children and adults who have insecure attachments develop hyper-reactive stress responses which are also linked to depression and anxiety (Gerhardt, 2015). Early experiences of stress may also contribute to a permanent reduction in dopaminergic neurons which in turn affect the capacity for positive emotionality (Gerhardt, 2015).

Summary and Purpose of Study

In summary, most research on emotion socialization has focused on children, and findings suggest that early positive emotion socialization experiences (e.g., positive reactions by parents, parent emotion coaching, and expressing positive emotions) have a positive impact on a child's emotional development. Conversely, early negative emotion socialization experiences (e.g., negative reaction by parents including emotion dismissing and emotion disapproval) have been linked to children's internalizing behaviors (i.e., depression and anxiety) (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002; Gottman et al., 1996). Studies also find that mothers tend to be more supportive of children's emotions than fathers. Few studies to date have focused exclusively on the impact of early parental emotion socialization on later internalizing behaviors in young adults (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002), and few studies have included fathers and their role in the emotion socialization process, especially as it impacts later

emotion functioning.

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of early emotion socialization on later internalizing behaviors in young adults. Specifically, it was expected that early negative emotion socialization experiences would lead to higher levels of anxiety and depression in young adulthood (and, conversely, early positive emotion socialization experiences would lead to lower levels of anxiety and depression in young adulthood). In addition, it was hypothesized that fathers would engage in more negative emotion socialization behaviors compared to mothers, especially with sons.

CHAPTER TWO

METHOD

Participants

Participants consisted of 57 (40%) male and 85 (60%) female college students between the ages of 18-28 years old. The prerequisite for the participants was that they needed to have both a mother (or mother-figure) and a father (or father-figure) in the home from ages 0-18 years. The ethnicity of the participants was: 52.1 % Hispanic, 35.2% Euro-American, 9.9% African-American, 7.7% Asian, and 1.4% Native American. All of the participants' mothers were biological; 99% of the participants' fathers were biological fathers.

Measures

Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale- Adolescents' Perceptions

The Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale- Adolescents' Perceptions (CCNES-AP; Fabes & Eisenberg, 1998) was used to assess participants' perceptions of how their parents reacted to their expression of negative emotions when they were adolescents (13–17 years) (Appendix A). Nine diverse scenarios describe situations in which the participant expressed their negative emotions (e.g., "When my mother saw me becoming angry at a close friend, she would usually"...). Each vignette has six possible parental responses that participants rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1=very unlikely; 7 =

very likely) to indicate the likelihood that the participant's mother/father reacted in that manner. The six possible parental responses to their child's expressions of negative emotion included: Distress Reactions (DR; e.g., became uncomfortable and uneasy in dealing with my anger), Punitive Reactions (PR; e.g., got angry at me for losing my temper), Expressive Encouragement (EE; e.g., encouraged me to express my anger), emotion-focused reactions (EFR; e.g., tried to make me feel better by making me laugh), problem focused reactions (PFR; e.g., helped me think of things to do to solve the problem), and Minimization Reactions (MR; e.g., told me not to make such a big deal out of it). Participants were asked to complete two scales: one for their mother's reactions and one for their father's reactions. The nine items from all the subscales of the CCNES-A were compiled to create latent response variables. These resulted in three positive subscales (i.e., emotion-focused reactions, problem-focused reactions, and expressive encouragement) and three negative subscales (i.e., distress reactions, minimization reactions, and punitive reactions). The three positive subscales were then combined to also create a global score for positive parental responses. Similarly, the three negative subscales were also combined to create a global score for negative parental responses.

The original scale was intended to be used with adolescents, therefore, the current scale was modified to be utilized with young adults by changing scenarios to the past tense and specifically asking participants to remember their emotional experiences during their adolescence. All subscales demonstrated

good internal consistency for fathers (all α 's \geq .87) and mothers (all α 's \geq .89) (Lugo-Candelas et al., 2015).

Beck Anxiety Inventory

The Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI) (Beck, Epstein, Brown, & Steer, 1988) is a 21-item, self-report scale of anxiety severity (Appendix B). The scale lists common symptoms of anxiety (e.g., numbness or tingling). Participants were asked to indicate how much they have been bothered by each particular symptom during the past month. Items are answered on a 4-point scale (1=not at all, 2= mildly, 3= moderate, 4=severely). A score of 0-21= low anxiety; 22-35= moderate anxiety; 36 and above= severe anxiety. The BAI exhibits good internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha=0.92$) and test-retest reliability, $r(58) = 0.75$, over one week (Beck et al., 1988).

Beck Depression Inventory-II

The Beck Depression Inventory-II (BDI-II) (Beck et al., 1996) is a 21-item, self-report inventory that measures characteristic attitudes and symptoms of depression (Appendix C). Items are responded to on a 4-point scale (a score of 0-13 indicates minimal depression; 14-19 indicates mild depression; 20-28 indicates moderate depression; 29-63 indicates severe depression). The BDI demonstrates high internal consistency, with a coefficients alpha of .92 (Beck, Steer, & Brown, 1996).

Demographic Questionnaire. Participants were asked to provide demographic information including age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status,

and presence of (and type of relationship with) each parent (Appendix D).

Procedure

Participants were recruited from a university through the university's research management system. Participants completed the assessments online. Extra credit was given for completing the assessments.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

The definitions, means, and standard deviations for the variables used in this study are shown below (Table 1).

Table 1. Definitions, Means, and Standard Deviations for the Anxiety/Depression and Emotion Socialization Scales

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Definition</u>	<u>\bar{X} (SD)</u>
<u>Internalizing disorders</u>		
1. Anxiety	Unpleasant state of inner turmoil, often accompanied by nervous behavior, such as pacing back and forth	17.7(12.6)
2. Depression	A state of low mood and aversion to activity that can affect a person's thoughts, behavior, feelings, and sense of well-being	17.1 (12.7)
<u>Emotion Socialization</u>		
1. Mother positive emotion socialization (Summed scores of the 3 scales below)		116.0 (42.8)
Expressive Encouragement	Mother encourages child to express negative affect	35.9 (14.6)
Emotion Focused Reactions	Mother responds to child's emotion with strategies designed to help the child feel better	39.5 (14.4)
Problem Focused Reactions	Mother helps her child solve the problem that caused the distress	40.6 (15.3)
2. Mother negative emotion socialization (Summed scores of the 3 scales below)		74.9 (29.2)
Distress Reactions	Mother experiences distress when her child expresses negative affect	21.6 (10.8)
Punitive Reactions	Mother responds with punitive reactions that decrease the need to deal with the emotions of her child	23.2 (10.9)
Minimization Reactions	Mother minimizes the seriousness of the situation	30.1 (11.0)
3. Father positive emotion socialization (Summed scores of the 3 scales below)		92.8 (44.3)
Expressive Encouragement	Father encourages child to express negative affect	28.5 (14.8)
Emotion Focused Reactions	Father responds to child's emotion with strategies designed to help the child feel better	32.6 (15.3)
Problem Focused Reactions	Father helps his child solve the problem that caused the distress	31.7 (15.8)
4. Father negative emotion socialization (Summed scores of the 3 scales below)		85.1 (38.4)
Distress Reactions	Father experiences distress when his child expresses negative affect	24.7 (13.4)
Punitive Reactions	Father responds with punitive reactions that decrease the need to deal with the emotions of his child	27.6 (15.1)
Minimization Reactions	Father minimizes the seriousness of the situation	32.8 (13.5)

The first hypothesis stated that early negative emotion socialization experiences would be related to higher levels of anxiety and depression in young adulthood (and, conversely, early positive emotion socialization experiences would be related to lower levels of anxiety and depression). To test this hypothesis, Pearson correlations were computed for the mother and father Emotion Socialization global and subscale scores and Anxiety/Depression (see Table 2). Results showed that, for Anxiety, there was a positive and significant correlation between Anxiety and fathers' *global* negative reactions to the participants' emotions ($r=.17$, $p<.04$) (likely due to the Father Minimization Reactions subscale, $r= .22$, $p<.01$). No other correlations were significant. For Depression, results showed that there were *positive* and significant correlations between Depression and mother/father negative emotion socialization (for both global and subscale scores, except for the Father Punitive Reactions subscale). There were significant *negative* correlations between mother and father (global and subscale) positive emotion socialization scores and Depression.

Table 2. Correlations between Emotion Socialization and Anxiety/ Depression for the Total Group

Emotion socialization	Internalizing Disorders	
	Anxiety	Depression
Mother positive emotion socialization (Global)	-.02	-.27***
Subscales:		
Expressive Encouragement	-.02	-.26**
Emotion Focused Reactions	-.02	-.27***
Problem Focused Reactions	.00	-.25**
Mother negative emotion socialization (Global)	.10	.23**
Subscales:		
Distress Reactions	.10	.18*
Punitive Reactions	.10	.21**
Minimization Reactions	.07	.23**
Father positive emotion socialization (Global)	-.03	-.26**
Subscales:		
Expressive Encouragement	-.06	-.23**
Emotion Focused Reactions	-.03	-.27***
Problem Focused Reactions	-.02	-.25**
Father negative emotion socialization (Global)	.17 *	.21**
Subscales:		
Distress Reactions	.11	.23*
Punitive Reactions	.15	.15
Minimization Reactions	.22**	.22**

Note: * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

Next, gender differences between the emotion socialization global and subscale scores and Anxiety/Depression were examined. Pearson correlations were computed and results showed that, for males, all of the correlations

between mother/father emotion socialization (global and subscale) scores and Depression were significant: positive mother/father emotion socialization scores (global and subscale) were negatively and significantly related to Depression, while negative mother/father emotion socialization scores (global and subscale) were significantly and positively correlated with Depression (see Table 3). In other words, early negative emotion socialization is linked to later depression symptoms in males while early positive emotion socialization is related to fewer depression symptoms in young adult males. For daughters, the only significant correlation found was between father global negative emotion socialization and Depression ($r = .22, p < .05$) and father Distress Reactions ($r = .24, p < .05$). That is, fathers reacting negatively to their daughters' emotions, especially when they respond with distress to their daughters' distress, is related to later depression symptoms in females.

For Anxiety, results showed that, for males, there were few significant correlations between mother/father emotion socialization and anxiety. Only the positive emotion socialization subscale, Mother Expressive Encouragement, was negatively and significantly correlated with anxiety ($r = -.26, p < .05$). Father negative emotion socialization (global scale) was positively and significantly correlated with anxiety ($r = .27, p < .05$). There were no significant correlations between emotion socialization and anxiety for females.

In sum, there were notable gender differences in the emotion socialization scores (global and subscale) and Anxiety/Depression. First, mother expressive

encouragement was inversely related to anxiety, while father negative emotion socialization was positively linked to later anxiety symptoms in sons. For daughters, however, there was no significant relationship between how parents reacted to their emotions and later symptoms of anxiety. Second, there was a significant relationship between early emotion socialization and later depression in sons, but not for daughters.

Table 3. Correlations between Emotion Socialization and Anxiety/ Depression for Males and Females

Emotion Socialization	Anxiety		Depression	
	Males (n=57)	Females (n=85)	Males (n=57)	Females (n=85)
Mother positive emotion socialization (global)	-.25	.17	-.47***	-.14
Subscales:				
Expressive Encouragement	-.26*	.16	-.45***	-.14
Emotion Focused Reactions	-.25	.16	-.45***	-.14
Problem Focused Reactions	-.20	.16	-.44***	-.12
Mother negative emotion socialization (global)	.19	.05	.40**	.14
Subscales:				
Distress Reactions	.18	.06	.36**	.10
Punitive Reactions	.21	.05	.38**	.14
Minimization Reactions	.14	.01	.39**	.13
Father positive emotion socialization (global)	-.11	.01	-.44***	-.17
Subscales:				
Expressive Encouragement	-.20	.02	-.44***	-.14
Emotion Focused Reactions	-.11	.02	-.46***	-.18
Problem Focused Reactions	-.02	-.02	-.39**	-.18
Father negative emotion socialization (global)	.27 *	.18	.35**	.22*
Subscales:				
Distress Reactions	.11	.15	.30*	.24*
Punitive Reactions	.28*	.16	.33**	.16
Minimization Reactions	.36**	.17	.34**	.21

Note: *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

Next, stepwise regressions were computed using the global mother/father emotion socialization scores to test whether these significantly predicted Depression and Anxiety scores. Results indicated that, for males, Mother Positive Emotion Socialization and Father Negative Emotion Socialization explained 32% of the variance for male depression ($R^2 = .32$, $F = (2, 54) = 14.25$, $p < .000$). Mother Positive Emotion Socialization significantly predicted depression ($\beta = -.47$, $t = -4.27$, $p = .000$) as did Father Negative Emotion Socialization ($\beta = .36$, $t = 3.23$, $p = .002$). In other words, the less mothers encouraged their sons to express negative emotions, or helped them to feel better, the more depression their sons experienced. Also, the more fathers reacted to their sons' negative emotions by being distressed or in a punitive or minimizing manner, the more depression their sons experienced. For anxiety, Father Negative Emotion Socialization explained only 5% of the variance ($R^2 = .05$, $F = (1, 55) = 4.24$, $p = .044$) ($\beta = .27$, $t = 2.06$, $p = .044$).

For females, Father Negative Emotion Socialization explained only 4% of the variance for depression ($R^2 = .036$, $F = (1, 83) = 4.15$, $p = .04$), but still significantly predicted depression ($\beta = .22$, $t = 2.04$, $p = .045$). There was no significant relationship between mother/father emotion socialization and female anxiety so regressions were not computed.

Thus, the results partially supported the hypothesis in that parental emotion socialization significantly impacted depression (for males only) while it had less of an impact on anxiety for males and females.

The second hypothesis stated that fathers would engage in more negative emotion socialization behaviors compared to mothers, and that fathers would engage in more negative emotion socialization with sons than with daughters. To address the first part of this hypothesis, father versus mother negative emotion socialization (global) scores were compared using a between-subjects t-test. Results showed that father negative emotion socialization scores were significantly higher compared to mother negative emotion socialization scores, $t(141) = -3.28, p < .05$ (see Table 4). Mother positive emotion socialization scores were significantly higher than father positive emotion socialization scores, $t(141) = 6.27, p < .05$. These findings indicate that fathers tend to display more negative emotion socialization behaviors in response to their child's emotions compared to mothers, while mothers tend to show more positive emotion responses to their children than fathers.

Table 4. T-Test Results Comparing Father Versus Mother Emotion Socialization Scores

	Father \bar{X} (SD)	Mother \bar{X} (SD)	t(df)	sig. (2- tailed)
Positive emotion socialization	92.7 (44.3)	115.9 (42.8)	6.27(141)	.000
Negative emotion socialization	85.1 (38.4)	74.8 (29.2)	-3.28(141)	.001

To address the second part of this hypothesis, i.e., that fathers would engage in more negative emotion socialization with sons than with daughters, t-tests comparing males and females on Mother/Father Emotion Socialization

(global) scores were computed. As expected, results showed that fathers reacted more negatively towards their sons' emotions compared to their daughters' (see Table 5). A small effect size was determined by calculating Cohen's d ($d=.36$).

Table 5. T-Test Results Comparing Males and Females, and Mother and Father Emotion Socialization Behaviors

	Males \bar{X} (SD)	Females \bar{X} (SD)	t(df)	Sig. (1-tailed)
Mother Positive	120.4 (38.6)	112.9 (45.4)	1.05 (132.2)	.15
Mother Negative	77.8 (33.9)	72.9 (25.5)	.98 (140)	.16
Father Positive	90.8 (42.5)	94.0 (45.7)	-.42 (140)	.33
Father Negative	93.3 (36.4)	79.5 (38.9)	2.12 (140)	.015

In sum, the results supported the hypothesis in that fathers tend to engage in more negative emotion socialization than mothers, and that fathers engage in more negative emotion socialization behaviors with their sons than with their daughters.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

The goal of this study was to examine the effects of early parental emotion socialization on young adults' internalizing behaviors (i.e., depression and anxiety), and to determine whether fathers engage in more negative emotion socialization behaviors than mothers (especially with sons). In general, the results partially supported the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Early Emotion Socialization and Later Anxiety and Depression

First, it was predicted that early negative emotion socialization experiences would be related to higher levels of anxiety and depression in young adulthood (and, conversely, early positive emotion socialization experiences would be related to lower levels of anxiety and depression). While there were few significant correlations between anxiety and emotion socialization, anxiety was significantly and positively related to father (global) negative emotion socialization for the total group (primarily due to Minimization Reaction), which is consistent with previous research which has found that higher levels of parental negative emotion socialization is related to greater youth anxiety (Kehoe, Havighurst, & Harley, 2014). It has been suggested that children may view negative emotion socialization behaviors as cruel and critical which may undermine their sense of self, and as a result children may experience

internalizing symptoms such as depression or anxiety (Morris et al., 2007). In addition, according to Garner (2012), children who experience punitive responses to their emotions by their parents may be more likely to display “rule-based responsiveness” (i.e., responding to a situation according to what is considered an appropriate response), which, over time, may contribute to feelings of anxiety because children are continuing to respond because of worry about punishments. Non-supportive reactions by parents to their children's negative emotions are likely to reduce children's sense of security, and children who are insecure would be more likely to have difficulty with emotional regulation and social situations involving emotions, which could also contribute to higher levels of anxiety (Eisenberg et al., 1996). These regulatory problems tend to continue throughout childhood and adolescence, and even into adulthood (Zahn-Waxler, Klimes-Dougan, & Slattery, 2000). By contrast, when parents are supportive of their children's emotions, children are more likely to feel positively about social relationships and be more emotionally secure, leading to better self-regulation which, in turn, may reduce the likelihood of anxiety (Eisenberg et al., 1996; Morris et al., 2007).

When gender differences were examined, a slightly different picture emerged with anxiety significantly related to three emotion socialization subscales for males but not females. For males, the more their mothers encouraged their sons to express their emotions, the less anxiety their adult sons experienced. According to Perry et al. (2017), males do not expect to be

encouraged to express their emotions; therefore, when they do receive encouragement, it tends to have a positive impact. The finding that there was no significant relationship between father expressive encouragement and anxiety may be because fathers tend to encourage the inhibition of emotional expression, especially in sons (Bariola et al., 2011). Overall, when parents encourage the expression of negative emotions, children are able to learn problem-solving skills for effectively coping with negative emotional experiences, resulting in a lessened likelihood of children experiencing anxiety (Perry et al., 2017). The finding that there was no significant relationship between emotion socialization and anxiety in females was surprising considering that studies have suggested that females are twice as likely as males to become anxious (Zahn-Waxler et al., 2000). This gender difference may be due in part to females sharing and processing their feelings with others (e.g., friends) far more frequently than males do (Caldwell & Peplau, 1982). This may, in turn, result in males being more directly impacted by their early emotional experience over the long term by early parenting than females, who may be more impacted by their peer relationships in processing their emotions. However, this is not to say that parents do not play an important role in their daughters' emotional development.

For depression, the results of the current study partially supported the hypothesis that early emotion socialization was significantly related to depression; in fact, almost all of the emotion socialization subscales were significantly related to the depression scale for the total group. This finding is

consistent with previous studies in that children display more depression-related difficulties when parents suggest it is inappropriate or unnecessary to feel negative emotions (Gottman et al., 1996; Hasting & De, 2008); conversely, when parents display positive emotion socialization behaviors, children tend to have fewer depressive symptoms compared to children whose parents do not display positive emotion socialization (Bowie et al., 2013).

When gender is considered, however, a different picture again emerges. For males, all parental emotion socialization subscales were related to depression: Mother and Father Positive emotion socialization subscales were negatively related to depression, while Mother and Father Negative emotion socialization subscales were positively related to depression. For females, however, the only significant finding was that Father Negative emotion socialization (global scale) was positively and significantly related to depression (due to the significant positive correlation the Father Distress Reaction subscale and depression). As discussed above, this gender difference may be due at least in part to females tending to utilize other sources such as peers as a method of processing and coping with negative emotional experiences, whereas males tend to not discuss their emotions with peers and therefore are more directly impacted by early parenting experiences over time (Caldwell & Peplau, 1982).

In summary, and as supported by the regression analyses described in the previous section, early positive and negative emotion socialization experiences appear to especially impact later depression in males-- more so than

they impact anxiety, and more so than they impact females. The greater impact of early parent emotion socialization on depression over anxiety may also be due to the idea that fear is thought to underlie anxiety, whereas sadness is thought to underlie depression (Zahn-Waxler et al., 2000). That is, children may be more likely to experience sadness, as oppose to fear, when their parents react negatively to their emotions; therefore, the children are more likely to experience depression as oppose to anxiety.

Hypothesis 2: Fathers' versus Mothers' Emotion Socialization Behaviors

The hypothesis that fathers would engage in more negative emotion socialization behaviors compared to mothers (especially with sons) was supported. This finding is consistent with previous studies that have found that fathers tend to be less supportive of their child's emotions than mothers (Bariola et al., 2011; Garner, 2012; Hunter, 2011; Maliken & Katz, 2013). Research on adolescents and emerging adults has consistently noted that mothers tend to reward and magnify their children's displays of negative emotions more than fathers, while fathers tend to neglect their child's displays of negative emotions (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002; Klimes- Dougan et al., 2007). Fathers may react more negatively because of cultural stereotypes that view supportive emotion socialization as being more proper for mothers than fathers (Eisenberg et al., 1996).

The finding in the current study that fathers also engaged in more negative emotion socialization behaviors with sons than with daughters is consistent with previous research which has found that mothers are less likely than fathers to differentially socialize boys and girls regarding how they express their emotions (Adams et al., 1995; Cassano & Zeman, 2010; Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002). Research studies have found that not only are boys more likely than girls to experience unsupportive emotion socialization, but parents tend to use a variety of emotion words more often with girls than with boys resulting in better emotional literacy in girls (Adams et al., 1995). By 6 years of age girls tend to utilize more unique emotion words than do boys (Adams et al., 1995). Research findings in turn suggest that parents who believe their child's negative emotional expressiveness is not appropriate are less likely to react supportively to their child's negative emotional displays (Eisenberg et al., 1996; Gottman et al., 1996). Therefore, parents may react more negatively to their son's negative emotional displays than to their daughters' because of gender norms that view negative emotions as signs of vulnerability (Cassano & Zeman, 2010). Some studies have also suggested that because males tend to be more intensely emotional in infancy, fathers typically encourage the inhibition of expressing emotions as early as infancy and therefore males tend to express fewer emotions than females (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002).

Limitations

There are a few limitations of the current study. First, given that a sample of college students was utilized, the results may not be generalized to all young adults. Second, participants' retrospective reporting on their parents' parenting practices may have not been entirely accurate. However, researchers have found that adults' retrospective parenting reports align with their parents' own self-reports, as well as their sibling's parenting reports. This finding supports the validity of retrospective reports (Harlaar et al., 2008).

Implications and Conclusion

Parental emotion socialization has significant implications for children's, adolescents', and young adults' experience, expression, and regulation of emotion. The present study extends the existing literature by indicating that parental emotion socialization behaviors, as recalled by young adults, may have implications for understanding later depression in young adult males, and also for parenting, including fathers' behaviors toward sons. These results suggest that unsupportive parental emotion socialization may contribute to later depression in males. Relatedly, Kehoe et al. (2014) evaluated a parenting intervention program (Tuning in to Teens) aimed at improving parental emotion socialization behaviors in hopes of decreasing adolescent internalizing symptoms. Participants in the experimental group reported a decrease in parent dismissiveness. Additionally, there was also a decline in adolescent internalizing symptoms compared to the

control group. This study provided support for the significance of parental emotion socialization (especially emotion-coaching techniques) as a key element of parenting programs for youth internalizing disorders.

In addition, family interventions could also focus on helping parents utilize emotion language in order to increase their sons' emotional literacy. As reported in the previous section, parents (especially fathers) tend to utilize a variety of emotion language more frequently with girls than with boys (Adams et al., 1995). If parents could use more emotion language with their sons, it could improve boys' abilities to express their feelings and perhaps even reduce the likelihood of boys experiencing internalizing symptoms.

Future research studies could include the further examination of fathers and their role in children's emotional development. In recent years, the limited research on fathers has demonstrated the importance of fathers to children's overall well-being, but their impact on males' and females' emotional development has not been extensively studied. Future research could also expand on ethnic differences in parenting practices and child outcomes as it relates to emotional development. For example, Bowie et al. (2013) found significant relationships between ethnicity, emotion socialization, and emotional adjustment. Finally, research on peer influence on males and females regarding the processing of emotions could also be more thoroughly examined.

APPENDIX A
COPING WITH CHILDREN'S NEGATIVE EMOTIONS SCALE-
ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS

COPING WITH CHILDREN'S NEGATIVE EMOTIONS SCALE-

ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS

Purpose: To measure the degree to which adolescents perceive their parents as reactive to their negative affect expressed in distressful situations. Six subscales are derived that reflect the specific types of coping response parents tend to use in these situations.

SUBSCALES

1. **Distress Reactions (DR).** These items reflect the degree to which adolescent perceive their parents experience distress when they express negative affect.

Scoring: Mean of: 1A, 2D, 3F, 4D, 5A, 6B, 7F, 8A, 9D.

2. **Punitive Reactions (PR).** These items reflect the degree to which adolescent perceive their parents respond with punitive reactions that decrease parental exposure or need to deal with the negative emotions of their children.

Scoring: Mean of: 1E, 2F, 3B, 4C, 5E, 6C, 7B, 8E, 9C.

3. **Expressive Encouragement (EE).** These items reflect the degree to which adolescent perceive that their parents encourage them to express negative affect or the degree to which they validate children's negative emotional states (i.e., "it's ok to feel sad.")

Scoring: Mean of: 1B, 2C, 3E, 4F, 5B, 6D, 7E, 8B, 9E.

4. **Emotion-Focused Reactions (EFR).** These items reflect the degree to which adolescent perceive that their parents respond with strategies that are designed to help their children feel better (i.e., oriented towards affecting the child's negative feelings).

Scoring: Mean of: 1C, 2B, 3C, 4A, 5C, 6F, 7D, 8C, 9A.

5. **Problem-Focused Reactions (PFR).** These items reflect the degree to which adolescent perceive that their parents help their children solve the problem that caused their distress (i.e., oriented towards helping the child solve his/her problem or coping with a stressor).

Scoring: Mean of: 1F, 2E, 3A, 4B, 5F, 6E, 7A, 8F, 9B.

6. **Minimization Reactions (MR).** These items reflect the degree to which adolescents perceive their parents minimize the seriousness of the situation or devalue their children's problem or distressful reaction.

Scoring: Mean of: 1D, 2A, 3D, 4E, 5D, 6A, 7C, 8D, 9F.

Adolescents' Perceptions of Parent Attitude/Behavior Questionnaire (**Mother**
Version)

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

 Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

1. When my mother saw me become angry at a close friend, she usually:

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| a. became uncomfortable and uneasy in dealing with my anger | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. encouraged me to express my anger | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. talked to me to calm me down | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. told me not to make such a big deal out of it | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. got angry at me for losing my temper | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. helped me think of things to do to solve the problem | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

2. When I got down because I had a bad day, my mother usually:

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| a. told me I really had nothing to be sad about | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. tried to get me to think of the good things that had happened | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. listened to me talk about my feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. became obviously uncomfortable when she saw I'm feeling down | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. helped me think of things to do to get my problem solved | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. told me to straighten up and stop sulking around the house | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

3. When I got anxious about performing in a recital or a sporting event, my mother usually:

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| a. helped me think of things to do to make sure I do my best | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. yelled at me for becoming so anxious | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. tried to calm me down by helping me take my mind off things | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. told me not to make such a big deal out of it | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. encouraged me to talk about what was making me so anxious | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. got anxious about dealing with my nervousness | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

4. When I got angry because I couldn't get something I really wanted, my mother usually:

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| a. tried to make me feel better by making me laugh | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. helped me think of other ways to go about getting what I wanted | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. got upset with me for becoming so angry | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. became uncomfortable and didn't want to deal with me | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. told me I was being silly for getting so angry | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. encouraged me to talk about my angry feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

5. When I got sad because I had my feelings hurt by a friend, my mother usually:

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| a. got nervous dealing with my sad feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. encouraged me to talk about what was bothering me | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. tried to cheer me up | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. told me that things weren't as bad as they seemed | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. got angry at me for not being more in control of things | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. helped me think of ways to help make the problem better | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

6. When my mother saw me become anxious about something at school, she usually:
- | | |
|--|---------------|
| a. told me that I'm made too big a deal out of it | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. became nervous and uneasy in dealing with my anxiety | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. got angry at me for not dealing with things better | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. encouraged me to talk about what is making me nervous | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. helped me think of things to do to solve the problem | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. helped comfort and soothe my anxious feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
7. When I got angry at a family member, my mother:
- | | |
|---|---------------|
| a. tried to help us resolve the conflict | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. threaten to punish me | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. told me I'm over-reacting | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. tried to help me calm down | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. encouraged me to let my angry feelings out | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. became very uneasy and avoided dealing with me | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
8. When I got upset because I missed someone I cared about, my mother usually:
- | | |
|---|---------------|
| a. became nervous dealing with me and my feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. encouraged me to talk about my feelings for this person | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. tried to get me to think about other things | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. told me that I have nothing to be upset about | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. got upset with me for not being in control of my feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. helped me think of ways to get in touch with the person I miss | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
9. When I became nervous about some social situation that I had to face (such as a date or a party), my mother usually:
- | | |
|--|---------------|
| a. tried to calm me down by pointing out how much fun I would of had | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. gave me advice about what to do in the social situation | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. got angry at me for being so emotional | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. preferred not to deal with my nervousness | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. encouraged me to express my feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. told me I'm making a big deal out of nothing | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

Response Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Very Unlikely Medium Very Likely

Adolescents' Perceptions of Parent Attitude/Behavior Questionnaire (**Father** Version)

1. When my father saw me becoming angry at a close friend, he usually:
 - a. became uncomfortable and uneasy in dealing with my anger 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - b. encouraged me to express my anger 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - c. talked to me to calm me down 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - d. told me not to make such a big deal out of it 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - e. got angry at me for losing my temper 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - f. helped me think of things to do to solve the problem 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. When I got down because I had a bad day, my father usually:
 - a. told me I really had nothing to be sad about 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - b. tried to get me to think of the good things that had happened 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - c. listened to me talk about my feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - d. became obviously uncomfortable when he saw I'm feeling down 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - e. helped me think of things to do to get my problem solved 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - f. told me to straighten up and stop sulking around the house 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. When I got anxious about performing in a recital or a sporting event, my father usually:
 - a. helped me think of things to do to make sure I do my best 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - b. yelled at me for becoming so anxious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - c. tried to calm me down by helping me take my mind off things 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - d. told me not to make such a big deal out of it 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - e. encouraged me to talk about what was making me so anxious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - f. got anxious about dealing with my nervousness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. When I got angry because I couldn't get something I really wanted, my father usually:
 - a. tried to make me feel better by making me laugh 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - b. helped me think of other ways to go about getting what I wanted 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - c. got upset with me for becoming so angry 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - d. became uncomfortable and didn't want to deal with me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - e. told me I was being silly for getting so angry 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - f. encouraged me to talk about my angry feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. When I got sad because I had my feelings hurt by a friend, my father usually:
 - a. got nervous dealing with my sad feelings 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - b. encouraged me to talk about what was bothering me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - c. tried to cheer me up 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - d. told me that things weren't as bad as they seemed 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - e. got angry at me for not being more in control of things 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 - f. helped me think of ways to help make the problem better 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. When my father saw me become anxious about something at school, he usually:
- | | |
|--|---------------|
| a. told me that I made too big a deal out of it | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. became nervous and uneasy in dealing with my anxiety | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. got angry at me for not dealing with things better | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. encouraged me to talk about what is making me nervous | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. helped me think of things to do to solve the problem | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. helped comfort and soothe my anxious feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
7. When I got angry at a family member, my father:
- | | |
|---|---------------|
| a. tried to help us resolve the conflict | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. threaten to punish me | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. told me I'm over-reacting | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. tried to help me calm down | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. encouraged me to let my angry feelings out | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. became very uneasy and avoided dealing with me | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
8. When I got upset because I missed someone I cared about, my father usually:
- | | |
|---|---------------|
| a. became nervous dealing with me and my feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. encouraged me to talk about my feelings for this person | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. tried to get me to think about other things | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. told me that I have nothing to be upset about | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. got upset with me for not being in control of my feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. helped me think of ways to get in touch with the person I miss | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
9. When I became nervous about some social situation that I had to face (such as a date or a party), my father usually:
- | | |
|--|---------------|
| a. tried to calm me down by pointing out how much fun I would of had | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. gave me advice about what to do in the social situation | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. got angry at me for being so emotional | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. preferred not to deal with my nervousness | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. encouraged me to express my feelings | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. told me I'm making a big deal out of nothing | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

Fabes, R.A., & Eisenberg, N. (1998). The Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale-Adolescent Perception Version: Procedures and scoring. Available from authors. Arizona State University.

APPENDIX B
BECK ANXIETY INVENTORY

Below is a list of common symptoms of anxiety. Please carefully read each item in the list. Indicate how much you have been bothered by that symptom during the past month, including today, by checking the box in the column next to each symptom.

	Not At All	Mildly but it didn't bother me much	Moderately - it wasn't pleasant at times	Severely – it bothered me a lot
Numbness or tingling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Feeling hot	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wobbliness in legs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unable to relax	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fear of worst happening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dizzy or lightheaded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Heart pounding/racing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unsteady	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Terrified or afraid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nervous	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Feeling of choking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hands trembling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Shaky / unsteady	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fear of losing control	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Difficulty in breathing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fear of dying	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Scared	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Indigestion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Faint / lightheaded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Face flushed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Hot/cold
sweats

Beck, A.T., Epstein, N., Brown, G., Steer, R., & Kazdin, A. (1988). An Inventory for Measuring Clinical Anxiety: Psychometric Properties. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 56*(6), 893-897.

APPENDIX C
BECK DEPRESSION INVENTORY

Instructions: This questionnaire consists of 21 groups of statements. Please read each group of statements carefully, and then pick out the **one statement** in each group that best describes the way you have been feeling **the past two weeks, including today**. Circle the number beside the statement you have picked. If several statements in the group seem to apply equally well, circle the highest number for that group. Be sure that you do not choose more than one statement for any group.

1.
 - 0 I do not feel sad.
 - 1 I feel sad
 - 2 I am sad all the time and I can't snap out of it.
 - 3 I am so sad and unhappy that I can't stand it.
2.
 - 0 I am not particularly discouraged about the future.
 - 1 I feel discouraged about the future.
 - 2 I feel I have nothing to look forward to.
 - 3 I feel the future is hopeless and that things cannot improve.
3.
 - 0 I do not feel like a failure.
 - 1 I feel I have failed more than the average person.
 - 2 As I look back on my life, all I can see is a lot of failures.
 - 3 I feel I am a complete failure as a person.
4.
 - 0 I get as much satisfaction out of things as I used to.
 - 1 I don't enjoy things the way I used to.
 - 2 I don't get real satisfaction out of anything anymore.
 - 3 I am dissatisfied or bored with everything.
5.
 - 0 I don't feel particularly guilty
 - 1 I feel guilty a good part of the time.
 - 2 I feel quite guilty most of the time.
 - 3 I feel guilty all of the time.
6.
 - 0 I don't feel I am being punished.
 - 1 I feel I may be punished.
 - 2 I expect to be punished.
 - 3 I feel I am being punished.
7.
 - 0 I don't feel disappointed in myself.
 - 1 I am disappointed in myself.
 - 2 I am disgusted with myself.
 - 3 I hate myself.
8.
 - 0 I don't feel I am any worse than anybody else.

- 1 I am critical of myself for my weaknesses or mistakes.
 2 I blame myself all the time for my faults.
 3 I blame myself for everything bad that happens.
9.
 0 I don't have any thoughts of killing myself.
 1 I have thoughts of killing myself, but I would not carry them out.
 2 I would like to kill myself.
 3 I would kill myself if I had the chance.
10.
 0 I don't cry any more than usual.
 1 I cry more now than I used to.
 2 I cry all the time now.
 3 I used to be able to cry, but now I can't cry even though I want to.
11.
 0 I am no more irritated by things than I ever was.
 1 I am slightly more irritated now than usual.
 2 I am quite annoyed or irritated a good deal of the time.
 3 I feel irritated all the time.
12.
 0 I have not lost interest in other people.
 1 I am less interested in other people than I used to be.
 2 I have lost most of my interest in other people.
 3 I have lost all of my interest in other people.
13.
 0 I make decisions about as well as I ever could.
 1 I put off making decisions more than I used to.
 2 I have greater difficulty in making decisions more than I used to.
 3 I can't make decisions at all anymore.
14.
 0 I don't feel that I look any worse than I used to.
 1 I am worried that I am looking old or unattractive.
 2 I feel there are permanent changes in my appearance that make me look unattractive
 3 I believe that I look ugly.
15.
 0 I can work about as well as before.
 1 It takes an extra effort to get started at doing something.
 2 I have to push myself very hard to do anything.
 3 I can't do any work at all.
16.
 0 I can sleep as well as usual.
 1 I don't sleep as well as I used to.
 2 I wake up 1-2 hours earlier than usual and find it hard to get back to sleep

- 3 I wake up several hours earlier than I used to and cannot get back to sleep.
- 17.
- 0 I don't get more tired than usual.
 1 I get tired more easily than I used to.
 2 I get tired from doing almost anything.
 3 I am too tired to do anything.
- 18.
- 0 My appetite is no worse than usual.
 1 My appetite is not as good as it used to be.
 2 My appetite is much worse now.
 3 I have no appetite at all anymore.
- 19.
- 0 I haven't lost much weight, if any, lately.
 1 I have lost more than five pounds.
 2 I have lost more than ten pounds.
 3 I have lost more than fifteen pounds.
- 20.
- 0 I am no more worried about my health than usual.
 1 I am worried about physical problems like aches, pains, upset stomach, or constipation.
 2 I am very worried about physical problems and it's hard to think of much else.
 3 I am so worried about my physical problems that I cannot think of anything else.
- 21.
- 0 I have not noticed any recent change in my interest in sex.
 1 I am less interested in sex than I used to be.
 2 I have almost no interest in sex.
 3 I have lost interest in sex completely.

INTERPRETING THE BECK DEPRESSION INVENTORY

Now that you have completed the questionnaire, add up the score for each of the twenty-one questions by counting the number to the right of each question you marked. The highest possible total for the whole test would be sixty-three. This would mean you circled number three on all twenty-one questions. Since the lowest possible score for each question is zero, the lowest possible score for the test would be zero. This would mean you circles zero on each question. You can evaluate your depression according to the Table below.

Total Score _____ Levels of Depression

1-13 _____ Minimal depression
 14-19 _____ Mild depression
 20-28 _____ Moderate depression
 29-63 _____ Severe depression

Beck, A. T., Steer, R. A., & Brown, G. K. (1996). Manual for the Beck Depression Inventory-Second Edition. San Antonio, TX: The Psychological Corporation.

APPENDIX D
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Your age: _____

2. Your sex (circle one): Male Female

3. What is your ethnic background? (check one): _____Asian
 ____Black
 ____Caucasian
 ____Hispanic
 ____Native American
 ____Middle Eastern
 ____Biracial: _____
 ____Other: _____

4. The highest level of education your mother completed:
 - ___ Did not complete high school
 - ___ High school graduate
 - ___ Some college or trade school
 - ___ Graduated with a Bachelor's degree
 - ___ Some graduate school
 - ___ Graduate or professional degree

5. The highest level of education your father completed:
 - ___ Did not complete high school
 - ___ High school graduate
 - ___ Some college or trade school
 - ___ Graduated with a Bachelor's degree
 - ___ Some graduate school
 - ___ Graduate or professional degree

6. Did you live in the same house with your mother (or mother-figure) while growing up (i.e., ages 0-18 years)? ___Yes ____No
 - a. Was this person your biological mother? ___ Yes ___No
 - b. If not, what was her relationship to you? _____

7. Did you live with _____ in the same house with your father (or father-figure) while growing up (i.e., ages 0-18 years)? ___Yes ____No
 - a. Was this person your biological father? ___Yes ____No
 - b. If not, what was his relationship to you? _____

Developed by author

APPENDIX E
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

**Human Subjects Review Board
Department of Psychology
California State University,
San Bernardino**

PI: Ramirez, Cristina; Kamptner Laura
From: John P. Clapper
Project Title: Effects of early parental emotion socialization on internalizing behaviors in young adults
Project ID: H-16SU-08
Date: 9/13/16

Disposition: Administrative Review

Your IRB proposal is approved to include 150 participants. If you need additional participants, an addendum will be required. This approval is valid until 9/13/2017.

Good luck with your research!



John P. Clapper, Co-Chair
Psychology IRB Sub-Committee

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