

MATERNAL EMOTION REGULATION, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND  
SOCIAL CONTEXT AS PREDICTORS OF  
MATERNAL EMOTION SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES

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## Thesis Abstract

Fulya Aydın, “Maternal Emotion Regulation, Socio-Economic Status and Social Context as Predictors of Maternal Emotion Socialization Practices”

The aim of this study was to explore the role of maternal emotion regulation, socio-economic status and social context on maternal emotion socialization practices. Total of 73 mothers with 3-6 years old children were interviewed. Emotion socialization practices were measured by both Maternal Emotional Style Questionnaire filled out by mothers and 8 hypothetical vignettes constructed for this study. Vignettes depicted children in different situations experiencing the emotions of happiness, sadness, fear and anger. For each emotion there were two different vignettes, one private (including only the child and a family member) and one public (depicting the child and the mother with others such as friends, relatives). Pictures were drawn to accompany the vignettes and to help the mothers visualize the depicted scenario and the emotional expression of the child. Participating mothers also filled out The Parental Emotion Management Scale (PEMS) and The Short Temperament Scale for Children (STSC). Results showed significant effect of maternal education and mother’s own emotion management style on the emotion socialization strategies they used with their children. Mothers who had higher emotional dysregulation used higher levels of non-supportive strategies and evaluated the temperament of their children as more inflexible and reactive. Mothers with higher education level had a tendency to punish their children less and to encourage them to talk more about their emotions. Social context was also found to influence the usage of some of the socialization practices. Contrary to expectations punitive reactions were used more in the private context, while problem-focused strategies and expressive encouragement were utilized more in the public context.

Keywords: emotion socialization, emotion regulation, maternal education, social context.

## Tez Özeti

Fulya Aydın, “Annelerin Duygu Sosyalizasyonu Davranışlarının Belirleyicileri Olarak Kendi Duygularıyla Baş Etme Becerileri, Sosyo-Ekonomik Düzey ve Sosyal Bağlamın Rolü”

Bu çalışmada, annelerin duygu sosyalizasyonu davranışlarını etkileyen faktörlerden annelerin kendi duygularıyla baş etme becerileri, sosyo-ekonomik düzey ve sosyal bağlamın rolü araştırılmıştır. 3-6 yaş arası çocuğu olan toplam 73 anne ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Duygu sosyalizasyonu davranışları; annelerin doldurduğu Annelerin Duygusal Stilleri Ölçeği (MESQ) ölçeği ve bu çalışma için oluşturulan 8 senaryonun yer aldığı resimler olmak üzere toplam iki yöntemle ölçülmüştür. Resimler hikâyelere eşlik etmesi ve annelerin tarif edilen senaryo ile çocuğun duygu ifadesini görselleştirmelerine yardımcı olması için çizilmiştir. Her bir duygu için biri özel bağlam (sadece çocuk ve aileden bir kişinin yer aldığı resimler) ve diğeri sosyal bağlam (anne ve çocuğu arkadaşlar veya akrabalar gibi bir topluluk içinde gösteren resimler) olmak üzere iki farklı resim oluşturulmuştur. Katılımcı anneler ayrıca Ebeveynlerin Duygu Yönetimi Ölçeği (PEMS) ve Çocuklar için Kısa Mizaç Ölçeği’ni (STSC) doldurmuşlardır. Sonuçlar, annelerin eğitim düzeyleri ve kendi duygularıyla baş etme becerilerinin, çocukları için uyguladıkları duygu sosyalizasyonu stratejileri üzerinde önemli etkisi olduğunu göstermiştir. Kendi duygularıyla baş etme becerileri iyi olmayan annelerin, çocuklarının duygularını desteklemeyen stratejileri daha sık kullandığı ve çocuklarını esnek olmayan ve tepkisel mizaç özelliklerine sahip olarak nitelendirdikleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Eğitim düzeyi yüksek olan annelerin çocuklarını daha az cezalandırma eğiliminde oldukları ve onları duygularını ifade etme konusunda daha fazla cesaretlendirdikleri bulunmuştur. Ayrıca sosyal bağlamın bazı sosyalizasyon davranışlarının kullanımını etkilediği görülmüştür. Beklenilenin aksine, sosyal bağlamda problem odaklı stratejiler ve duygu ifadesini cesaretlendirme stratejileri daha sık kullanılırken, cezalandırıcı stratejiler özel bağlamda daha fazla kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: duygu sosyalizasyonu, duygu regülasyonu, annenin eğitimi, sosyal bağlam.

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Emotion socialization is an extending field of research that aims to understand the possible mechanisms of how emotions of children are processed in the family. Parental emotion socialization includes “teaching children about the emotion itself, its causes, consequences, its expression and regulation” (Eisenberg, Cumberland and Spinrad, 1998a, p.245). Appropriate processing of emotion in the family helps children to be socially and emotionally competent (Eisenberg et al., 1998a). Additionally, inappropriate emotion socialization is regarded as the beginning of internalizing and externalizing problems for children as well as other types of psychopathology (Suveg, 2003).

In this process, childrens’ emotional development is influenced from parental reactions to their negative emotions that include supportive coping strategies like emotion-focused, problem focused strategies and encouraging the expression of emotions or non-supportive strategies like minimizing or punishing the child for experiencing and expressing a negative emotion (Eisenberg et al., 1998a; Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg, & Madden-Derdich, 2002).

Parents’ emotion socialization practices are shaped through certain dynamics that are mostly related to their personal and parental features like personality, emotion regulation ability and their emotion-related parenting beliefs and styles (Eisenberg et al., 1998a; Gottman and Katz, 1996). The dynamics that influence parental behaviors still remain unclear in the emotion socialization literature (Gondoli and Braungart-Rieker, 1998). Childrens’ characteristics like age, gender and temperament are also contributing factors on parents’ attitudes as part of dyadic processes (Lengua and Kovacs, 2005). In addition to family characteristics, culture plays a determining role in parental behavior that shapes beliefs, attitudes and behavior in social contexts (Eisenberg et al., 1998a). When studying emotions

and emotion socialization Parke and Mc Dowell (1998) mention that a study without considering the role of emotion on culture would have possible limitations.

In this study, these three contributors are investigated that parental and contextual factors were directly examined; whereas childrens' possible contributions on parental behavior was explored. Initially, maternal characteristics like emotion regulation ability was studied that a mothers' emotional stability is directly related to establishing a consistent caregiver-child interaction (Greenberg, 2007; Holodynski, 2004). Another major aim of this study was to explore the impact of social context on parental emotion socialization practices in Turkish culture. Although there are significant studies on emotion socialization practices (Atay, 2009) and parenting practices in Turkey (Çatay, 2005), the interaction of social context, emotions and parenting practices were firstly studied together. In addition, childrens' characteristics like temperament were also considered as a substantial aspect to be explored. Therefore, this study provided a framework with different dimensions of parenting, children and culture to better understand the process of emotion socialization. Through the findings in this research, it is possible to generate increased body of knowledge on practice by providing parents educative-supportive group experiences with emotion knowledge for themselves and their children.

## CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

For exploring the factors underlying emotion socialization, two models are extensively used. One of them is the meta-emotion philosophy that Gottman, Katz and Hooven (1996) have proposed. This philosophy is based on categorizations and dimensions of how parents emotionally communicate in the family. The other model is a heuristic model that Eisenberg et al. (1998a) have offered. It helps to clarify the components of emotion-related parenting practices. The predictor and moderating factors of emotion-related parenting practices are well established. Additionally, the outcomes of these practices on children are discussed in details.

### *Meta-Emotion Philosophy*

Gottman, Katz and Hooven (1996) have introduced the term meta-emotion which is conceptualized as “organized set of feelings and thoughts about ones’ own emotions and ones’ childrens’ emotions” (Gottman et al., 1996, p. 243). This concept is not totally separate from parenting practices. However, it goes beyond the existing evidence on parenting practices. Since, as Gottman et al. (1996) pointed, the research on parenting practices focuses on discipline strategies like setting the limits, boundaries and other behavioral considerations. Meta-emotion philosophy provides more specific guidelines for understanding emotional experiences of the members in the family.

In this approach, the parents who are interested in their own and their childrens’ emotions and who provide a space for discussing emotions in the family are called emotion-coachers. Gottman et al. (1996) presents five elements of the emotion-coaching philosophy that are: a) awareness of emotions both in parents themselves and their childrens, b) considering negative emotions for a time to get closer with the child and to teach about emotions, c) validating the child’s emotion, d) helping the child to label his/her own

emotions, and e) providing the child guidelines and strategies for problem solving and setting boundaries that help the child to overcome the negative emotions.

### *Emotion-Related Parenting Styles*

Gottman (1996) defines four types of emotion-related parenting styles that are emotion-coaching, laizzes-faire, emotion dismissing and emotion disapproving styles.

Emotion coaching is the most adaptive parenting that includes the awareness of parents' own emotions as well as their childrens' emotions. In these families, emotions are valued and accepted. Therefore, parents listen to their children empathically. Emotions are labeled and validated. Additionally, parents view emotion-loaded situations and events as an opportunity for intimacy with their child. They also help their children for developing problem solving skills.

Similarly, in laizzes-faire parenting, parents are aware of their own emotions and also their childrens'. When the child is confronted with an emotional or social problem, parents accept the emotions of the situation. However, this parenting style has less emphasis on setting behavioral limits on their children. Parents do not take an active role in establishing boundaries for children.

In emotion-dismissing style, parents are less aware of their own and their childrens' emotions. Especially, emotions are not validated and also children are usually "trivialized" for their negative emotions. In addition, parents use no active strategy for solving the emotional and social problems of children. Therefore, behavioral shaping is not a significant parenting goal in these families.

Finally, in emotion disapproving parenting, parents are neither aware of their own nor their childrens' emotions. When children experience a social or emotional problem, they are criticized for expressing their negative emotions. In addition, parents reprimand or punish their children for talking about their emotions.

In the assessment process of these parenting styles, (Hakim-Larson, Parker, Lee, Goodwin and Voelker, 2006) this categorical thinking does not always result in significant differences. Hakim-Larson et al. (2006) states that dimensional thinking is better than categorization of parenting strategies. They offer the dimensions of active-passive parenting and approval-disapproval of emotions. From this perspective, emotion-coaching and emotion-disapproving parenting is based on active involvement for parenting strategies like setting boundaries. Laizzes-faire and emotion dismissing styles are on the passive line of this dimension that parents do not take an active role for behavioral change in their children.

The second dimension is based on approval or disapproval of emotions that in emotion-coaching and laizzes-faire parenting negative emotions are accepted and validated. However in dismissing and disapproving styles, parents do not accept or approve negative emotions.

### *Heuristic Model*

In this model, predictors of emotion-related parenting practices are identified such as the age, sex and temperament of the child as well as sex, personality, parenting style and emotion-related beliefs of parents. Cultural and contextual factors are also influential that include emotion-related norms, gender stereotypes and the intensity of emotion in a situation. According to Eisenberg et al (1998a) all these factors provide a base for emotion-related practices for parents that could be summarized in three aspects. These are parental reactions to childs' emotions, discussion of emotion and the degree of family expressivity. These factors have overlapping features and the evidence gathered so far has provided correlational data, not causal explanation.

Parental reaction to childs' emotions is considered as the most relevant and direct factor for understanding and measuring emotion socialization. Especially the negative emotions of anger and sadness have been studied that when children are punished or

discouraged for expressing them, they may not learn these emotions and the ways to cope with them in the future. Supportive reactions of the parents for the negative emotions have significant effect on the development of emotional coping skills of child. Eisenberg et. al. (1998a) groups the non-supportive reactions of parents in three categories that are punitive, minimizing and parental distress. In punitive reactions, parents do not need to process the negative emotion of the child and give the punishment just after the child's feeling and related behavior. In minimizing reactions, parents lower the significance of the event and emotion for the child. In parental distress, parents report of their uneasiness, distress when their children express negative emotions. All these reactions result in both parental avoidance and child's incompetence in coping with the existing emotion and situation.

Discussion of emotion is another factor that can be regarded as a second step of parental reactions to children's emotions. It is the space given to children to elaborate their emotions and the method of parents to create this space. One difference between discussion of emotion and parental reactions to children is the measurement methods. Parental reactions are usually measured through parent self-report, interviews (Suveg, 2003; Eisenberg, Fabes, Murphy, 1996; Eisenberg and Fabes, 1994). However, discussion of emotion is measured by giving the mother and the child an emotion-discussion task and coding them through several factors like the frequency of positive and negative emotion words. In a study (Fivush and Wang, 2005) that aims to investigate the cultural differences of discussion of emotion, Euro-American and Chinese mothers of 3 year-old children dyads were given two emotion discussion of a shared past event that one of them included highly positive emotions and the other included highly negative emotions. The results of the study indicated that mothers of both cultures used negative emotion words in a more varied form compared to positive emotion words. However, Chinese mothers used more negative emotion words compared to Euro-American mothers. Euro-American mothers used more negotiation method and more



time for discussion that is helpful for the child to feel that his/her emotions are independent of their mothers. Fivush and Wang (2005) point that negotiation method in American culture gives the child a chance to argue and disagree with his/her mother than Chinese mothers lead their children to agree with them.

The third dimension is family expressiveness which is regarded as an indirect way to assess emotion socialization. Family climate for the expression of emotions is influential in childrens' emotional understanding. However, there are incompatible research results on this dimension (Eisenberg et al., 1998a). Questionnaires on expressiveness and family discussion tasks are used as measurement methods. However, Nelson (2008) notes that this strategy is not a way to measure direct messages given to the child in the family. Therefore, it is unclear whether the expressiveness is directed on the child or to the spouses. The positive expressiveness in the family has positive influences on childrens' emotional expressivity. However, the effects of negative expressiveness in the family remain unclear and needs further exploration.

In studying maternal emotion socialization practices, only a few number of measurement tools are available. Given the lack of these limited measures, Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES) is the most widely used tool that fills the gap of appropriate instruments in the field of emotion socialization (Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg and Madden-Derdich, 2002). Although this scale is developed in the United States, there is a growing interest for the use and adaptation of it in different cultures like Turkey and France that they approve the appropriateness of this scale for relevant cultures (Atay, 2009; Coutu, Dubeau, Provost, Royer and Lavigueur, 2002) This scale consists of 12 scenarios including negative emotions of children experienced in the daily events. Children usually feel angry or upset in these scenarios. Each scenario assesses the parents' likelihood of reacting to childrens' negative emotions in six subcategories. These are problem-focused (PFC),

emotion-focused strategies (EFC), expressive encouragement (EE), punitive reactions (PR), minimization response (MR) and distress response (DR). The first three categories are elements of supportive strategies and the remaining three are non-supportive strategies.

Problem-focused strategies reflect the parents' tendency to solve the problems in an event that their children feel distressed. On the other hand, emotion-focused coping represents parents' effort to emotionally comfort their children by using soothing or distracting. Altshuler and Ruble (1989; cited in Fabes et. al. 2002) distinguish between these two categories that parents prefer problem-focused coping more when there are higher degrees of control and they apply emotion-focused coping more when there are lower degrees of control in events. Third is the expressive encouragement that refers to parents' encouragement of their children for open expressions of their negative emotions.

Minimization reaction subscale is related to parents' ignorance or devaluing their childrens' distress and negative emotions. The second non-supportive coping category is punitive reactions that refer to parental punishment of children due to their emotional displays. Punishment may either be verbal or physical. The third category distress response is the parents' level of stress felt when their child was emotionally distressed.

Expectedly, the supportive coping strategies of parents are found to be positively influential on childrens' social and emotional competencies; whereas non-supportive strategies have negative effects on competence and emotion regulation of children (Fabes, et. al. 2002).

In addition to these categories of emotion socialization, other works (Wang, 2001; Wang and Fivush, 2005; Wang, Leichtman and Davies, 2000) provide different aspects of parental interaction with childrens' emotions. In these studies, mother-child conversations of emotionally-salient events were coded. In these codings, reassuring is a strategy used on the basis of normalizing the situation for the child that can be evaluated as sub-category of

emotion-focused coping of CCNES. Since reassuring the child is a widely used supportive way of coping and it focuses on helping the child feel safe and secure and indirectly lower the intensity of emotions (Wang, 2001; Wang et. al. 2000; Wang and Fivush, 2005).

Another category Wang and Fivush (2005) provided was didactic talk. Similarly, this study was based on mother-child talk on emotionally salient past events. Didactic talk included mothers' talking to her child about moral standards, rules of behavior and discipline and her expectations to behave in a certain way.

Apart from using scales as only measurement tools, using coding systems to evaluate mother-child conversations, observations and maternal self reports provide the opportunity to cover culture-specific characteristics of parenting. Although there are few available research tools in this field and methodological difficulties for generating studies, the recent data provided from a field study reminds the significance and strength of maternal emotion socialization practices. In the study of Havinghurst, Wilson, Harley and Prior (2009), a parent training program "Tuning in to Kids" was evaluated in which parents were taught emotion coaching skills. Parents were given questionnaires before the program and then 10 weeks later. Parents completed Maternal Emotional Style Questionnaire (with factors of emotion coaching and emotion dismissing), Difficulties in Emotional Regulation Scale to assess their emotion management, The General Health Questionnaire and The Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory 6 to evaluate their childrens' behavior. Results revealed that there was an increasing emotion coaching and decreasing emotion dismissing in parents. The theoretical background of Gottman et. al. (1997) provided parents were trained for accepting, validating, empathizing with their children's emotions and helping them to solve problem situations and teaching them appropriate behavior. Findings indicated that there were remarkable changes in parents understanding of their childrens' emotions. Additionally, behavioral improvements of children were also observed due to the effects of parent training program.

## *The Influence of Maternal Emotion Socialization Practices on Children*

Studies on parental emotion socialization practices have a major interest for investigating their impact on children. Although child outcomes of emotion socialization practices are not the focus point of this study, it is significant to mention how children are affected from these processes and in turn how it is substantial for mothers to construct an emotion-based relation with their children.

Parental socialization of emotions influences children on their emotion regulation abilities, social competence (Denham et. al. 1997; Eisenberg et. al. 1998a; Gottman and Katz, 1996) and coping strategies (Gentzler, Contreras-Grau, Kenz and Weimer, 2005). Emotion regulation serves the function of processing the emotions on a physiological (like vagal suppression and cardiac functioning in the body), cognitive (such as paying or distracting attention where necessary) and behavioral level (e.g. displaying a socially appropriate behavior) (Eisenberg, 1996; Eisenberg and Spinrad, 2004; Eisenberg and Zhou, 2000; Hastings and De, 2008). Emotion regulation includes internal and external processes by monitoring, evaluating and modifying the experience and expression of emotions to achieve one persons' goals according to a social context (Thompson, 1994).

Emotion regulation processes in infants and toddlers are predominantly based on caregiver-child interaction (Holodynski, 2004; Greenberg, 2007; Gross and Muñoz, 1995). The emotions of a child trigger his/her mothers' emotions. Mothers respond to regulate them through providing an affective attunement. Regular and consistent interactions between mother and the child help children to develop self-regulation of emotions (Greenberg, 2007; Cole et. al. 2004). Therefore, intrapersonal regulation (internal regulation) in children are provided by interpersonal regulation (external regulation) (Eisenberg and Spinrad, 2004; Holodynski, 2004).

In this process, language plays a socializing role as children develop into preschool period (Gross and Muñoz, 1995) in which mothers directly teach their children culturally and contextually appropriate ways of managing their emotions (Eisenberg et. al. 1998b). In addition, children socialize through their extending environment of teachers and peers at preschool and begin to apply their emotion regulation strategies (Gross and Muñoz, 1995) as an indication of their social competence. Eisenberg et al. (1998a) define social and emotional competence as:

“an understanding of ones’ own and others’ emotions, the tendency to display emotion in a situationally and culturally appropriate manner, and the ability to inhibit or modulate experienced and expressed emotion and emotionally derived behavior as needed to achieve goals in a socially acceptable manner.” (Eisenberg et al., 1998, p. 242)

Social competence refers to applying appropriate problem-solving strategies in social contexts with peers where recognition and regulation of negative emotions are necessary (Denham and Burton, 1996). Therefore, the appropriate communication of negative emotions in the family is found to be significant for the social and emotional competence of the child in the long term.

In most studies (Denham et al., 1997; Eisenberg, Fabes, Shephard, Murphy and Reiser, 1999; Suveg, 2003), there is an emphasis on the processing of negative emotions rather than positive emotions. However, recent studies (Fivush and Wang, 2005; Lunkenheimer, Shields and Cortina, 2007) have also focused on positive emotions and found that the processing of positive emotions is also significant for the child to develop his/her own management style for negative emotions. Additionally, positive emotions are found to be linked with the generation of coping strategies for situations “requiring emotional competency” (Lunkenheimer et. al., 2007, p. 244) Therefore, generation of studies on positive emotions in addition to negative emotions are required for a more comprehensive framework of understanding parent-child interactions.

Maternal validation of childrens' negative emotions has been found to be helpful for childrens' emotion knowledge and their ability to overcome stress (Shipman et. al., 2004). In addition, the preschoolers who receive more explanation of emotions and non-punitive reactions from their mothers for their emotional distress of showing anger, sadness and fear are more likely to engage in prosocial behavior with their peers (Garner and Dunsmore, 2008; Roberts, 1999). The study of Gentzler et. al. (2005) also presents similar results for middle childhood that parents' emotionally open communication with their fifth grader children was associated with childrens' usage of more constructive strategies and their tendency to be emotionally expressive.

In the study of Ramsden and Hubbard (2002), the roles of family expressiveness and parental emotion coaching on child aggressiveness and child emotion regulation of fourth grade children were investigated that mothers' were given questionnaires of Family Expressiveness, Emotion Regulation Checklist and were interviewed with a part of meta-emotion interview (with factors of awareness, acceptance and coaching) for their childrens' sadness and anger. In this study, child aggression was assessed by teachers' ratings. Although direct influences of family expressiveness and parental emotion coaching on child aggression were not observed in this study, significant indirect effects were obtained. Findings initially indicated that higher level of negative family expressiveness in the family was associated with childrens' lower levels of emotion regulation. Furthermore, lower emotion regulation was related with childrens' higher aggression. Additionally, mothers' acceptance of sadness and anger were associated with higher emotion regulation that indicated lower aggression in children.

Conversely, non-supportive parental responses to negative emotions were found to be directly related to decrease in childrens' emotion knowledge (Nelson, 2008). In addition,

minimizing attitude of parents' towards the negative emotions of their children was linked with childrens' higher usage of avoidant coping strategies (Shipman et. al. 2007).

Similarly, in the study of Hastings and De (2008), a biopsychosocial model was tested that the relation between parental emotion socialization, preschoolers' self-regulation of emotions on a physiological level and their social competence were studied. It was found that the children who have less self-regulation capacities and whose mothers and fathers showed inattention and neglecting attitude to sadness and fear of their children were more prone to internalizing problems compared to children with higher self-regulation capacities. In addition, fathers' over reactions for anger was found to be associated with childrens' externalizing problems whose self-regulation capacities were found lower. Therefore, biological susceptibility of children for self-regulation of emotions were more open to be influenced from negative and ignoring reactions of parents toward discrete negative emotions of anger, sadness and fear which then predicts social competence of children in preschool.

Apart from studies in non-clinical samples, researches on clinical samples provide significant results for parents of children with anxiety-disorders (Suveg, Sood, Hudson and Kendall, 2008). In the study of Suveg et. al. (2008), parents of elementary school children in two groups were included. One of them was a diagnosed group of anxiety disorder (AD) according to DSM-IV (by the parent and child forms of the Anxiety Disorders Interview Schedule according to DSM-IV) and a non-diagnosed group (ND). When parents were given a task of emotion discussion of happiness, anger, sadness and fear with their children, different results were reached for parents of the AD and the ND group. The parents of AD group were found to be more discouraging of emotions and showing less positive affect compared to ND group. In line with these parenting practices, children in AD group applied less problem-solving strategies and less appropriate coping-strategies for anxious and angry situations compared to children in ND group. In addition, children with an anxiety disorder

are evaluated as more negative and labile by their mothers that in turn provide the results of childrens' intense experience of emotions and less self-efficacy to solve problems across contexts (Suveg and Zeman, 2004). Therefore, increasing body of research also provides evidence for the contributions of parental reactions to childrens' negative emotions on their emotion regulation processes and psychopathology (Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers and Robinson, 2007).

### *Maternal Emotion Regulation and Emotion Socialization*

Emotion regulation in adulthood is defined as “the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions” (Gross, 1998, p.274). It includes physiological, experiential and behavioral dimensions on the processing of emotions.

The most common emotion regulation goal of an individual is to increase the positive emotions and decrease the negative emotions. Gross (1998) mention that the individual is also seeking the opposite of this goal like decreasing the intense positive emotions. In this process, the inability to regulate these emotions is likely to result in certain mental and health problems. The ability to understand ones' own emotions are impaired as well as processing others' mental and emotional processes (Gross, 1998). For the purposes of this study, the impact of mothers' ability to regulate their own emotions on their maternal emotion socialization practices will be investigated.

Mothers' ability to understand their emotions, especially negative emotions, shapes the way they approach their children. Emotion socialization practices of maltreating mothers have been found to be significantly different from non-maltreating mothers (Shipman and Zeman, 2001). They are less interested in their childrens' emotional displays and also have difficulty in understanding their childrens' emotions. Additionally, they provide less support for emotion management of their children compared to non-maltreating mothers.



Mothers' emotion regulation also changes through the emotions expressed by their children in a specific situation (Martini, Root and Jenkins, 2004). In the study of Martini et. al. (2004) mothers were given six scenarios in which mothers feel angry, sad or anxious. They were asked to reply how likely they would regulate their emotional display when their children display anger, sadness and fear. Results indicated that when the mother was angry with her child and the child's response was displaying anger, then mothers' anger was also more likely to continue. However, mothers were more likely to stop being angry when their children display sadness or worry. In addition, mothers were more prone to say sorry for their anger when their children express sadness or fear. This study is significant for considering emotions, their regulation in situation-specific conditions (Martin, et. al. 2004) and as a dyadic process.

The most recent study on this issue is the work of Hughes and Gullone (2010). They worked on parental emotion socialization practices of mothers and fathers in Australia and their associations with parent personality and emotion regulation. Parents were given NEO-Five Factor Inventory (NEO-FFI-3), Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (ERQ), Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Questionnaire (CCNES) and Self-expression in the Family Questionnaire (SEFQ). Emotion Regulation Questionnaire was a 10 item questionnaire consisted of two factors that were cognitive reappraisal and expressive suppression. The emotion regulation styles of parents' were not found to be predictive of emotion socialization practices of parents. However, it was noted that mothers who use emotional suppression when regulating their emotions were more likely to use punitive and minimizing reactions, namely non-supportive strategies, for coping with their children's negative emotions. Conversely, mothers who use cognitive reappraisal for emotion regulation were more likely to apply supportive emotion socialization strategies. In addition, mothers with higher emotion regulation abilities (using reappraisal) were found to be using expressive encouragement

more. Furthermore, mothers who had a tendency to suppress their own emotions were less likely to encourage their childrens' emotional expression.

Additionally, the most recent study conducted in Turkey (Atay, 2009) provides rich conclusions on the importance of maternal emotional awareness. It has impacts on both maternal emotion socialization practices and child emotion regulation abilities. The mothers who have low emotional awareness of their own emotions were found to be applying more non-supportive strategies on their children and tended to evaluate them as more negative and instable (Atay, 2009) Mothers who have more alexithymic features were found to use more minimizing and punitive strategies for emotion socialization. They either did not prefer to or were not able to process their childrens' emotions as well as their own emotions.

Additionally, mothers who were low on emotional awareness were found to have a tendency to be easily dysregulated by the intense negative emotions of their children (Atay, 2009). In this process, they had difficulty in focusing their attention on their childrens' emotional needs and providing effective socialization strategies.

### *Socio-Economic Status and Emotional Parenting*

Expectations, values and attitudes of parents toward their children are influenced by their socio-economic status (SES) that consists of education level, occupation and income of people in the family (Dehart, Sroufe and Cooper, 2004). Socio-economic status is a contextual factor that goes beyond the influence of individual and cross-cultural factors on parenting (Le, Ceballo, Chao, Hill, Murry and Pinderhughes, 2008). More clearly, although parenting practices are influenced from individual differences and cultural values, socio-economic status, social class of parents impact their disciplining strategies and emotional perspectives of child-rearing.

In three components of socio-economic status –education level, occupation and income-, education level plays a central role for interpreting the relation between SES and parenting behaviors (Hoff-Ginsberg and Tardiff, 1995; cited in Bluestone and Tamis-LeMonda, 1999). In African- American middle class working mothers, maternal education level was found positively correlated with child-centered parenting and usage of more reasoning strategy which mean being attentive and more responsive to the needs of child and using more explanations for dealing with situations (Bluestone and Tamis-LeMonda, 1999). Similarly, Coleman and Karraker (2000) note that mothers with higher education have higher self-efficacy which refers to “providing children more adaptive, stimulating and nurturing child-rearing environment” (Coleman and Karraker, 2000, p.13). They also have broader knowledge on parenting practices and apply more successful parenting strategies for their children (Stevens, 1984). In addition, parents with higher socio-economic status provide their children with richer and longer conversations in a more responsive manner and they apply more varied teaching strategies (Hoff, 2003; Bradley and Corwyn, 2002).

Compared to the literature on socio-economic status and disciplining strategies of parents, evidence on the relation between socio-economic status and emotional parenting is rare especially on low-income mothers (Eisenberg, et. al. 1998a). In the study of Martini et. al. (2004) with low and middle income mothers, SES was found to be influential on even mothers’ own emotion regulation toward their childrens’ displays of anger or sadness. It was found that mothers in middle SES were more likely to control their hostile emotions like anger toward their childrens’ displays of anger, sadness and fear compared to low-income mothers. In addition, low-income mothers were found to be more controlling of their non-hostile emotions like sadness and fear when their children display anger compared to middle-income mothers. In other words, the significant common point in these results is the childs’ display of anger that middle-income mothers are less likely to display anger and more likely

to show sadness and fear whereas low-income mothers display anger more than they show sadness and fear towards their childrens' anger.

### *The Influence of Social Context on Parenting Practices*

#### Culture and Emotional Expression

Culture is a tool for shaping the interpretation of an individuals' self and others as well as the interaction of these two. This interpretation, then, forms their behaviors, motivations and emotions (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). In Western societies, *independent* self is more valued that stresses on the uniqueness and separateness of the individual in the group. Whereas, in collectivistic Eastern cultures, *interdependent* self is highly valued that relations with others in group harmony takes precedence over the unique individual (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

Expressions of emotions vary in cultures due to their value systems of individualism or collectivism (Matsumoto et. al, 2008). However, the multinational project of Matsumoto et. al. (2008) also provides universal conclusions on emotional display rules based on their findings from 32 countries and over five thousand university students around the world. People in all countries differentiated between in-group (private context) and out-group (public context) expression of emotions. The level of emotional expressivity was found to be lower in public context compared to private context in seven emotions of anger, contempt, disgust, fear, sadness, surprise and happiness. Additionally, fear, contempt and disgust were the least expressed emotions in both public and private contexts. On the other hand, sadness was found to be mostly expressed emotion in private contexts. Since, sadness is associated with vulnerability and expressing this emotion is likely to trigger helping behavior in private context.

In terms of cultural difference, individualistic cultures like USA and Canada were found to be more expressive of both positive and negative emotions in both in-groups and out-groups. Happiness and surprise is expressed relatively more in public context in individualistic cultures. In collectivistic cultures like Japan, both positive and negative emotions were expressed lower in both private and public context (Safdar, Friedlmeier, Matsumoto, Yoo, Kwantes, Kakai and Shigemasu, 2009). In individualistic cultures, expression of emotions is less context-specific and consistency between situations helps people to develop their authenticity (Safdar et. al. 2009). On the other hand, collectivistic cultures are more context-differentiating that demand distinctive expression of emotions as a norm to develop their identity by adaptively interacting with others (Safdar et. al. 2009; Matsumoto, Yoo and Fontaine, 2009).

These cultural values impact on socialization practices of parents (Eisenberg, Spinrad and Cumberland, 1998b). Parental socialization practices between Eastern and Western cultures such as Japan, China and United States have been contrasted (Eisenberg et. al., 1998b; Fivush et. al., 2005; Dennis, Cole, Zohn-Waxler, Mizuta, 2002). Dennis et. al. (2002) found differences between US and Japanese mother-child dyads in terms of action, speech, emotions and attention. Japanese mothers use more physical closeness and soothing; while U.S. mothers have more emphasis on their childrens' achievement abilities by using speech rather than action. Emotionally, Japanese mothers use more negative emotion words than U.S. mothers (Dennis et. al., 2002). Results are evaluated through autonomy and relatedness that autonomy is regarded as mothers' encouragement of their children for expressing individual experiences, value of uniqueness and less emphasis on mother-child role differentiation. Relatedness is based on the interaction of the self and other that mothers encourage their children to talk more about shared experiences, emphasize on mother-child role differences and do not prefer to openly express emotions. U.S. mothers attitudes found to be encouraging

independency of the child; whereas Japanese mothers emphasized more interpersonal harmony (Dennis et. al. 2002).

Similarly, Chinese mothers are more concerned with emotion socialization and teaching their children “more appropriate emotional reactions and regulation” compared to Euro-American mothers (Fivush and Wang, 2005, p. 502). Additionally, discussion of positive and negative emotions has different functions in both cultures. Positive emotion words are “confirmed” by mothers and it creates “a sense of bond with a shared past” and enhances the feeling of acceptance; whereas for negative emotions, the discussion is used to “understand the emotion and resolve the conflict in the situation” (Fivush and Wang, 2005, p. 502). Finally, results also indicate that mothers in US gave more emphasis on positive, while Japanese and Chinese mothers place more emphasis on the regulation of negative emotions (Fivush et. al., 2005; Dennis et. al. 2002).

Among all these concepts and cultural values, the situation of Turkish culture stands between these distinctive characteristics of individualism and collectivism. The concept of “autonomous-relational self” Kağıtçıbaşı (1996; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005) provided is illuminating and comprehensive for understanding the self-other relationship in Turkish culture. As a developing country, Turkish culture is surrounded with values of collectivism in Eastern cultures and individualism in Western cultures. As an encouragement of autonomy, education is highly valued especially in middle-class parents. Parents are motivating for their children’s success and there is growing body of interest parenting practices in Turkey. On the other hand, strong emotional bonds are expected in the family as a value of collectivism and relationality (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005). Relatedness and showing attention to the emotions of others are taught to children beginning from toddlerhood.

As Yağmurlu et. al (2009) noted in their study on socialization goals of mothers in Turkey, mothers value both individualistic and collectivistic norms. Self-actualization which

is based on children's self-confidence and insistence on achieving their goals in life was expressed to be expected in the future. These goals have a basis on autonomy and self-enhancement and independency. On the other hand, mothers also attached significance on lovingness (being a lovely person, closely and happily interacting with others), proper demeanor (showing appropriate behavior where necessary) and self-control (not harming others, controlling behaviors) socialization goals for their children. These goals have more collectivistic orientation that requires obedience and relatedness.

Therefore, in Turkey, the perspectives on parenting and the concept of self are embodied with both individualistic and collectivistic cultural norms rather than highly embracing autonomy in Western cultures or obedience in Eastern cultures. These features are harmonized in our culture. Emotional expression patterns are also similar to these culture-specific characteristics. Emotional expression is neither highly valued and considered as a norm as in Western cultures like United States nor it is highly masked or deamplified as in collectivistic cultures like Japan (Sunar, Boratav and Ataca, 2005). Positive emotions like happiness and relatively neutral emotion sadness are more freely expressed; However, negative emotions like anger and fear are regarded as dangerous emotions and they are usually played down and tried to be not shown (Sunar et. al., 2005).

### Social Context and Parenting

Social context is determining on emotional experience that the values of emotions, the intensity of emotions and emotion regulation strategy are organized (Cole et. al, 2004; Dennis, Cole, Zohn-Waxler and Mizuta, 2002; Eisenberg et. al., 1998b). More clearly, the kind of emotions that are deemed appropriate to express and how they will be expressed is partly determined by the cultural norms and the context (Matsumoto, Yoo and Fontaine, 2008). It is assumed that experience of emotions in different contexts is influential on

socialization practices of mothers. In the study of Dennis et. al. (2002), mother and preschool child dyads in U.S and Japan were observed during two different contexts. One of them was free-play and the other was a frustrating waiting task. Free-play task was mother and children's free play with age-appropriate toys provided by the researchers. In the frustrating waiting task, children were given a broken toy to play with and mothers were given a wrapped package that contains marbles for children. Children were told to wait for eight minutes until their mothers open the package for them. Maternal behaviors were coded through autonomy and relatedness. Autonomy included emphasis on individuality, positive responsiveness, activity as playmates and physical distance. Relatedness was coded based on suggestion, emphasis on mutuality, parallel activity and delayed response. Findings indicated that autonomy and relatedness were both present in maternal and child behavior that change in levels according to culture. However, these cultural differences were context-specific and more research on the impact of context was required (Dennis et. al. 2002). For instance, the waiting task was found demanding for the mothers of both cultures in which they relied more on their autonomy and expected more compliance.

In Turkey, no literature exists on the relations between parenting and social context. However, the study of Sunar et. al. (2005) provides rich conclusions for display rules of emotional expression in private and public contexts among university students. This study was part of the international project of Matsumoto et. al. (2008) that represented the findings in Turkey. Findings indicate that emotional expression is sensitive to social context and they are mostly downplayed in public contexts. Anger is found to be expressed more in private context compared to public context. In public context, anger was found to be more neutralized and lowered in intensity when expressed. Similar to anger, the emotions of contempt and fear were found to be more neutralized and deamplified in public contexts compared to private contexts. Happiness, surprise and sadness were found to be expressed more in both contexts.



### *Child Characteristics as Components of Maternal Socialization Practices*

Child characteristics like gender and temperament are also contributors of emotional parenting practices (Eisenberg et. al. 1998a). Since the literature provides mixed results on gender and temperament, the possible impacts of them on parenting needs further clarification.

In the study of Fivush, Brotzman, Buckner and Goodman (2000), parent-child dyads were observed on four past experiences that includes the emotions of happiness, fear, sadness and anger. A similarity between mothers and their daughters was found that they talked more about their emotions compared to fathers and their sons. For sadness, both mothers and fathers used more utterances to their daughters than their sons. Additionally, emotional expressions were found to be more in an interpersonal context for parent-daughter dyads compared to dyads of parents and their sons.

A self-report study on parents' emotion socialization for sadness of their preschooler children (Cassano, Perry-Parrish and Zeman, 2007) provides conclusions that fathers' minimization reactions are more frequent than mothers' reactions. In general, mothers are more expression encouraging for both genders compared to fathers. In this study, mothers were found to be using more problem-focused strategies for their daughters compared to fathers.

The studies described above (Cassano et. al. 2007; Fivush et. al., 2000) include an interesting dimension for emotion socialization of mothers on their daughters. Both studies stress that mothers use their emotional and cognitive resources for sadness regulation like using more utterances, communicating in a more interpersonal context (Fivush et. al. 2000) and using more problem-focused strategies (Cassano et. al. 2007). The mobilization of mothers may be due to the impact of sadness on people as a signal of help and vulnerability

that is expressed more in private context and therefore receives more attention by parents (Matsumoto et. al. 2008).

Finally, temperament is another child characteristic that requires attention to understand the relation between childrens' emotions and their parents' approach toward them.

Temperament is a complex construct to define that researchers have inspired from different theoretical backgrounds (Goldsmith, Buss, Plomin, Rothbart, Thomas, Chess, Hinde and McCall, 1987). Chess and Thomas (1986) were leading researchers to define temperament as the style of behavior in different contexts regardless of its motivation or content. Two children may have the same motivation for acting a particular behavior; however they may perform it in a completely different style. All these characteristics that constitute the "how of behavior" are called temperament (Goldsmith et. al., 1987, p. 508).

Chess and Thomas (1986; Dehart et. al., 2004) defined nine aspects of temperament that were *activity level* (mobility degree from highly active to inactive), *rhythmicity* (regularity of bodily functions like eating and sleeping), *approach-withdrawal* (first reactions to new people, places or situations), *adaptability* (ability to adaptate new situations regardless of the first reaction), *intensity* (the degree of reactions to emotional states or external situations), *threshold* (the degree of stimulus required for the child to respond), *mood* (general pattern of behaviors ranging from pleasant to unpleasant), *distractibility* (interruption tendency of the child for continual activities) and *persistence of attention* (the degree of engaging in an activity and keep attending on although interrupted).

These nine dimensions and the construct of temperament have been exposed to certain changes and debates (Goldsmith et. al., 1987; Paulussen-Hoogeboom, Stams, Hermanns & Peetsma, 2007). One of the recent and significant longitudinal studies is Australian Temperament Project (ATP; Prior, Sanson, Smart and Oberklaid, 2000) that is also based on the nine dimensions Chess and Thomas (1986) have worked on. In this project, overlapping

features of these dimensions have been found for early childhood period (3-8 years). Prior et. al. (2000) found four factors significant for preschoolers: Approach, inflexibility/reactivity, persistence and rhythmicity. Approach and rhythmicity refers to same constructs Chess and Thomas (1986) have defined. Persistence is the combination of distractibility and persistence of attention. Finally, inflexibility/reactivity refers to intensity of emotions. More clearly, temperament in early childhood is based on the bodily rhythm, attention span, sociability and emotionality of the child (Goldsmith, et. al. 1987).

In understanding how temperament affects childrens' internal states and their environment, Chess and Thomas (1986) defined the concepts of easy and difficult temperament. Easy child has more regular bodily rhythms like eating and sleeping, easily focuses his/her attention on a particular task, easily approaches new people and situations and has low intensity of emotions. By contrast, the difficult child has the tendency of more irregular bodily routines and lower attention as well as more withdrawal from people and intense emotional reactions for situations. Chess and Thomas (1986) point that these two definitions are not district categories; but rather they are dimensions for exploring parent-child interaction.

Chess and Thomas (1986; Goldsmith et. al. 1987) refer to the bidirectional pattern of child temperament in parent-child relationship. Parental socialization and child temperament have significant influences on childrens' social and emotional skills (Yağmurlu and Altan, 2009; Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Steinberg, Sessa, Avenevoli and Essex, 2002). On the other hand, through the concepts of easy and difficult child, parents' reactions toward their children also vary. In terms of emotional parenting, the parents who have children with difficult temperament traits are "bewildered, overwhelmed or angered by the caretaking difficulties they face day by day" (Chess and Thomas, 1986, p. 30).

In a longitudinal study of Lengua and Kovacs (2005), the associations between parenting and temperament of school-aged children were investigated. Temperament is evaluated as the elements of fearfulness, irritability, positive emotionality and self-regulation. Parenting consisted of acceptance, involvement and inconsistent discipline dimensions. Findings indicated that child irritability anticipated inconsistent discipline of parents. In line with this research, a meta-analytic study (Paulussen-Hoogeboom et. al., 2007) indicates that negative emotionality of the child predicts more restrictive control of parents. Additionally, positive emotionality and fearfulness of the child anticipated maternal acceptance (Lengua and Kovacs, 2005). Similar to the dimension of fearfulness, shy or withdrawn children in Turkey, received more responsive parenting that includes comforting the child in emotionally arousing situations (Yağmurlu and Altan, 2009). They provided more support in emotionally arousing situations and were more sensitive toward the signals of their children Therefore, negative emotionality and irritability of the child is likely to trigger more restrictive and inconsistent parenting practices; while positive emotionality and more withdrawn tendencies of the child is likely to evoke more responsive and accepting parenting practices.

### CHAPTER III: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

As discussed in the previous section multiple factors influence the emotion socialization practices of the mothers (Eisenberg et al., 1998a). At the individual level mothers' own emotion regulation ability and whether they prefer to acknowledge and process their emotions or they try to dismiss them affects the coping strategies they use with their children (Atay, 2009; Shipman and Zeman, 2001). Mothers with lower emotion regulation have a tendency to use more non-supportive strategies for their children's negative emotions, whereas mothers who have higher emotion regulation are likely to use supportive strategies and encouragement of emotional expression (Hughes and Gullone, 2010) In addition, mothers' education level is an important factor in the parenting strategies in general (Dehart et. al, 2004). Mothers with higher education provide their children with more child-centered parenting and they have more control over their emotions of anger and sadness when communicating their children (Coleman and Karraker, 2000; Martini et. al., 2004) Other lines of research also point to the importance of the social context in determining what types of strategies are preferred in specific contexts (Cole et. al, 2004; Dennis et. al., 2002). Since emotions are more expressed in private contexts compared to public contexts in many cultures (Matsumoto et. al. 2008). Finally, as the mother-child relationship is a dyadic relationship there are also child variables such as temperament. Child irritability anticipates more inconsistent parenting and additionally, more restrictive control of parents are observed when children have negative emotionality (Paulussen-Hoogeboom et. al. 2007; Lengua and Kovacs, 2005).

The present study aimed to investigate these variables to understand their relative influence on the socialization practices of mothers in Turkey for their preschool aged children. There are very few studies conducted on the emotion socialization practices of Turkish mothers (Yağmurlu et. al. 2009; Atay, 2009). How the social context influences these

practices whether mothers prefer different emotion socialization practices in public versus private contexts has also not been studied.

Another important contribution of this study is its methodology. Previous studies in the literature are mostly based on home or laboratory observations of mother-child interactions (Lunkenheimer et. al., 2007; Fivush and Wang, 2005; Denham et. al., 1997) and the use of self- report questionnaires for parental emotion socialization (Hakim-Larson et. al, 2006; Lagacé-Séguin et. al., 2005). Observation methods frequently rely on behavioral cues of emotions (Zeman, Klimes-Dougan, Cassano and Adrian, 2007) that includes the amount and frequency of facial expressions of emotions and emotion words used by mothers toward their children. The number of emotion words or facial expressions may not be comprehensive of the whole range of emotional parenting strategy the mothers use. In addition, observing the mother-child interaction may be anxiety-inducing and may influence the interaction between mothers and their children. Using questionnaires as the only method for assessing emotional parenting does not provide enough space for open expression of various strategies parents may employ for emotion socialization. In this study, emotion cards with scenarios were constructed. Mothers were asked to look at each of these cards that depict children express a basic emotion in reaction to a daily event such as a favorite toy being broken and they were asked to state what they would say to their children in this situation. Such a methodology could allow the mothers to express a number of different strategies and to be relatively uninhibited by the effect of being observed. In fact Peng, Nisbett, and Wong (1997) state that factors such as the status attributed to the observer may create validity problems in structured behavioral observation situations. This may be particularly an issue in collectivistic cultures. The authors suggested that the hypothetical scenario method “may be like a behavioral observation in controlled conditions where unwanted situational factors are minimized” (p. 341). It was further found that the hypothetical scenario procedure yielded the best criterion

validity estimates when compared with other self-report measurement methods such as ranking and rating.

In addition to the emotion cards and hypothetical scenarios a questionnaire that assesses maternal emotional styles was used in this study. The uses of multiple instruments (questionnaire and emotion cards that depict scenarios) were intended to complement each other.

The variables in the study are outlined below:

#### Independent Variables

- 1) The emotion regulation ability of the mother (measured by Parental Emotion Management Scale (PEMS) with the factors of Emotional Coping, Inhibition and Emotional Dysregulation on three emotions: anger, sadness and worry)
- 2) Social context (Private or public condition for experiencing emotions – measured by emotion cards on four emotions with two contexts each, public and private.)

#### Dependent Variable

- 1) Emotion-related parenting style of the mother (measured by two instruments that are:
  - a) Eight emotion cards with different scenarios on four emotions (happiness, anger, sadness and fear) in two contexts (private and public)
  - b) Maternal Emotional Styles Questionnaire – (MESQ) with the factors of Emotion Coaching and Emotion Dismissing)

#### Exploratory Variables

- A) Temperament of the child (measured by Short Temperament Scale for Children –

STSC with the factors of Inflexibility/Reactivity, Approach, Persistence and Rhythmicity – Only inflexibility/reactivity and approach subscales were used in the analysis.)

- B) Socio-economic status of the mother (assessed by the demographic form-education level and income are analyzed)
- C) Age of the mother (assessed by the demographic form)
- D) Gender of the child (assessed by the demographic form)
- E) Age of the child (assessed by the demographic form)

The hypotheses of the study are listed below.

1a- Mothers who cope more adaptively with their own emotions were expected to use more supportive strategies for their childrens' emotions. Supportive strategies include emotionally soothing, reassuring the child, helping him/her for problem-solving in emotionally arousing situations and encouraging children to talk about their emotions. Mothers who have a tendency to inhibit their emotions or who have emotional dysregulation were expected to use more non-supportive strategies that are based on invalidating the child's emotions by minimizing or punishing them.

1b- Mothers who have better coping ability with their emotions were expected to have an emotion-coaching style of parenting (as assessed by the MESQ) compared to mothers who have an inhibition or dysregulation tendency when coping with their emotions. In addition, mothers who do not adaptively cope with their emotions were expected to use more emotion-dismissing approach with their children.

2) Social context was expected to influence maternal emotion socialization practices. Mothers were presented with pictures depicting different scenarios where the child experienced four emotions; happiness, sadness, fear and anger. Every emotion took place in a daily event that



occurred in a private context (where only a family member and child are present) and in a public context (where other people such as visitors, relatives). Therefore;

2a – In the private context, the mothers were expected to better understand, accept and validate the negative emotions of their children and to use more supportive strategies.

2b – In the public context, the mothers were expected to use more didactic and non-supportive strategies for their children due to the expression norms of emotions in such contexts.

3) Difficult temperamental characteristics (children who experience emotions more intensely and who have more difficulty approaching new situations) were expected to be related with mothers' use of more emotion-dismissing style. Mothers with children who have a difficult temperament were also expected to use non-supportive strategies more frequently when coping with their childrens' emotions.

4) Mothers who have higher education level were expected to use supportive strategies more frequently and to have more emotion coaching parenting style. In addition, mothers with lower education level were expected to be applying non-supportive strategies and to have an emotion dismissing style.

5) No firm hypotheses were established for the age of the mother and gender and age of the child. The relationships of these variables to mothers' use of different coping strategies were explored.

## CHAPTER IV: METHOD

### *Participants*

In this study, total of 73 mothers with pre-school aged children were interviewed (including 10 mothers interviewed in the pilot study). Demographic information of the fathers who either died or were divorced from their wives were not collected due the difficulty of mothers' talking on this issue during interviews and therefore, the demographic information of fathers collected from mothers in this study is 68. Mothers were recruited through personal contacts. In addition, mothers were reached through one private, one public preschool and one art center in Izmir in which mothers brought their children for art courses.

The average size of the family was 3.59 ( $SD=.81$ ). 89% of the mothers reported that they lived with their nuclear family that consisted of mother, father and the child (children). 6.8% of the families included grandmother or grandfather in the family. The remaining 4.1% of the families were living with their nannies in the family. 93.2% of the mothers were still married at the time of the study and the remaining 6.8% either lost their husbands ( $N=2$ ) or were divorced ( $N=3$ ). The marriage years of the couples ( $N=68$ ) ranged between 4 and 27 years ( $M= 10.85$ ,  $SD= 4.8$ ). 43.8% of the families had only one child, whereas 50.7% had two and 5.5% had three children. Of the target children in this study (pre-school children) 54.8% of them were boys. Childrens' age ranged between 37 to 79 months ( $M = 64.20$ ,  $SD = 11.02$ ).

Mothers' age ranged between 23 and 49 years ( $M = 34.60$ ,  $SD = 5.27$ ). Age of fathers were between 27 and 57 ( $M = 37.99$ ,  $SD = 6.1$ ). 50.7% of mothers stated that they were from Izmir, 9.6% of them were from Manisa and the other mothers were from different regions of Turkey including Northern, Southern and Eastern parts. The average of education level was 11.99 years for mothers ( $SD= 4.34$ ) and 12.79 years for fathers ( $SD= 4.15$ ). In this profile, 48% of the mothers had university degree and above and 26% of the mothers had high school degree. The remaining 26% of the mothers had an education level of less than high school

degree. The fathers who had university degree and above constituted 45.2% of the sample. 32.9% of the fathers had high school degree. Fathers with less than high school degree were 15.1% of the whole sample. In terms of occupation profile, 47.9% of the mothers were housewives, and 37% of them were working in high status jobs like academicians at universities, managers in firms and finance consultants. 15.1% of them were working in low-status jobs like working in a café, coiffeurs and house cleaning. 56% of the fathers were working in high status jobs like academicians, medical doctors and managers; while %37 of them had lower status jobs like farm-workers, cleaners and officers. The total income of the family per month was reported to be less than 3000 TL for 53.4% of the sample; between 3000 and 5000 TL for 35.6% of the sample and the remaining 11% of the families had income above 5000TL per month. The demographic variables of the mothers, fathers and children are summarized in Table 1.

72.6 % of the mothers reported that they have not attended to any course or seminar on parenting. For applying to psychological services, 19.2% of the mothers pointed that they received psychological services for their children for either one session of pre-interview or for regular sessions. Mothers' motivations for seeking help included issues like the possible effects of divorce on their children, the impact of some medical operations their children experienced and gaining information about their childrens' any developmental problem. In addition to psychological strains, 30.1% of the mothers reported that their children experienced a medical problem that required medication or operation.

### *Instruments*

Demographic Information Form: This information included the mothers' age, education level, occupation, marital status; her husbands' age, education level, occupation, monthly income of the family; age and gender of her children, birth order of her children, any problem

Table 1 Demographic Characteristics

	Mean	<i>SD</i>
Maternal Age (years)	34.60	5.27
Paternal Age* (years)	37.99	6.1
Child Age (months)	64.20	11.02
Years of Marriage*	10.85	4.8
Family Size	3.59	.81
	N	<i>Percentage (%)</i>
Childs' gender		
Boy	40	54,8
Girl	33	45,2
Siblings		
Single Child	32	43,8
Two Children	37	50,7
Three Children	4	5,5
Maternal Education		
No education	1	1.4
Less than high school	18	24,6
High School	19	26,0
University/ 2 years college	27	37,0
Graduate School	8	11,0

\* N = 68

Table 1 Demographic Characteristics (Continued)

	N	Percentage (%)
<b>Paternal Education*</b>		
No education	0	0
Less than high school	11	15,1
High School	24	32,9
University/ 2 years college	22	30,1
Graduate School	11	15,1
<b>Maternal Employment</b>		
Not working	35	47,9
Low Status Work	11	15,1
High status Work	27	37,0
<b>Paternal Employment*</b>		
Not Working	0	0
Low Status Work	27	37,0
High Status Work	41	56,2
<b>Family Income (TL/month)</b>		
500-1000 TL	16	21,9
1000-3000 TL	23	31,5
3000-5000 TL	26	35,6
5000-10000 TL	4	5,5
Above 10000 TL	4	5,5

\* N = 68

experienced about her target child for the study so far and the hours of education the mother took for parenting practices.

The strategies mothers employ in managing their childrens' emotions were measured by their responses to the hypothetical scenarios constructed for this study. The coding system used in this study was adapted from three studies (Fabes, Poulin, Eisenberg and Madden-Derdich, 2002; Wang, Leichtman and Davies, 2000; Wang, 2001) that were based on assessing mothers' strategies for coping with their childrens' negative emotions. Additionally, this coding system was used in Turkey in the study of Atay (2009), who added a category to this system. The coding system Atay (2009) used consisted of CCNES subscales (Fabes et.al. 2002), namely three supportive and three non-supportive strategies. Atay (2009) inserted the subcategory of reassurance into the emotion-focused category of Fabes and developed the didactic talk category as a separate category. Reassurance category was adapted from the studies of Wang (2001). Didactic talk category was added from Wang et. al. (2001). It included norms and display rule sub-category and reasoning and explanation sub-category.

In this study, the coding system Atay (2009) adapted was used. In addition, a sub category of social referencing was added to the category of didactic talk. Therefore, the coding system included 7 categories and some of them also have sub-categories. These were: 1) Emotion-focused coping with three categories of a-soothing, b-reassuring and c-distracting, (2) Problem Focused Coping: a-solution-offering, b-intervening, (3) Didactic Talk: a-reasoning and explanation, b-norms and display rule and c-social referencing, (4) Expressive Encouragement, (5) Minimization Reaction, (6) Punitive Reaction and (7) Distress Reaction. Examples of these categories are illustrated in Table 2.

Emotion-focused coping strategies have three subcategories. The first subcategory of soothing is based on lowering the intensity of emotions children experienced. Hugging, holding and kissing the child, making eye contact with the child to make him/her feel calmed

Table 2 Examples of Interview Responses

Emotion Focused Coping	A - Soothing (EFC-S)	"I soothe my child; I make eye contact and cuddle him/her."
	B - Reassuring (EFC-R)	"It's alright, I'm here, don't worry." "Our house is a safe place. No one can give you harm here."
	C - Distracting (EFC-D)	"When he/she is upset because of a friend, I take him/her to the grocer for a distraction."
Problem- Focused Coping	1 - Solution Offering (PFC-SO)	"We can buy a new book for you, or we can erase and fix this one." "You may play with other toys you like".
	2 - Intervening (PFC-I)	"I talk to the child who scratched the book. I ask the reason of this action and tell him/her that my child is upset about this."
Expressive Encouragement	EE	"Instead of suggesting to buy a new book, I prefer him/her to feel the sadness and stay in that emotion for a while. I do not want to pass off, I try to talk over."
Didactic Talk	Reasoning and Explanation (Did-R)	"These monsters are produced in computers." "Your friend has to leave us now, because s/he has homework for tomorrow".
	Norms and Display Rule (Did-N)	"Your friend may have scratched your book, but he/she is our guest. It would be impolite if you get angry." "You should thank your uncle for he took this present for you."
	Social Referencing (Did-SR)	"Look at Ali, he is not crying. No child else is crying here." "All children around here are trying. You should try, too."
Minimization Reaction	MR	"I cannot understand what is worth crying here." "Nothing will change if you cry, stop crying." "This is not a scary monster, why are you scared?"
Punitive Reaction	PR	"If you keep on crying like this, you'll be alone. No one will come to play with you." "Go to your room and don't get out till you stop crying."
Distress Reaction	DR	"When he/she is scared, I get worried." "I get angry when he becomes angry." "This is a very stressful situation to deal with."

down are examples of soothing. The second category of emotion- focused coping is reassuring that relies on comforting the child, helping him/her to feel relaxed. Distraction method refers to stopping the event or situation that upsets the child and directing the child's attention to a different direction.

Problem- focused coping strategies have two categories which are solution offering and intervening. Solution offering is helping the child cope with the event that occurs around an emotion by offering him/her what to do in that situation. The intervening strategy includes mothers' active role taking in the solution of a problem. The mother does not activate her child to solve the problem, but rather she prefers to take action in finding a solution.

Expressive Encouragement is the mothers' validation of her child's emotions and tendency to encourage her child to talk about this emotion by asking questions about that emotion or by using empathic expressions for that emotion. The strategies explained so far constitutes the supportive strategies mothers used.

Another category is didactic talk (Wang, 2001) which is added to the category system of Fabes et. al (2002) in the study of Atay (2009) in Turkey. It has two subcategories. Reasoning and explanation refers to mothers' intention to explain the possible reasons for particular situation occurring around an emotion. Norms and display rule refer to mothers' teaching their children about the behavioral and social norms when coping with their emotions. In didactic talk category, the sub-category of social referencing was added for this study which was found as a separate category in the pilot study. Social referencing refers to mothers' intention to point to other children's or adults' behaviors to normalize the situation and to teach the child how they can behave as other people did. This method was especially used in the public context scenario where the child experienced fear at the top of a high slide. In this scenario, mothers in the pilot study responded like they told their child to look at other children to see how they glide and try to enjoy the game by observing how other children



tried. This category was added to explore the commonality of this method in other emotion-laden situations.

The final category is the non-supportive strategies including two aspects that are minimization response and punitive reactions. Minimization is the mothers' ignorance of the emotion or emotional expression of her child. Lowering the significance of the event is regarded as minimization. Punitive reactions include mothers' punishing, judging and accusatory attitude toward her child for a particular emotion or emotional expression.

The category of distress reaction refers to mothers' expressing their own distress in the face of their children expressing a particular emotion. It includes mothers' negative feelings or worry about dealing with emotion-loaded situations her child experiences (See Table 2 for examples).

In reliability-validity work of CCNES (Fabes, et. al. 2002), internal reliability estimates were reported as acceptable. Cronbach alphas were reported as .78 for problem-focused coping, .80 for emotion-focused coping, .85 for expressive encouragement, .78 for minimization responses, and .69. for punitive reactions and .70 for distress reactions. Construct validity of CCNES is established through the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, Parental Control Scale, Parent Attitude toward Children's Expressiveness Scale, and Parental Anger. The values of  $r$  were reported to be ranging from .22 to .45. Categories of CCNES were found to be theoretically compatible with other scales.

In the study of Atay (2009), these scale categories were used as a coding system and therefore, interrater reliability was estimated. The Kappa value of two coders' interrater reliability was reported as .77.

In the present study, Kappa value of interrater reliability of two coders' was .76. Details of this coding process are presented under the title of "Coding of the Interviews" in the procedure section.

Maternal Emotional Style Questionnaire (MESQ): This scale is developed by Lagacé-Séguin and Coplan (2005) as a short and easily administered tool for assessing maternal emotional styles. MESQ has 14 items and two factors that are emotion coaching (EC) and emotion dismissing (ED). There are seven items for EC parenting styles like “When my child is sad, it’s time to get close.” and “When my child is angry, I take some time to experience this feeling with him/her.” ED parenting style also includes seven items like “When my child is angry, my goal is to make him/her stop” and “Childhood is a happy-go-lucky time, not a time to feel sad or angry.” The questionnaire includes the emotions of sadness and anger. It is a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The full version of Maternal Emotional Style Questionnaire is presented in Appendix D.

The Cronbach’s alpha value for emotion dismissing (ED) dimension is reported by Lagacé-Séguin and Coplan (2005) to be .92. The alpha value for emotion coaching (EC) dimension is .90. Therefore, the scale has strong psychometric properties.

The questionnaire is translated into Turkish by the author. An experienced interpreter who is bilingual in Turkish and English helped in the back translation process. No major problems were encountered. The Cronbach’s alpha value for emotion dismissing dimension in this study was .70 and for emotion coaching dimension was .66.

Parent’s Emotion Management Scale (PEMS): This scale is the adapted version of the Children’s Emotion Management Scale (CEMS) for parents (Suveg, 2003). CEMS is based on three emotions that are sadness, anger and worry. It was firstly developed for only sadness and anger for understanding the school childrens’ approaches and the ways of managing these emotions (Zeman, Shipman and Penza-Clyve, 2002). The scale for worry was developed for the final dissertation study of Suveg (2003) which is recently studied for its reliability and validity (Zeman, Cassano, Suveg and Shipman, 2009).

CEMS has three factors that are inhibition, dysregulated-expression and emotion regulation coping. The inhibition factor includes items like “I hold my sad feelings in”. The dysregulated-expression factor consists of items like “I cry and carry on when I’m sad.” Finally, the emotion regulation coping factor has items like “I try to calmly deal with what is making me mad.” and “I talk to someone until I feel better when I’m feeling worried.” The sadness, anger and worry scales have 12, 11 and 10 items respectively. The worry scale constructed for the study of Suveg (2003) included 15 items, however, in the original validation study the items were reduced to 10. It is a three point Likert scale ranging from 1 (hardly ever) to 3 (often). (See Appendix E for the items of Parent’s Emotion Management Scale).

Internal reliability estimates of CEMS in the study of Suveg (2003) for anger and sadness in three coping methods of coping, inhibition and dysregulation were as follows. Reliability coefficients for anger were .47 for inhibition, .43 for dysregulation and .67 for coping. These values for sadness were .61, .55 and .62 for inhibition, dysregulation and coping, respectively. The reliability coefficients of the scale for worry which was constructed for the study of Suveg (2003) were .67, .58 and .17 for inhibition, dysregulation and coping, respectively. In general, internal reliability coefficients of CEMS were moderate to low. However, in a recent study of Zeman et. al. (2009), reliability and validity of worry scale was conducted. Reliability coefficients in this study were reported as .74 for inhibition, .72 for dysregulation and .69 for coping.

Parent’s Emotion Management Scale has been developed for the research purposes of the final dissertation of Suveg (2003). It has the same factors and same Likert scale range with CEMS. Also the parent’s worry scale constructed for the study of Suveg (2003) has 15 items and in the present study this version was used.

Internal consistency of PEMS for the emotions of Worry, Anger and Sadness were reported as follows, respectively: Inhibition (.76, .84, .69), Dysregulation (.52, .38, .36) and Coping (.77, .75, .34).

This scale is also translated into Turkish by the author. An experienced translator who is bilingual in Turkish and English worked in the back translation process. No significant problem occurred in this process.

The reliability analysis has been conducted for all subscales. The Cronbach's alpha value for coping, inhibition and dysregulation in this study were found to be .82, .86 and .73, respectively. The reliability estimates in this study were higher than the coefficients in the original works of the scale.

Child Temperament: The Turkish version of The Short Temperament Scale for Children was used in this study (Prior, Sanson and Oberklaid, 1989; cited in Yağmurlu and Sanson, 2009). The Turkish version of the scale was developed by Yağmurlu and Sanson (2009). The scale consists of 30 items and is rated on a 6- point scale ranging from 1 (almost never) to 6 (almost always). It includes four factors for measuring child temperament: Inflexibility/Reactivity, Persistence, Approach and Rhythmicity. Inflexibility/reactivity refers to the child's tendency to behaviorally react to the events and to demonstrate his/her reaction (e.g. "When my child objects to wearing certain clothing, s/he argues loudly or cries."). Persistence is related to the child's attention span and interest in doing things for a period (e.g. "When a toy or game is difficult, my child quickly turns to another activity."). Approach is the child's tendency to approach or withdraw from new situations and people (e.g. "My child is shy when meeting new children."). Rhythmicity is the child's daily and routine rhythm for his/her needs like eating and sleeping behavior (e.g. "My child asks for or takes a snack about the same time each day."). All items of Short Temperament Scale for Children are presented in Appendix F.

The internal consistency of the original scale (Sanson et al., 1994) was found to be adequate that are .85 for the Approach dimension, .83 for Persistence, .82 for Inflexibility and .69 for Rhythmicity. In the Turkish version of the scale (Yagmurlu and Altan, 2009), internal consistency was reported as follows: .79 for Approach, .75 for Persistence, .69 for Inflexibility and .63 for Rhythmicity.

In this study, this scale was used to explore the relationship between mothers' emotional parenting practices and the temperamental characteristics of their children. In the analysis procedure, only two factors; approach/withdrawal and inflexibility/reactivity were used. The scale was coded so that higher scores referred to approach tendency and lower scores indicated withdrawal tendency of children. For inflexibility/reactivity subscale, all items except one in nine items were reversed. Higher scores on this subscale referred to the flexible characteristics of the child; whereas lower degrees meant more inflexible and reactive style.

### *Procedure*

The data of this study was collected by the author between April and June 2010. Initially, mothers were contacted by both personal contacts and through preschools by phone call. A brief explanation on the aim and content of the study was given to mothers on the phone. After they accepted to participate in the study, an appointment was arranged and mothers were interviewed in their home. Initially, informed consent form was given (see Appendix A for the informed consent form), and then demographic information form was completed by the author and the participant in an interview format where the author asked the questions. Then, emotion cards were presented in the same order to every participant. Initially, private context cards were presented for happiness, sadness, fear and anger respectively. Then, public context cards were shown in the same order. The scenarios of the

cards were read and mothers were asked the same questions for every card. The questions were “How does the child in this situation feel? Imagine that you experienced the same event with your child what would you tell your child and what would you do? How would you feel in that situation?” If the mother answered questions like “She never cries in that situation.” or “He is never scared of anything.”, then one more question for further exploration as asked: “Imagine that s/he is scared/cried in that situation, what you would tell him/her exactly?”

After the emotion cards were completed, mothers were given the scales to fill in the presented order: Maternal Emotional Styles Questionnaire (MESQ), Parent’s Emotion Management Scale (PEMS) and Short Temperament Scale for Children (STSC). If mothers had difficulty in understanding or reading the items, then the author helped the mothers and read or explained the items. All mothers were reminded to answer all the questions. Then, mothers were also reminded that they could ask any questions about the study after the interview.

#### Coding of the Interviews

The interviews were transcribed by the interviewer and to begin the coding process the interviewer was trained in the coding system by Zeynep Çatay Çalışkan and Feyza Çorapçı who had supervised Atays’ study (2009) using this system. In order to evaluate the reliability of the codings of the interviewer, three interviews from the study of Atay (2009) were coded and inter-rater reliability of Kappa was measured. Kappa value was .70 which was found to be adequate to begin the coding process. Then, a graduate psychology student was trained by the interviewer for the coding system. In this process, every sentence that was appropriate for coding was determined and coded independently. Then, 15 of 73 interviews were randomly selected and they were coded by both the interviewer and the graduate student to establish reliability. Inter-rater reliability of Kappa was measured. Kappa value was .76 which was an adequate reliability value for the graduate student to continue the remaining part of the

coding. Then, all the interviews were coded by the graduate coder. Only this coders' codings were used in the analysis.

### Pilot Study

In order to evaluate the appropriateness of the scenarios of the emotion cards, a pilot study was conducted with 10 mothers. All mothers were living in Izmir, married with children of ages between 3 and 6. Socio-economic status of mothers ranged from low to middle. In terms of education level two mothers were graduated from university and the remaining eight mothers had at least had primary school and at most high school degree. In terms of occupation, nine mothers including mothers with undergraduate degree were not working and the other mother was a worker in a factory.

All mothers in the study stated that the situations given in the scenarios were always part of their daily hassles at home. They were able to identify correctly the emotion depicted in the card and verbalize how they would respond to that emotion in their child.

Through analysis of mothers' responses 10 preliminary strategies were identified. They were acceptance of emotion, sharing the emotion, soothing, explanation/empathy with the other, problem solving/coping, social referencing, punishment for the expression, judging, disapproval of emotion and ignoring the expression. These categories were very similar to the categories of the coding system used by Atay (2009). Therefore, Atays' system was adopted in this study.

## CHAPTER V: RESULTS

### Interview Results

#### Emotion Socialization Practices of Mothers

In order to analyze the coded material obtained from the interviews, codings of 12 categories (including sub-categories of main strategies) were entered in the data set. Participants differed in the total number of strategies they used. Therefore, the percentage score of each category for each participant was computed through dividing the total number of times a participant used a certain category by the total number of categories she used in the analysis. The 12 subcategories could be grouped to yield seven main categories. To illustrate, a participants' profile in this study included 20% emotion-focused coping, 7.5% problem-focused coping, %5 expressive encouragement, 32.5% didactic-talk, %2.5 minimization response and % 32.5 punitive reaction. These seven main categories could in turn be grouped under three general categories, namely supportive, non-supportive and didactic talk categories. Different levels were used in different analyses. Means, standard deviations and minimum and maximum values of all categories are summarized in Table 3.

According to this profile, solution-offering (problem-focused coping), reasoning and explanation (didactic talk) and reassuring (emotion-focused coping) were the most frequently applied strategies. Solution-offering is the mothers' activation of her child's mind to find a solution to a problem situation that triggered a specific emotion such as when the child is angry at another child for writing in his/her notebook or when the child is sad for his/her broken toy. In didactic talk, reasoning and explanation strategy also serves the function of explaining children about the reasons of events such as why the guests in the house should leave home after a while. Mothers' usage of these two categories provides their children with more intellectual aspect of coping rather than emotional coping (Atay, 2009). On the other



Table 3 Descriptive Interview Profiles (Percentages, N=73)

	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Emotion Focused Coping_ Soothing	5,27	5,81	,00	26,70
Emotion Focused Coping_ Reassuring	14,62	6,70	,00	30,80
Emotion Focused Coping_ Distraction	4,57	4,58	,00	17,40
Problem Focused Coping_ Solution Offering	18,11	8,17	3,40	41,40
Problem Focused Coping_ Intervening	,59	1,31	,00	6,10
Expressive Encouragement	9,70	7,76	,00	32,60
Didactic Talk_ Reasoning and Explanation	23,65	9,08	6,60	50,00
Didactic Talk_ Norms and Display Rule	10,06	8,06	,00	36,40
Didactic Talk_ Social Referencing	,69	1,36	,00	6,50
Minimization Responses	4,33	4,67	,00	20,00
Punitive Reactions	6,94	8,35	,00	38,20
Distress Response	1,39	2,33	,00	8,80

hand, reassuring is an emotion-focused coping that helps children to feel safe in an emotion-laden situation.

Apart from these three categories, norms and display rule in didactic talk category was another relatively commonly used strategy in which mothers teach their children about the socially expected display of emotions in the specific situation.

### Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables

In the analysis of study variables, no missing data existed in the data set. Additionally, none of the interviews were extracted from the study. Therefore, total of 73 mothers constituted the final sample of the study. Means and standard deviations of MESQ, STSC and PEMS subscales are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4 Descriptives for MESQ, PEMS and STSC (N=73)

	Mean	<i>SD</i>	Min.	Max.
MESQ-Emotion Dismissing	26,16	4,70	15,00	34,00
MESQ-Emotion Coaching	28,02	3,86	18,00	35,00
STSC Approach-Withdrawal	32,63	6,83	11,00	42,00
STSC Inflexibility-Reactivity	38,26	8,01	11,00	51,00
PEMS Coping Score Mean*	2,35	,32	1,38	2,94
PEMS Inhibition Score Mean*	1,86	,40	1,07	2,86
PEMS Dysregulation Score Mean*	1,59	,38	1,00	2,50

\* Mean of item scores

### Correlations between Study Variables

Correlations between emotion socialization strategies mothers used, MESQ, PEMS factors were analyzed through a multiple correlation analysis. For this analysis, strategies in the interview profiles were collapsed into three categories that were supportive, non-supportive and didactic talk strategies. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 5.

In these results, there was a significant negative correlation between supportive strategies and non-supportive strategies ( $r = -.606, p < .01$ ) and didactic talk strategies ( $r = -.740, p < .01$ ). This is an expected finding that mothers who use supportive coping strategies are less likely to prefer non-supportive and didactic talk strategies.

Table 5 Correlations of Emotion Socialization Strategies, MESQ and PEMS

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Supportive Strategies	--	-,606	-,740	-,047	-,132	,034	-,028	-,237
2. Non-Supportive Strategies		--	-,086	-,075	,207	,095	,038	,200
3. Didactic Talk			--	,122	-,009	-,122	,002	,128
4. MESQ- Emotion Coaching				--	,221	,170	,183	-,096
5. MESQ- Emotion Dismissing					--	-,025	,083	,116
6. PEMS- Coping						--	,099	-,564
7. PEMS- Inhibition							--	-,136
8. PEMS- Dysregulation								--

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

A significant relationship was also found between supportive strategies and dysregulation subscale of PEMS ( $r = -.237, p < .05$ ). This finding indicated that mothers who experience less emotional dysregulation themselves use more supportive strategies when coping with their childrens' emotions. In addition, mothers' coping scale scores and dysregulation scale scores of PEMS were negatively correlated ( $r = -.564, p < .01$ ). That is to say mothers' who had higher coping abilities with their own emotions experienced lower dysregulation. These findings can be taken as the partial validation of the first hypothesis of this study. It was hypothesized that mothers who were better at regulating their emotions were expected to use more supportive strategies. Through these findings, it was found that the

mothers who have lower dysregulation were more likely to use more supportive strategies toward their children's emotional expressions.

No significant correlation was found between MESQ and PEMS. Therefore, the hypothesis that indicated that there would be a positive correlation between mothers' higher coping abilities (as assessed by PEMS) and higher emotion-coaching practices (as assessed by MESQ) as well as a positive correlation between their higher emotional dysregulation and higher emotion dismissing practices were not confirmed.

In addition, there was also no significant relationship between emotion socialization strategies and MESQ factors. These two methods were used to assess emotion socialization practices of mothers. Mothers' use of supportive strategies was expected to be positively correlated with higher emotion-coaching of mothers, and non-supportive practices of them were expected to be associated with more emotion dismissing practices. However, these were not found to be correlated. That is to say no significant relationship was found between the strategies mothers endorsed in the self-report questionnaire of MESQ and the strategies they expressed in relation to scenarios presented. However, some significant correlations were found between their own emotion coping capacities and their use of supportive strategies with their children.

#### Relations between Emotion Socialization Strategies and Social Context

In order to understand whether there was a difference in the strategies used by mothers in the private and public contexts, paired samples t-test was applied for seven categories of strategies and for the larger categories of supportive and non-supportive strategies in private and public contexts. The details of this analysis are presented in Table 6.

It was found that mothers used problem-focused strategies significantly more in private contexts compared to public contexts ( $t=3.68, p<.01$ ). By contrast, expressive

Table 6 Results of the Paired Samples t Test for Strategies and Social Context (N=73)

	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	p
EFC_Total_Private (%) –	87,58	43,04	-1,584	,118
EFC_Total_Public (%)	97,83	45,20		
PFC_Total_Private (%) –	86,01	44,04	3,680	,000
PFC_Total_Public (%)	63,09	40,84		
Didactic_Total_Private (%) –	137,24	62,45	-,576	,566
Didactic_Total_Public (%)	141,90	61,38		
Supportive_Private (%) -	208,38	72,75	-1,711	,091
Supportive_Public (%)	221,51	64,32		
Non_Supportive_Private (%) –	54,36	49,85	3,222	,002
Non_Supportive_Public (%)	36,57	37,85		
EE_Private (%) -	34,78	42,53	-4,939	,000
EE_Public (%)	60,58	42,18		
MR_Private (%) -	17,20	21,86	,969	,336
MR_Public (%)	14,39	21,05		
PR_Private (%) -	32,30	42,70	3,651	,000
PR_Public (%)	16,70	26,67		
DR_Private (%) -	4,86	13,62	-,278	,782
DR_Public (%)	5,47	12,73		

encouragement was found to be used more frequently in public context compared to private context ( $t = -4.93$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The use of supportive strategies was found to be higher in private context compared to public context. Supportive strategies included emotion-focused, problem

focused strategies and expressive encouragement. No significant result was obtained for the use of emotion-focused strategies across different contexts. Therefore, the hypothesis of context differentiation for supportive strategies was not totally confirmed that only usage of problem-focused strategies were in the expected direction.

Interestingly, punitive reactions of mothers was found to be used more frequently higher in private context compared to public context ( $t=3.65, p<.01$ ). There was also no significant difference between social contexts for minimization reaction. The hypothesis that mothers' minimizing and punitive reactions, namely non-supportive ways of coping, would be applied more in public context than private context was not confirmed.

In addition, no significant results were obtained for didactic talk strategy that was also expected to be higher in public context. Overall, same differentiation between the strategies used in public vs. private context were found. However, these differences were not in the expected direction.

#### Relationship between Demographic Variables and Study Variables

To investigate the relationship between the dependent variables and demographic characteristics two multiple correlation analysis were carried out. First analysis included demographic variables of mothers' age, child's age, number of children in the family, maternal education level and income level and factors of STSC, PEMS and MESQ. The second analysis included the same demographic characteristics, factors of STSC and 12 categories of emotion socialization practices of mothers. The results of these analyses are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

As presented in Table 7, maternal education level was found to be negatively correlated with the emotion dismissing factor of MESQ ( $r = -.241, p<.05$ ) which indicates that mothers who had higher level of education reported significantly less emotion-dismissing

Table 7 Correlations of Demographic Variables, STSC, PEMS and MESQ

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Mothers' Age	--	,217	,311**	,222	,072	-,016	-,024	,174	-,309**	,222	,003	,200
2. Childs' Age		--	,074	,057	,023	,150	-,162	,026	-,077	,130	,084	,082
3. Number of Children			--	-,189	-,077	,071	-,198	,181	,100	,042	,192	,035
4. Maternal Education Level				--	,703**	-,047	-,123	-,022	-,297*	,035	-,241*	,122
5. Income Level					--	,048	-,078	,134	-,331**	-,064	-,147	-,013
6. STSC Approach Withdrawal						--	,296*	,082	-,087	-,296*	,205	-,058
7. STSC Inflexibility Reactivity							--	,217	-,245*	,000	-,087	-,143
8. PEMS Coping								--	-,564**	,099	-,025	,170
9. PEMS Dysregulation									--	-,136	,116	-,096
10. PEMS Inhibition										--	,083	,183
11. MESQ Emotion Dismissing											--	,221
12. MESQ Emotion Coaching												--

Note. STSC: Short Temperament Scale for Children. PEMS: Parent's Emotion Management Scale. MESQ: Maternal Emotional Style Questionnaire.

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

Table 8 Correlations of Demographic Variables, STSC and Emotion Socialization Strategies

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
1. EFC-S	--	-,047	,034	-,001	-,010	,187	-,295*	-,344**	,193	-,158	-,148	,028	,094	,092	,106	-,024	,013	-,106	-,076	
2. EFC-R		--	-,098	,022	-,193	,044	-,098	-,134	,094	-,306**	-,430**	,267*	,053	-,090	-,292*	,091	,013	-,194	,000	
3. EFC-D			--	,083	-,038	-,223	-,244*	,068	,043	-,163	-,012	-,241*	,113	-,200	,263*	-,093	-,070	,037	-,059	
4. PFC-SO				--	-,044	-,028	-,399**	-,302**	-,088	,127	-,339**	,001	-,067	-,012	,033	-,138	-,105	,106	,213	
5. PFC-I					--	-,028	,030	,066	-,097	,124	-,030	-,095	,002	-,001	-,107	,092	,357**	,196	,047	
6. EE						--	-,023	-,526**	,041	-,125	-,339**	-,026	-,002	-,051	-,126	,403**	,235*	,012	,102	
7. Did-R							--	,005	-,109	-,217	-,112	-,055	-,014	-,095	-,143	,032	,076	,138	,208	
8. Did-N								--	-,144	-,044	,216	-,192	-,142	,042	,077	-,250*	-,241*	-,018	-,155	
9. Did-SR									--	,054	-,080	-,084	,076	-,132	,031	,162	,151	-,228	-,188	
10. MR										--	,113	,056	,158	,142	,130	,039	,046	,018	-,078	
11. PR											--	-,117	-,082	,140	,161	-,138	-,061	-,018	-,184	
12. DR												--	,102	,146	-,138	,131	,032	-,089	-,156	
13. Mothers' Age													--	,217	,311	,222	,072	-,016	-,024	
14. Childs' Age														--	,074	,057	,023	,150	-,162	
15. Number of Children															--	-,189	-,077	,071	-,198	
16. Maternal Education																--	,703**	-,047	-,123	
17. Income Level																	--	,048	-,078	
18. STSC Approach Withdrawal																			--	,296*
19. STSC Inflexibility Reactivity																				--

Note. EFC=Emotion-focused Responses (S: Soothing, R: Reassuring, D: Distracting), PFC=Problem-focused Responses (SO: Solution Offering, I: Intervening), EE=Expressive Encouragement, Did=Didactic Talk (R: Reasoning and Explanation, N: Norms and Display Rule), MR=Minimization Response, PR=Punitive Response, DR=Distress Reaction \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01.

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



style. The hypothesis for the expected positive correlation between higher education level and more emotion-coaching style was partially supported. Although, there was not a significant relation between higher education and more emotion-coaching, higher education was an indication for lesser emotion-dismissing parenting. Apart from these, no significant results were obtained other variables and MESQ.

Dysregulation factor of PEMS was negatively correlated with maternal age ( $r = -.309$ ,  $p < .01$ ), maternal education ( $r = -.297$ ,  $p < .05$ ), income level ( $r = -.331$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and inflexibility/reactivity subscale of STSC ( $r = -.245$ ,  $p < .05$ ). These results indicate that the mothers who are older, who have higher education levels and who report higher income of family are likely to report less emotional dysregulation.

In addition, mothers' report of their childrens' temperament provide significant findings that the mothers who reported their children as approaching easily to other people and new situations were also likely to report their children as flexible and more stable when experiencing their emotions ( $r = .296$ ,  $p < .05$ ). There was a negative correlation between inhibition factor of PEMS and approach-withdrawal factor of STSC ( $r = -.296$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and between dysregulation factor of PEMS and inflexibility-reactivity factor of STSC ( $r = -.245$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Therefore, the mothers who reported to use less inhibition when coping with their own negative emotions were more likely define their children as more approaching. Also, the mothers who had higher emotion dysregulation characterized their children as more inflexible and reactive.

In the second multiple correlation analysis of emotion socialization strategies, demographic variables and STSC (as presented in Table 8), expressive encouragement was found to be positively correlated with maternal education level ( $r = .403$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and income level ( $r = .235$ ,  $p < .05$ ), suggesting that mothers who have higher education level and higher income level encouraged their childrens' emotional expression more. Norms and display rule

category of didactic-talk was found to be negatively correlated with maternal education ( $r = -.250, p < .05$ ) and income level ( $r = -.241, p < .05$ ). Mothers who had higher education and income level were less likely to refer to social norms and display rules while coping with their children's emotions. These findings were in line with hypothesis 4.

Income level of the family was also found to be positively correlated with intervening strategy of problem-focused coping ( $r = .357, p < .01$ ) Mothers with higher income levels were more likely to take an active role in solving the problem situations for their children.

The number of children in the family was negatively correlated with reassurance subcategory of emotion-focused coping ( $r = -.292, p < .05$ ). Number of children was also correlated with emotion-focused coping- distraction method positively and significantly ( $r = .263, p < .05$ ). These results suggest that increased number of children in the family lead mothers to use more distraction method and less reassuring.

No significant relation was found between maternal report of child temperament (STSC) and emotion socialization strategies. Therefore, the hypothesis that mothers who report their children as more inflexible and reactive would use more non-supportive strategies was not confirmed.

In order to better understand whether these demographic variables predict mothers' emotion socialization practices and mothers' emotion regulation ability, three separate multiple regression analyses were performed ( $N=73$ ). Gender of the child, child's age, number of children in the family, child's temperamental characteristics of approach-withdrawal and inflexibility-reactivity, mothers' age and maternal education of years were entered into the multiple regression analysis as predictors for supportive, non-supportive strategies and didactic talk strategies separately. Results of regression analysis for supportive strategies was  $F(7,65) = .404, p > .05$  and accounted for 4% of the variance. The results for non-supportive strategies was  $F(7,65) = 1.035, p > .05$  which accounted for 10% of the

variance and for didactic-talk strategies was  $F(7,65) = 201, p > .05$  with prediction of 2% of the variance. Therefore, no significant results were obtained for these three models.

Then, same variables were entered into the regression analysis for emotion-coaching and emotion dismissing factors of the MESQ separately. Results of emotion coaching factor was  $F(7,65) = 1,196, p > .05$  and emotion dismissing factor was  $F(7,65) = 1,427, p > .05$  that they accounted for 11% and 13% of the variances, respectively. Results were not significant for MESQ factors.

Finally, multiple regression analyses were conducted for coping, inhibition, dysregulation factors of PEMS separately by entering same variables into the analysis. The results of coping scale was  $F(7,65) = 1,205, p > .05$ , inhibition scale was  $F(7,65) = 2,667, p > .05$  and dysregulation scale was  $F(7,65) = 1,205, p > .05$ . These results accounted for 11%, 17% and 22% of the variances, respectively. No significant results were obtained from these analyses.

Although correlation analysis of these variables provided significant results for maternal education level and temperamental characteristics on both emotion socialization practices (as assessed by two instruments) and emotion regulation of mothers, these correlations were not adequate to yield predictive value on maternal emotion socialization practices and maternal emotion regulation.

Supplementary analyses of one-way ANOVAs' were conducted to analyze the relationship between maternal education and emotion socialization strategies, MESQ and PEMS. Education level was transformed into a two category variable with mothers who had less than high school education constituting the lower education group and those with high school and above education as the high education group.

Analysis of variance on maternal education and emotion socialization strategies provided two significant results. Mothers with higher education level were found to use

significantly higher level of expressive encouragement for their children,  $F(1,72)=12.495$ ,  $p<.01$ . In addition, mothers with lower education were found to be applying punitive reactions more frequently,  $F(1,72)=5.248$ ,  $p<.05$ . The results of other emotion socialization categories were not significant across two categories of maternal education. Findings are presented in Table 9.

Results for the emotion coaching factor of MESQ was  $F(1,72)=1.839$ ,  $p>.05$  and for emotion dismissing factor was  $F(1,72)=4.328$ ,  $p>.05$ . Findings were not significant.

In the analysis of the factors of PEMS, mean of item scores were computed and used for each subscale. The results for the factors of PEMS was  $F(1,72)=.084$ ,  $p>.05$  for coping factor;  $F(1,72)=.058$ ,  $p>.05$  for inhibition factor and  $F(1,72)=5.246$ ,  $p>.05$  for dysregulation factor. Therefore, the results of the analysis of variance for maternal education and PEMS were not significant.

### Correlations between Emotion Socialization Strategies

Significant relations among emotion socialization strategies were obtained in the multiple correlation analysis of emotion socialization strategies, demographic and study variables. Supportive strategies were negatively correlated with both didactic-talk categories and non-supportive strategies. Soothing (EFC-S), distraction (EFC-D) and solution offering (PFC-SO) were negatively correlated with reasoning and explanation subcategory of didactic talk (DID-R), ( $r = -.295$ ,  $p<.05$ ;  $r = -.244$ ,  $p<.05$  and  $r = -.399$ ,  $p<.01$ , respectively). Similarly, soothing (EFC-S), solution-offering (PFC-SO) and expressive encouragement (EE) were also negatively correlated with norms and display rule of didactic talk (DID-N), ( $r = -.344$ ,  $p<.01$ ;  $r = -.302$ ,  $p<.01$  and  $r = -.526$ ,  $p<.01$ , respectively).

Table 9 Analysis of Variance Summary for Emotion Socialization Strategies and Maternal Education (Percentages) (N=73)

Emotion Socialization Strategies	Maternal Education				ANOVA
	Low Education ( <u>n</u> =19)		High Education ( <u>n</u> =54)		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>F</u> (1,73)
EFC-S	5,52	5,16	5,18	6,07	,047
EFC-R	13,82	8,16	14,91	6,16	,369
EFC-D	5,70	4,80	4,17	4,48	1,578
PFC-SO	20,23	8,34	17,36	8,05	1,746
PFC-I	,46	1,11	,64	1,3	,265
EE	4,6	4,82	11,47	7,85	12,495*
DID-R	21,62	10,73	24,36	8,43	1,285
DID-N	12,31	4,46	9,27	,89	2,028
DID-SR	,37	,89	,81	1,48	1,449
MR	3,61	4,15	4,58	4,85	,596
PR	10,61	10,48	5,65	7,14	5,248**
DR	,99	1,58	1,53	2,54	,758

Note. EFC=Emotion-focused Responses (S: Soothing, R: Reassuring; D: Distracting), PFC=Problem-focused Responses (SO: Solution Offering, I: Intervening), EE=Expressive Encouragement, Did=Didactic Talk (R: Reasoning and Explanation, N: Norms and Display Rule), MR=Minimization Response, PR=Punitive Response, DR=Distress Reaction.

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

In addition, reassuring (EFC-R), solution-offering (PFC-SO) and expressive encouragement (EE) were negatively correlated with punitive reactions (PR), ( $r = -.430$ ,  $p < .01$ ;  $r = -.339$ ,  $p < .01$  and  $r = -.339$ ,  $p < .01$ , respectively). Reassuring (EFC-R) was also negatively correlated with minimization response (MR), ( $r = -.306$ ,  $p < .01$ ). These findings

point that the mothers who prefer more supportive strategies were less likely to apply didactic-talk strategies and non-supportive strategies.

In addition, distress response of mothers (DR) was found to be positively correlated with reassuring (EFC-R) ( $r = .267, p < .05$ ) and negatively correlated with distraction (EFC-D) ( $r = -.241, p < .05$ ). That is to say, the mothers who reported higher levels of distress when they had to deal with their childrens' negative emotions were more likely to use reassuring as an emotion-focused coping and less likely to use distraction.

### Additional Analyses

Additional analysis is conducted to explore whether there were differences in the frequency of the strategies used with different emotions. In this analysis, 12 emotion socialization subcategories were grouped to yield seven main categories of emotion-focused coping (EFC), problem- focused coping (PFC), expressive encouragement (EE), didactic talk (DID), minimization response (MR), punitive reaction (PR) and distress reaction (DR). Means and standard deviations of each strategy used under the four different emotion scenarios are summarized in Table 10.

In the two scenarios in which children experienced the emotion of happiness, most commonly employed the strategies were didactic talk and expressive encouragement. In the sadness scenarios, the most frequently used strategy was didactic talk and it was followed by problem-focused coping. Emotion-focused coping was the third mostly employed strategy in the sadness scenarios. Punitive reaction and minimization response were applied more than expressive encouragement. Distress response had lowest mean in all strategies.

Table 10 Means and Standard Deviations of Emotion Socialization Strategies Used for Four Emotions (Percentages)

Emotion Socialization Strategies	Happiness		Sadness		Fear		Anger	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
EFC	13,06	24,02	45,01	31,43	114,07	46,11	13,27	18,13
PFC	24,06	32,67	51,09	28,85	18,66	23,79	55,28	39,06
EE	76,35	59,70	8,54	18,22	5,17	11,79	5,29	14,90
DID	76,86	62,94	67,73	35,59	51,43	33,81	83,12	39,99
MR	3,08	11,74	10,82	18,34	6,21	12,23	11,46	19,49
PR	4,74	15,45	14,20	26,06	1,65	7,10	28,39	36,12
DR	1,82	8,01	2,57	7,35	2,77	8,71	3,16	8,93

*Note.* EFC=Emotion-focused Responses, PFC=Problem-focused Responses, EE=Expressive Encouragement, Did=Didactic Talk, MR=Minimization Response, PR=Punitive Response, DR=Distress Reaction

In the scenarios in which children experienced fear, mothers applied emotion-focused strategies significantly more than other strategies. The second frequently applied strategy was didactic talk. Problem focused coping was remarkably less used than the first two strategies. Non-supportive strategies in general were less used and also the mean of expressive encouragement was lower.

In the anger scenario, the most preferred strategy was didactic talk which was followed by problem-focused coping. Usage of emotion-focused coping was significantly lower; whereas punitive reaction and minimization reaction levels were significantly higher compared to the usage of these strategies for other emotions.

In addition to these analyses, t-test was also applied for gender difference on each emotion socialization strategy, social context and Maternal Emotional Style Questionnaire. For the MESQ factors, no significant difference was found between boys and girls on emotion coaching ( $t= 1, 1787, p> .05$ ) and emotion dismissing ( $t= -.078, p> .05$ ).

The overall usage of emotion socialization strategies for boys and girls in the public and private contexts were compared through separate t-tests. It was found that mothers made more use of emotion socialization strategies in the public context for their sons ( $t=2,069, p< .05$ ) and more in the private context for their daughters ( $t= -2,087, p< .05$ ). No significant differences were found in the use of specific emotion socialization strategies and gender.

The implications of these results for emotions and other results of this study are discussed in detail in the next chapter.



## CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to explore the emotion socialization practices mothers used to cope with their childrens' discrete positive and negative emotions of happiness, sadness, fear and anger that were experienced in two different social contexts (private and public) as depicted in story cards. The factors whose contributions to mothers' practices were investigated were maternal emotion regulation, socio-economic status of mothers and social context. Exploration of demographic variables like ages of the mother and the child were also a significant point for analysis.

Total of 73 mothers were interviewed and their interview results yielded significant findings for understanding emotion socialization practices of mothers. Mothers' own emotion regulation and their education level were found to be associated with these practices partially in the expected direction; whereas the expected influences of social context were not observed on these practices due to methodological issues. These results are initially discussed in terms of emotion socialization profile of mothers in Turkey and then in their relation to other variables in this study with significant and non-significant values.

### Emotion Socialization Practices of Mothers

In this study, maternal emotion socialization practices were measured by two instruments. One of them was the story cards and the other was the results of Maternal Emotional Style Questionnaire. Initially, the results of the story cards will be discussed. Then, the results of the questionnaire and the compatibility of these two measures will be evaluated.

In the interviews, mothers' self-report of their mostly preferred strategies for the hypothetical vignettes were didactic talk of reasoning and explanation, problem-focused

coping of solution-offering and emotion-focused coping of reassurance. Reasoning and explanation method constituted approximately 23% of the total strategies reported in the interviews. This percentage rises up to 33% of the total when reasoning and explanation and norms and display rule categories are evaluated together as two forms of didactic talk. Therefore, didactic talk category accounts for the highest rate among other categories. Reasoning and making explanations include teaching children about the consequences of events and possible strategies for preventing the occurrence of similar events and feelings of negative emotions. An example of a mothers' report for helping her child to cope with a scary monster in a cartoon was: "These monsters are not real, my dear. They are plotted by artists and designers. Then, they are transmitted to computers by engineers. Therefore, they are only products of imaginary. There are no monsters in real life."

The method of reasoning and explanation provide the child the sense of reality, explanation of the world that they highly need in the preschool period. Using this method is based on giving children an intellectual base rather than an emotional base to help them cope with their childrens' emotions (Atay, 2009).

In the study of Wang and Fivush (2005), mother-child conversations of emotionally salient events were studied in Euro-American and Chinese mothers with their pre-school aged children. It was found that Euro-American mothers were more likely to use a "cognitive approach" when talking to their children about emotion-laden events. These mothers were found to be using explanations for children's emotional states and instructions for causes and consequences of events. On the other hand, Chinese mothers were found to be using "behavioral approach" that was based on teaching discipline and appropriate behavior for children.

Reasoning and making explanations of American mothers were associated with their tendency to encourage autonomous talk of children by understanding the causes and

consequences of emotional states. However, Chinese mothers' role was more directive with an emphasis of social interaction and the emotional states of others rather than the individuality of the child.

The other aspect of didactic talk, norms and display rule that accounted for 10% of the total strategies used also takes a significant role in parenting styles in Turkey. It includes explaining the child about how it is appropriate to behave in a certain social situation as well as demanding this particular behavior from the child to apply in that circumstance. In using this method, norms, rules and behaviors take precedence over emotions felt in an event. Implicitly, emotions are expected to be repressed and proper behaviors are encouraged to be displayed in an emotion-laden situation. To illustrate, the following are a mothers' words in which she was trying to cope with her child's anger by explaining and demanding the acceptable behavior.

“I usually tell my son that your friend may give harm to your books and your toys. But he is a guest in our house and it is not polite to get angry with him here. You should be calm. You shouldn't behave that way. I don't want to see you hitting him or telling him bad words. Ok? You shouldn't behave your friend that way. ”

As described above, Wang and Fivush (2005) noted, Chinese mothers were more likely to apply this direct teaching method compared to Euro-American mothers. Usage of reasoning and explanation was employed more by Euro-American mothers that can be regarded as more representative of individualistic cultures. In this study, both forms of didactic talk were variably applied. Mothers expected their children to understand the causes of events and therefore used the reasoning and explanation method and also they expected their children to learn and display proper behavior for which they used norms and display rule of didactic talk. Therefore, both individualistic and collectivistic norms are applied that reasoning and explanation as encouragement of autonomy and cognitive development and

expectation of proper manner as an indication of group obedience and harmony (Wang and Fivush, 2005). These are compatible with characteristics in Turkish culture (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).

The usage of didactic talk was also high in vignettes of happiness. Although the relations of emotions and socialization strategies will be discussed later in this chapter, it is worth mentioning here. In the happiness scenarios, children were either receiving a beautiful gift from their close relatives or they were informed that their cousins who they like to play with were coming for dinner. In both scenarios, mothers tended to respond like,

“My dear, your cousin is staying for dinner tonight. I want you to play with him well. Please, do not harm the things in the house. I also want you to share all your toys with your cousin. But, if you think that s/he may harm the ones you most loved, you shouldn't bring them in your playroom. You should keep them in a safe place before they arrive here.” or like, “You should thank your uncle for bringing such a nice present for you. Let's hug and kiss him and say, Thank you, my uncle. I really loved this bicycle’.

Therefore, teaching children about appropriate behaviors are also frequently applied when happiness is felt. Happiness is an emotion that does not contain a crisis situation which requires immediate intervention. However, it requires to be contained as an emotion and calmed down where necessary. While doing so, mothers in this study were likely to refer to norms and display rules.

In collectivistic cultures like Japan, positive emotions are highly controlled as well as negative emotions. Controlling the display of happiness is as expected as hiding the expression of anger (Matsumoto et. al., 2008). Similarly, in this study, mothers attached significance to appropriate behaviors even when their children felt happy.

In this study, a subcategory was added to the didactic talk category that was social referencing. This category was added due to the results obtained from pilot study. It was based on mothers' intention to reference to the behaviors of other children or adults in a situation in order to teach their children appropriate responses in an emotionally arousing situation. In this study, this method was only used for the vignette in public context in which children experienced fear. In this vignette, children were in the park with their mothers. One child was afraid of the height of the slide and was not able to glide. In mothers' responses, the following social referencing response was frequently repeated: "Look honey, this brother is gliding from the slide. You can do it, too." or "Look honey; every child here is gliding and having fun. You can also glide and enjoy the game."

Reference to other children or adults was not reported in any other vignette in this study. The commonality of this strategy in the Turkish culture should be tested by other studies.

### *Problem-Focused Coping*

The other mostly used strategy was problem-focused coping where solution offering method was highly used which accounted for 18% of the total interviews. This is a part of supportive ways of coping where mothers help their children to solve problems in emotion-loaded situations. In this method, two different ways of solution offering exists. One of them is to activate the child's mind to find the solutions in his/her own. For example, asking the child about what can be done in that situation: "Ok, your baby dolls' leg is broken, let's think of how you can play with that toy?". The other aspect was mothers' thinking of the solution and sharing her ideas with her child rather than activating her child's mind by saying, "This toy is broken. You can't play it that way. Now, let's find another toy to play with." or directly offering the child to repair this toy together. In this study, the latter style of solution offering

was more pervasive. Mothers were more prone to tell the direct solution rather than helping the child to think of the solutions.

Problem-focused coping is more common in individualistic cultures like United States in which autonomy of the child is highly valued and therefore, his/her problem solving abilities are encouraged (Fabes et. al. 2002). This finding was consisted with the results of this study that mothers used solution offering more.

Problem-focused coping consisted of another category –intervening- that is based on mothers’ active intervention for problem-solving. In this method, the mother does not ask the child for solution, or offer a solution, but rather she actively solves the situation. An example of a mothers’ interview in this study was as follows: “If my childs’ book is crossed out by the guest child, I directly talk to this child and say, Ali, why did you harm this book? This was the favorite book of my son. Now, play with another toy with your friend and do not harm any of them, ok?” This category does not exist in the original CCNES form that was adopted from the study of Atay (2009). It was developed by Atay (2009) and was used in this study.

In this study, the percentage of intervening method was very low; however, interestingly, it was significant for the mothers who have higher income. Mothers from higher socio-economic status were more likely to solve the situations for their children. It may be speculated that the higher income parents adapt a more protective parenting style, solving the problems for their children. In talk of these mothers, there was also an atmosphere of didactic talk of norms and display rule in addition to intervention. Mothers’ directly talking to the child who experiences a problem with her child also contains the aim of teaching children both the ways of solving a problem and appropriate ways of behavior. Mothers with higher socio-economic status were known to be more responsive through providing longer conversations and more teaching strategies (Hoff, 2003; Bradley and Corwyn, 2002). Although, mothers’ intervention to solve a problem for her child may indirectly be an

indication of higher responsiveness, it may also imply more psychological control which is valued in Turkish culture (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996).

### *Emotion-Focused Coping*

Emotion-focused coping was also one of the most used coping strategies that were also compatible with the results Atay (2009) noted. In this category, reassurance was the mostly used one that accounted for 14% of the total methods used. It is based on helping the child feel safe and normalizing the situation. To illustrate, the followings were the reassurance responses of mothers in this study: “Ok, dear. It’s ok that you broke a toy. If you are not injured, then there is no problem. It’s ok.” or “Ok, dear. I’m here. This monster is on TV and it cannot harm you. As long as your father and I are at home together, nobody can harm you. You are safe in our house.”

Soothing was another form of coping method that helps the child through lowering the intensity of emotions. Although the total percentage of soothing was lower compared to other strategies (% 5 approximately), soothing was highly applied for particular situations. The significance of soothing was mentioned by a mother in the interviews:

“I immediately take her on my lap and hug her. She quickly calms down at that moment. I do that before I talk to her, because it really works. I believe that this is very basic and important. Hugging is more effective than talking for half an hour. When children feel anxious, you may talk them for more than half an hour, but it never works. But if you hug them just for one time, then the issue is resolved. So, I usually do that. Sometimes, I don’t even talk to calm her down, I just hug.”

Distraction category had the lowest percentage as an emotion-focused coping. It basically helps children through paying attention to other sources of interest and becoming distanced from especially the negative emotions. This method is mostly used for younger

children like infants, toddlers and in the beginning of preschool period like ages 2-3. For children in the ages of 5 and 6, this method may not work all the time, since their cognitive capacities and their emotions are highly developed. In addition, problems occurring around an emotion need elaboration and solution, not only distraction. Although, a child may be helped to deal with his/her fear of a monster on television by changing the channel for a while, it requires further reasoning and explanation of how these monsters are produced or other forms of emotion-focused coping like reassuring the child and helping him/her feel safe.

When these three subcategories of emotion-focused strategies are evaluated together, the total percentage of them becomes higher than problem-focused strategies. Therefore, emotion-focused and problem-focused strategies are highly employed with similar rates. This finding is in line with the findings in the study of Fabes et. al. (2002). Therefore, soothing and reassuring children seem to be almost equally ways for mothers to solve the problems of children.

### *Expressive Encouragement*

Expressive encouragement is the mothers' validation and elaboration of her child's emotion to be expressed. The percentage of this category was approximately 10% of the total strategies and it was used mainly in the scenario where the child expressed happiness. In Atays' study (2009), which did not include the emotion of happiness, expressive encouragement was found to be used much less. . When percentage of happiness is eliminated, the results of this study match to the findings of Atay (2009).

An example of a mother's encouragement to talk about her son's sadness is as follows: "My dear, you look so sad, come here, please. Tell me what happened. We can talk and solve the issue. I feel that something makes you sad. Oh, your favorite toy is broken. I know that it was important to you. I understand you my dear."



Expressive encouragement is more frequently used in individualistic cultures in which emotions are less repressed and encouraged to be talked in detail (Fivush and Wang, 2005). As Atay (2009) noted, as this form of emotion socialization practices were not familiar to practices in our culture, sadness, fear and anger were found to be rarely encouraged to be expressed in this study, too.

Expressive encouragement was found to be used significantly more by parents with higher education which may relate to their higher level of adaptation of Western culture.

In the study of Fivush and Wang (2005), Chinese mothers reported that talking about an event occurring around happiness make them feel a sense of shared past and a feeling of bond with their children. Although, the study is not able to draw conclusions about the motivations of mothers, particularly highly educated mothers may be using the opportunity to talk more about the feeling of happiness as a way to strengthen their emotional connection with their child and as a way to validate his/her emotions.

#### *Non-Supportive Emotion Socialization Strategies*

Non-supportive emotion socialization strategies included minimization responses, punitive reactions and distress responses of mothers.

Minimization response is the invalidation and ignorance of the child's experience. The percentage of this response was very low in this study that accounted for % 4.33 of the total strategies used. Examples of mothers' minimization responses in this study were: "Why are you crying now? There is nothing to cry for. It's just a little toy. It is nonsense to cry for that." or "What is worth crying here? You know that it is nonsense to get angry for that. I find it ridiculous to get angry with your friend here."

These responses were mostly used in sadness and anger. Since these emotions are more likely to elicit problem situations that mothers have to deal with compared to happiness

and fear. Sadness scenario in the private context and anger scenario in public context were included situations in which children were likely to cry. Minimization responses of mothers were usually directed to crying behavior of children in these scenarios.

As Atay noted (2009) that it was very difficult to code this category in her study, a similar process occurred in this study as well. Since, in our culture words for calming down a crying child initially begins with “Don’t cry!”. The meaning of these words is usually unclear. It may mean minimizing the value of crying and related emotion as well as it may be just a beginning sentence for reassuring the child to normalize the situation. Therefore, context of the sentences were evaluated and the ones that included the devaluing or ignoring the situation were coded as minimization response.

Minimization responses of mothers were not found to be related with other study variables. However, it was found that the mothers who employ minimization responses more were applying lower levels of reassuring strategy of emotion-focused coping. It can be speculated that mothers who ignore or minimize the significance of the emotions of their children do not focus on providing their children with the feeling of safety and comfort as much.

The other non-supportive coping category was punitive reactions. Punitive reactions toward childrens’ negative emotions included any reaction to the child that makes his/her feel guilty about feeling that emotion. In this study, punitive reactions accounted for approximately 7% of the study. An example of a mothers’ punitive response in this study for the vignette in which a child breaks a toy incidentally was as follows:

“You could be more careful. I get angry with him. Sometimes I shout at him. I complain and ask why you didn’t behave more carefully. Patience is a different issue. I became very impatient after my second child was born. I can’t bear such things. I can seriously shout at him. If he tries to blame me for the broken toy, I tell him that there is nothing to blame me,

you know. You know that it is your fault to break the toy. I didn't put that toy on that shelf. This is your room, this is your toy and this is your fault.”

Punitive reactions were mostly applied by mothers with lower education which was compatible with the results of Fabes et. al. (2002). Mothers with lower education levels were found to be using non-supportive strategies toward their children more. Using punitive reactions in families from lower socio-economic backgrounds is a common finding that authoritarian parenting practices are frequently used (Martini et. al., 2004; Strayer and Roberts, 2004).

The final category was distress response. Distress response percentage was the lowest among other reports of mothers in this study. It includes the distressed feelings of mothers when they encounter especially the negative emotions of their children. In this study, no significant results were obtained for distress response and other study variables. However, distress response was found to be related with other socialization strategies. When emotion-focused strategies of distracting was used more, distress response was reported to be lower. Distracting the child's attention may also have a soothing effect on mothers' level of stress in the current situation. Therefore, they may give distress reactions less. However, distress reaction was found to be positively correlated with emotion-focused coping of reassurance. As mothers feel more distressed they reported that they try to normalize the situation for their children more. Comforting their children more may indirectly function as their self-comforting effort when they feel distressed.

In addition to these findings, significant correlations among emotion socialization strategies were found. In general, mothers who employed supportive strategies applied non-supportive and didactic talk strategies significantly less frequently.

The mothers who used soothing, distracting and solution-offering strategies were making less use of explanations and reasoning with their children. This result is

understandable that soothing, distracting and solution offering are more active and direct methods of intervention compared to reasoning and explanation. If a mother soothes her child, distracts his/her attention as well as solves his/her problem, then she may think that issue is resolved and there is no need to provide further explanations. Additionally, these three categories support the child whereas reasoning and explanation aims to teach children. Overall these strategies seem to form two separate clusters and two different approaches to emotion socialization by mothers in Turkey. The first may be a more protective approach that focuses on solving the problem for the child and quickly restoring his or her sense of well-being, while the second one seems to be focusing on fostering the independent problem solving skills of the child.

Additionally, soothing, solution-offering and expressive encouragement were found to be negatively correlated with didactic-talk of norms and display rule. Here the contrast seems to be between a style where the mother again takes a more active role in solving the problem and using the opportunity to become emotionally closer with her child and one that focuses on teaching the child about social rules of conduct and emotional expression.

Supportive strategies were also indirectly related to non-supportive strategies that mothers who used reassuring, solution-offering and expressive encouragement strategies were found to be using punitive reactions less. In addition, mothers who reassured their children were minimizing their children's emotions less. Actually, these findings are indicative of relatively consistent parenting patterns. Mothers who reassure, comfort and soothe their children, help them to solve problem and encourage them to talk about their feelings were found to be minimizing and punishing their children less. Additionally, they seem to prefer more direct methods on their children rather than explaining and teaching them in a didactic manner.

In Turkish culture, values and attitudes that seem contradictory are usually applied together. Parents show their children warmth and affection as well as they apply psychological control (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). Therefore, mothers' usage of supportive and non-supportive strategies together could be expected, however, the profile of mothers in this study provide more consistent pattern.

#### *Maternal Emotional Style Questionnaire (MESQ) and Emotion Socialization Strategies*

The second measure for maternal emotion socialization practices was Maternal Emotional Style Questionnaire that consisted of two factors: emotion coaching and emotion dismissing. The mean values obtained for these factors were close to each other. Emotion coaching mean was slightly higher than emotion dismissing indicating that mothers had both emotion coaching and dismissing style.

It is important to note that this study was the first time this measure was used in Turkey. It is thought the translation may require some changes to be better understood. For instance, in application period of this questionnaire, most mothers took an oppositional attitude towards certain items. There were items like, "When my child is angry, it's an opportunity for getting close" or "When my child is angry, it's time to solve his/her problem". In these items, most of the mothers initially expressed that "No, I'm always close to my child, I don't agree. Not only when he feels angry, I'm always close to him or I always solve his problems, not only when he was angry." These attitudes were mostly based on emotion-coaching factor items. In this study, there was an opportunity for explaining what these ideas really meant. However, for further studies, in which the researcher may not have the chance to connect with all participants, these items need some further adjustment or a clear instruction for the questionnaire.

There was no significant relation between the factors of MESQ and the emotion socialization strategies on three levels of supportive, non-supportive and didactic talk. These two measures were based on different frameworks for studying emotion socialization. MESQ was developed from the meta-emotion interview that Gottman et. al. (1996) had developed. In this interview, parents' emotions and ideas about feeling an emotion were elaborated in addition to their active parenting practices. The items of MESQ were based on the ideas of mothers on a large scale. For instance, an item in MESQ was "Anger is an emotion worth exploring." that is a mother answered that item as totally agree, then it is unclear that whether she explores anger in her life. In the coding system used in this study, however, only the active parenting strategies mothers reported to use for their children were coded. Although the mothers' self report of their practices may not be representative of their real experiences, this method gave mothers a chance to elaborate on their practices compared to filling out a questionnaire. Therefore, these methods seem to be measuring two different aspects of parenting; philosophy of parenting and practice of parenting.

#### Maternal Emotion Regulation and Emotion Socialization Practices

Mothers' own emotion regulation ability and their emotion socialization practices were found to be correlated in this study. Mothers who have emotional dysregulation were using significantly more non-supportive strategies of minimizing or punishing of their childrens' emotions. However, it is significant to note that these results were on a correlational level that mothers' inability to regulate their emotions was not predictive of their non-supportive practices.

The study of Atay (2009) provides similar findings that the mothers in her study who had more alexithymic features like deficiency in defining their own and others' emotions and

difficulty in verbalizing them were significantly using more non-supportive strategies for their children.

Additionally, a consistent finding took place in the study of Hughes and Gullone (2010) that mothers with higher emotional suppression had a tendency to use non-supportive emotion socialization strategies.

The findings obtained from this study and other studies (Hughes and Gullone, 2010; Atay, 2009) on the negative influence of lack of ability maternal emotion regulation processes on emotion socialization practices reminds the need for applying these findings into practice by developing emotion-based programs for parents to increase their emotion regulation capacities, emotional awareness and acceptance. Since, the influence of maternal behavior on children's emotion regulation capacities is known (Eisenberg and Spinrad, 2004; Holodynski, 2004). Therefore, the mothers who have lower emotion management capacities take a punitive and minimizing attitude toward their children, which in turn affects childrens' regulatory capacities negatively.

#### Socio-Economic Status and Maternal Emotion Socialization

Socio-economic status consists of education level, status of occupation and income level of a person (Dehart, et. al., 2004). In this study, especially maternal education level was found to be a significant factor. Income level provided similar results as education level of mothers for certain emotion socialization practices.

Mothers with higher education reported to use expressive encouragement significantly more when coping with their childrens' emotions. These results are also found for mothers whose income level was higher. Similar findings are obtained from the study of Fabes et. al. (2002) in which psychometric properties of Coping with Children's Negative Emotions Scale (CCNES) were studied. It was found that mothers' with higher education were using higher expressive encouragement for their childrens' negative emotions.

Bluestone and Tamis-LeMonda (1999) mention that mothers with higher socio-economic status provide their children richer conversations in a more responsive manner. Encouragement of expression may be result of mothers' higher level of knowledge on parenting practices as well as more capacity of verbal comprehension (Stevens, 1984).

In addition, mothers with higher education also reported that they were using punitive reactions less compared to mothers with lower education level. This finding is also consistent with the results Fabes et. Al (2002) provided. Martini et.al. (2004) provide evidence that low SES mothers experience difficulties in controlling their anger towards their childrens' expressions of anger, fear or sadness compared to middle SES mothers. Additionally, Gottman et. al. (1997) points that mothers with lower education have less emotional awareness and acceptance which results in more dismissing and disapproving attitude of parents. In general, mothers with higher education were found to be applying supportive methods more and non-supportive methods less.

#### Social Context, Emotions and Emotion Socialization Strategies

Social context was one of the most significant aspects of this study to understand whether mothers differ in socialization methods according to contexts.

Differences in usage of strategies in public or private context were found only in problem-focused strategies, expressive encouragement and punitive strategies.

Since supportive strategies were expected to be higher in private context than in public context, higher usage of problem-focused coping in private context was in the expected direction. However, expressive encouragement which is also a supportive coping category was higher in public context. In addition, emotion-focused strategies were not significantly different between two contexts. Therefore, no firm conclusions can be drawn from these results for usage of supportive strategies in different contexts.



By contrast, non-supportive strategies were expected to be higher in public context. Minimization response was not significantly different between contexts. An interesting finding was that punitive reactions were used significantly higher in private context. Unexpectedly, the display rule study in Turkey (Sunar et. al., 2005) provides support for this finding. Expression of anger was found to be lower in public context compared to private context among university students. Anger and fear were found to be lowered in intensity when expressed in public context. This finding is regarded as a culture-specific construct that occurs in collectivistic cultures more. In this study, mothers may take more punitive attitude toward their childrens' emotions at home and may refrain from punishing them in the presence of guests. Therefore, mothers may be implicitly applying display rules for their preschool aged children and helping them to learn which emotions are expressed or hidden in different contexts.

Although some differences were found in the strategies used in the public and private contexts depicted in the story cards. These results should be considered with caution. In fact, the differences in strategies used may stem from the particular situations depicted in the cards rather than reflecting the impact of the private or public context.

The effect of the particular emotion on the use of different strategies is also noteworthy. There were significant differences in the means of emotion socialization strategies used for four emotions. Although the effect of emotion on the strategies could not be examined through statistical analysis, examination of the mean usage of different strategies for each emotion point to significant differences.

For the emotion of fear, emotion-focused strategies were the most preferred. Mothers' report in this study toward their childrens' fears was immediately soothing, reassuring or distracting the child. Therefore, fear is rarely minimized, punished or viewed as an issue of

problem-solving or an opportunity for teaching the child norms of behavior. Fear was regarded as only a state to be grounded as quickly as possible.

Fear is a very fundamental emotion with a survival value that is initially felt when a human beings' physical wholeness is threatened and the feeling of safety is lost. A child's feeling of fear triggers his/her mother's mind to initially protect the child.

The emotion of sadness is more complex than fear that the methods applied for this emotion were also more varied. Mothers took supportive as well as non-supportive attitudes and a didactic manner to help their children cope with sadness.

Anger is one of the hardest emotions to cope with. Mothers used many different strategies to deal with anger. Mothers viewed the situations of anger as a crisis to be solved immediately and offered their children solutions as a problem-focused coping. In addition, didactic talk was also frequently used. Mothers may see the experience of anger as a tool to teach the appropriate expression of anger. Non-supportive ways of coping were mostly applied for anger. According to mothers' self reports, they minimized and punished their children's anger, too. However, emotion-focused coping and expressive encouragement were rarely used by mothers.

Comparing these three negative emotions, fear and sadness are regarded as non-hostile emotions whereas anger is a hostile emotion (Sunar et. al., 2005; Martini et. al. 2004). Martini et. al (2004) reports that maternal control of their emotions of sadness and anger is more difficult than fear that results in more hostile and punitive attitude of parents toward their children. In this study, consistent and repetitive answers were obtained for the fear-laden situations that mothers were likely to give very similar reactions for these vignettes. However, due to the complexity of emotions of sadness and anger and their power to invoke similar emotions in mothers resulted in use of varied strategies ranging from encouraging the expression of anger to punishing the experience of sadness.

The only positive emotion in this study was happiness .t Encouragement of its expression was highly used and didactic talk was also more common. This profile is compatible with findings of Turkey in the multi-cultural study of Matsumoto et. al. (2008) that expression of happiness is a valid display rule. Didactic talk may serve the function of teaching children the ways of expressing this happiness in a socially expected and contained manner. However, it should be noted that didactic manner reported by mothers in this study may be due to the specific characteristics of the vignettes in which guests were present. Therefore, didactic manner may be the result of mothers' consideration of these guests and using this context as a tool for teaching their children proper demeanor.

In general, regardless of its context, different emotions seem to call for certain coping methods due to their expected display rules. Some of the strategies used in the scenarios depicting a public vs. private context showed significant differences. Lower expression of anger in public context unexpectedly gained support for this study as a display rule (Sunar, et. al., 2005). However, more detailed studies are required to test whether this effect was due to the public vs. private context or the particular scenario used.

As this method was developed of story cards for this study it is questionable that it can create the designed public effect. Therefore the effect of particular emotion on the strategies used seems to be more significant. Further studies are required to examine the effect of particular emotions.

Additionally, a gender result was obtained for usage of emotion socialization strategies in social contexts. Mothers found to be employing these strategies more in public context for their sons compared to their daughters. Additionally, mothers applied them in private context more for their daughters. This may be due to the fact that expression of emotions are more encouraged in private contexts (Sunar et. al. 2005; Matsumoto et. al. 2008) and emotional expression is more encouraged for girls compared to sons (Cassano, Perry-Parrish and Zeman,

2007). Therefore, mothers may be implicitly teaching their children expression of emotions in social contexts according to gender norms.

### Strengths, Limitations and Future Recommendations

The aim of this study was to explore the factors affecting emotion socialization practices of the mothers with their pre-school aged children. Maternal emotion regulation, maternal education and social context were primarily evaluated. Maternal education and maternal emotion regulation were found to be factors influencing emotion socialization practices. Therefore, this study is contributing to the increasing knowledge on the aspects emotion socialization practices in Turkey. This study also made methodological contributions to the field. In this evaluation, mothers were interviewed in a structured style according to hypothetical vignettes depicted through pictures. This methodology was the strength of this study that showing pictures to mothers was very helpful for them to feel the story as close as to real life situations. Although these interviews were based on self-reports, using pictures was relaxing for mothers to talk about an event they experienced compared to just reading the vignette and asking mothers to talk about it. Therefore, pictures were helpful for mothers to be oriented in the interview. These vignettes were helpful to elicit a number of strategies mothers used for emotion socialization. These strategies could be coded using the coding scheme developed by Fabes et. al., 2002; Wang et. al., 2000; Wang, 2001) and previously used in Turkey by Atay (2009). It seems that this coding system is a useful and valid tool for the Turkish culture. However, the intercorrelations among the different strategies are not always consistent within the larger categorization of supportive, non-supportive and didactic-talk strategies. Further studies with a larger sample base could analyze the factor structure of these strategies through factor analysis.

Another significant aspect in these pictures was the social context. Exploring the social context was aimed to reach cultural conclusions for emotion socialization practices. However, the methodology did not make the expected private and public effects in the results. For further studies, either hypothetical vignettes are required to be altered or pictures for these vignettes need to be changed to make social context difference clearer.

This study also used MESQ and PEMS for the first time in Turkey. Internal reliability indices for both measures were adequate. However, while significant and meaningful relationships were obtained between PEMS factors and other measures, no relationship could be observed between MESQ and other study variables. Therefore the usefulness and validity of MESQ in Turkish culture needs to be further studied.

In this study, total of 73 mothers were interviewed. Although, the sample was not so large, mothers' education and income levels were ranging from low to high which allowed for the sample to be representative of the population.

The focus of this study was maternal emotion socialization practices. The roles of fathers are also significant as the family functions as a whole system (Parke and Buriel, 1998; cited in McElwain, Holberstadt, Volling, 2007). Therefore, inclusion of fathers and children in further studies may provide more comprehensive framework for understanding how emotion socialization practices of a couple rather than a single parent is transmitted to the child (Parke and Mc Dowell, 1998). In addition, the compatibility of the couples, their quality in their relation and to their children, attachment styles of parents and children can be assessed for future researches to understand the factors contribute to socialization.

In addition, as a suggestion for methodology, observation of parent-child conversations may provide clear atmosphere of the dyadic processes in addition to relying on self-reports of mothers. Fivush (1998) note that self report of mothers may be representative of "what they think they are doing, but they do not always tell us what they are actually

doing” (Fivush, 1998, p. 281.). Therefore, several limitations of self reports need to be considered before drawing firm conclusions from studies.

Finally, despite its several limitations, this study contributes to the emotion socialization literature in Turkey. Focusing on the influences of social context, working on four emotions separately and using pictures were rarely used methodologies in Turkey that this work constitutes a basis for further research questions and methodologies on emotion socialization literature. Furthermore, this study reminded the significance of mothers’ emotion regulation abilities and their education when interacting with their children. Therefore, this study is also illuminating for developing maternal or parental educative-supportive programs in which mothers’ ability to regulate and accept their emotions are worked and their emotional parenting styles are elaborated.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: Informed Consent Form

### BİLGİLENDİRME FORMU

Değerli Katılımcı,

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi klinik psikoloji bölümünde yüksek lisans öğrencisi olan Fulya Aydın'ın annelerin çocuklarının farklı duygularıyla baş ederken kullandıkları yöntemleri konu alan tez araştırmasına katılımınızı rica ediyorum.

Bu çalışma 3-6 yaş arası çocuğu olan toplam 60 anneyi içerecek. Annelerle yaklaşık yarım saat süren görüşmeler yapılacak ve annelerden bazı anket formlarını doldurmaları istenecektir. Bu görüşme ve anket formları aracılığıyla annelerin çocuklarının farklı duygusal yaşantılarıyla nasıl baş ettiklerine dair bilgi edinilmeye çalışılacaktır. Bütün bu prosedürün yaklaşık olarak bir saat sürmesi beklenmektedir. Görüşme boyunca konuşmaların sağlıklı bir şekilde kaydedilmesi amacıyla ses kayıt cihazı kullanılacaktır. Bu kayıtlar deşifre edildikten hemen sonra silinecektir.

Katılımcı olarak kimliğiniz gizli kalacaktır. Formların üstüne adınız ve soyadınız yazılmayacaktır ve çalışmanın sonuçları toplu bir şekilde değerlendirilecektir. Bu çalışmaya katılım gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Eğer çalışmaya katılmaya gönüllü olursanız lütfen bütün soruları olabildiğince samimi bir şekilde cevaplamaya çalışın. Çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız olursa Fulya Aydın'a 533 568 43 67 numaralı telefonda ya da [aydin.fulya@gmail.com](mailto:aydin.fulya@gmail.com) e-posta adresinden ya da çalışmanın danışmanı olan Dr. Zeynep Çatay'a [zcatay@bilgi.edu.tr](mailto:zcatay@bilgi.edu.tr) adresinden veya (212) 311 76 16 numaralı telefonda ulaşabilirsiniz.

Vereceğiniz dikkatli ve samimi cevaplar ve çalışmaya yapacağınız katkılardan dolayı size şimdiden teşekkür ederim.

Fulya Aydın  
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi  
Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı Öğrencisi



APPENDIX B: Demographic Information Form

Yaşınız:

Çocuğunuzun yaşı:

Kaç çocuğunuz var?

(Diğer çocuklarınızın cinsiyeti ve yaşları?)

Bu çocuğunuz kaçınıcı çocuğunuz?

Etnik kökeniniz?

Medeni durumunuz

Evli ( )

Boşanmış ( )

Ayrı yaşıyor ( )

Bekar ( )

Dul ( )

Kaçınıcı evliliğiniz?

Eşiniz yaşıyor mu?

Ne kadar süredir evlisiniz?

Eşinizin yaşı:

Şu anda kimlerle oturuyorsunuz?

Eğitim durumunuz?

Mesleğiniz:

Eşinizin eğitim durumu?

Eşinizin mesleği:

Aylık geliriniz ne kadar?

0- 500 TL ( )

500-1000 TL ( )

1000-3000 TL ( )

3000-5000 TL ( )

5000 TL – 10000 TL ( )

10000 TL ve üzeri ( )

Daha önce ana-babalığa dair bir eğitim aldınız mı? (Şöyleşi, konferansa katılma, ders alma veya atölye çalışmasına katılma gibi..)

Çocuğunuzla ilgili daha önce psikolojik danışmanlık hizmeti aldınız mı (halen almakta mısınız)?

Çocuğunuzla ilgili yaşadığınız önemli bir sorun oldu mu?

Büyüdüğünde çocuğunuzun hangi özelliklere sahip olmasını isterdiniz?

Büyüdüğünde çocuğunuzun hangi özelliklere sahip *olmasın* isterdiniz?

Çocuğunuzunuzu tarif eder misiniz?

Çocuğunuzun en beğendiğiniz özellikleri neler?

Çocuğunuzun en beğenmediğiniz ve sizi kaygılandıran yönleri neler?

## APPENDIX C: Scenarios and Questions of Emotion Cards

### Mutluluk (Private Context)

Bu resimdeki anne telefonla konuşuyor. Ve sonra çocuğuna akşama eve misafir geleceğini ve bu kişinin her zaman beraber oyun oynadıkları kuzeni olduğunu söylüyor.

- 1) Sizce bu durumda bu çocuk ne hissediyor?
- 2) Sizin çocuğunuzun benzer bir durum yaşadığını ve sonrasında size geldiğini hayal edin. Ona ne derdiniz, ne yaptınız?
- 3) Bu olay esnasında siz ne hissedersiniz?

### Üzüntü (Private Context)

Bu resimdeki çocuk evde en sevdiği oyuncacı ile oynamak için rafa uzanıyor. Raftan almaya çalışırken birden oyuncacı düşüyor ve kırılıyor.

- 1) Sizce bu durumda bu çocuk ne hissediyor?
- 2) Sizin çocuğunuzun benzer bir durum yaşadığını ve sonrasında size geldiğini hayal edin. Ona ne derdiniz, ne yaptınız?
- 3) Bu olay esnasında siz ne hissedersiniz?

### Korku (Private Context)

Bu resimde bir çocuk ablasıyla birlikte çizgi film seyrediyor. Çizgi filmde birden bir canavar çıkıyor ve bu çocuk kanepenin arkasına saklanıyor.

- 1) Sizce bu durumda bu çocuk ne hissediyor?
- 2) Sizin çocuğunuzun benzer bir durum yaşadığını ve sonrasında size geldiğini hayal edin. Ona ne derdiniz, ne yaptınız?
- 3) Bu olay esnasında siz ne hissedersiniz?

### Öfke (Private Context)

Bu resimdeki çocuk evde akşam vakti televizyon seyrediyor. Bu sırada babası gelip yatma vaktinin geldiğini ve yatması gerektiğini söyleyip, televizyonu kapatıyor.

- 1) Sizce bu durumda bu çocuk ne hissediyor?
- 2) Sizin çocuğunuzun benzer bir durum yaşadığını ve sonrasında size geldiğini hayal edin. Ona ne derdiniz, ne yaptınız?
- 3) Bu olay esnasında siz ne hissedersiniz?

### Mutluluk (Public Context)

Bu resimdeki evde misafirler var. Bu çocuğun dayısı, çocuğa bir hediye veriyor. Çocuk paketi açıyor ve içinden bisiklet çıkıyor.

- 1) Sizce bu durumda bu çocuk ne hissediyor?
- 2) Sizin çocuğunuzun benzer bir durum yaşadığını ve sonrasında size geldiğini hayal edin. Ona ne derdiniz, ne yaptınız?
- 3) Bu olay esnasında siz ne hissedersiniz?

### Üzüntü (Public Context)

Bu resimde misafirlikte oynayan iki çocuk var. Oyun oynarlarken bir tanesinin annesi geliyor, onu alıyor ve misafirlikten ayrılıyorlar. Bunun üzerine, evde kalan çocuk ağlamaya başlıyor.

- 1) Sizce bu durumda bu çocuk ne hissediyor?
- 2) Sizin çocuğunuzun benzer bir durum yaşadığını ve sonrasında size geldiğini hayal edin. Ona ne derdiniz, ne yaptınız?
- 3) Bu olay esnasında siz ne hissedersiniz?

### Korku (Public Context)

Bu resimde anneler çocuklarını parka götürüyorlar. Çocuklar kaydırağa binmek istiyorlar. Burada önde giden çocuk kaydırağa çıkıyor ve kaydırağın çok yüksek olduğunu fark ediyor.

- 1) Sizce bu durumda bu çocuk ne hissediyor?
- 2) Sizin çocuğunuzun benzer bir durum yaşadığını ve size geldiğini hayal edin. Ona ne derdiniz, ne yaptınız?
- 3) Bu olay esnasında siz ne hissedersiniz?

### Öfke (Public Context)

Bu resimde annelerin misafirlğe gittiği kalabalık bir evde oynayan çocuklar var. Ev sahibinin çocuğu arkadaşlarıyla oynarken, bir ara arkada oynayan arkadaşının yanına gidiyor. Burada okul defterinin arkadaşı tarafından çizilmiş olduğunu fark ediyor.

- 1) Sizce bu durumda bu çocuk ne hissediyor?
- 2) Sizin çocuğunuzun benzer bir durum yaşadığını ve sonrasında size geldiğini hayal edin. Ona ne derdiniz, ne yaptınız?
- 3) Bu olay esnasında siz ne hissedersiniz?

APPENDIX D: Maternal Emotional Styles Questionnaire (MESQ)

Lütfen aşağıda belirtilen düşüncelerden size en uygun olanını işaretleyiniz.

	Hiç katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
1. Üzüntü insanın takılıp kalmaması gereken bir şeydir.	1	2	3	4	5
2.Çocuğumun aşırı duygusal olmasındansa mutlu olmasını tercih ederim.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Çocuğuma üzüntüyü çabucak atlatması konusunda yardım ederim; böylelikle yoluna devam edebilir.	1	2	3	4	5
4.Çocuğumun öfkeli halini neşeli bir hale dönüştürmeye çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5
5.Çocukluk dertsiz tasasız bir dönemdir, üzgün ya da kızgın hissetme zamanı değil.	1	2	3	4	5
6.Çocuğum öfkelendiği zaman benim amacım onu durdurmaktır.	1	2	3	4	5
7.Çocuğum üzgün olduğu zaman her şeyi mükemmel hale getirmem beklenir.	1	2	3	4	5
8.Çocuğum öfkelenğinde bu onunla yakınlaşmak için bir fırsattır.	1	2	3	4	5
9.Çocuğum öfkelenğinde bu duygusunu paylaşmak için zaman ayırırım.	1	2	3	4	5
10.Çocuğum üzgün olduğu zaman onun problemini çözme zamanıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
11.Çocuğum öfkelenğinde onun ne düşündüğünü bilmek isterim.	1	2	3	4	5
12.Öfke üzerinde düşünmeye değer bir duygudur.	1	2	3	4	5
13.Çocuğum öfkelenğinde onun problemini çözmek gerekir.	1	2	3	4	5
14.Çocuğum üzgün olduğunda onunla yakınlaşma zamanıdır.	1	2	3	4	5

## APPENDIX E: Parent's Emotion Management Scale (PEMS)

**Lütfen aşağıda belirtilen değişik duygu ve durumları hangi sıklıkta yaşadığınızı size uyan dereceyi yuvarlak içine alarak belirtiniz.**

### Üzüntü

1. Ağlamamı ve üzüntümü kontrol edebilirim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
2. Üzüntümü içimde tutarım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
3. Sakin dururum ve üzücü şeylerin beni rahatsız etmesine izin vermem.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
4. Beni üzen şeylerden şikayet ederim/yakınıyorum.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
5. Üzüntümü gizlerim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
6. Sakinleşene kadar tamamen farklı bir şey yaparım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
7. Üzülürüm; ama bunu göstermem.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
8. Üzüntülü duygularımın kontrolünü kaybetmeyi engelleyebilirim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
9. Üzgün olduğumda ağlarım ve bağırır çağırırım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
10. Beni üzen her neyse sakince üstesinden gelmeye çalışırım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
11. Üzgün olduğumda evi temizlemek gibi şeyler yaparım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
12. Üzüntümü göstermekten korkarım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3

### Öfke

1. Öfkeli hissettiğim zaman asabiliğimi kontrol edebilirim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
2. Öfkemi içimde tutarım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
3. Öfkeli hissettiğim zaman sakın dururum ve soğukkanlılığımı korurum.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
4. Öfkelendiğimde kapıları çarpmak gibi şeyler yaparım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3

5. Öfkemi gizlerim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
6. Beni sınırlendiren her ne ise onunla yüzleşirim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
7. Deliye dönerim; ama bunu belli etmem.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
8. Öfkelendiğimde kendimi kaybetmemeyi başarırım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
9. Öfkelendiğimde bayağı şeyler söylerim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
10. Sorunu sakinlikle çözmeye, halletmeye çalışırım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
11. Öfkemi göstermekten korkarım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3

### Kaygı

1. Endişeli duygularımın kontrolünü kaybetmeyi engelleyebilirim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
2. Endişeli olduğumda bunu belli ederim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
3. Endişeli duygularımı içimde tutarım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
4. Endişeli olduğum zaman kendimi daha iyi hissedene kadar birisiyle konuşurum.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
5. Kaygılı olduğumda ağlamak ve bağırıp çağırmak gibi şeyler yaparım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
6. Endişeli hislerimi saklarım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
7. Endişeli hissettiğim zaman sakin dururum.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
8. Beni endişelendiren her neyse ondan kaçınırım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
9. Endişelenerim; ama bunu göstermem.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
10. Endişelendiğimde, sakinleşene kadar tamamen farklı bir şey yaparım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
11. Ne kadar endişeli olduğuma dair yakınmayı sürdürürüm.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
12. Gerçekten kaygılanmış davranmamı emgelleleyebilirim.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3

13. Endişelendiğimde sorunu sakinlikle halletmeye çalışırım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
14. Kaygılandığımda ağlarım ve bağırıp çağırırım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3
15. Endişeli hislerimi göstermekten korkarım.	Neredeyse hiç 1	Bazen 2	Sık sık 3



APPENDIX F: Short Temperament Scale for Children (STSC)

**ÇOCUKLAR İÇİN KISA MIZAÇ ÖLÇEĞİ**

**Her soru için, çocuğunuzun son zamanlardaki ve şimdiki davranışını en iyi anlatan numarayı lütfen yuvarlak içine alınız. Sorulardan hiçbiri çocuğunuza uymuyorsa veya cevaplanamazsa üzerini çiziniz.**

	Hemen Hiç	Sık Değil	Değişken, Genelde Olmaz	Değişken Genelde Olur	Sık Sık	Hemen Her Zaman
1. Çocuğum, yabancı yetişkinlere karşı utangaçtır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Çocuğum bulmaca çözmek veya yap-boz (lego) gibi bir işe başladığında uzun zaman olsa bile bitirinceye kadar üzerinde çalışır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Çocuğum her gün, hemen hemen aynı zamanda kakasını yapar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Çocuğum ilk defa tanıştığı çocuklara karşı utangaçtır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Çocuğum, yeni bir işe geçmeden önce başlamış olduğu işini tamamlamayı sever.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Çocuğum her gün, hemen hemen aynı zamanda bir şeyler atıştırmak ister.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Çocuğum bir işle uğraşırken, üzüldüğü ya da canı sıkıldığında, onu yere atar, ağlar, kapıları çarpar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Alışveriş yaparken, çocuğum oyuncak ya da şeker istediğinde, onun yerine kolayca başka bir şeyi kabul eder.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Çocuğumu yatağa yatırdığımda, uykuya dalması aşağı yukarı her gece aynı zamanı alır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Çocuğum, tamamlamadığı bir oyunu ya da aktiviteyi bırakmayı istemez.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Çocuğum saçının taranması gibi bir işe karşı çıkarsa, buna aylarca direnmeyi sürdürür.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Çocuğum, bulmaca, yap-boz ve okuma gibi bir aktiviteyle uzun zaman uğraşır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Parkta ya da ziyaretteyken, çocuğum yabancı çocukların yanına gider ve onların oyununa katılır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Çocuğum, her akşam farklı süreler uyur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Çocuğum yabancı bir yetişkine karşı utangaçsa, bunun üstesinden yarım saat kadar bir sürede, hemen gelir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Çocuğum bir şeye kızgınsa, bunu geçiştirmek zor olur.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Hemen Hiç	Sık Değil	Değişken, Genelde Olmaz	Değişken Genelde Olur	Sık Sık	Hemen Her Zaman
17. Çocuğum, her gün farklı zamanlarda acıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Ailece yolculuğa çıktığımızda, çocuğum yeni ortamına hemencecik, evindeymiş gibi alışır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Beraber alışveriş yaparken, çocuğumun istediğini almazsam (örnek: şeker, giysi gibi) ağlar ve bağırır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Çocuğum üzüntülü ise, onu rahatlatmak zordur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Yabancı yetişkinler evimizi ziyaret ettiğinde, çocuğum hemen dostça davranır ve onlara yaklaşır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Çocuğum her gün aynı miktarda yemek yeme yerine, bir gün fazlasıyla, ertesi gün de çok az yemek yer.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. Bir oyuncak ya da oyun zor geldiği zaman, çocuğum hemen başka bir aktiviteyle ilgilenir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Sevdiği bir oyun ya da oyuncağı çalışmadığı zaman, çocuğum belirgin şekilde üzülür.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. Çocuğum bir kıyafeti giymek istemediğinde, bağırarak tartışır ya da ağlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. Hafta sonu ve tatillerde, çocuğum her sabah aynı saatte uyanır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. Çocuğum bir şeyi iyice öğreninceye kadar (bulmaca, yeni şarkı veya yazmak gibi), o işin üzerinde çalışır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. Çocuğum, annesinin olmadığı yeni bir ortama (yuva, okul ya da müzik dersi gibi) ilk kez bırakıldığı zaman, üzülür.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. Çocuğum bir şeyle oynamaya başladığında, bunu durdurmasını isteyip uğraşsam da zor olur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30. Çocuğum, kitap okumak ya da kitaplara bakmak ve el işi yapmak gibi sessiz aktivitelerle uğraşır.	1	2	3	4	5	6

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