

THE SOCIALIZATION OF EMOTIONAL UNDERSTANDING:
A COMPARISON OF NEGLECTFUL AND NONNEGLECTFUL MOTHERS
AND THEIR CHILDREN

by

ANNA M. EDWARDS

(Under the Direction of Kimberly Shipman, Ph.D.)

ABSTRACT

Investigated the influence of maternal socialization (i.e. discussion of emotion, negative affect, maternal support) on children's emotional understanding in 24 neglected children and a matched control group. Mothers and children were administered an interaction task. Mothers were also assessed for negative emotional experience, and children were assessed for emotional understanding and expectations of maternal support. Findings indicated that neglected children demonstrate lower levels of emotional understanding, and that neglectful mothers engage in less emotional discussion, experience more negative emotion, and provide less support in response to their children's emotional displays. Further, maternal support mediated the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding. Findings are discussed from the functionalist approach to emotional development, emphasizing the importance of social context and socialization on children's emotional understanding.

INDEX WORDS: Socialization, Emotional Understanding, Child Neglect

THE SOCIALIZATION OF EMOTIONAL UNDERSTANDING:
A COMPARISON OF NEGLECTFUL AND NONNEGLECTFUL MOTHERS
AND THEIR CHILDREN

by

ANNA M. EDWARDS

B.A., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1998

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2003

© 2003

Anna M. Edwards

All Rights Reserved

THE SOCIALIZATION OF EMOTIONAL UNDERSTANDING:
A COMPARISON OF NEGLECTFUL AND NONNEGLECTFUL MOTHERS
AND THEIR CHILDREN

by

ANNA M. EDWARDS

Major Professor: Kimberly Shipman

Committee: Joan Jackson
Ron Blount

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May, 2003

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to several important people who have supported me through this process. First, I would like to thank my colleagues and friends at the University of Georgia for their contributions, feedback, and ongoing support. In particular, I would like to thank my committee members whose contributions helped me to develop and refine this project. I would like to thank my parents, William Edwards and Margaret Edwards, for instilling in me the confidence and determination necessary to achieve my professional and personal goals. I would also like to thank my partner, Josh Gaura, for his love and patience throughout this journey. Finally, my warmest thanks goes to my academic advisor, Kimberly Shipman, for her assistance with this project and for her collaborative approach to mentorship throughout my training at the University of Georgia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
 CHAPTER	
1 The Socialization of Emotional Understanding: A Comparison of Neglectful and Nonneglectful Mothers and Their Children.....	1
Emotion Theory.....	3
Emotional Understanding and Socioemotional Adjustment.....	8
Role of Parental Socialization and Emotional Understanding.....	9
Socioemotional Adjustment and Child Maltreatment	12
Emotional Development and Child Maltreatment.....	14
The Present Study.....	16
2 Method.....	19
Participants.....	19
Power Analysis	20
Materials	20
Procedure	23
3 Results.....	25
Data Analysis Strategy.....	25
Emotional Understanding.....	26

	Maternal Socialization.....	26
	Path Analyses.....	27
4	Discussion.....	30
	Emotional Understanding.....	31
	Maternal Socialization.....	32
5	Limitations and Considerations for Future Research.....	37
	References	39
Appendices		
	A Measures.....	45
	B Coding Systems.....	52

CHAPTER 1

The Socialization of Emotional Understanding: A Comparison Of Neglectful and Nonneglectful Mothers and Their Children

Although healthy emotional development has long been recognized as essential to a child's psychological and physical well being, only recently have researchers begun to examine the factors that underlie competent emotional functioning. Research in children's emotional competence has emphasized the importance of the development of emotion management skills. One category of emotion management skills that has recently received attention is emotional understanding (Parke, Cassidy, Burks, Carson, & Boynum, 1992). Emotional understanding is defined by Parke et al. (1992) as children's ability to understand the causes, consequences, and appropriate emotional responses to displays of one's own emotional experience and the emotional experience of others. These skills are important to emotional competence as they enable children to apply their knowledge about emotion strategically when responding to emotionally arousing situations (Saarni, 1999). They are essential as they contribute to children's successful development of social competence (Denham, McKinley, Couchoud, & Holt, 1990) and psychological adjustment (Cook, Greenberg, & Kusche, 1994).

Emotional understanding skills have been found to develop within parent-child relationships (Parke et al., 1992). Unfortunately, the development of emotional understanding skills in children whose life experiences interfere with the normal course of emotional development has received little empirical attention. In particular, there is

almost no research focusing specifically on child neglect. Within the broader category of child maltreatment (including emotional, physical, and sexual abuse and neglect), researchers have typically focused on the psychological outcomes of maltreatment (e.g. psychopathology), but have given little attention to processes in emotional development that may underlie these outcomes. The lack of attention given to child neglect is surprising given that we do know that neglected children are at risk for negative outcomes such as psychopathology and poor peer relations. In addition, it is known that factors in their parent-child relationships may interfere with these children's emotional development (such as parental emotion dysregulation and lack of attention). Research supports that these children are at risk, however, more needs to be understood about what happens in neglected children's emotional development that puts them at risk.

From a developmental psychopathology perspective (Cicchetti & Toth, 1995; Sroufe & Rutter, 1984), it is important that we examine not only the processes associated with the development of emotion management skills in children with typical socialization experiences, but that we also examine these skills in children with atypical socialization experiences (such as neglect). By examining typical experiences, it becomes possible to look at factors in the parent-child relationship that may foster competent emotional development. This examination can provide information about the role that certain experiences in the parent-child relationship may play in emotional development. In addition, this information can provide insight into ways that atypical experiences may relate to atypical emotional functioning. Child neglect provides an interesting paradigm for this as these children's families are characterized by a lack of the parental involvement and care that characterizes healthy families. From a Developmental

Psychopathology perspective, the present study will examine the socialization of emotional understanding skills in mother-child pairs by comparing neglectful and nonneglectful families.

Emotion Theory

The Functionalist Approach to emotion provides a foundation for understanding the importance of emotion management skills to children's development of socioemotional competence as well as the role that parent-child interactions may play in the development of these emotion management skills (Barrett & Campos, 1987). According to the Functionalist approach to emotion (Barrett & Campos, 1987; Campos, Campos, & Barrett, 1989), the presence of an emotion is determined by a particular set of functional relationships between an organism and its environment. Emotions are defined as "bi-directional processes of establishing, maintaining, and/or disrupting significant relationships between an organism and the external or internal environment" (Barrett & Campos, 1987, p.558). Emotions involve the impact of the environment and the organism upon each other and, as they impact one another, both the organism and environment are constantly changing in relation to one another. The development of emotional competence, then, is thought to arise through experiences with the social environment, primarily through parent-child interactions (Barrett & Campos, 1987; Saarni, 1999).

The Functionalist approach indicates that emotion functions to meet the needs and goals of the organism experiencing emotions (Barrett & Campos, 1987; Campos et al., 1989). For instance, sadness functions to elicit help in situations in which the individual recognizes that they will be unable to attain the desired goal without assistance. For example, a child who feels that he does not have the ability to comfort himself in an emotionally arousing situation may express

sadness in order to solicit assistance from his caregiver. Likewise, joy functions interpersonally to increase the likelihood that an individual will continue his or her activity while, at the same time, signaling to others to maintain the interaction. For example, a hungry baby who is enjoying eating will express joy to his mother in order to continue the interaction and have the mother continue to feed him. To function adaptively within these interpersonal contexts, children must learn appropriate ways of expressing emotion as well as learn to respond appropriately to the emotional displays of others (Shipman & Zeman, 2001).

Further, the Functionalist approach emphasizes that children's emotional development is thought to arise through experiences with their environment. Most often, a child's initial experience of this socialization occurs within his or her family. Emotions can be socialized in several ways (Barrett & Campos, 1987; Campos et. al., 1989; Campos, Mumme, Kermoian, & Campos, 1994). First, socialization teaches children how to label emotions. As parents label emotional reactions for their child, it provides a lexicon for the child to refer to emotional states. Parents who inappropriately label emotions, fail to label emotions, or fail to discuss emotions with their children can produce children who fail to learn "appropriate" ways of referring to and managing their own emotions. Second, socialization of emotion affects how a child comes to understand emotion and ascribe significance to emotion. Therefore, as parents discuss emotions with their children and react to their own and other's emotional displays, they are teaching their child about appropriate emotional behavior. Finally, socialization teaches children to learn to cope with emotions. A major function of child rearing is to guide children in coping with emotionally arousing situations in appropriate ways. This provides opportunities for these

children to learn appropriate ways to behave in emotionally arousing situations (Barrett & Campos, 1987).

Consistent with the Functionalist Approach, theorists of emotion socialization also emphasize the interpersonal functions of emotion. Lewis and Michalson (1983) suggest that children learn how and when to express emotions by adopting a number of culturally determined socialization rules. These socialization practices teach children how to label and interpret emotions in different situational contexts, when emotion is appropriate, and how to show and dissemble emotional experiences as culturally indicated (Lewis & Michalson, 1983). Consistent with the Functionalist approach to socialization, Lewis and Michalson predict that children who adopt the appropriate socialization rules will function adaptively within their culture.

Similarly, Saarni focuses on the interpersonal nature of emotions and the role of socialization in children's emotional development (Saarni, 1999). She states that emotion-eliciting encounters derive their meaning from the social context. In this way, emotional experience is developmentally embedded in social experience. Saarni states that components of emotional competence are those skills needed for a person to be able to accomplish their goals, particularly in emotionally eliciting social transactions. For example, children who grow up in typical environments usually show distress to solicit help from a caregiver in order to achieve a goal that they cannot attain on their own. However, a child who has had atypical socialization experiences (such as child neglect) may not continue to show distress because experience at home has taught the child that expressing distress will not solicit help. Unfortunately, these behaviors learned at home may then generalize to other contexts. Therefore, while the child growing up in a typical environment will naturally solicit help from a teacher at school when they

fall and scrape their knee, the neglected child may not solicit this help because experience at home has taught them that it is futile.

Saarni emphasized several specific skills that will determine a child's level of emotional understanding. First, a child must gain the awareness of his or her own emotional state. As he or she develops a sense of emotional understanding, he or she must become aware of what they experience emotionally. The second skill is the ability to discern other's emotions. For a child to be able to understand what those around him or her are experiencing, the child must be able to discern expressions of one emotion from another. Third, a child must develop the ability to use the vocabulary of emotion associated with their culture. As previously mentioned, children must learn appropriate lexicons for referring to emotions if they are to be able to effectively understand others' emotional displays and refer to their own emotions in ways that others will understand. Finally, children must develop a capacity for empathic involvement with others (feeling *with* others) and sympathetic involvement with others (feeling *for* others). Children must be able to identify with the emotions of others in order to be able to appropriately respond to others' emotional displays. Knowledge of emotions that are typically associated with certain situations coupled with the ability to understand other people's viewpoints contribute to a child's level of emotional understanding.

Consistent with emotion theory, children who adopt the culturally appropriate emotion management skills will function adaptively in their social environment. Children who fail to adopt such skills, however, may be at risk for adaptational failures in development (e.g. poor peer relations, psychopathology). Experiences that deviate from normative emotion socialization may reinforce the child's emotional expression and experiences in atypical ways (Cicchetti, 1990;

Shipman, Zeman, Penza, & Champion, 2001). For example, in neglectful families, neglectful caregivers will likely fail to engage in behaviors thought to facilitate their child's emotional development. Additionally, neglected children will likely fail, as well, to interact with his or her caregivers in a way that facilitates learning, and more specifically, facilitates understanding emotions. Because the child is not given opportunities to learn about emotions, she may fail to develop the first few skills of emotional competence, such as becoming aware of her own emotional state or becoming able to discern other's emotions. This can interfere with the development of other emotional competencies and can lead to other adaptational failures in development (Saarni, 1990).

While the child who fails to understand emotions may function maladaptively in some or most contexts, most often there is a context in which the child's behavior is adaptive (e.g. inhibiting emotions in a neglectful environment). For example, if a neglected child grows up in an environment that teaches him that crying does not facilitate help when he is hurt, he may generalize this socialization to other social contexts. Unfortunately, as soon as the child goes outside of the home and attempts to relate to others, the dysfunction becomes apparent. When the child becomes hurt at school, he may fail to ask for help when needing it in that context as well. In addition, he will not understand why other children cry when they are hurt and, as such, he will not know how to respond appropriately. Therefore, while this child's inhibition of emotion is adaptive and even helpful for him at home, it can put him at risk for adaptational failures in other contexts.

Emotional Understanding and Socioemotional Adjustment

Consistent with the Functionalist Approach, research has demonstrated the importance of emotional understanding to children's socioemotional functioning. More specifically, children's emotional understanding has been found to predict their social competence. Successful peer interactions require the understanding of the causes of emotions, the meaning of emotions, and appropriate responses to emotions in one's self and others (Parke et. al.1992). In a study examining emotional understanding in 5 and 6-year-old children, this idea has been supported. Cassidy and Parke (1991) found that the following factors correlate positively with peer acceptance (a) the ability to identify emotions (b) understanding the causes of emotions (c) understanding that it is appropriate to express emotions in certain situations and (d) acknowledging emotional experience. Children's emotional understanding was correlated positively with peer and teacher measures of prosocial behavior and negatively with peer reports of shyness. Similarly, Denham, McKinley, Couchoud, and Holt (1990) examined the relation between children's knowledge of emotional situations and peer assessment of likeability. In this study, 3-to-4-year-old children were presented with a series of vignettes and asked to indicate their understanding of the type of emotion that the situation would elicit by affixing one of four emotions to a puppet's face. Findings indicated that emotion situation knowledge was positively related to peer likeability.

The influence of emotional competence on social functioning has also been supported by Cassidy, Parke, Butkovsky, and Braungart (1992). In this study, kindergarten and first-grade middle-class children were assessed and patterns of parent and child emotional expressiveness were explored. Findings indicated that children's understanding of emotions predicted their

acceptance by peers. In addition, children's understanding of emotion influenced the links between maternal expressiveness in the home and peer relations. This study suggests that a link might exist between parent-child interactions, emotional understanding, and peer relations.

In addition to children's emotional understanding influencing their social competence, these skills have been found to influence their psychological adjustment as well. In a study by Cook, Greenberg, and Kusche (1994), 6-to-10-year-old children were evaluated to examine relations between children's emotional understanding and behavioral adjustment. Results indicated that children who were rated as higher in behavior problems showed deficits in emotional understanding. More specifically, children with behavior problems provided fewer appropriate examples when asked to talk about their own emotional experiences. In addition, when asked "How do you know when you/other people are feeling (emotion)?" children with behavior problems were less able to provide answers reflective of inner feeling states or to give multiple cues for the emotion.

Role of Parental Socialization and Emotional Understanding

Children's emotional understanding skills have been found to develop, in part, within the parent-child relationship. More specifically, research has suggested the importance of the family emotional climate (i.e. family and parental expressiveness) and direct parental socialization (e.g. response to emotional displays). Emotion-eliciting interactions between mothers and children can be crucial situations in which children begin to learn about emotional communication and appropriate responses to emotion (Halberstadt, 1991). By watching a mother's emotional behavior, children learn about how to respond to their own and others' emotions appropriately. Considering this, if a child is exposed to primarily negative emotions, they might fail to learn

appropriate emotional responses to other's range of emotions. In addition, when children experience heightened personal distress during emotionally charged events, this self-focus can divert attention away from facial and situational information about emotion so that little is learned (Denham, 1998).

Studies have demonstrated that family emotional climate influences children's emotional understanding skills (Denham & Grout, 1992; Denham, Renwick-DeBardi, & Hewes, 1994; Denham, Zoller, & Couchoud, 1994). Denham, Zoller, et al. (1994) conducted a study using middle to upper middle class families with preschool-age children. Findings indicated that maternal positive emotional responsiveness to child expression was positively related to emotional understanding, whereas negative responsiveness was negatively related to emotional understanding. In addition, maternal anger expression was negatively related to emotional understanding. Denham and Grout (1992) found that mothers who reported less frequent and intense anger had children who displayed more positive emotion, whereas mothers who expressed frequent and intense anger had children who displayed higher levels of anger. Similarly, more frequent expression of happiness in mothers was related to higher levels of positive emotion in children.

Empirical research suggests that not only is a family's emotional climate important, but also direct parental socialization. In particular, parental discussion of emotion has been found to facilitate emotional understanding in children. Total emotion language usage as well as whether mothers used emotion words to serve such functions as commenting, explaining, or questioning have been found to predict children's concurrent and later understanding of emotion (Denham, Cook, & Zoller, 1992; Denham, Zoller, et al., 1994; Dunn, Brown, & Beardsall, 1991; Dunn,

Brown, Slomkowski, Tesla, & Youngblade, 1991; Dunn & Brown, 1994). Research also indicates that maternal explanation of causes and consequences is significantly related to children's emotional understanding. In particular, Denham, Zoller, et al. (1994) found that maternal explanations about emotion and positive and negative responsiveness to child emotions predicted emotional understanding in the children. In addition, Dunn, Brown, Slomkowski, et al. (1991) examined the connection between mother-child emotion language and understanding of emotion. Both child-to-mother and mother-to-child feeling state talk, especially child talk about the causes of emotions, was related to the child's emotional understanding. Likewise, in a study by Dunn, Brown, and Beardsall (1991), talk about feeling states in preschool children and their mothers was related to the child's understanding of emotions at six years of age. In addition, those mothers who spontaneously explained their emotions during the laboratory simulation had children who were more adept at understanding emotions. Similar to the findings of Dunn and colleagues, Denham et al. (1992) found that mother-child discussion of the causes and consequences of emotion is important in predicting children's ability to identify emotional expressions as well as situations. Results of this study indicated that accuracy of the mother's emotion language was related to the children's ability to label emotional expressions. In addition, mothers who talked more about the emotions they were asked to simulate in the study had children with greater emotion knowledge.

While Denham, Dunn, and others have provided great insight into the importance of the socialization of emotion and emotional understanding, these studies have been conducted primarily with children who have normative socialization experiences. Unfortunately, little research has been done to examine emotion understanding in maltreating families. From a

developmental psychopathology framework, it is necessary to examine not only children who have typical socialization experiences, but also those whose life experiences interfere with normative development. Normative research suggests that several factors characteristic of maternal socialization are important for the development of emotional understanding (e.g. parental discussion of emotion, parental emotional climate, parental support). In contrast, neglectful parent-child interactions are thought to lack several of these characteristics thought to be important for normative emotional development. More specifically, given the nature of neglectful families, parent-child interactions are likely characterized by emotional dysregulation or lack of parental attention and/or support. Although little research has been conducted specifically on child neglect, studies combining different types of maltreatment (including emotional, physical, and sexual abuse, and neglect) do suggest that atypical socialization experiences in maltreating families may interfere with children's development of emotional understanding skills.

Socioemotional Adjustment and Child Maltreatment

Research has demonstrated that neglected children are lacking in social competence. Crittenden (1981) found that neglected children were passive and tended toward helplessness under stress. In addition, Mueller and Silverman (1989), when looking at abused, neglected, and nonmaltreated children, found that neglected children are more withdrawn from social interactions than abused or nonmaltreated children. Similarly, Hoffman-Plotkin and Twentyman (1984) reported that neglected children interacted less with peers than physically abused or nonmaltreated children. The limited number of studies that have separated neglect from other types of maltreatment strongly suggest that neglected children lack in social competence skills.

While there is little empirical research to date on psychopathology in neglected children, a few studies do provide insight into neglected children's risk for psychopathology. Rogeness, Amrunga, Macedo, Harris, and Fisher (1986) conducted a study comparing children with histories of abuse, neglect, and no abuse or neglect. Results indicated that neglected and abused children had an increased frequency of conduct disorder as compared to nonmaltreated children. Similarly, Reidy (1977) found that abused and neglected children displayed more aggressive behaviors than their nonmaltreated peers on the Behavior Problem Checklist.

While these findings are indeed important, the most striking findings about child neglect, social competence, and psychopathology come from Erickson, Egeland, and Pianta (1989). Erickson et al. (1989) conducted a longitudinal study looking at physically abused children, sexually abused children, neglected children, and children with psychologically unavailable mothers. At 24 months of age, the neglected children were found to demonstrate more negative and less positive affect than their nonmaltreated peers. In addition, by six years of age, children in the neglect group stood out as having more varied and more severe problems than children in any of the other groups. They demonstrated more dramatic problems in adjustment to school, more internalizing and externalizing difficulties, and they were rated by their teachers as withdrawn, unpopular, and aggressive with their peers. Together, these studies demonstrate the importance of separating types of maltreatment when studying their consequences. While empirical research devoted specifically to child neglect and psychopathology is extremely limited, it is evident that they are at an increased risk for psychopathology and failure to develop social competence as compared to their same age peers.

Emotional Development and Child Maltreatment

Little empirical attention has been given to emotional development in children with atypical socialization experiences. In particular, with regard to child neglect, the limited research available on child neglect has primarily examined the psychological outcomes of maltreatment. This is surprising given that neglected children show a number of difficulties thought to be related to deficits in emotion management skills (e.g. psychopathology, poor peer relations).

While several studies suggest that maltreated children are at an increased risk for psychosocial difficulties, only a few studies have examined processes in the emotional development of maltreated children that may underlie these difficulties (Beeghly & Cicchetti, 1994; Gaensbauer & Sands, 1979; Gaensbauer & Hiatt, 1984; Rogosch, Cicchetti, & Aber, 1995; Shipman & Zeman, 1999; Shipman & Zeman, 2001). In a study on affective communication in abused and neglected infants, Gaensbauer and Haitt (1984) found that infants who were physically abused demonstrated high levels of negative affect and paucity of positive affect. In addition, an emotionally neglected infant presented as affectively blunted, evidencing little negative or positive affect. This study provided evidence that parental abuse and neglect may interfere with children's emotional development. In addition, Beeghly and Cicchetti (1996) found that maltreated children (including physical abuse, sexual abuse, and child neglect) demonstrate less ability to use internal-state language. Similarly, Rogosch, Cicchetti, and Aber (1995) found that maltreated children were shown to evidence early deviations in their understanding of negative affect. In addition, studies have shown that maltreated children have difficulty in the production of emotional expression (Camras, Ribordy, Hill, Martino, Spaccarelli, and Stefani, 1988; Kropp and Haynes, 1987).

The deficits demonstrated by maltreated children with regard to emotional understanding leads to questions about the role that socialization may play in maltreating families. While little is known specifically about neglectful parents, research has demonstrated that maltreating parents engage in a number of behaviors that may interfere with children's development of emotional understanding. In particular, Aragona and Eyberg (1981) found that neglectful mothers gave less verbal praise and acknowledgement and more criticism and commands than mothers of children with behavior problems in nonmaltreating families. In addition, maltreating (including abusive and neglectful) mothers have been found to demonstrate higher levels of negative parental affect (Crittenden, 1981). Taken together, these findings suggest that maltreating parents may engage in emotion socialization behaviors that differ from those of nonmaltreating parents. That is, neglectful parents may provide atypical socialization experiences for their children by responding to their emotions in atypical ways.

To date, there has been no research examining the socialization of emotion and emotional understanding in neglected children. A related study, however, examined maternal socialization of emotional understanding in physically maltreating and nonmaltreating families (Shipman & Zeman, 1999). This study investigated the socialization of emotion in 22 physically abusive mother-child dyads and a control group matched on socioeconomic status, age, sex, and race. Mothers and children were given the Expectations of Maternal Support Interview (EMSI)- Parent and Child Version (respectively), to measure mothers' and children's expectations of maternal support following an emotional display. In addition, mothers and children completed an interaction task in which they discussed situations that made the child happy, sad, and angry. Children were instructed to "talk with your mother about a time you felt

[emotion].” Children were also given the Emotional Understanding Interview to measure their understanding of the causes and consequences of emotion and appropriate responses to emotion. Results indicated that, when compared to controls, physically maltreating mothers were less likely to engage in discussions reflective of emotional understanding and maltreated children demonstrated lower levels of emotional understanding. In addition, significant positive relations emerged between maternal discussion of emotion, expectations of maternal support, and children's emotional understanding skills.

The Present Study

Research has demonstrated that emotional understanding skills are essential to children's socioemotional adjustment. According to the Functionalist approach to emotional development, normative socialization experiences teach children to manage their emotions in culturally appropriate ways, thus enabling them to communicate effectively their own emotions and respond appropriately to other's displays of emotion (Barrett & Campos, 1987). Unfortunately, few studies have examined children with atypical socialization experiences. Those that have shown that children with atypical experiences, such as physical maltreatment, are at increased risk for responding inappropriately to displays of other's emotions and their own emotional experience. Additionally, research suggests that a child's experience of maltreatment may interfere with his or her emotional development such that he or she has difficulty understanding emotionally arousing situations (Shipman & Zeman, 1999). Normative research suggests that there are several aspects in the parent-child relationship that facilitate children's development of emotional understanding (e.g. parental discussion of emotion, emotional support). Further, neglectful families appear to lack many of these skills, engaging in behaviors that may interfere

with children's competent emotional development. Unfortunately, very little attention has been given specifically to child neglect, especially in regard to understanding more about these families' parent-child interactions and how these interactions relate to children's emotional understanding skills. Research has shown that emotional understanding relates to children's emotional competence. In addition, emotion theorists have demonstrated that deficits in these skills may relate to childhood psychopathology. Therefore, it is necessary that we understand more about parental socialization in neglectful families and how it influences children's development of emotional understanding skills.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the influence of maternal socialization on children's emotional understanding skills in neglectful and nonneglectful mother-child dyads. More specifically, this study will examine three aspects of maternal socialization including maternal discussion reflective of emotional understanding, maternal expression of negative affect, and maternal support in response to children's emotional displays. Children's emotional understanding and maternal socialization will be assessed in regard to negative emotion (i.e. anger and sadness). This approach will allow for an examination of how neglectful and nonneglectful mothers differ in their socialization of emotion and, in turn, how this affects children's development of emotional understanding. Further, this study will allow for an examination of differences in emotional understanding between neglectful and nonneglectful children.

It is hypothesized that, compared to controls, neglected children will demonstrate less emotional understanding skills for negative emotions (i.e. sadness and anger) than children in the control group. Second, it is hypothesized that neglectful mothers will engage less in socialization

practices thought to facilitate emotional understanding than mothers in the control group. More specifically, it is predicted that (a) neglectful mothers will engage in less discussion reflective of emotional understanding (e.g. causes and consequences of emotion) than nonmaltreating mothers, (b) neglectful mothers will report that they experience higher levels of negative affect than nonmaltreating mothers, and (c) neglectful mothers will provide less support following their children's emotional displays. Finally, it is predicted that the impact of neglect on children's emotional understanding skills will be mediated by maternal socialization behavior (i.e. discussion reflective of emotional understanding, maternal negative affect, and children's expectations of maternal support).

CHAPTER 2

Method

Participants

Twenty-four neglected children between the ages of 5 and 12 years old and their mothers were recruited from the Parent's Assistance Center, a treatment center for maltreating parents, and from the Family Clinic at UGA. Twenty-four nonmaltreated children were recruited from a local Head Start Program and from the community. Mothers were contacted directly by phone or in person and asked to participate in the study. All children in the neglect group experienced child neglect that was substantiated by Child Protective Services of the Department of Human Services and all of these children had neglect as their only charge from CPS. In each case, child neglect by the mother was characterized by failing to meet the basic needs of the child, including supervision, food, and shelter. Participants in the control group had no history of maltreatment as indicated by parent report and review of Child Protective Service files. Fathers were not included in the study because, in many instances, they had very minimal involvement with their children. The sample consisted of 56% boys and 44% girls, with 58% of African American heritage, 37 % of Caucasian heritage, and 5% of Bi-Racial heritage. Regarding family composition, 44% of children lived with their mother only, 23% lived with their mother and father, and 10% lived with their biological mother and their mother's significant other. The remaining 23% of children lived in families with other family compositions, such as with grandparents or with foster parents.

Power Analyses

A power analysis was conducted according to Cohen (1988). When calculating effect size, findings from past studies demonstrated that effect sizes tend to be large. Using the formula $r = \sqrt{F/F + df}$ (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1984), previous studies demonstrated the following results:

<u>Study</u>	<u>r</u>
Shipman & Zeman, 1999 (emotional understanding)	.58
Shipman & Zeman, 1999 (maternal discussion of emotion)	.48
Shipman & Zeman, 2001 (maternal support)	.52

Using Bornstein and Cohen's (1988) statistical program, a mediational power analysis was conducted. Based on this information, with the effect sizes calculated from previous studies and a power of .80, a minimum of 17 participants per group was needed for this study.

Materials

Discussion of Emotion. Discussion of Emotion was measured using the *Mother-Child Interaction Task* (MCIT) in which mothers and children discuss situations in which the children felt sadness and anger. Children were asked to tell their mothers about times that they experienced sadness and anger. Mothers were asked to respond to their children as they would at home if the child began discussing these things with her. Interviewers were trained to look away while the mothers and children talked so that they would not influence participants' responses. Each interaction was tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. Each conversational turn of the mother was coded for the presence or absence of discussion reflective of emotional understanding, including the causes and consequences of emotion and appropriate constructive

approaches for coping with emotionally arousing situations. Total scores were created by summing the number of conversational turns that reflected emotional understanding. The coding system was developed based on past research (Shipman & Zeman, 1999). Interrater reliability was established by calculating kappa on 30% of the responses on interview protocols (kappa = .75). For further description of the coding system please refer to Appendix B. .

Frequency of Emotional Experience. Mothers were administered the *Differential Emotions Scale-IV* (DES-IV; Blumberg & Izard, 1985; Izard, Dougherty, Bloxom, & Kotsch, 1974) to assess the frequency with which they experience certain emotions. The DES-IV consists of subscales for 12 emotions (i.e. Interest, Enjoyment, Sadness, Anger, Surprise, Disgust, Contempt, Fear, Guilt, Shame, Shyness, Hostility Inward) adapted from the original DES-II (Izard, 1972) for use with adults with limited education. This measure involves rating the frequency of emotional experience on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = never, 2 = hardly ever, 3 = sometimes, 4 = often, 5 = very often). The DES-IV has established test-retest reliability in samples of adults across time periods of up to four months (scales range from $r = .50$ to $.76$). Confirmatory factor analyses have provided support for the twelve emotion scales (Blumberg and Izard, 1985; Fridlund, Schwartz, and Fowler, 1984; Izard, Libero, Putnam, and Haynes, 1993) and have demonstrated that individual emotion scales combine to yield two general factors of positive and negative emotionality (Izard et al., 1993). In addition, studies have supported the construct validity of the DES-IV by demonstrating distinct patterns of emotions associated with anxiety and depression in adults (Bartlett and Izard, 1972; Izard, Blumberg, and Oyster, 1985). This study utilized the negative emotionality scale of the DES-IV.

Expectations of Maternal Support. The Emotion Management Interview - Child Version (EMI-C; Shipman & Zeman, 2001) was designed to investigate children's expectancies about mothers' reactions to their emotional displays. In this interview, children are read a series of four vignettes that have been demonstrated to elicit anger and sadness in elementary school age children based on past research (Casey & Fuller, 1994; Zeman & Garber, 1996; Zeman & Shipman, 1996). For each of the two emotion types, there were 2 vignettes. Following each vignette, children were asked a question related to their expectations of support from their mother (i.e., "What would your mom do if you showed your sad feelings?"). A coding system developed in past research (Shipman & Zeman, 2001; Shipman, Zeman, Penza, & Champion, 2001) was used in order to evaluate whether children expected their mothers to respond to their emotional displays in a supportive manner. Responses were coded as supportive (using a code of 1) or nonsupportive (using a code of 0). Total scores for support and nonsupport were summed across vignettes for each emotion type. Interrater reliability was established by calculating kappa on 30% of the responses on interview protocols (kappa = .97). For further description of the coding system please refer to Appendix B.

Emotional Understanding. The Emotional Understanding Interview (EUI; Cassidy et al., 1992) was administered to children to evaluate their understanding of the causes and consequences of emotion as well as their ability to understand appropriate responses to their own and other's emotional experiences. Children were instructed to look at pictures of a child who is experiencing sadness and anger. Then, the child was asked to answer a series of questions that would measure (a) identification of emotion (e.g., "How do you think this child is feeling?"), (b) experience of emotion (e.g., "Do you ever feel like this?") (c) causes of emotion

(e.g., "What kinds of things make you feel this way?") (d) expression of emotion (e.g., "When you feel this way do you let other people see you looking this way?") (e) action responses to emotional displays (e.g., "If your mom saw you looking this way, what would she do?" and "What would you do if you saw another kid looking this way?"). Research on the EUI has demonstrated high interrater agreement (kappas range from .78-1.0 for each question) and has supported construct validity by demonstrating relations between emotional understanding and children's social competence (Cassidy et al. 1992). Interrater reliability was established by calculating kappa on 30% of the responses on interview protocols (kappa = .88). For further description of the coding system please refer to Appendix B.

Procedure

Mothers interested in participating were asked to sign a consent form giving permission for both the child and mother to participate. In addition, children signed a child assent. In instances where the child was in custody of Child Protective Services, family caseworkers were asked to sign the consent form as well. Participants were told that they could stop participation at any time and would be paid for the portion of the project that they completed. In addition, families were told that they did not have to answer any questions with which they did not feel comfortable. Interviews were conducted by female research assistants with specialized training in clinical psychology and child development. Two research assistants attended each interview so that one interviewer could interview the mother and the other could interview the child. In cases where children were not living with their mother, research assistants interviewed the mother and child separately, then conducted the Mother-Child Interaction Task when children were on a visit with their mother. This study was conducted as part of a larger study in which

mothers were paid fifty dollars and children were given a small toy . The total interview required approximately two hours to complete.

CHAPTER 3

Results

Data Analysis Strategy

A repeated measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) procedure was utilized in situations where type of emotion served as a within-subjects variable (i.e. children's emotional understanding, maternal discussion, maternal support). For each of these variables, the between-subjects variable was group (i.e. neglect, control). The within-subjects variable was emotion type (i.e. anger, sadness). An ANOVA procedure was utilized to determine if differences existed between neglectful mothers and controls on maternal negative affect, as this variable did not have a within-subjects factor.

Path analyses were also conducted to evaluate the mediational effects of (a) parental discussion reflective of emotional understanding on the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding, (b) parental negative affect on the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding (c) parental support on the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding. Path analyses were conducted in accordance with recommendations of Baron and Kenny (1986), such that the following criteria were examined (a) neglect should predict the outcome variable, emotional understanding, (b) neglect should predict the potential mediators (i.e. parental discussion reflective of emotional understanding, parental negative affect, and parental support), (c) potential mediators should predict the outcome variable, and (d) when neglect and the potential mediators are examined together, the

independent effects of neglect should be attenuated or eliminated, while the effects of the mediators remain significant. With regard to demographic characteristics, the neglect and control groups contained equivalent numbers of African American and Caucasian, as well as male and female participants. In addition, there were no group differences on child age, $F(1, 46) = .19, p = .66$.

Emotional Understanding

A repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to determine group differences in children's understanding of negative emotion (i.e. anger and sadness). The between-subjects variable was Group (i.e. neglect, control). The within-subjects variable was Emotion Type (i.e. anger, sadness). A main effect for Group emerged, $F(1, 46) = 5.57, p < .05$, indicating that neglected children demonstrate lower levels of emotional understanding ($M = 8.04, SD = .51$) for anger and sadness than their nonneglected peers ($M = 9.52, SD = .51$). No main effect for Emotion emerged, $F(1, 46) = .12, p = .73$. Further, there was no significant interaction between Emotion and Group, $F(1, 46) = .12, p = .73$.

Maternal Socialization

Maternal discussion of emotion. A repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to determine group differences between neglectful and nonneglectful mothers on discussion reflective of emotional understanding for anger and sadness. The between-subjects variable was Group (i.e. neglect, control). The within-subjects variable was Emotion Type (i.e. anger, sadness). A main effect for Group emerged, $F(1, 41) = 8.44, p < .01$, indicating that neglectful mothers engage in less discussion of negative emotion with their children ($M = 1.095, SD = .73$) than nonneglectful mothers ($M = 2.32, SD = .36$). No main effect for Emotion emerged, $F(1,$

41) = 1.61, $p = .21$. Further, there was no significant interaction between Emotion and Group, $F(1, 41) = .12, p = .73$.

Maternal negative affect. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine group differences between neglectful and nonneglectful mothers on reports of negative emotional experience. The between-subjects variable was Group (i.e. neglect, control). A main effect for Group emerged, $F(1, 43) = 12.55, p < .01$, indicating that neglectful mothers report experiencing more negative emotion ($M = 76.83, SD = 20.98$) than nonneglectful mothers ($M = 56.95, SD = 16.21$).

Maternal Support. A repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to determine group differences between neglected and nonneglected children's expectancies about their mothers' reactions to their emotional displays of anger and sadness. The between-subjects variable was Group (i.e. neglect, control). The within-subjects variable was Emotion Type (i.e. anger, sadness). A main effect for Group emerged, $F(1, 42) = 10.76, p < .01$, indicating that neglected children report expecting less support from their mothers ($M = 1.05, SD = .15$) than nonneglected children ($M = 1.59, SD = .15$). A main effect for Emotion also emerged, $F(1, 42) = 11.60, p < .001$, indicating that all children expect less support from their mothers following their expressions of anger ($M = 1.09, SD = 0.16$) than their expressions of sadness ($M = 1.55, SD = .14$). There was no significant interaction between Emotion and Group, $F(1, 42) = .01, p = 1.0$.

Path Analyses

Maternal discussion of negative emotion. Path analysis was conducted to examine whether maternal discussion reflective of emotional understanding mediated the relation between

neglect and children's emotional understanding skills. With regard to the first criteria of mediation, findings indicated that neglect significantly predicted children's emotional understanding skills ($B = .33, p < .05$). Second, the criterion of neglect predicting the mediator (i.e. maternal discussion) was examined. Findings indicated that neglect significantly predicted maternal discussion reflective of emotional understanding ($B = .41, p < .01$). Third, the criterion of the mediator (i.e. maternal discussion) predicting the outcome (i.e. children's emotional understanding) was examined. Findings were nonsignificant ($B = .16, p = .19$), therefore this analysis did not meet criteria for mediation. Given this nonsignificant finding, the final analysis of entering neglect and maternal support together to predict children's emotional understanding skills was not conducted. Thus, findings indicated that while neglectful parents engage in less emotional discussion with their children than nonneglectful parents, maternal discussion of emotion does not mediate the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding skills.

Maternal negative affect. Path analysis was conducted to examine whether maternal experience of negative affect mediated the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding skills. With regard to the first criteria of mediation, findings indicated that neglect significantly predicted children's emotional understanding skills ($B = .33, p < .05$). Second, the criterion of neglect predicting the mediator (i.e. maternal negative affect) was examined. Findings indicated that neglect significantly predicted maternal negative affect ($B = .48, p < .01$). Third, the criteria of the mediator (i.e. maternal negative affect) predicting the dependent variable (i.e. emotional understanding skills) was examined. These findings were nonsignificant ($B = .18, p = .11$), therefore this analysis did not meet criteria for mediation. Given this

nonsignificant finding, the final analysis of entering neglect and maternal negative affect together to predict children's emotional understanding skills was not conducted. Thus, findings indicate that while neglectful mothers report experiencing more negative affect than nonneglectful mothers, negative affect does not mediate the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding skills.

Maternal support. Path analysis was conducted to examine whether children's expectations of maternal support following their negative emotional displays mediated the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding skills. With regard to the first criteria of mediation, findings indicated that neglect significantly predicted children's emotional understanding skills ($B = .33, p < .05$). Second, the criterion of neglect predicting the mediator (i.e. maternal support) was examined and findings indicated that neglect significantly predicted maternal support ($B = .45, p < .01$). Third, the criterion of the mediator (i.e. maternal support) predicting the outcome (i.e. emotional understanding skills) was examined, which indicated that maternal support significantly predicted children's emotional understanding skills ($B = .56, p < .001$). Finally, when neglect and maternal support were entered together to predict children's emotional understanding skills, maternal support remained significant, ($B = .54, p < .01$), whereas neglect was no longer significant, ($B = .06, p = .71$). Thus, findings indicated that maternal support mediates the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding skills.

CHAPTER 4

Discussion

The present study was conducted in accordance with the notion (Barrett & Campos, 1987; Izard & Malatesta, 1987) that children's experiences with individuals in their environment (e.g. family, peers) may impact their development of skills needed for emotional competence, such as emotional understanding. Consistent with the functionalist approach to emotion, children's development of emotional understanding is important, as it has been found to relate to children's success in interpersonal relations (Denham et al., 1990; Cassidy & Parke, 1991; Cassidy et al., 1992) and psychological adjustment (Cook et al., 1994). Little empirical attention, however, has examined the development of emotional understanding in children whose life experiences deviate from and potentially interfere with the normal course of emotional development. From a developmental psychopathology perspective (Sroufe & Rutter, 1984), it is essential to examine socioemotional development in children who have both typical and atypical socialization experiences, in order to identify factors that contribute to the development of children's emotional competence as well as factors that may place children at risk for adaptational failures (e.g. poor peer relations, psychopathology).

The present study investigated maternal socialization of children's emotional understanding skills in neglectful and nonneglectful mother-child dyads in order to identify ways that children's interactions with their mothers may impact their development of emotional understanding skills. In general, findings indicated that

neglected children demonstrate lower levels of emotional understanding, and that neglectful mothers engage less in practices thought to facilitate emotional understanding in children. Specifically, compared to nonneglectful mothers, neglectful mothers engaged less in discussion reflective of emotional understanding with their children, reported experiencing more negative affect, and were expected to be less supportive of their children following their children's emotional displays. Further, maternal support was found to mediate the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding skills, whereas maternal discussion and maternal negative affect did not mediate this relation. From a functionalist approach to emotional development (Barrett & Campos, 1987; Campos et al., 1994), these findings suggest that development within a neglectful context may impact neglected children's emotional development in a way that might put them at risk.

Emotional Understanding

As hypothesized, neglected children demonstrated less emotional understanding than their nonneglected peers for the emotions of anger and sadness. This suggests that neglected children are less skilled at understanding the causes and consequences of emotion and that they have difficulty using this information to generate appropriate responses to the emotional experiences of self and others (Cassidy et al., 1992). When considered within a functionalist approach (Barrett & Campos, 1987; Campos, 1994), these findings suggest that neglected children are less able to interpret environmental information regarding emotional experience in others and lack understanding of culturally appropriate responses to emotionally arousing situations. This may place neglected children at risk for difficulties establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships. This finding is consistent with research that has demonstrated

positive relations between emotional understanding and social competence (Cicchetti & Lynch, 1995; Denham et al., 1990; Rogosch et al., 1995) and with studies that suggest that maltreated children respond inappropriately to peers when placed in emotionally arousing situations (George & Main, 1979; Main & George, 1985). Further, as research has demonstrated a relation between emotional understanding and behavioral adjustment (Cook et al., 1994), these findings suggest that neglected children's relative deficit in emotional understanding may place them at risk for psychological maladjustment.

With regard to emotion type, findings indicated that children do not differ in their understanding of sadness and anger. These findings are consistent with past research (Shipman & Zeman, 1999), which indicates that children have been found to show greater understanding for positive emotions than negative emotion, but show no significant difference between their understanding of anger and sadness. Due to the fact that happiness was not included in these analyses, it is not known whether a main effect for Emotion would be found to demonstrate within-group differences in children's understanding of positive versus negative emotion.

Maternal Socialization

As hypothesized, findings indicated that neglectful mothers engaged less in discussion reflective of emotional understanding (i.e. of causes and consequences of emotion) than nonneglectful mothers. This finding is consistent with past research that demonstrates that maltreating parents engage in less emotional discussion with their children than nonmaltreating parents (Cicchetti & Beeghly, 1987; Shipman & Zeman, 1999). This suggests that neglectful mothers may engage less in socialization behavior thought to facilitate the development of emotional competence in children. Thus, neglected children may have fewer opportunities to

learn about emotional experiences through interactions with their mothers. When examining maternal discussion of emotion with regard to emotion type, findings indicated that mothers do not differ in their discussion of sadness versus anger. These findings are consistent with past research (Shipman & Zeman, 1999) that indicates that mothers do not differ in their discussion of anger and sadness with their children.

Findings did not support the hypothesis that maternal discussion of emotion would mediate the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding skills. This is somewhat surprising given that past research has demonstrated the relation between parental explanation of the causes and consequences of emotion and children's level of emotional understanding (Dunn et al, 1991; Denham et al, 1994). It may be that there are other factors in the parent-child relationship, such as modeling and nonverbal exchanges, that account for children's development and level of emotional understanding.

With regard to maternal experience of negative affect, findings indicated that neglectful mothers experience more negative emotion than nonneglectful mothers. This is consistent with past research that demonstrates that maltreating (including abusive and neglectful) mothers demonstrate higher levels of negative parental affect (Crittenden, 1981) than nonmaltreating mothers. This is new to the literature, given that other studies have tended to combine physical abuse and neglect together in their comparisons, and this study examines specifically the neglectful context. This finding suggests that neglectful mothers may provide atypical socialization experiences for their children through their disproportionate experiences of negative emotion.

It was thought that if neglectful parents are experiencing more negative affect than nonneglectful parents, then this experience would prove to be one of the mechanisms relating neglect to children's lower levels of emotional understanding. However, findings indicated that maternal negative affect did not mediate the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding. This is surprising, given research that indicates that family emotional climate has been found to influence children's development of emotional understanding skills (Denham & Grout,1992; Denham, Renwick-DeBardi, & Hewes,1994; Denham, Zoller, & Couchoud,1994). A few possibilities exist for why this finding may have occurred. First, it is possible that, while neglectful mothers report *experiencing* more negative affect than nonneglectful mothers, they do not disproportionately *express* this emotion to their children. Thus, if mothers are able to conceal their experiences of negative emotion, then this negative affect may not have the expected effect on children's emotional development. Regardless of its influence on children's emotional understanding skills, the finding that neglectful mothers experience more negative affect should receive further investigation. While this study suggests that neglectful mother's negative affective experiences do not account for their children's emotional understanding skills, this atypical socialization experience may be one of the factors that contributes to other developmental and adjustment difficulties experienced by neglected children (e.g. internalizing symptoms, withdrawal from social interactions).

When considering the role that maternal support may play in children's development of emotional understanding, findings indicated that neglectful children expect less support from their mothers following their displays of anger and sadness than nonneglected children. In particular, neglected children were more likely to report that their mothers would fail to respond to their

emotional expression (e.g. "She would just lay in her bed") or would respond in a punitive way (e.g. "She would yell at me"), whereas nonneglected children expected more supportive responses (e.g. "She would talk to me and help me get over it"). Consistent with the functionalist approach to emotion, these findings suggest that neglected children's expressions of negative emotion may be less helpful (and therefore adaptive) in their environment than nonneglected children's expressions.

Regardless of group status, findings indicated that children expect more supportive responses from their mothers following their displays of sadness than of anger. These findings support the functionalist notion that the adaptiveness of emotional expression within a given context may vary as a function of emotion type. This finding is consistent with past research that indicates that children expect more positive responses from their mothers following their emotional displays of sadness than anger. Further, research has demonstrated that mothers socialize children to control their expressions of anger as early as infancy and toddlerhood (Dunn, Bretherton, & Munn, 1987; Malatesta & Haviland, 1982).

In relation to the role that maternal support plays in children's development of emotional understanding, findings indicated that children's expectations of maternal support mediated the relation between neglect and children's emotional understanding. These findings support the notion that maternal support plays an important role in facilitating children's development of emotional understanding skills. Thus, it may be that children who receive supportive responses to their emotional displays are more likely to express their emotions to their mothers and to internalize information provided by emotional interactions, thus increasing the child's opportunities for learning. However, if children receive nonsupportive responses from their

mothers (such as anger and hostility), it may be that the anxiety created by such nonsupportive responses makes it difficult for the child to effectively process emotional information (Hoffman, 1983). A second explanation for these findings should also be considered. Given the fact that the Emotional Understanding Interview and the Emotion Management Interview were the two measures in this study that were administered to the child, this finding could also be due to shared variance.

CHAPTER 5

Limitations and Considerations for Future Research

While this study provides an interesting picture of some implications of maternal socialization on children's emotional understanding, some limitations do exist. One limitation of this study was its use of only one measure for each construct of interest. Future studies would benefit from the inclusion of two or more measures for each of the variables. For example, an assessment of maternal negative affect would ideally be assessed through both observational and self-report measures.

In relation to the Mother-Child-Interaction-Task that was used to assess maternal discussion of emotion, it may be helpful to examine mothers and their children in more naturalistic, emotionally arousing settings, as individual responses in this study may have been influenced by the fact that a past (and thus less salient), as opposed to a current emotional experience, was discussed. Further, observation through a more naturalistic task might lead to more representative interactions of neglectful mothers and their children, as individual responses in this study may have been influenced by social desirability or the initial discomfort of being observed.

Based on the findings in this study, several considerations exist for future directions in the study of maternal socialization and children's emotional development. Future research should examine how gender may influence the development of emotional understanding skills in neglectful families. Past research has demonstrated gender differences in children's expectations

of parental responses to emotional displays (Fuchs & Thelen, 1988; Zeman & Garber, 1996; Zeman & Shipman, 1996). Future research would benefit from examination of potential differences in the socialization of emotion between males and females, as this may lead to differential influences in children's development of emotional competence.

Future research should also examine the possible relations between neglected children's emotional understanding skills and their social and psychological adjustment. This is important, given that we know that neglected children are at risk for problems in their peer relations and psychopathology. An examination of these factors would contribute further to the examination of processes in emotional development that may contribute to neglected children's social and psychological maladjustment, and may also contribute to the development of future interventions for neglected children.

References

- Aragona, J.A., & Eyberg, S.M. (1981). Neglected Children: Mother's report of child behavior problems and observed verbal behavior. *Child Development, 52*, 596-602. Barrett, K.C., & Campos, J.J. (1987). Perspectives on emotional development: II. A functionalist approach to emotions. In J. Osofsky (Ed.), *Handbook of infant development* (2nd ed., pp. 555-578). New York: Wiley.
- Baron, R., & Kenny, D.A., (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*, 1173-1182.
- Bartlett, E., & Izard, C. (1972). A dimensional and discrete emotions investigation of the subjective experience of emotion. In C. Izard (Ed.), *Patterns of emotions: A new analysis of anxiety and depression* (pp. 129-175). New York: Academic Press.
- Beeghly, M., & Cicchetti, D. (1994). Child maltreatment, attachment, and the self system: Emergence of an internal state lexicon in toddlers at high social risk. *Development and Psychopathology, 6*, 5-30.
- Blumberg, S., & Izard, C. (1985). Affect and cognitive characteristics of depression in 10 and 11-year old children. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49*, 194-202.
- Bornstein, M., & Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical Power Analysis: A Computer Program* [Computer Software]. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Campos, J., Campos, R., & Barrett, K. (1989). Emergent themes in the study of emotional development and regulation. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 59*, (2,3), 284-304.

Campos, J.J., Mumme, D.L., Kermoian, R., & Campos, R.G. (1994). A functionalist perspective on the nature of emotion. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 59*, 284-304.

Camras, L.A., Riborty, S., Hill, J., Martino, S., Spaccarelli, S., & Stefani, R. (1988). Recognition and posing of emotional expressions by abused children and their mothers. *Developmental Psychology, 24*, 776-781.

Casey, R., & Fuller, L. (1994). Maternal regulation of children's emotions. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior, 18*, 57-89.

Cassidy, J., & Parke, R.D. (1991). Children's Emotional Understanding and Peer Relations. Symposium presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle, WA.

Cassidy, J., Parke, R.D., Butkovsky, L., & Braungart, J.M. (1992). Family-peer connections: The roles of emotional expressiveness within the family and children's understanding of emotions. *Child Development, 63*, 603-618.

Cicchetti, D. (1990). The organization and coherence of socioemotional, cognitive, and representational development: Illustrations through a developmental psychopathology perspective on Downs syndrome and child maltreatment. In R. Thompson (Ed.), *Socioemotional development: Nebraska Symposium on Motivation 1988* (pp. 259-367). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Cicchetti, D., & Beeghly, M. (1987). Symbolic development in maltreated youngsters: An organizational perspective. *New Directions for Child Development, 36*, 47-68.

Cicchetti, D., & Lynch, M. (1995). Failures in the expectable environment and their impact on individual development: The case of child maltreatment. In D. Cicchetti & D.J. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental psychopathology, Volume 2: Risk, disorder, and adaptation*. New York: Wiley Interscience.

Cicchetti, D., & Toth, S.L. (1995). A developmental psychopathology perspective on child abuse and neglect. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 34*, 541-564.

Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis* (2nd Ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Cook, E., Greenberg, M., & Kusche, C. (1994). The Relations Between Emotional Understanding, Intellectual Functioning, and Disruptive Behavior Problems in Elementary-School-Aged Children. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 22*, 205-219.

Crittenden, P. (1981). Abusing, neglecting, problematic, and adequate dyads: Differentiating by patterns of interaction, *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 27*, 201-218.

Denham, S. (1998). *Emotional development in young children*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Denham, S., Cook, M., & Zoller, D. (1992). 'Baby looks very sad': Implications of conversations about feelings between mother and preschooler. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 10*, 301-315.

Denham, S., & Grout, L. (1992). Mothers' emotional expressiveness and coping: Relations with preschoolers' social-emotional competence. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs, 118*, 73-101.

Denham, S., & Grout, L. (1993). Socialization of emotion: Pathway to preschoolers' emotional and social competence. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior, 17*, 205-227.

Denham, S., McKinley, M., Couchound, E.A., & Holt, R. (1990). Emotional and Behavioral Predictors of Preschool Peer Ratings. *Child Development, 61*, 1145-1152.

Denham, S., Renwick-DeBardi, S., & Hewes, S. (1994). Emotional communication between mothers and preschoolers: Relations with emotional competence. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 40*, 488-508.

Denham, S., Zoller, D., & Couchound, E.A. (1994). Socialization of preschoolers emotional understanding. *Developmental Psychology, 30*, 928-936.

Dunn, J., Bretherton, I., & Dunn, P. (1987). Conversations about feeling states between mothers and their young children. *Developmental Psychology, 23*, 132-139.

Dunn, J., & Brown, J. (1994). Affect expression in the family, children's understanding of emotions, and their interactions with others. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 40*, 120-137.

Dunn, J., Brown, J., & Beardsall, L. (1991). Family talk about feeling states and children's later understanding of others' emotions. *Developmental Psychology, 27*, 448-455.

Dunn, J., Brown, J., Slomkowski, C., Tesla, C., & Youngblade, L. (1991). Young children's understanding of other people's feelings and beliefs: Individual differences and their antecedents. *Child Development, 62*, 1352-1366.

Erickson, M.F., Egeland, B., & Pianta, R.C. (1989). The effects of maltreatment on the development of young children. In D. Cicchetti and V. Carlson (Eds.), *Child Maltreatment: Theory and research o the causes and consequences of child abuse and neglect* (pp. 647-684). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fridlund, A., Schwartz, G., & Fowler, S. (1984). Pattern Recognition of self-reported emotional state from multiple-site facial EMG activity during affective imagery. *Psychophysiology, 21*, 622-637.

Gaensbauer, T., & Hiatt, S. (1984). Facial Communication of emotion in early infancy. In N.A. Fox and R.I. Davidson (Eds.) *The Psychophysiology of Affective Development* Hillsdale (pp. 207-230). NJ: Erlbaum.

Gaensbauer, T., & Sands, K. (1979). Distorted affective communications in abused/neglected infants and their potential impact on caretakers. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 18*, 236-250.

Halberstadt, A. (1991). Towards an ecology of expressiveness: Family expressiveness in particular and a model in general. In R.S. Feldman & B. Rime (Eds.), *Fundamentals in nonverbal behavior* (pp.106-160). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoffman, M.L. (1983). Affective and cognitive processes in moral internalization. In E.T. Higgins, D.N. Ruble, & W.W. Hartup (Eds.), *Social cognition and social development* (pp. 236-274). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoffman-Plotkin, D., & Twentyman, C.T. (1984). A multimodal assessment of behavioral and cognitive deficits in abused and neglected preschoolers. *Child Development*, *55*, 794-802.

Izard, C. (1972). *Patterns of emotions: A new analysis of anxiety and depression*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Izard, C., Blumberg, S., & Oyster, C. (1985). Age and sex differences in the pattern of emotions in childhood anxiety and depression. In J. Spence and S. Izard (Eds.), *Motivation, emotion, and personality*. Amsterdam: North Holland.

Izard, C., Doherty, F., Bloxom, B., & Kotsch, W. (1974). The differential emotions scale: A method of measuring subjective experience of discrete emotions. Unpublished manuscript, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.

Izard, C., Libero, D., Putnam, P., & Haynes, M. (1993). Stability of emotion experiences and their relations to traits of personality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *64*, 847-860.

Izard, C., & Malatesta, C. (1987). Perspectives on emotional development. I: Differential emotions theory of early emotional development. In J. Olsofsky (Ed.), *Handbook of infant development* (2nd ed., pp. 494-554). New York: Wiley-Interscience.

Kropp, J. P., & Haynes, O. M. (1987). Abusive and nonabusive mothers' ability to identify general and specific emotion signals in infants. *Child Development*, *58*, 187-190.

Lewis, M., & Michalson, L. (1983). *Children's emotions and moods*. New York: Plenum Press.

Malatesta, C., & Haviland, J. (1982). Learning display rules: The socialization of emotion expression in infancy. *Child Development*, *53*, 991-1003.

Mueller, E., & Silverman, N. (1989). Peer relations in maltreated children. In D. Cicchetti and V. Carlson (Eds.) *Child Maltreatment: Theory and Research on the Causes and Consequences of Child Abuse and Neglect* (pp. 529-578) New York: Cambridge University Press.

Parke, R.D., Cassidy, J., Burks, V.M., Carson, J.L., & Boyum, L. (1992). Familial contributions to peer competence among young children: The role of interactive and affective processes. In R.D. Parke & G.W. Ladd (Eds.), *Family-peer relationships: Modes of linkage* (pp. 107-134). Hillsdale, N J: Erlbaum.

Reidy, T.J. (1977). Aggressive characteristics of abused and neglected children. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 33, 1140-1145.

Rogeness, G., Amrung, A., Macedo, C., Harris, W., & Fisher, C. (1986). Psychopathology in Abused or Neglected Children. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, 28, 659-665.

Rosenthal, R., & Rosnow, R. (1984). *Essentials of Behavioral Research*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Rogosh, F. A., Cicchetti, D., & Aber, J.L. (1995). The role of child maltreatment in early deviations in cognitive and affective processing abilities and later peer relationship problems. *Development and Psychopathology*, 7, 591-609.

Saarni, C. (1990). Emotional Competence: How emotions and relationships become integrated. In R. Thompson (Ed.) *Socioemotional development: Nebraska Symposium on Motivation 1988* (pp. 155-182). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Saarni, C. (1999). *The development of emotional competence*. New York: Guilford Press.

Shipman, K.L., & Zeman, J. (1999). Emotional understanding: A comparison of physically maltreating and nonmaltreating mother-child dyads. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, 28, 407-417.

Shipman, K.L., & Zeman, J. (2001). Socialization of children's emotion regulation in mother-child dyads: A Developmental Psychopathology Perspective. *Developmental & Psychopathology, 13*, 317-336.

Shipman, K.L., Zeman, J., Penza, S., & Champion, K. (2001). Emotion management skills in sexually maltreated and nonmaltreated girls: A developmental psychopathology perspective. *Development and Psychopathology, 12*, 47-62.

Sroufe, L.A., & Rutter, M. (1984). The domain of developmental psychopathology. *Child Development, 55*, 17-29.

Zeman, J., & Garber, J. (1996). Display rules for anger, sadness, and pain: It depends on who is watching. *Child Development, 67*, 957-973.

Zeman, J., & Shipman, K. (1996). Children's expression of negative affect: Reasons and methods. *Developmental Psychology, 32*, 842-849.

Appendix A

Measures

- Includes:
- 1) The Emotional Understanding Interview
 - 2) Emotion Management Interview
 - 3) DES-IV

Emotional Understanding Interview

The child is shown a picture of another child posing facial expressions of emotion (i.e., sadness, happiness, anger) and is asked the following questions:

- (1) How do you think this kid is feeling? (If they get this wrong, correct them for rest of the questions by saying “Most kids think this kid feels....”).
- (2) Do you ever feel like this?
- (3) What kinds of things makes you feel this way?
- (4) When you feel this way, do you show it, let other people know how you feel?
- (5) If you felt this way, would you let your mom see you looking like this?
- (6) If your mom saw you looking this way, what would she do?
- (7) If your mom saw you looking this way, how would she feel?
- (8) If you felt this way, would you let your dad see you looking like this?
- (9) If your dad saw you looking this way, what would he do?
- (10) If your dad saw you looking this way, how would he feel?
- (11) Can you give me an example of a time that you felt this way? (Then what happened?)
- (12) Do you ever feel this way when your with any of the other kids at school?
- (13) Lets pretend you saw another kid looking this way. Why do you think he/she might be looking like that?
- (14) If you saw another kid looking this way, how would you feel?
- (15) If you saw another kid looking this way, what would you do?

Emotion Management Interview-Child Version

I am going to read you some stories about situations that often make kids feel either happy, sad, mad, or afraid. I want you to pretend that you feel the way that is described in the story. After I read the stories, I will ask you some questions. There are no right or wrong answers, I just want to find out what you really think.

Mad Stories

Your mom/dad blamed you for something that you did not do. It makes you feel mad.

Your mom/dad broke your favorite toy by not paying attention to what s/he was doing and being careless. It makes you feel mad.

Question following Each Mad Story

1. What would your mom/dad do if you showed how mad you feel?

Sad Stories

You really want your mom/dad to come to an important game/special event at school. Mom/dad said s/he wanted to come but then got too busy and wasn't able to make it to the game/event. It makes you feel sad.

You work really hard on a picture/project at school and you are really proud of how well it turned out. You take it home to show your mom/dad and s/he doesn't seem to think it is very special/doesn't seem to like it very much. It makes you feel sad.

Question following Each Sad Story

- 1 What would your mom/dad do if you showed how sad you feel?

DES-IV, EMOTIONS AND FEELINGS

In your everyday life, how often do you...	Rarely or Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
1. Feel sorry about something you did	1	2	3	4	5
2. Feel shy, like you do not want to be seen	1	2	3	4	5
3. Feel glad about something	1	2	3	4	5
4. Feel like something stinks, is just awful	1	2	3	4	5
5. Feel like you can't stand yourself	1	2	3	4	5
6. Feel embarrassed when anybody sees you make a mistake	1	2	3	4	5
7. Feel unhappy, down	1	2	3	4	5
8. Feel surprised, like when something suddenly happens you had no idea would happen	1	2	3	4	5
9. Feel like somebody is not even worth your time, a low life	1	2	3	4	5
10. Feel shy, like you want to hide	1	2	3	4	5
11. Feel like what you are doing or watching is interesting	1	2	3	4	5
12. Feel scared, like something might harm you	1	2	3	4	5
13. Feel mad at somebody	1	2	3	4	5
14. Feel mad at yourself	1	2	3	4	5
15. Feel happy	1	2	3	4	5
16. Feel like somebody is "good for nothing"	1	2	3	4	5

In your everyday life, how often do you...	Rarely or Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
17. Feel so interested in what you're doing that you are caught up in it	1	2	3	4	5
18. Feel amazed, like you can't believe what's happened	1	2	3	4	5
19. Feel afraid, like you're in danger	1	2	3	4	5
20. Feel like screaming at somebody or banging on something	1	2	3	4	5
21. Feel sad and gloomy, almost like crying	1	2	3	4	5
22. Feel like you did something wrong	1	2	3	4	5
23. Feel bashful, embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5
24. Feel disgusted, like something is really sickening	1	2	3	4	5
25. Feel joy, like everything is going your way	1	2	3	4	5
26. Feel like people laugh at you	1	2	3	4	5
27. Feel like things are really rotten	1	2	3	4	5
28. Feel upset/bad about yourself	1	2	3	4	5
29. Feel like you are better than someone	1	2	3	4	5
30. Feel like you ought to get blamed for something	1	2	3	4	5
31. Feel the way you do when something unexpected happens	1	2	3	4	5

In your everyday life, how often do you...	Rarely or Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
32. Feel kind of excited about something new	1	2	3	4	5
33. Feel angry, annoyed with somebody	1	2	3	4	5
34. Feel like nothing's going right, discouraged	1	2	3	4	5
35. Feel afraid	1	2	3	4	5
36. Feel like people always blame you when anything goes wrong	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix B

Coding Systems

- 1) Coding system for the Mother-Child Interaction Task
- 2) Coding system for the Emotional Understanding Interview
- 3) Coding system for the Emotion Management Interview

Coding System for the Mother-Child Interaction Task

1. Coding Conversational Turns for Emotional Understanding

Each conversational turn is scored either 1 (discussion reflective of emotional understanding) or 0 (absence of discussion reflective of emotional understanding).

2. Mother

Reflects emotional understanding if the conversational turn includes (a) reference to causes and consequences of emotion (e.g. "You were sad when your friend did not come to your birthday party"); (b) reference to constructive coping strategies for managing emotional arousal or coping with emotionally arousing situations, or both (e.g. getting help, using behavioral or cognitive strategy for coping with emotion, attempting to resolve emotion-eliciting problem); (c) when the mother reflects or elaborates on the child's statement about emotional experience as if to encourage the child to keep talking; and (d) questions that encourage emotional discussion (e.g. "What makes you feel [emotion]?"). In relation to the latter, however, if the mother continues to repeat this question after the child had indicated that nothing makes him or her feel that way, then do not score as reflective of emotional understanding. Does not reflect emotional understanding when mother continues to generate the same category of responses on subsequent conversational turns.

3. Child

Reflects emotional understanding if discussion includes (a) references to causes and consequences of emotion (e.g. "I was mad when Tommy took my toy") and (b) references to appropriate and constructive strategies for managing emotional arousal or dealing with emotionally arousing situations, or both (e.g. getting help, using behavioral or cognitive strategy for coping with emotion, trying to work our an emotion-eliciting problem in a constructive way. Does not reflect emotional understanding when child only repeats the mother's statement. However, if the child elaborates on the mother's statement, then score as emotional understanding.

Emotional Understanding Interview, Coding Instructions

Responses to each question were coded as either reflecting understanding or not, according to the specifics of the question. Responses were coded as indicating the presence (=1) or absence (=0) of understanding according to criteria that varied with the specifics of the question. Responses reflecting understanding were those in which the child was able to identify the emotion, acknowledge experiencing the emotion, provide scenarios for appropriate circumstances under which the emotion might be elicited, acknowledge expressing the emotion, and reveal understanding of appropriate responses (in both actions and feelings) to others' expression of emotions.

(1) How do you think this kid is feeling?

- Child must accurately identify emotion. Actual emotion will be listed on top form.

(2) Do you ever feel like this?

- Child must acknowledge that s/he does feel this way (e.g., yes, sometimes).

(3) What kind of things make you feel this way?

- Child must generate situations/experiences that are likely to elicit the emotion of interest (e.g., for anger: Someone broke my toy.; My mom yells at me.), (for sadness: someone teases me and hurts my feelings.; I lost my favorite toy.).

(4) When you feel this way, do you show it, let other people know how you feel?

- Child must indicate that s/he does show emotion (e.g., yes, sometimes, a little).

(5) If you felt this way, would you let your mom see you looking like this?

- Child must indicate that s/he would show mom how s/he feels (e.g., sometimes, yes).

(6) If your mom saw you looking like this, what would she do?

- Must give a reasonable answer for what mom might do following an emotional display (e.g., Try to help me feel better.). Response should reflect cultural norms regarding emotional expression (i.e., what you would hope a child would learn from parents that will help child to adapt to other social contexts). Score punishment for emotional expressivity as lack of understanding.

(7) If your mom saw you looking like this, how would she feel?

- Same emotion child is experiencing (for anger, score as understanding if the child expects the parent to be angry at someone who caused the child's anger but as lack of understanding if the child expects the parent to be angry at him/her for displaying emotion).

- Indicates some awareness of and sensitivity to child's emotion.

(8) If you felt this way, would you let your dad see you looking like this?

- Child must indicate that s/he would show dad how s/he feels (e.g., sometimes, yes).

(9) If your dad saw you looking this way, what would he do?

- Must give a reasonable answer for what dad might do following an emotional display (e.g., be sad/mad too, try to help me feel better). Response should reflect cultural norms regarding emotional expression (i.e., what you would hope a child would learn from parents that will help child to adapt to other social contexts). Score punishment for emotional expressivity as lack of understanding.

(10) If your dad saw you looking this way, how would he feel?

- Same emotion child is experiencing (for anger, score as understanding if the child expects the parent to be angry at someone who caused the child's anger but as lack of understanding if the child expects the parent to be angry at him/her for displaying emotion).

- Indicates some awareness of and sensitivity to child's emotion.

(11) Can you give me an example of a time that you felt that way? (Then what happened?)

- Child must give an example of a situation/experience that is likely to induce the emotion of interest (e.g., for anger: My mom broke my favorite toy.; My friend got me in trouble for something), (e.g., for sadness- My pet died, My friend teased me.), (for happiness: I got a new toy.; My friend played a game with me.).

(12) Do you ever feel this way when you are with other kids at school?

- Child must acknowledge that s/he does feel this way (e.g., sometimes, yes, every once in a while).

(13) Lets pretend you saw another kid looking this way. Why might s/he be looking that way?

- Child must generate reasonable explanation of why the child feels the way that s/he does (e.g., for anger- because her brother broke her toys and made her mad, for sad- because her fish died, because no one likes her at school).

(14) If you saw another kid looking this way, how would you feel?

- Child must give a response that show awareness of and sensitivity to other's emotional experience (e.g., sad, concerned if the child is okay, worried, mad that someone had been mean to her).

(15) If you saw another kid looking this way, what would you do?

- Child must give a response that shows awareness of and sensitivity to other's emotional experience (I would ask what is wrong.; I'd feel sad/mad for them.; I would see if they wanted to play with me.).

Coding Categories for Maternal Support Question (i.e. "What would your mom do if you showed your *emotion* feelings?")

1. Relational Support - Expectation that the mother would provide a positive interpersonal (e.g. understanding, sympathy, assistance) or instrumental response (e.g., replacement of a broken toy) following the child's emotional display.
2. Relational Conflict - Expectation that the mother would provide a negative interpersonal (e.g. ridicule, reject, or become angry with the child) or instrumental response (e.g., removal of privileges) in response to the child's emotional display.
3. Empathic Response - Expectation that the mother would feel an empathic emotional response as the result of the child's emotional display (e.g., maternal happiness in response to child's happiness).
4. Neutral - Expectation that the mother would not respond to the child's emotional display (e.g., Just act normal; nothing).
5. Unscorable/Other - The child cannot think of any response to the question (e.g. "I don't know") or generates a response that does not fit existing categories.

* Note: Codes of Relational Support and Empathic Response will be scored as supportive responses. Other codes will be scored as unsupportive.