

Emotional Development

Outline

1. What is an emotion?
 - Components, directionality, purposes
2. Developmental changes in emotions and *emotional expression*
3. Development of emotion understanding
4. Individual differences (e.g., emotional intelligence)

Emotions

- Emotions are not just “feelings”
- 4 Components:
 - Subjective feelings
 - Physiological changes, including heart and breath rate and hormone levels
 - Desire to take action; including the desire to escape, approach, or change people or things in the environment.
 - Cognitions; or perceptions that cause or are associated with the aforementioned neural and physiological responses and subjective feelings
 - (in text) neural responses involved in emotion
- emotions can involve expressive behavior and cognitive interpretations of, or reactions to, the feeling state

Why Emotions are so Important

- Emotional Expressions
 - Communicative
 - Facilitates learning (e.g., social referencing)
- Emotional Physiology
 - Motivational (makes us want to change our state or keep it the same (i.e., operant learning))
 - Strengthens memory for important events

Birth-3 Months: Expression

- Positive emotions:
 - Contentment, interest, and non-social smiles (digestive)
 - When infants are at least 2 months of age, they also show happiness in both social and nonsocial contexts in which they can control a particular event. (attach babies’ arm to string)
- Negative emotions:
 - Generalized distress
 - Facial expressions hard to read
 - Expression / situation mismatch

3-6 Months: Expression

- Positive emotions:
 - ~3 months ‘social smiles’: smiles that are directed at people. They first emerge as early as 6 to 7 weeks of age.
- Negative emotions:
 - Negative Facial expressions gradually become more differentiated and match situation

7-12 months: Expression

- Positive emotions
 - Smiles more restricted to familiar people; make parents feel special to the infant and strengthen the bond between them.
- Increased fear
 - Main causes: strangers or separation
 - 6–7 months to 2 years = **stranger anxiety**
 - 8 months to 15 months = **separation anxiety**
 - Other causes: loud noises, heights, novel toys, etc.

12 – 24 months: Expressions

- First Signs of Jealousy
- Appearance of “self-conscious emotions”
 - E.g., Embarrassment, pride, shame, guilt
 - Requires self awareness, some degree of perspective-taking
 - First emerges around time they pass ‘mirror recognition’ task (aka ‘rouge test’)

separation anxiety: feelings of distress that children, especially infants and toddlers, experience when they are separated, or expect to be separated, from individuals to whom they are emotionally attached [8 months]; infants show much less distress when they crawl or walk away from a parent than when the parent does the departing; Separation anxiety tends to increase from 8 to 13 or 15 months of age, and then begins to decline

self-conscious emotions: emotions such as guilt, shame, embarrassment, and pride that relate to our sense of self and our consciousness of others’ reactions to us

Shame vs. Guilt

- (Self vs. Other focus)
 - Shame does not include concern for others
 - Guilt includes empathy for others
- Parents can influence whether children are more likely to feel guilt over shame:
 - a) Parental focus on the “badness” of the behavior rather than the child
 - b) If parents help the child understand the consequences of the child’s behavior
 - c) Teach them the need to repair the damage they’ve done
 - d) Avoid publicly humiliating them and communicate respect
 - they are more likely to experience guilt than shame if, when they have done something wrong, their parents emphasize the “badness” of the behavior (“You did a bad thing”) rather than of the child (“You’re a bad boy”).
 - children are more likely to feel guilt rather than shame if their parents help them understand the consequences their actions have for others, teach them the need to repair the harm they have done, avoid publicly humiliating them, and communicate respect and love for their children even when disciplining them

Preschool and childhood

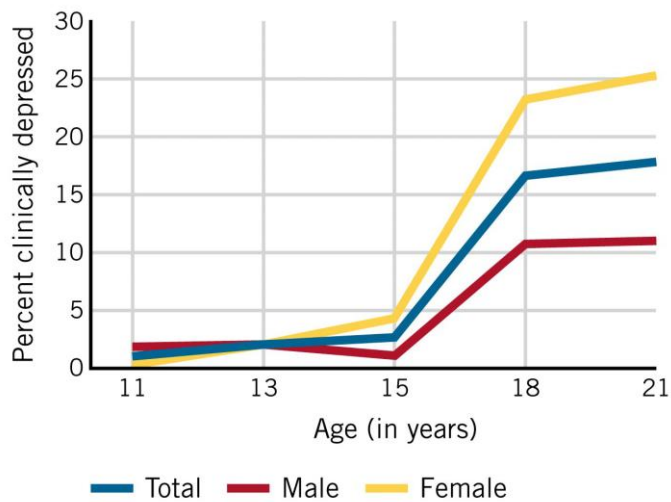
- Cognitive & verbal changes lead to changes in emotion
 - Increased inhibitory control helps regulate emotions
 - Learn strategies (e.g., distraction) to help with emotion regulation
 - Understand more subtle distinctions, (e.g., produce & understand verbal jokes, insults)
 - Increasing understanding of mental states, social perspective-taking
 - E.g Fears change
 - E.g. Targets of Jealousy changes

- ▶ Examples of emotions affected by cognitive changes:
 - Jealousy
 - Is the “rival” a threat? Now only show jealousy of same-aged peer, not a baby
 - New types of fear
 - Demo: your fears at age 4-5, versus 8+, versus now

Emotional Expression/Frequency of Experiencing Emotions

- ▶ In preschool and early school age increase in positive emotions and/or decrease in negative
- ▶ Typical adolescents experience a *mild* increase in negative emotions and/or a decrease in positive
- ▶ Minority (15-20%) experience a *major* increase (clinical depression)
 - physiological changes + increase in stressful peer and family interactions
 - Clinical depression more commonly diagnosed in females

Depression by Gender and Age



- ▶ Major bouts of depression are much more common in adolescence than in childhood, although a small percentage of preschoolers exhibit depressive symptoms that predict problems with depression in the school years
- ▶ Prior to adolescence, a child’s chance of experiencing a period of major depression is less than 3%, but between ages 12 and 17, this figure increases to more than 4% for boys and more than 12% for girls
- ▶ Major, or clinical, depression is characterized by some combination of at least five of the following symptoms, occurring nearly every day for at least two weeks: depressed mood most of the time; marked diminished interest or pleasure in almost all activities; significant weight loss; insomnia or excessive sleeping; motor agitation; fatigue or loss of energy; feelings of worthlessness or excessive or inappropriate guilt; diminished ability to think or concentrate; recurrent thoughts of death
- ▶ social withdrawal and bodily complaints are common in depressed youth, as is anxiety
- ▶ adolescents from a lower socioeconomic level are especially prone to major depression
- ▶ **rumination**: a perseverative focus on one’s own negative emotions and on their causes and consequences, without engaging in efforts to improve one’s situation
- ▶ **co-rumination**: extensively discussing and self-disclosing emotional problems with another person
- ▶ For both sexes, early puberty is especially likely to be associated with depressive symptoms if it is accompanied by low popularity
- ▶ The most common treatment for depression in youth is drug therapy, but recent concerns have been raised about the possibility that antidepressants may increase the risk of suicidal thinking and behavior for some adolescents (Calati et al., 2011). An alternative therapy that has been shown to reduce adolescents’ depressive symptoms to some degree involves programs designed to promote optimistic thinking and teach positive approaches to solving personal problems

Emotional Understanding

- ▶ their understanding of how to identify emotions, as well as their understanding of what emotions mean, their social functions, and what factors affect emotional experience.
- ▶ 3-6months: Probably not much; *differentiate* (discriminate or tell the difference) but may not understand meaning
- ▶ 7-12 months: Now they *recognize* emotions—understand something about the meaning
 - e.g. social referencing: the use of a parent’s or other adult’s facial expression or vocal cues to decide how to deal with novel, ambiguous, or possibly threatening situations
 - e.g. Face/vocal matching

~2 year olds: Emotion Understanding

- ▶ Most 2-year-olds know words for the 6 universal basic emotions
 - Happiness: Santa will be happy if I pee in the potty
 - Sadness: You sad, Daddy?
 - Fear: Bees everywhere. Scared me!
 - Anger: Don’t be mad, Mommy!
 - Surprise: Daddy surprised me.
 - Disgust: Tastes yucky, Mom!
- ▶ They also understand something about the links between events emotions and actions
 - e.g. “I give hug. Baby be happy.” “Grandma mad. I wrote on wall.”
- ▶ They recognize that if someone felt a certain way there must be a reason for it:
 - e.g. “You sad, Mommy? What daddy do?”
- ▶ And they realize that you can tell something about how people feel by how they look:
 - e.g. “Katie not happy face. Katie sad.”
- ▶ 18-month-olds understand that someone else’s desires don’t have to be consistent with their own AND
- ▶ They can use person’s facial expressions to interpret emotions
 - E.g. Gross Cracker Study
- ▶ Similarly, 2-year-olds understand that it is not reality or the outcome per se that leads to an emotion but that the outcome must be consistent with someone’s desire.
 - e.g. boy who wanted a bike for his birthday might be sad to get a dog whereas a boy who wanted a dog would be happy

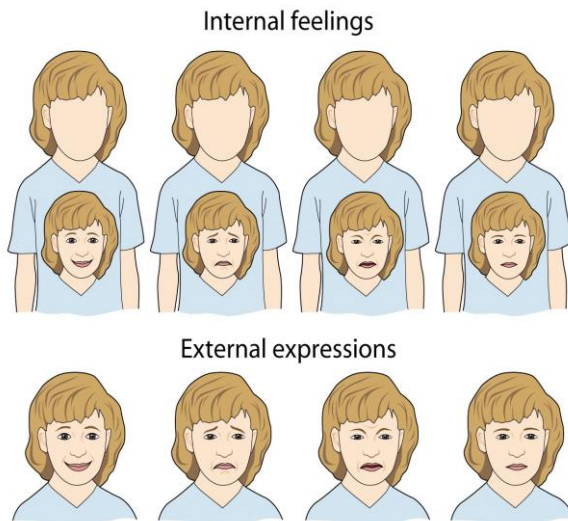
Preschoolers: Understanding Emotions

- ▶ Inferring emotions from events; happy is easier than sad



“Michelle is sleeping over at cousin Johnny’s house but she forgot her teddy bear. She is feeling sad inside but she doesn’t want to show it because he will call her a baby”.

3-4 years olds were about 50% correct. 5 year olds were about 80% correct



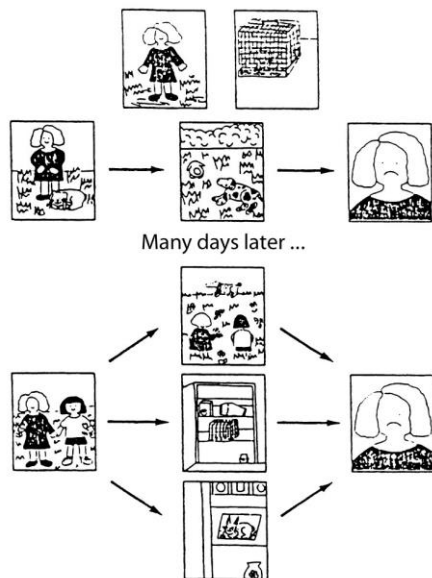
Facial display figures used in the assessment of expression regulation. The figures on the girl's chest indicate how she feels inside. Children select from the different pictures of facial expressions to indicate what expression the girl would show on her face, as well as how she would feel inside.

After children were questioned to ensure that they understood the story, they were presented with illustrations of various emotional expressions and given instructions such as "Show me the picture for how Michelle really feels" and "Show me the picture for how Michelle will try to look on her face." Whereas about half of 3- and 4-year-olds chose the appropriate pictures on four or more of the stories, more than 80% of 5-year-olds chose correctly. Studies with both Japanese and Western children also confirm that between 4 and 6 years of age, children increasingly understand that people can be misled by others' facial expressions.

- Part of the improvement in understanding false emotion involves a growing understanding of **display rules**
- display rules:** a social group's informal norms about when, where, and how much one should show emotions and when and where displays of emotion should be suppressed or masked by displays of other emotions
- Over the preschool and elementary school years, children develop a more refined understanding of when and why display rules are used
- They increasingly understand, for example, that people use verbal and facial display rules to protect others' feelings or their own, as when they pretend to like someone's cooking so as not to hurt the cook's feelings (labeled a *prosocial motive*) or hide their emotions when they themselves are being teased or lose a contest (labeled a *self-protective motive*). With age, children also better understand that people tend to break eye contact and avert their gaze when lying, and they are increasingly able to use this knowledge to conceal their own deception.

Causes

- ability to understand that *memories* of past events can cause emotions develops with age.
- 39% of 3-year-olds understood that memories might cause emotions... while all 5-year-olds did.



Elementary School: Understanding Emotions

- ~8-10 years = ***mixed feelings***; both positive and negative emotions can exist at same time toward different sources
- a little later that both positive and negative emotions can exist toward SAME source

How Parents Socialize Their Children

- Parents influence their children's emotional development through 3 main ways:
 - Their *expression* of emotion with their children and other people (e.g. Expression of positive related to social competence, low aggression, high self-esteem; Negative expressions related to behavioral problems and social and learning difficulties). Correlational!
 - Their *reactions* to their children's expression of emotion
 - Their *discussions* with their children about emotion and the regulation of emotion

Parenting Styles and Practices

- **Parenting styles are parenting behaviors and attitudes that set the emotional climate of parent-child interactions.**
- **Two particularly important dimensions of parenting style:**
 - The degree of **parental warmth, support, and acceptance** versus parental rejection and nonresponsiveness
 - The degree of **parental control and demandingness**

Baumrind's Parenting Styles

	Supportive Parent is accepting and child-centered	Unsupportive Parent is rejecting and parent-centered
Demanding Parent expects much of child	Authoritative Parenting Relationship is reciprocal, responsive; high in bidirectional communication	Authoritarian Parenting Relationship is controlling, power-assertive; high in unidirectional communication
Undemanding Parent expects little of child	Permissive Parenting Relationship is indulgent; low in control attempts	Rejecting-Neglecting Parenting Relationship is rejecting or neglecting; uninvolved

Style	Typical Parent Characteristics	Typical Child Characteristics
Authoritative (High in demandingness and high in supportiveness)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Set clear standards and limits for their children and are firm about enforcing them ▸ Allow their children considerable autonomy within those limits ▸ Are attentive and responsive to their children's concerns and needs, and respect and consider their child's perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Competent ▸ Self-assured ▸ Popular ▸ Able to control their own behavior ▸ Low in antisocial behaviors in childhood ▸ In adolescence: high in social and academic competence and positive behavior, low in problem behavior

Style	Typical Parent Characteristics	Typical Child Characteristics
Authoritarian (High in demandingness and low in supportiveness)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Nonresponsive to their children's needs ▸ Enforce their demands through the exercise of parental power and the use of threats and punishment ▸ Are oriented toward obedience and authority ▸ Expect their children to comply without question or explanation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Low in social and academic competence in childhood and adolescence ▸ As children, they tend to be unhappy and unfriendly, with boys affected more negatively than girls in early childhood
Permissive (Low in demandingness and high in supportiveness)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Responsive to their children's needs ▸ Do not require that their children regulate themselves or act in appropriate or mature ways 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ As children, they tend to be impulsive, lacking in self-control, and low in school achievement ▸ As adolescents, they engage in more school misconduct and drug use than do those with authoritative parents
Rejecting- Neglecting (Low in demandingness and low in supportiveness)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Do not set limits for or monitor their children's behavior ▸ Are not supportive of them, and sometimes are rejecting or neglectful ▸ Tend to be focused on their own needs rather than their children's 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Infants and toddlers tend to have attachment problems ▸ As children, they have poor peer relationships ▸ Adolescents tend to show antisocial behavior, poor self regulation, internalizing problems, substance abuse, risky sexual behavior, and low academic and social competence

Parenting Styles and Culture

- **Particular parenting styles and practices may have different meanings and different effects in different cultures.**
 - For example, authoritarian child-rearing practices seem to be associated with less negative consequences in Chinese and first-generation Chinese-American families than in Euro- American families.

Culture and Emotional Development

- Cultural differences in parenting practices and values contribute to differences in emotional expression
 - (e.g. more empathy in Japanese children)
- Sub-culture: parents' ideas/values about the usefulness of particular emotions vary
 - (e.g. parents living in a dangerous neighborhoods more tolerant of aggression, especially in girls)

Bottom Lines

The bottom-lines are...

- the understanding of emotions continues to develop throughout childhood.
- becomes increasingly complex with advancements in cognitive and verbal abilities
- influenced by both nature and nurture
- Individual differences exist (discussed next)...
 - Those that *understand* emotions better also tend to be happier and engage in more prosocial behavior
 - Those with limited emotional knowledge (e.g., mislabel expressions) tend to be angry, aggressive, and/or fearful.

What Is Emotional Intelligence?

- *Emotional intelligence (affective social competence)*: a set of abilities that contribute to competence in the social and emotional domains

Emotional Intelligence (EQ)

- Components:
 - Understanding of Self
 - Ability to delay gratification (impulse control, self discipline)
 - Emotion Regulation: Identify and regulate one's own feelings
 - Persistence when frustrated
 - Use of 'display rules'
 - Understanding of Other
 - Social Perspective Taking
 - (e.g. identify and reason about others mental states)
 - Empathy (an emotional reaction to another's emotional state)
 - Understanding of 'display rules'
 - Correlates with 'secure' attachment and 'easy' temperament)

Early EQ predicts later social functioning

- EQ is a better predictor than IQ of how well people do in life (though the 2 are related)!
- related to later social functioning, academic performance, relationship success, self-esteem, drug use, criminal behavior etc etc. up to 20 years later
- e.g. single best predictor: early delayed gratification performance

Delay of Gratification: Individual and Gender Differences (video)

What is emotional regulation?

- Process of initiating, inhibiting, or modulating internal feeling states, emotion-related physiological processes, and emotion-related cognitions or behaviours in the service of accomplishing one's goals.
- The emergence of emotional regulation in childhood is a long, slow process.

Emotion Regulation: e.g. Emotion Masking

- Lewis and colleagues set up a situation where a child was left alone in a room and told not to peek at a toy in a box.... If they peeked, could they lie and hide their guilt afterwards?
- "I'm going out don't look in the box"

Display rules

- A social group's informal norms about when, where, and how much one should show emotions and when and where displays of emotion should be suppressed or masked by displays of other emotions

Emotional Display Rules

- E.g., displaying happiness when you receive a gift, even if it is very disappointing.
- children were better at generating positive behaviors in reaction to the disappointing gift as they got older.
- girls were better than boys at all ages 7-11

Sympathy vs. Empathy

- Understanding of Other
 - Social Perspective Taking (e.g. identify others mental states) includes sympathy (recognizing and acknowledging the other's perspective or emotion)
 - Empathy = an emotional reaction to another's emotional state

Temperament

- Biologically based individual differences in emotional, motor, and attentional reactivity and self-regulation that demonstrate consistency across situations, as well as relative stability over time
- **Easy babies**
 - Adjust easily to new situations, quickly establish daily routines such as sleeping, eating; generally cheerful mood; easy to calm
- **Difficult babies**
 - Slow to adjust to new experiences; tend to react negatively and intensely to events, irregular in their daily routines and bodily functions
- **Slow-to-warm-up babies**
 - Somewhat difficult at first but become easier over time as they had repeated contact with new objects, people, and situations

Examples of Items in Mary Rothbart's Temperament Scales

TABLE 10.2

examples of Items in Mary Rothbart's Temperament Scales

Response scale for items:

1 Never	2 Very rarely	3 Less than half the time	4 About half the time	5 More than half the time	6 Almost always	7 Always	X Does not apply
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Temperament dimension	Sample items in infant scale	Sample items in child scale
Fearful distress	How often during the last week did the baby: —cry or show distress at a loud sound (blender, vacuum cleaner, etc.)? —cry or show distress at a change in parents' appearance (glasses off, shower cap on, etc.)?	—Is not afraid of large dogs and/or other animals (reversed for scoring) —Is afraid of loud noises
Irritability (or distress at limitations in infancy and anger/frustration in childhood)	When having to wait for food or liquids during the last week, how often did the baby: —seem not bothered? —show mild fussing? —cry loudly?	—Has temper tantrums when s/he doesn't get what s/he wants —Gets mad when even mildly criticized
Attention span	How often during the last week did the baby: —look at pictures in books and/or magazines for 5 minutes or longer at a time? —play with one toy or object for 10 minutes or longer?	—When drawing or coloring in a book, shows strong concentration —When building or putting something together, becomes very involved in what s/he's doing, and works for long periods
Activity level	During feeding (during the last week), how often did the baby: —lie or sit quietly? —squirm or kick? —wave arms?	—Tends to run, rather than walk, from room to room —When outside, often sits quietly (reversed for scoring)
Positive affectivity (smiling and laughter)	When tossed around playfully (during the last week), how often did the baby: —smile? —laugh?	—Smiles and laughs during play with parents —Usually has a serious expression, even during play (reversed for scoring)

Adapted from Rothbart Infant Behavior Questionnaire and Child Behavior Questionnaire (Rothbart & Gartstein, 1998)

1. *Fearful distress/inhibition*—distress and withdrawal, and their duration, in new situations
 2. *Irritable distress*—fussiness, anger, and frustration, especially if the child is not allowed to do what he or she wants to do
 3. *Attention span and persistence*—duration of orienting toward objects or events of interest
 4. *Activity level*—how much an infant moves (e.g., waves arms, kicks, crawls)
 5. *Positive affect/approach*—smiling and laughing, approach to people, degree of cooperativeness and manageability
 6. *Rhythmicity*—the regularity and predictability of the child’s bodily functions such as eating and sleeping
- In childhood, the first five of these dimensions (see Table 10.2) are particularly important in classifying children’s temperament and predicting their behavior (Rothbart & Bates, 1998). In addition, there is some evidence that a dimension referred to as agreeableness/adaptability may be another important aspect of temperament (Knafo & Israel, 2012; Rothbart & Bates, 2006). Agreeableness involves exhibiting positive emotions and behaviors toward others (e.g., getting along with others and caring about them versus being aggressive and manipulative), as well as the tendency to affiliate with others. Adaptability involves being able to adjust to specific conditions, including the needs and desires of others.

Stability of Temperament

- Inhibited (fearful) at 4 months and...
 - 42%- Fearful at 9, 14, 24, and 48 months
 - 12%- Positive (every later time)
 - 44%- Variable (sometimes fearful, sometimes not)
- Positive (exuberant) at 4 months and...
 - 80%- Positive at 9, 14, 24, and 48 months
 - 5%- Fearful (every later time)
 - 15%- Variable (sometimes fearful, sometimes not)
- Stable over time
- behavioral inhibition: a temperamentally based style of responding characterized by the tendency to be particularly fearful and restrained when dealing with novel or stressful situations; Children who are behaviorally inhibited are more likely than other children to have problems such as anxiety, depression, phobias, and social withdrawal at older ages; different problems with adjustment seem to be associated with different temperaments.
- how children ultimately adjust depends not only on their temperament but also on how well their temperament fits with the particular environment they are in—what is often called **goodness of fit**: the degree to which an individual’s temperament is compatible with the demands and expectations of his or her social environment

3 Temperament Types:

- Measure a child’s activity level, attention span, persistence, positive and negative affect/mood, approach/withdrawal
 - **Easy babies** (40% of original study)
 - **Difficult babies** (10% of original study)
 - **Slow-to-warm-up babies** (15% of original study)
 - (The rest did not fit into a category)
- Children who are negative, impulsive, and unregulated tend to have poor peer relations and are more apt to get in trouble with the law. They are difficult partners and roommates.
- Behaviorally inhibited children are more likely to experience anxiety, depression, and phobias

Strange Situation Measure of Attachment Style

TABLE 11.2 The Eight Episodes of the Strange Situation

Episode	Events	Potential attachment behaviors noted
1.	Experimenter introduces parent and baby to playroom and leaves.	
2.	Parent sits while baby plays.	Parent as a secure base
3.	Stranger enters, sits, and talks to parent.	Stranger anxiety
4.	Parent leaves, stranger offers comfort if the baby is upset.	Separation anxiety
5.	Parent returns, greets baby, and offers comfort if baby is upset. Stranger leaves.	Reunion behaviors
6.	Parent leaves room.	Separation anxiety
7.	Stranger enters and offers comfort.	Ability to be soothed by stranger
8.	Parent returns, greets baby, offers comfort if necessary, and tries to interest baby in toys.	Reunion behaviors

Patterns of Attachment

- ▶ Secure (about 65%)
 - Infants actively seek proximity to caregivers upon reunion
 - Communicate their feelings of stress and distress openly and then readily return to play
- ▶ Insecure-Avoidant (about 20%) (Group A)
 - Infants who do not seem distressed during separation and ignore caregiver upon return. (more angry and negative than other 2 groups)
- ▶ Insecure-Ambivalent (about 15%) (Group C)
 - Infants who become extremely distressed when the caregiver departs but are ambivalent or resistant on her return. They run to him/her but then arch away or push him/her.
- ▶ **Disorganized/Disoriented** (~5% of insecurely attached)
 - Changeable, confused behavior, exhibit fear toward caregiver but still approach

What determines attachment style?

- ▶ the **care-giving** hypotheses
- ▶ “Secure” parenting
 - Sensitivity (responding promptly, consistently, and appropriately)
 - Positive attitude, affectionate
 - Support/attentiveness
 - Stimulation
- ▶ “Avoidant” parenting
 - Less of “secure” attributes
 - Aversion to bodily contact
 - Rejecting
 - More angry and yet less emotional expression overall
- ▶ “Ambivalent” parenting
 - Less of “secure” attributes
 - anxious
 - More evidence of difficult temperament

Long Term Effects?

- ▶ Securely Attached
 - age 2-6. Better problem solvers (persistent and enthusiastic), more complex creative play, more positive emotions, cooperative and sympathetic, more attractive playmates.
 - age 11-15. Better social skills, better peer relations more likely to have more close friends
 - Higher self-esteem
 - Do better in school despite same level of IQ as insecure
 - tend to be more open and honest in their expression of emotion
 - more advanced in their understanding of emotion
- ▶ Insecure
 - age 2-3. Socially and emotionally withdrawn, hesitant to initiate play behaviors with peers, less curious, less interested in learning.
 - age 11-15. Poor peer relations, fewer close friendships, more likely to have psychopathological symptoms.
 - Avoidant = more likely to display ‘deviant’ behaviors (disruption/disobedience)
 - Ambivalent = easily frustrated, less competent
- ▶ children who are *securely attached*—that is, who have high-quality, trusting relationships with their parents—tend to show more positive emotion and less social anxiety and anger than do children who are *insecurely attached*—that is, whose relationships with their parents are low in trust and support
- ▶ In addition to being affected by the overall parent–child relationship, children’s emotional development is influenced by parents’ **socialization** of their children—that is, their direct and indirect influence on their children’s standards, values, and ways of thinking and feeling. Parents socialize their children’s emotional development through
 - (1) their expression of emotion with their children and other people,
 - (2) their reactions to their children’s expression of emotion, and
 - (3) the discussions they have with their children about emotion and emotional regulation.These avenues of socialization, which are often interrelated, can affect not only children’s emotional development but also their social competence
- ▶ **socialization**: the process through which children acquire the values, standards, skills, knowledge, and behaviors that are regarded as appropriate for their present and future role in their particular culture
- ▶ An additional help in emotional socialization is *emotion coaching*, in which parents not only discuss emotions with their children but also help them learn ways of coping with their emotions and expressing them appropriately. Children who receive these types of guidance tend to display better emotional understanding than children who do not.

- ▶ Parents who dismiss or criticize their children’s expressions of sadness and anxiety communicate to their children that their feelings are not valid. Parents send similar messages when they react to their children’s anger with threats, belligerence, or dismissive comments. In turn, their children are likely to be less emotionally and socially competent than are children whose parents are emotionally supportive. They tend, for example, to be lower in sympathy for others, less skilled at coping with stress, and more prone to negative emotions and problem behaviors such as aggression
- ▶ parents who are supportive when their children are upset help their children to regulate their emotional arousal and to find ways to express their emotions constructively. In turn, their children tend to be better adjusted and more competent both with peers and academically. Parents’ supportive reactions to their young children’s emotional upsets may be especially helpful in reducing problem behaviors for those children who have difficulty regulating their physiological responses to challenges
- ▶ children’s emotional understanding is a key part of their emotional development and self-regulation. Family conversations about emotion are therefore an important aspect of children’s emotional socialization. Parents who discuss emotions with their children teach them about the meanings of emotions, the circumstances in which they should and should not be expressed, and the consequences of expressing or not expressing them

- mothers' references to others' mental states predicted children's emotion understanding better than did mothers' references to emotions themselves, perhaps because references to mental states help children understand the thoughts that accompany and motivate emotional states.

Theories on the Nature and Emergence of Emotion

differential (or discrete) emotions theory: a theory about emotions, held by Tomkins, Izard, and others, in which emotions are viewed as innate and discrete from one another from very early in life, and each emotion is believed to be packaged with a specific and distinctive set of bodily and facial reactions

functionalist approach: a theory of emotion, proposed by Campos and others, that argues that the basic function of emotions is to promote action toward achieving a goal. In this view, emotions are not discrete from one another and vary somewhat based on the social environment.

emotional self-regulation: the process of initiating, inhibiting, or modulating internal feeling states and related physiological processes, cognitions, and behaviors

1. *Internal feeling states* (the subjective experience of emotion)
 2. *Emotion-related cognitions* (e.g., thoughts about one's desires or goals; one's interpretation of an evocative situation; self-monitoring of one's emotional states)
 3. *Emotion-related physiological processes* (e.g., heart rate and hormonal or other physiological reactions, including neural activation, that can change as a function of regulating one's feeling states and thoughts)
 4. *Emotion-related behavior* (e.g., actions or facial expressions related to one's feelings)
- The development of emotional regulation is characterized by three general age-related patterns of change. The first pattern involves the transition from infants' relying almost totally on other people to help them regulate their emotions to their being increasingly able to self-regulate during early childhood. The second pattern involves the increasing use of cognitive strategies and planful problem solving to control negative emotions. The third pattern involves the increasing selection and use of appropriate, effective regulating strategies
 - By 6 months of age, infants show signs of rudimentary emotional self-regulation. In aversively arousing or uncertain situations, they may reduce their distress by unselectively averting their gaze from the source of distress. Occasionally, 6-month-olds can also *self-soothe*—that is, engage in repetitive rubbing or stroking of their body or clothing. Sometimes they can also distract themselves by looking specifically at neutral or positive persons or objects rather than at what has upset them, a strategy that they increasingly use between ages 1 and 2
 - Due to growing ability to control both their own attention and their movements

social competence: the ability to achieve personal goals in social interactions while simultaneously maintaining positive relationships with others

- A variety of studies indicate that children who have the ability to inhibit inappropriate behaviors, delay gratification, and use cognitive methods of controlling their emotion and behavior tend to be well-adjusted and liked by their peers and by adults

Review

- ▶ Emotions are fundamental for much of human functioning and undergo change in the early months and years of life. Smiles emerge early but do not become social until the 2nd to 3rd month of life, and what makes children smile and laugh changes with age and cognitive development. Distress in newborns involves hunger and various other discomforts; by 6 to 7 months of age, it is often caused by a stranger's approach; by approximately 8 months of age, it is likely to be triggered by a separation from parents. Separation distress develops in similar ways in various cultures.
- ▶ It is hard to know exactly when anger emerges because distress/pain and anger are difficult to differentiate early in life. Children may experience anger by the second month of life in response to loss of control. In the first months, it is similarly difficult to differentiate fear from distress, but fear likely has emerged by 6 or 7 months of age, when some children appear to display fear of strangers. Young children also exhibit sadness, especially when they are separated from loved ones for extended periods.
- ▶ The self-conscious emotions—embarrassment, pride, shame, and guilt—emerge somewhat later than do most emotions, probably in the second year of life. Their emergence is tied in part to the development of a rudimentary sense of self and to an appreciation of others' reactions to the self. Situations that evoke these emotions vary across cultures.
- ▶ Emotions continue to change in their occurrence and causes in childhood and adolescence. Depression increases markedly in adolescence, especially for girls. Age-related cognitive, biological, and experiential factors likely account for these changes.

Review

- ▶ Children's efforts to regulate their emotions and emotionally driven behaviors change with age. Whereas young infants must rely on adults to manage their emotions, older infants and young children increasingly regulate their own emotions and behavior through such methods as averting their attention, self-soothing, and distracting themselves with activities. Their ability to inhibit their actions also improves with age. Improvements in children's regulatory capacities likely are based on increases in brain maturation that allow them to better control their attention and their own bodies, as well as on changes in adults' expectations of them.
- ▶ In contrast to young children, who often try to cope with their emotions by taking direct action, older children also are able to use cognitive modes of coping, such as focusing on positive aspects of a negative situation or trying to think about something else altogether. In addition, they are increasingly able to select and use ways of regulating themselves and coping with stress that are appropriate to the requirements of specific situations.
- ▶ The abilities to regulate one's emotions and related behavior, and to deal constructively with stressful situations, are associated with high social competence and low levels of problem behavior.

Review

- ▶ Temperament refers to individual differences in various aspects of children's emotional reactivity, regulation, and other characteristics such as behavioral inhibition and activity level. Temperament is believed to have a constitutional (biological) basis, but it is also affected by experiences in the environment, including social interactions. Temperament tends to be somewhat stable over time, although the degree of its stability varies across the dimensions of temperament and individuals.
- ▶ Temperament plays an important role in adjustment and maladjustment. A difficult and unmanageable temperament in childhood tends to predict problem behaviors and low social competence in childhood and adulthood, and children who as infants are fearful and negatively reactive to novel objects, places, and people sometimes have later difficulties in interactions with others, including peers. However, children whose temperaments put them at risk for poor adjustment often do well if they receive sensitive and appropriate parenting and if there is a good fit between their temperament and their social environment.

Review

- ▶ Children's emotional development is influenced by their relationship with their parents: children who have secure relations with their parents tend to show more positive emotion and greater emotional understanding than do children who have insecure relations with their parents. Another influence on children's emotional development is their parents' socialization of emotional responding—including what emotions parents express with their children and others, and how they express them; how parents respond to their children's negative emotions; and whether and how parents discuss emotions with their children.

Review

- ▶ Children's tendencies in regard to experiencing and regulating emotions may be affected by differences in temperament among different groups of people. These tendencies may also be influenced by differences in parenting practices, which in turn are often affected by cultural differences in beliefs about what emotions are valued, and when and where emotions should be expressed.

Review

- ▶ Children's understanding of emotions plays an important role in their emotional functioning. Although infants can detect differences in various emotional expressions such as happiness and surprise by 3 to 7 months of age, it is not until they are about 6 months of age that they start to treat others' emotional expressions as meaningful. At about 5½ to 12 months of age, children begin to connect facial expressions of emotion or an emotional tone of voice with other events in the situation, as evidenced by their use of social referencing. By age 3, children demonstrate a rudimentary ability to label facial expressions and understand simple situations that are likely to cause happiness.
- ▶ As children move through the preschool and elementary school years, their understanding of emotions and situations that cause emotions grows in range and complexity. In addition, they increasingly appreciate that the emotions people show may not reflect their true feelings.

Summary

The Development of Emotions in Childhood

- ▶ Discrete-emotions theorists believe that each emotion is packaged with a specific set of bodily and facial reactions and that distinct emotions are evident from early in life. In contrast, functionalists believe that emotions reflect what individuals are trying to do in specific situations—that is, their concerns and goals at the moment—and that there is not a set of innate, discrete emotions but many emotions based on people's many different interactions with the social world.
- ▶ From early in life, emotions play an important role in both survival and social communication. Although infants show negative and positive affect from birth, it is not clear whether young infants experience different types of negative emotions such as anger, fear, and sadness.
- ▶ Emotions undergo change in the early months and years of life. Smiles become social around the second to third month of life, and what makes children smile and laugh changes with cognitive development.
- ▶ Newborns exhibit distress due to discomfort and hunger. By 6 to 7 months of age, they often are distressed when strangers approach them, and by approximately 8 months of age, they tend to get distressed when separated from their parents.
- ▶ The social emotions—embarrassment, pride, shame, and guilt—emerge in the second year of life. Their emergence is tied in part to the development of a rudimentary sense of self and to an appreciation of others' reactions to the self.
- ▶ In childhood, emotional reactions are increasingly influenced by a growing cognitive understanding of events and emotions. For some children, there is an increase in the experience of negative emotion from childhood to adolescence. Rates of clinical and subclinical depression are much higher in adolescence than at younger ages, especially for girls.

Individual Differences in Emotion and Its Regulation

- ▶ Both biological and environmental factors contribute to the differences we see in children's emotions and related behaviors. Temperament, which is believed to have a constitutional basis but can also be affected by social experiences, predicts adjustment in childhood and adulthood. However, children with difficult temperaments often do well if they receive sensitive and appropriate parenting.

Children's Emotional Development in the Family

- ▶ Children's emotional development is affected by the quality of their early social relationships and their parents' discussion of emotion. High levels of positive emotion in the home are associated with favorable outcomes for children, whereas high levels of negative emotion and punitive reactions to children's displays of negative emotion are often linked to negative developmental outcomes (the latter pattern may be especially likely in Western cultures). Parental discussion of emotion or other internal states (e.g., desires, cognitions) may promote children's understanding of emotion and increase their social competence, although the discussion of emotions per se may be less associated with social competence in some cultures.

Culture and Children's Emotional Development

- ▶ There may be differences in temperament across some cultures, which affect children's tendencies to experience and regulate emotions.
- ▶ There are cultural differences in beliefs about what emotions are valued and when emotions should be expressed, and these shape children's expression of emotion.

Children's Understanding of Emotion

- ▶ To interact with others effectively, a person must be able to identify others' emotions and have some knowledge of their causes and significance. By 5½ to 7 months of age, infants start to treat others' emotional expressions as meaningful. Between 5½ and 12 months of age, children start to exhibit social referencing.
- ▶ By age 2 to 3 years, children demonstrate a rudimentary ability to label facial expressions and simple situations associated with happiness. Children's understanding of facial expressions, the situations that cause emotions, display rules, and the complexities of emotional experience increases in the preschool and elementary school years.