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Chinese Immigrant Child and Maternal Reactions to Disappointment: Cultural Fit Impacts the
Bidirectional Associations

Kathy T. T. Vu and Charissa S. L. Cheah
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Amy G. Halberstadt
North Carolina State University

Author Note

Kathy T. T. Vu and Charissa S. L. Cheah, Department of Psychology, University of Maryland, Baltimore County. Amy G. Halberstadt, Department of Psychology, North Carolina State University. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Charissa S. L. Cheah, Department of Psychology, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 1000 Hilltop Circle, Baltimore, MD 21250. Contact: ccheah@umbc.edu

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26 **Abstract**

27 Culture provides a context in which emotion socialization is embedded, and the bidirectional
28 effects between parents' emotion socialization and children's emotional behaviors may work
29 differently across cultures. To understand how emotion socialization may be shaped by the
30 cultural context, we examined the moderating role of Asian cultural values in bidirectional
31 associations between maternal emotion socialization practices and child anger and sadness.
32 Seventy-four U.S. Chinese immigrant mothers ($M_{\text{age}} = 40.71$ years, $SD = 3.61$) completed
33 measures assessing their Asian cultural values and parenting style. Children experienced a
34 disappointment task in the lab (Cole, 1986), and mothers and their children ($M_{\text{age}} = 6.73$ years,
35 $SD = 0.95$; 55% female) were observed at two different time intervals. Mothers' socialization
36 practices (emotion dismissing, emotion coaching, and moral and behavioral socialization) and
37 children's anger and sadness responses at both intervals were coded. Mothers' greater Asian
38 cultural values buffered the negative effects of their emotion dismissing practices on children's
39 anger and sadness. However, Asian cultural values did not impact the effects of children's anger
40 and sadness on mothers' emotion dismissing practices. When mothers endorsed fewer Asian
41 values, their emotion coaching practices reduced children's anger and sadness. Children's anger
42 and sadness evoked more emotion coaching practices when mothers endorsed lower levels of
43 Asian cultural values. In addition, children's anger and sadness evoked greater moral and
44 behavioral responses from their mothers when mothers endorsed more Asian values. Overall,
45 findings underscored the importance of cultural values in the interplay between mothers'
46 emotion socialization practices and children's emotions.

47 *Keywords:* emotion socialization, emotion expression, parent-child interaction, Chinese
48 immigrant, culture

49 **Chinese Immigrant Child and Maternal Reactions to Disappointment: Cultural Fit**
50 **Impacts the Bidirectional Associations**

51 Maternal emotion socialization refers to maternal behaviors that impact children’s
52 emotion understanding, experience, expression, and regulation. Eisenberg et al. (1998) proposed
53 a comprehensive framework recognizing the importance of child, parent, cultural, and contextual
54 characteristics as contributing to parents’ emotion-related behaviors. In turn, these emotion-
55 related socialization behaviors are posited to have bidirectional associations with children’s
56 emotion-related outcomes, such as their emotion expression and regulation (Eisenberg et al.,
57 1998). There is now plentiful research suggesting that parents’ emotion socialization practices
58 affect children’s experience and regulation of emotion (e.g., Lunkenheimer et al., 2007; Rogers
59 et al., 2016; Shewark & Blandon, 2015); however, whether and how children’s emotion-related
60 behaviors also elicit shifts in parents’ emotion socialization practices is not well addressed in the
61 literature (see Mazzone & Nader-Grosbois, 2017; Morelen & Suveg, 2012 as exceptions). Yet,
62 understanding the dynamic interplay of parents’ and children’ reciprocal influence is a key
63 feature of developmental science (Sameroff & MacKenzie, 2003).

64 Additionally, as noted both theoretically and empirically, associations between parents’
65 emotion socialization and children’s emotion-related behaviors may differ across cultures or sub-
66 cultures within a region (Brown et al., 2015; Eisenberg et al., 1998). Whether and how parents
67 maintain or shift their practices and goals following their children’s own reactions might also
68 vary across cultures. A particularly interesting challenge for parents is posed by growing up with
69 one set of emotion-related practices and encountering a second set, as in the case of immigrant
70 contexts when two cultures may be co-existing side by side. For immigrant families, parents may
71 negotiate holding tightly onto their traditional values and/or seeking to assimilate to a whole new

72 set of values. Therefore, the present study examined the moderating role of mothers' Asian
73 cultural values in the bidirectional association between mothers' observed emotion socialization
74 practices and their children's expressed anger and sadness among U.S. Chinese immigrant
75 families. Specifically, we were interested in the role of cultural values in moderating both how
76 mothers' emotion socialization practices were received by their children, and how children's
77 responses were received by their mothers.

78 **Emotion socialization in the Chinese immigrant context**

79 Traditional Confucian ideologies valued in Chinese culture emphasize interdependence,
80 social hierarchy and harmony, reservedness, and emotional restraint (Ho, 2008). Children's
81 strong display of emotions, in particular negative emotions such as anger and sadness, are less
82 desired in Chinese culture as these emotions may be disruptive to social relations (Cheah & Li,
83 2009). Chinese immigrant parents in Western contexts who traditionally value similar Confucian
84 ideologies may attempt to socialize these values in their children through practices such as
85 emotion dismissal that control and decrease children's strong emotional display of anger and
86 sadness (Cheah & Li, 2009; Louie et al., 2013). Although emotion dismissing practices are
87 detrimental to children's emotional development in White American families (Shewark &
88 Blandon, 2015), recent research comparing Chinese immigrant and White American families
89 revealed that mothers' non-supportive reactions to their children's negative emotions negatively
90 impacted White American children's but not Chinese immigrant children's functioning (Yang et
91 al., 2020). The current study expands on this work by examining specific practices without
92 labelling mothers' practices as supportive or unsupportive. Furthermore, we aimed to examine
93 the effects of these specific emotion practices on children's emotion expression in Chinese
94 immigrant families living within a larger Western context.

95 In contrast to traditional Chinese culture, independence-oriented cultures that also
96 encourage emotion expressiveness may reinforce values of individuality and openness through
97 expression of anger and sadness (Gross & Cassidy, 2019; Halberstadt & Lozada, 2011;
98 Matsumoto et al., 2008). U.S. Chinese immigrants' parenting reflects the negotiation of practices
99 emphasized by both the dominant American and their own heritage cultural values. In
100 interviews, Chinese immigrant mothers reported that intrusive and emotionally controlling
101 practices were less common and more maladaptive for their children's development in the
102 United States than in China (Cheah et al., 2013). They also desired to increase their use of
103 practices that provide comfort and emotional guidance to foster their children's positive affect
104 while maintaining practices they perceived to be characteristic of traditional Chinese parenting,
105 such as those fostering parent-child reciprocity and interdependence (Cheah et al., 2013).

106 Furthermore, Chinese immigrant mothers' greater participation in American culture was
107 associated with more autonomy-supporting and democratic parenting and less punitive and
108 coercive practices (Vu et al., 2019). Thus, to meet socialization demands of the larger American
109 cultural context, mothers who adhere less strongly to traditional Asian cultural values may
110 decrease their use of emotion dismissing practices that discourage children's expressivity and
111 instead, engage in emotion coaching practices to encourage emotional expressivity compared to
112 mothers who endorse these traditional cultural values more strongly (Cheah et al., 2015; Cheah
113 et al., 2018).

114 As aforementioned, Chinese immigrant mothers also reported a desire to maintain aspects
115 of traditional Chinese parenting (Cheah et al., 2013). These mothers may strongly believe that
116 they need to preserve their heritage cultural values to maintain their and their children's cultural
117 identities as they adapt in a new cultural environment. Thus, additional to emotion dismissing

118 and coaching socialization practices widely studied in Western contexts, we examined a
119 culturally emphasized socialization practice that is utilized among parents of Chinese heritage.

120 Studies examining Chinese mother-child dyads' conversations of emotionally salient
121 events revealed a process of moral and behavioral socialization (Wang, 2001; Wang & Fivush,
122 2005). Chinese parents emphasize moral rules, social norms, and behavioral standards when
123 teaching their children about the appropriateness of their emotional experience more than White
124 American parents (Miller et al., 1997; Wang, 2001). Moreover, Chinese mothers tend to attribute
125 children's emotional experiences as products of children's interactions with others and use these
126 moral lessons to help their children cope with sadness or anger and to teach their children how to
127 resolve conflicts with others (Wang, 2001; Wang & Fivush, 2005). Chinese mothers' emphasis
128 on the causes of their children's emotional experiences often highlights their attention to the
129 social-relational context and social community, and their children's social role with others
130 (Cheah & Rubin, 2003). These mothers tend to emphasize their children's past emotional
131 experiences and behaviors to promote proper conduct in children for current and future behaviors
132 (Wang & Fivush, 2005), which reflect Confucian values of self-reflection, social harmony,
133 morality, and appropriate behavioral conduct (Ho, 2008). Although Chinese immigrant mothers
134 emphasize instilling good moral character and proper conduct in their children (Vu et al., 2018),
135 direct observations of Chinese immigrant mothers' engagement in moral and behavioral emotion
136 socialization practices when interacting with their children and its association with children's
137 emotions have not been conducted. Therefore, to our knowledge, this study is the first to observe
138 and assess the frequency of this parenting practice during a disappointment-inducing paradigm in
139 a sample with 5- to 9-year-old children.

140 **Culture as a moderator.** Eisenberg et al. (1998) postulated that cultural values predict
141 mothers' emotion-related socialization behaviors. We further specify that cultural values also
142 may serve to increase or decrease the fit of such practices and hence change the associations
143 between emotion socialization practices and child outcomes. Because parents' practices and their
144 meaning for children are embedded within the larger norms and values of the culture, the impact
145 of parental practices may be different for children as they interpret those practices within cultural
146 mores. Chinese immigrant mothers may engage in more intrusive or controlling practices, which
147 are often viewed as normative and acceptable in traditional Chinese culture, to help their children
148 learn how to control their emotions and to also meet cultural goals and transmit values of
149 interdependence, group harmony, and obedience (Yang et al., 2020). When accompanied by such
150 socialization values, the effects of intrusive and controlling practices may not be as detrimental
151 to children in families that share Chinese heritage values.

152 Two studies support this hypothesis. In one study, the negative effects of parent-reported
153 physical and verbal punitive discipline on children's outcomes were decreased, although not
154 eliminated, when Chinese immigrant parents endorsed training and shaming ideology
155 emphasized in Chinese culture as compared to when they endorsed less training and shaming
156 ideologies (Fung & Lau, 2009). In another study, physical punishment was associated with
157 greater externalizing behaviors only among Chinese American children with mothers who were
158 more acculturated towards American culture (Yu et al., 2018). Because parents' cultural values
159 may shape their patterns of behavior, we explored how Asian cultural values might moderate
160 (buffer and/or exacerbate) the associations between Chinese immigrant mothers' observed
161 emotion socialization practices and children's observed anger and sadness during an
162 observational task.

163 Present Study

164 The overall goal of the present study was to examine the moderating role of Asian
165 cultural values in the bidirectional associations between mothers' observed emotion socialization
166 practices (dismissing, coaching, and moral and behavioral socialization practices) and children's
167 expressed anger and sadness in U.S. Chinese immigrant families. The disappointment task (Cole,
168 1986) is a standardized paradigm in which children's angry and sad emotions are evoked through
169 a disappointing event, and in which mothers have an opportunity to engage in emotion
170 socialization practices. We chose the disappointment task for several reasons. Although
171 conflictual situations may occur at very different frequencies in families and are likely
172 experienced differently based on cultural levels of collectivism and verticality, disappointment is
173 a daily event found across cultures (Ip et al., 2021). Moreover, the task is likely to evoke anger
174 and sadness as children grapple with the feelings of unfairness, being upended, and loss; for
175 parents, it can activate a variety of parenting responses. The disappointment paradigm has been
176 used successfully with Chinese American children (Garrett-Peters & Fox, 2007; Ip et al., 2021).
177 Additionally, the disappointment paradigm is structured with different intervals, which is ideal
178 for assessing the impact of mothers' socialization practices on children's anger and sadness
179 responses, and then those emotional responses on mothers' subsequent socialization choices.
180 Therefore, we utilized a disappointment-inducing task to examine Chinese immigrant mothers'
181 emotion socialization practices and children's anger and sadness.

182 First, we hypothesized that maternal emotion dismissing practices would positively
183 predict child anger and sadness; however, higher levels of maternal Asian cultural values would
184 weaken these positive associations between maternal emotion dismissing and child anger and
185 sadness. Second, we hypothesized that maternal emotion coaching practices would negatively

186 predict child anger and sadness, and lower maternal Asian cultural values would strengthen
187 negative associations between maternal emotion coaching and child anger and sadness. Third, we
188 hypothesized that maternal moral and behavioral socialization practices would positively predict
189 child anger and sadness; however, higher levels of Asian cultural values would weaken these
190 positive associations between maternal moral and behavioral socialization and child anger and
191 sadness. Last, and regarding the effects children's emotions have on mothers, we predicted that
192 child anger and sadness would evoke greater maternal emotion dismissing, emotion coaching,
193 and moral and behavioral socialization practices; however, in the context of stronger Asian
194 cultural values, child anger and sadness would evoke greater maternal emotion dismissing and
195 moral and behavioral socialization, and less emotion coaching socialization.

196 We considered covariates in our analyses. Because mothers' age and children's age and
197 gender sometimes influence emotion-related behaviors, they were examined as potential
198 covariates. Specifically, parents may view children's emotion regulation differently depending
199 on parents' own age, with older parents rating their children as having better emotion regulation;
200 the age of their children, with older children seen as expressing less sadness and anger than
201 younger children; and gender, with boys seen as expressing more negative emotional behaviors
202 than girls (Cheah et al., 2013; Chen et al., 2011; Garrett-Peters & Fox, 2007; Morris et al., 2011).
203 Because the overall emotional parenting climate or style may play a role in mothers' specific
204 emotion socialization and children's emotional expression (Chen et al., 2021; Darling &
205 Steinberg, 1993; Eisenberg et al., 1998), we controlled for the broad effects of authoritative
206 parenting style to ensure that we captured the unique contributions of and child influences on
207 mothers' specific emotion socialization behaviors.

208 **Method**

209 Participants

210 The sample was comprised of 75 dyads of first-generation Chinese immigrant mothers (*N*
211 = 75; $M_{\text{age}} = 40.71$ years, $SD = 3.61$) and their children ($N = 75$; $M_{\text{age}} = 6.72$ years, $SD = 0.95$;
212 $\text{range}_{\text{age}} = 4.95$ to 8.58 years, 55% female) residing in the Baltimore-Washington D.C. area. All
213 mothers self-identified as ethnically Chinese and reported that both parents of the focal child
214 were ethnically Chinese. Most mothers were married (97%), highly educated (93% of mothers
215 reported having at least a bachelor's degree), and had at least one other child (88%). About half
216 of the mothers identified as Christian (51%), with 37% as not religious, 8% as Buddhist, and 4%
217 as other (not specified). On average, mothers had lived in the United States for 14.51 years ($SD =$
218 6.70; range 5.08 years to 47.50 years). Forty percent of mothers immigrated to the U.S. for
219 education, 37% for marriage or with their spouse, 7% for work, 5% with family or to reunite
220 with family, 5% to enhance life experience or for better living, and 5% did not specify reasons.
221 One child was born in China (but lived in the United States for 6.25 years) and four children had
222 missing data.

223 Procedure

224 Families were recruited through flyers and postings from schools, libraries, grocery
225 stores, daycares, and community centers. The study was conducted at families' homes. Mothers
226 provided signed informed consent and children provided assent before data collection. Mothers
227 completed questionnaires in their language of choice (traditional or simplified Chinese, or
228 English). The observational task was conducted in mothers' and children's preferred
229 language/dialect (Cantonese, Mandarin, or English). Ethical approval was obtained from the
230 University of Maryland, Baltimore County. The present study was part of a larger longitudinal

231 project on Chinese immigrant families conducted between 2014 to 2017 and is the first to utilize
232 the observational paradigm and coding procedures described below.

233 **Measures**

234 **Asian cultural values.** The 25-item Asian Values Scale - Revised (AVS-R; Kim &
235 Hong, 2004) was used to assess mothers' maintenance of heritage cultural values. Mothers rated
236 their agreement on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 4 = *Strongly Agree*). An
237 example is "One should not deviate from familiar and social norms." Higher scores reflected
238 greater adherence to Asian cultural values. This measure has demonstrated reliability and
239 validity in Chinese immigrant samples (Cheah et al., 2018). Cronbach's alpha in this sample was
240 .72.

241 **Authoritative parenting style.** The Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (Wu
242 et al., 2002) was administered to measure mothers' authoritative parenting style. The
243 authoritative parenting style subscale contains 15 items and mothers rated their agreement with
244 each item on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Never* to 5 = *Always*). Authoritative parenting was
245 measured using items across three dimensions: (1) connection-warmth/acceptance; (2)
246 regulation-reasoning/induction; and (3) autonomy granting-democratic participation. Higher
247 scores reflected higher use of authoritative parenting. This measure has demonstrated reliability
248 and validity in Chinese immigrant samples (Vu et al., 2019). Cronbach's alpha in this sample
249 was .90.

250 **Disappointment Paradigm**

251 Children underwent Cole's disappointment-inducing paradigm (Cole, 1986), which has
252 been utilized successfully with this age and cultural group (Garrett-Peters & Fox, 2007; Morris et
253 al., 2011). The diverse team of mostly Asian American research assistants received substantial

254 training before collecting data. Each team had at least one research assistant of Chinese-descent.
255 One research assistant (RA 1) showed the child eight small toys that the child could choose from
256 as a prize for completing a task. Two toys were broken. The child ranked the toys from most to
257 least desired and completed a filler task with a second research assistant (RA 2) to earn a prize.
258 RA 2 then gave the child his or her least desired toy. After 30 seconds, RA 2 left the room and
259 RA 1 arrived with the child's mother, who was asked to sit next to her child, after which the
260 research assistant exited the room. The mother and child were alone for two minutes (Interval 1).
261 After two minutes, RA 1 returned, acknowledged that there had been a mistake with the prize,
262 and left the room again for an additional 30 seconds (Interval 2) to retrieve the other toys. RA 1
263 returned with the other toys and offered the child the opportunity to trade the least wanted prize
264 for another prize. The research assistant who "made the mistake" (i.e., RA 2) returned to
265 apologize for his or her mistake. Both research assistants apologized again and both mother and
266 child were debriefed. The mother and child were blind to the purpose of the paradigm. The entire
267 sequence was video recorded. Intervals 1 and 2 were conceptualized as two adjacent points in
268 time to examine bidirectionality in analyses.

269 **Observational coding.** Two coding schemes were developed to capture Chinese
270 immigrant mothers' emotion socialization practices and children's emotion expression during the
271 disappointment-inducing paradigm. We used Mangold International's INTERACT software to
272 code for behaviors. Coding procedures were based on several existing coding schemes used to
273 code the disappointment task paradigm, capturing the categories described below.

274 *Mothers' emotion socialization practices during children's disappointment.* A team of
275 five researchers from ethnic Chinese backgrounds followed an iterative process of developing
276 the coding scheme to capture emotion socialization practices. The team was bilingual as mothers

277 and children frequently switched back and forth between Mandarin/Cantonese and English. First,
278 members of the team independently reviewed videos of the mother-child interaction and
279 identified various emotion socialization practices that these mothers utilized. Next, the team met
280 for a series of intensive discussions. Overlaps in conceptual groupings were merged and codes
281 were labeled to better capture the meaning of each code.

282 Three codes of maternal emotion socialization practices (emotion dismissing, emotion
283 coaching, and moral and behavioral socialization) were identified. *Emotion dismissing* was
284 coded when the mother attempted to dismiss or suppress the child's emotions (e.g., telling the
285 child that he/she should not be feeling sad/mad; Lunkenheimer et al., 2007; Morelen & Suveg,
286 2012). Emotion dismissing was coded every 5 seconds on a 3-point scale (0 = No Emotion
287 Dismissing, 1 = Some Emotion Dismissing, 2 = Very Clear Use of Emotion Dismissing).

288 *Emotion coaching* was coded when the mother attempted to help the child to verbally
289 label his/her own emotions or problem-solve, and/or emphasize with or validate the child's
290 emotion (e.g., telling the child to use words to explain why he/she is upset; Castro et al., 2014;
291 Lunkenheimer et al., 2007). Emotion coaching was coded every 5 seconds on a 3-point scale (0 =
292 No Emotion Coaching, 1 = Some Emotion Coaching, 2 = Very Clear Use of Emotion Coaching).

293 *Moral and behavioral socialization* was coded when the mother attempted to socialize
294 the child to behave according to behavioral standards and norms (e.g., talking to the child about
295 expected or appropriate behavior; Wang, 2001; Wang & Fivush, 2005). Moral and behavioral
296 socialization was coded every 5 seconds on a 2-point scale (0 = No Moral and Behavioral
297 Socialization and 1 = Use of Moral and Behavioral Socialization).

298 Mothers could, and occasionally did, use multiple practices with their child (43% in
299 Interval 1 and 33% in Interval 2; see specific percentages in Preliminary Analyses section);

300 therefore, each practice was coded independently from the others. Proportion scores (i.e.,
301 frequency of usage divided by time) were created for each emotion socialization practice.

302 ***Children's emotions during a disappointing situation: Anger and sadness.*** We were
303 interested in the effects and consequences of children's anger and sadness, as the most frequently
304 occurring and least harmonious negative emotions, but did not have hypotheses differentiating
305 between the two emotions. Codes for children's anger and sadness arousal/intensity were
306 adapted from Cole et al. (1994), Garrett-Peters and Fox (2007), and Morris et al. (2011), and
307 codes were generated every 5 seconds on a 6-point scale (0 = No Emotion to 5 = Very Strong).
308 Codes were based on children's: (1) facial expression; (2) verbal expressions (e.g., yelling,
309 crying); and (3) body expressions (e.g., body tensing, throwing toy, slumping into seat). When
310 weighing facial, verbal, and body expressions, some level of the emotion had to be facially
311 present to initiate a code; verbal and body signals of an emotion worked to push a code to the
312 next level (i.e., higher number). Proportion scores created for children's anger and sadness by
313 dividing frequency of expressed emotion by time and summed to create a score for children's
314 angry and sad emotions (e.g., Garrett-Peters & Fox, 2007).

315 **Behavioral coding reliability.** Two coders trained by the first and second authors coded
316 a random sample of 20% of the total number of cases to establish reliability. Cohen's Kappas for
317 children's anger and sadness for Intervals 1 and 2 were .91 and .94, respectively. Cohen's
318 Kappas for mothers' use of emotion coaching, emotion dismissing, and moral and behavioral
319 socialization for Interval 1 were .88, .90, and 1.00, respectively, and for Interval 2 were .96, 1.00,
320 and .91, respectively. Reaching kappas of 1.00 was initially surprising. Further inspection
321 revealed that moral and behavioral socialization practices in Interval 1 and emotion dismissing
322 practices in Interval 2 were very clearly delineated, explaining why coders achieved high

323 agreement for those two codes. Disagreements between coders were discussed until consensus
324 was reached.

325 **Statistical Analysis Plan**

326 Power analysis was conducted to identify the sample size needed for regression analyses.
327 With power of .80, two-tailed test, and alpha set at .05, a minimum sample size of 109 would be
328 needed to detect moderate effect sizes. Sample size for this study was 75 mothers and 75
329 children. It is important to note that with such a unique and niche sample (i.e., there were
330 approximately 1,397 Chinese immigrant families with children ages 5-7 years old living in the
331 recruitment area during data collection; Pew Research Center, 2017), our complex observational
332 methodology, and limited funds, we were not able to recruit a sample size of 109 dyads. Other
333 studies utilizing similar emotion-inducing observational tasks have had smaller samples,
334 including most notably, Garrett-Peters and Fox's (2007) study with 59 Chinese American
335 children. Thus, given the smaller accessible and eligible sample of Chinese immigrant families,
336 smaller sample sizes in the literature using observational data, and that Asian Americans tend to
337 be less likely to participate in research (Liu et al., 2019), we proceeded with analyses.

338 First, frequencies for the three maternal emotion socialization practices and child anger
339 and sadness were examined to ensure that we had variability in mothers' and children's emotion-
340 related behaviors. Correlations between maternal age, child age and gender, the three maternal
341 emotion socialization practices, and child anger and sadness were examined to identify potential
342 covariates. Only covariates with significant correlations with the outcomes of interest were
343 included in the multiple regression analyses.

344 To examine the moderating role of Asian cultural values in the bidirectional associations
345 between maternal emotion socialization practices and children's anger and sadness, a series of

346 multiple regression analyses was conducted. Our sample size and the number of predictors
347 relative to our sample size precluded our ability to examine all associations in one structural
348 model. Interaction terms were calculated by multiplying the centered the predictors of interest
349 (e.g., maternal emotion dismissing \times Asian cultural values). Significant interactions were probed
350 at 1 *SD* below, at, and 1 *SD* above the mean of Asian cultural values, and graphed. Because the
351 effects of the covariates and alternative socialization practices were included to provide a
352 stringent test of the hypotheses and are reported in Table 2, we discuss below only the effects
353 that pertain to our hypotheses.

354 **Results**

355 **Preliminary Analyses**

356 Correlations (Table 1) indicated that mothers of boys were more likely to use maternal
357 moral and behavioral socialization at Interval 2. Authoritative parenting was correlated
358 negatively with maternal emotion dismissing at Interval 2. Thus, only child gender and
359 authoritative parenting were included as covariates in the main analyses. Maternal emotion
360 dismissing and maternal coaching were each correlated positively across the two intervals
361 although moral and behavioral socialization was not. Child anger/sadness were also correlated
362 positively across the two intervals, indicating some stability as well as variability across the time
363 intervals.

364 Of the three socialization practices observed at Interval 1, 11% of the mothers engaged in
365 emotion dismissing practices only, 32% in emotion coaching practices only, 14% in moral and
366 behavioral socialization practices only, 21% in both emotion dismissing and coaching practices,
367 4% in both emotion dismissing and moral and behavioral socialization practices, 14% in both
368 emotion coaching and moral and behavioral socialization practices, and 4% in all three practices.

369 During Interval 2, 3% of the mothers engaged in emotion dismissing practices only, 8% in
370 emotion coaching practices only, 56% in moral and behavioral socialization practices only, 3%
371 in both emotion dismissing and coaching practices, 15% in both dismissing and moral and
372 behavioral socialization practices, and 15% in both coaching and moral and behavioral
373 socialization practices.

374 At Interval 1, 68% of children expressed anger/sadness. At Interval 2, 43% of children
375 expressed anger/sadness. There was a significant decrease in children's anger/sadness between
376 Intervals 1 and 2, $t(74) = 4.20, p < .001$. Contributions of mothers' emotion socialization
377 practices on children's anger/sadness are discussed below. Regardless of their expression, all
378 children exchanged their least-wanted prize for a different prize, indicating that children did not
379 like their initial prize (Garrett-Peters & Fox, 2007). All effects from the regression analyses are
380 reported in Table 2 and significant interactions were graphed in Figure 1.

381 **Maternal Emotion Socialization Practices Effect Change in Child Anger and Sadness**

382 As expected, greater maternal emotion dismissing practices at Interval 1 predicted more
383 child anger/sadness at Interval 2. Importantly, maternal Asian cultural values moderated the
384 association between maternal emotion dismissing at Interval 1 and child anger/sadness at Interval
385 2. As predicted, at lower levels and mean levels of Asian cultural values, maternal emotion
386 dismissing at Interval 1 predicted more child anger/sadness at Interval 2. However, at higher
387 levels of Asian cultural values this association was not significant.

388 Contrary to expectations, mothers' emotion coaching practices at Interval 1 did not
389 predict children's anger/sadness at Interval 2. However, in support of hypotheses, Asian cultural
390 values moderated the association between maternal emotion coaching practices at Interval 1 and
391 child anger/sadness at Interval 2. As predicted, at lower levels of Asian cultural values, greater

392 maternal emotion coaching at Interval 1 predicted less child anger/sadness at Interval 2. This
393 association was not significant at mean levels of Asian cultural values, but at higher levels of
394 Asian cultural values, greater maternal emotion coaching at Interval 1 was associated
395 significantly with *more* child anger/sadness at Interval 2.

396 Unexpectedly, there was no significant main effect or interaction effect of moral and
397 behavioral socialization at Interval 1 and Asian cultural values on child anger/sadness at Interval
398 2.

399 **Child Anger and Sadness Effect Change in Maternal Emotion Socialization Practices**

400 ***Emotion dismissing.*** Contrary to expectations, neither the main effect of child
401 anger/sadness nor the interaction effect of child anger/sadness at Interval 1 and Asian cultural
402 values predicted maternal emotion dismissing at Interval 2.

403 ***Emotion coaching.*** Unexpectedly, child anger/sadness at Interval 1 failed to predict
404 maternal emotion coaching practices at Interval 2. However, in support of hypotheses, maternal
405 Asian cultural values moderated the association between child anger/sadness at Interval 1 and
406 maternal emotion coaching practices at Interval 2. At lower levels of Asian cultural values,
407 greater child anger/sadness at Interval 1 predicted more maternal emotion coaching at Interval 2.
408 However, at mean and higher levels of Asian cultural values, this association was not significant.

409 ***Moral and behavioral socialization.*** As expected, greater child anger/sadness at Interval
410 1 predicted more maternal moral and behavioral socialization practices at Interval 2. Importantly,
411 maternal Asian cultural values also moderated the association between child anger/sadness at
412 Interval 1 and maternal moral and behavioral socialization at Interval 2. At lower levels of Asian
413 cultural values, the association between child anger/sadness and maternal moral and behavioral
414 was not significant. As predicted however, at both mean and higher levels of Asian cultural

415 values, greater child anger/sadness at Interval 1 predicted more maternal moral and behavioral
416 socialization at Interval 2.

417 **Discussion**

418 This study investigated the moderating role of mothers' Asian cultural values in the
419 bidirectional associations between their observed emotion socialization practices and their
420 children's expressed anger and sadness during a disappointment-inducing paradigm in a sample
421 of U.S. Chinese immigrant families. Overall, findings were consistent with our general
422 hypothesis, that cultural values moderate both the effects of maternal practices on child
423 emotions, and the impact of children's emotions on mothers' subsequent responses. Below, we
424 discuss the nuanced effects of the three socialization practices, first presenting whether cultural
425 values moderated their effects on child emotions, and then the bidirectional influences found for
426 each emotion socialization practice.

427 **Maternal Emotion Dismissing and Child Anger and Sadness**

428 Overall, Chinese immigrant mothers' emotion dismissing practices *increased* their
429 children's display of anger and sadness across the two intervals. As predicted, however, mothers'
430 greater adherence to traditional Asian cultural values buffered these effects. These findings
431 suggest that emotion dismissing may not exacerbate the expression or display of anger and
432 sadness in Chinese immigrant children when mothers hold more traditional heritage cultural
433 values.

434 Mothers' emotion dismissing practices are more aligned with cultural goals and values
435 towards socializing interdependence and social harmony and are considered normative in
436 Chinese culture compared to mainstream-American culture (Pomerantz & Wang, 2009; Yang et
437 al., 2020). Thus, Chinese immigrant mothers who closely adhere to Asian cultural values may

438 engage in these emotion dismissing practices to promote Confucian ideologies of child
439 obedience, social harmony, and emotional restraint and reservedness (Cheah & Li, 2009; Wang,
440 2013). These mothers' engagement in these practices, when aligned with more traditional Asian
441 values, may indicate intentional socialization efforts that are embedded in and guided by a
442 broader cultural framework rather than a lack of empathy or disregard for children's emotions
443 (Eisenberg et al., 1998; Yang et al., 2020).

444 In contrast, when mothers reported weaker adherence to their traditional heritage values,
445 mothers' emotion dismissing practices increased children's anger and sadness. Without the
446 broader cultural context, mothers' specific emotion dismissing practices may undermine
447 children's emotion regulation attempts and increase their feelings of anger and sadness. These
448 findings were consistent with research examining the impact of emotion dismissing practices on
449 children's emotional behaviors in White American families (e.g., Shewark & Blandon, 2015;
450 Yang et al., 2020).

451 Given the rather different outcomes associated with Asian cultural values, the context
452 within which the dismissing message is delivered seems to matter to children. That is, mothers
453 who are committed to dismissing messages as a means of supporting broader Confucian values
454 additionally may be communicating (explicitly or implicitly) why the child should not feel angry
455 or sad, or may be bolstering that message with soft voice tone and touching so as to help guide
456 the child toward reduced affect. In contrast, mothers who are simply trying to suppress the affect
457 for other reasons may not provide reasoning or softening, so the child has less guidance for
458 regulating emotion. A future, larger study might code videotapes of emotion dismissing mothers
459 for additional messages and degree of "softening" through nonverbal practices.

460 Although we also predicted moderation of cultural values on the effect of children's
461 anger and sadness on mothers' use of emotion dismissing practices, we did not find that
462 interaction. However, only a few mothers engaged in these practices during the second interval,
463 leading us to wonder if a moderation effect was constrained methodologically. Future studies of
464 bidirectionality may want to institute a longer time interval to allow more opportunity for such
465 practices to be used, or omit the presence of a research assistant, which may have inhibited
466 mothers' behaviors.

467 **Maternal Emotion Coaching and Child Anger and Sadness**

468 Previous research revealed that Chinese immigrant mothers' emotion-related
469 encouragement and comforting helped children recognize and regulate feelings of anger and
470 sadness (Yang et al., 2020). In the present study, Chinese immigrant mothers' use of emotion
471 coaching also decreased children's expressions of angry and sad emotions, but only when
472 mothers also endorsed less traditional Asian cultural values. Chinese immigrant mothers who
473 endorse traditional Asian cultural values less strongly may be cognizant of the benefits of
474 providing emotional comfort and helping the child modulate his or her emotions for their
475 children's emotional development in the United States (Cheah et al., 2013; Li, 2012). Moreover,
476 these practices may be more normative and therefore, readily accessible to mothers in the United
477 States than emotion dismissing and moral and behavioral socialization practices (Pomerantz &
478 Wang, 2009; Yang et al., 2020). Thus, mothers with lower levels of traditional Asian values may
479 be more effective when they provide emotional guidance to their children compared to mothers
480 with stronger traditional Asian values (Cheah et al., 2015).

481 In contrast, mothers' use of the same emotion socialization practices when these mothers
482 strongly endorsed traditional Asian cultural values *increased* their children's anger and sadness.

483 For Chinese immigrant mothers who adhered strongly to traditional Asian cultural values, their
484 engagement in emotion coaching practices may cause a poor cultural fit between their practices
485 and their cultural values about emotions. Chinese parents have been found to provide fewer
486 explanations about emotions when their children are experiencing negative emotions compared
487 to White American mothers (Wang & Fivush, 2005), and Chinese immigrant mothers who hold
488 more traditional Asian cultural values may have less exposure to and familiarity with emotion
489 coaching practices. Therefore, Chinese immigrant mothers who endorse more traditional Asian
490 cultural values may be less efficacious at using emotion coaching to help their children cope with
491 anger and sadness than their less traditional counterparts. Supporting this conjecture, mothers'
492 Asian cultural values were correlated negatively with their use of emotion coaching practices but
493 were not correlated with either emotion dismissing or moral and behavioral socialization
494 practices. Collectively, these findings suggest that mothers who strongly adhere to Asian cultural
495 values are less likely to utilize emotion coaching practices when their children are sad or mad.

496 Furthermore, there may be a potential acculturation gap between mothers and children
497 that may influence the association between mothers' emotion coaching practices and children's
498 anger and sadness. Specifically, mothers' and children's acculturation process may be different
499 and occur at different rates (Kim et al., 2013), creating an acculturation gap between mothers and
500 children that may contribute to a poor cultural fit. Chinese immigrant mothers who adhere to
501 traditional Asian cultural values may engage in emotion coaching practices in the context of
502 traditional values of social hierarchy and harmony, reservedness, and emotional restraint.
503 However, their children may perceive the mismatch between their mothers' cultural values and
504 their emotion coaching practices, which tend to rely on discussion and exploration of feeling,
505 contributing to the children's greater feelings of anger and sadness. Future work exploring

506 mothers' and children's cultural values and acculturation may shed further light on these
507 complex associations.

508 Importantly, Chinese immigrant mothers who endorsed less Asian cultural values
509 engaged in more warm and emotional guidance *in response to* their children's expressed anger
510 and sadness than mothers who endorsed more Asian cultural values. Consistent with previous
511 research (Kim et al., 2014; Vu et al., 2019), mothers who hold less traditional Asian values may
512 engage in warmer and autonomy-promoting practices that encourage children's emotional
513 expressivity compared to mothers who hold more traditional Asian values. In so doing, they
514 may hope to better validate children's emotions to promote their children's positive affect and
515 emotional development.

516 **Maternal Moral and Behavioral Socialization and Child Anger and Sadness**

517 Mothers' use of moral and behavioral socialization practices did not evoke children's
518 angry and sad emotion expression. Similar to Chinese mothers (Wang & Fivush, 2005), Chinese
519 immigrant mothers' use of moral and behavioral socialization practices emphasizes the social
520 context and represents an indirect approach to help children resolve their negative feelings and
521 avoid feelings of anger and sadness in the future. The complexity of these processes that set a
522 foundation for moral messages and behavioral standards may not have an observable and
523 immediate impact on children's processing of their emotions during a short interval or at this
524 age. Compared to emotion coaching and dismissing practices, which directly address child's
525 emotions in the moment, more indirect explanatory practices that draw children's attention to
526 others around them, the larger context, and more abstract cultural messages in the future may
527 need time for children to process and internalize.

528 Importantly, children's greater expressions of anger and sadness predicted an increased
529 use of moral and behavioral socialization practices in mothers, especially when mothers adhered
530 more to their traditional heritage cultural values. These findings support the conjecture that
531 mothers with traditional Asian values may view moments of child emotional distress as
532 opportunities to teach their children the appropriateness of their emotional experience using
533 lessons and discussions around cultural moral norms and social behavioral standards. Mothers
534 may engage in these practices with the broader cultural goal of helping their children cope with
535 strong emotions and to teach them how to resolve social conflicts with others, such as receiving
536 the wrong gift/prize (Wang, 2001; Wang & Fivush, 2005). Moreover, these socialization
537 practices may foster children's awareness of and sensitivity to the feelings of others, which may
538 cultivate a sense of connectedness with others and promote mothers' Confucian values of self-
539 reflection, social harmony, morality, and proper conduct (Fung & Lau, 2009; Wang & Fivush,
540 2005).

541 **Limitations and Future Directions**

542 Several limitations of this study and related future directions are noted. Due to our goals
543 of identifying specific emotion socialization practices, establishing associations between
544 mothers' and children's emotion-related behaviors, and examining the role of culture in these
545 associations in a less commonly studied sample (i.e., Chinese immigrant families), the present
546 study took a conservative approach by using composite scores of children's emotions and
547 mothers' emotion socialization practices within the two intervals. We examined bidirectionality
548 in a brief window of dynamic events; specifically, we examined the fairly immediate impact of
549 children's behaviors on mothers' subsequent responses. Now that these behaviors and interaction
550 patterns have been established within Chinese immigrant families, future studies can utilize

551 sequential analyses to provide further evidence for the moment-by-moment dyadic interaction
552 patterns between mothers' practices and children's emotional behaviors. Moreover, many
553 moment-to-moment interactions likely accumulate into changing patterns of behavior, and
554 longitudinal designs could elucidate the emergence of new patterns and longer-term change in
555 the behavior of both mothers and children, and at different developmental stages. Such designs
556 might be especially useful in assessing the effect of moral and behavioral socialization practices
557 which may take more time to impact children's emotional responses.

558 Second, it is not clear as to whether mothers' use of emotion dismissing practices simply
559 suppressed children's anger and sadness; *or* children understood the goals behind their mothers'
560 use of emotion dismissing practices (i.e., to foster social harmony and emotional restraint).
561 Future examinations of children's own cultural values and perceptions of their mothers' use of
562 such practices may clarify the impact of these practices on children's emotions. It might be
563 useful to know more about whether mothers' adherence to traditional cultural practices is
564 supported by and normative in their community. Moreover, the present study did not measure
565 whether children's emotion regulation strategies contributed to their modulation of angry and sad
566 emotions (Gross & Cassidy, 2019). Future studies can examine the role of children's emotion
567 regulation strategies in the emotion socialization process.

568 Third, we combined children's angry and sad emotions to create a composite score as we
569 had no specific hypotheses differentiating the two emotions. Although often grouped together as
570 negative emotions (e.g., Cole et al., 1994; Garrett-Peters & Fox, 2007), anger and sadness have
571 unique functions and are sometimes correlated differentially with maternal emotion socialization
572 practices (Morris et al., 2011).

573 Fourth, because this study was only moderately powered, a larger sample size would
574 allow for better generalizability and more complex analyses to test the mother-child interaction
575 patterns (e.g., cross-lagged models or sequential analyses). Relatedly, our sample was comprised
576 of higher SES Chinese immigrant families, and the findings from this study may not generalize
577 to Chinese immigrant families living in other sociocultural and socioeconomic contexts.

578 **Conclusion**

579 Overall, this study significantly advances our theoretical knowledge of maternal emotion
580 socialization and children's emotional behaviors in the immigrant context. Direct observations of
581 mothers' and children's emotion-related behaviors and assessments of mothers' cultural values
582 allowed us to identify developmental processes that matter, and the role of cultural values in the
583 bidirectionality of emotion socialization. Our findings indicated that mothers' emotion
584 socialization practices are informed by the values emphasized in their cultural context. Culture
585 also plays a role in the impact of their parents' socialization practices on children's emotional
586 experiences, and how their emotional experiences subsequently affect parental behavior in
587 response. Collectively, this study suggests that cultural values play a key role in the interplay
588 between parents' emotion socialization practices and children's emotions.

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731 Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations among variables

Variable	Interval 1				Interval 2				Asian Values	Author. Parent.	Child Gender
	Dismiss	Coach	MB Social.	Anger-Sad	Dismiss	Coach	MB Social.	Anger-Sad			
Maternal Dismiss Interval 1	-										
Maternal Coach Interval 1	.60**	-									
Maternal MB Social. Interval 1	-.01	-.02	-								
Child Anger-Sad Interval 1	.57**	.58**	.29*	-							
Maternal Dismiss Interval 2	.23*	.06	.05	.20	-						
Maternal Coach Interval 2	.05	.23*	.06	.27*	-.06	-					
Maternal MB Social. Interval 2	.31**	.10	.12	.43**	.42**	.05	-				
Child Anger-Sad Interval 2	.65**	.55**	.05	.59**	.36**	.15	.23	-			
Asian Cultural Values	-.02	-.06	-.15	-.12	.17	-.23*	.06	-.09	-		
Authoritative Parenting	-.02	-.09	.15	.02	-.29*	.08	-.01	-.21	-.20	-	
Child Gender	-.01	-.12	-.20	-.20	-.11	-.06	-.27*	-.16	.30**	-.08	-
Mean	0.02	0.07	0.01	0.67	0.01	0.02	0.05	0.24	2.50	4.12	1.55
Standard Deviation	0.07	0.18	0.05	1.18	0.04	0.08	0.10	0.55	0.22	0.52	0.50

732 *Note.* Dismiss = Emotion Dismissing; Coach = Emotion Coaching; MB Social. = Moral and Behavioral Socialization; Anger-Sad =
733 Anger and Sadness; Asian Values = Asian Cultural Values; Author. Parent. = Authoritative Parenting; Child Gender coded (1 = Male,
734 2 = Female).

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

Table 2. Regression Analyses Predicting Children's Anger and Sadness and Maternal Emotion Socialization Practices at Interval 2

Outcome	Predictors	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>f</i> ²
Regression Predicting Child Anger and Sadness Interval 2						
<i>R</i> ² = .67	Authoritative Parenting	-0.21	0.08	-2.69	.009	0.11
<i>df</i> = 64	Child Gender	-0.14	0.09	-1.57	.121	0.04
	Anger and Sadness Interval 1	0.07	0.05	1.61	.113	0.04
	Emotion Dismissing Interval 1	3.24	0.79	4.10	<.001	0.26
	Emotion Coaching Interval 1	0.27	0.31	0.87	.385	0.01
	Moral and Behavioral Socialization Interval 1	0.63	1.11	0.56	.574	0.00
	Asian Cultural Values	-0.21	0.21	-1.01	.314	0.02
	Emotion Dismissing Interval 1 × Asian Cultural Values	-6.71	3.19	-2.10	.039	0.07
	Emotion Coaching Interval 1 × Asian Cultural Values	5.61	1.28	4.40	<.001	0.30
	Moral and Behavioral Socialization Interval 1 × Asian Cultural Values	5.96	4.74	1.26	.214	0.02
Regression Predicting Maternal Emotion Dismissing Interval 2						
<i>R</i> ² = .25	Authoritative Parenting	-0.02	0.01	-3.07	.003	0.14
<i>df</i> = 66	Child Gender	-0.01	0.01	-1.67	.100	0.04
	Emotion Dismissing Interval 1	0.14	0.08	1.82	.073	0.05
	Emotion Coaching Interval 1	-0.07	0.03	-2.16	.034	0.07
	Moral and Behavioral Socialization Interval 1	0.03	0.09	0.33	.745	0.00
	Anger and Sadness Interval 1	0.01	0.00	1.33	.189	0.03
	Asian Cultural Values	0.01	0.02	0.56	.579	0.00
	Anger and Sadness Interval 1 × Asian Cultural Values	0.03	0.02	1.71	.092	0.04
Regression Predicting Maternal Emotion Coaching Interval 2						
<i>R</i> ² = .26	Authoritative Parenting	0.02	0.02	1.32	.190	0.03
<i>df</i> = 66	Child Gender	0.02	0.02	0.97	.336	0.01
	Emotion Dismissing Interval 1	-0.25	0.17	-1.50	.138	0.03
	Emotion Coaching Interval 1	0.17	0.07	2.38	.020	0.09
	Moral and Behavioral Socialization Interval 1	-0.10	0.20	-0.50	.617	0.00
	Anger and Sadness Interval 1	0.02	0.01	1.44	.154	0.03
	Asian Cultural Values	-0.01	0.05	-0.21	.834	0.00
	Anger and Sadness Interval 1 × Asian Cultural Values	-0.11	0.04	-3.00	.004	0.14
Regression Predicting Moral and Behavioral Socialization Interval 2						
<i>R</i> ² = .37	Authoritative Parenting	-0.02	0.02	-0.76	.453	0.01
<i>df</i> = 66	Child Gender	-0.06	0.02	-2.86	.006	0.12
	Emotion Dismissing Interval 1	0.33	0.19	1.76	.083	0.05
	Emotion Coaching Interval 1	-0.25	0.08	-3.19	.002	0.15
	Moral and Behavioral Socialization Interval 1	-0.10	0.22	-0.47	.643	0.00
	Anger and Sadness Interval 1	0.04	0.01	3.64	.001	0.20
	Asian Cultural Values	0.03	0.05	0.47	.640	0.00
	Anger and Sadness Interval 1 × Asian Cultural Values	0.08	0.04	2.04	.045	0.06

Note. Child Gender (1 = Male, 2 = Female).

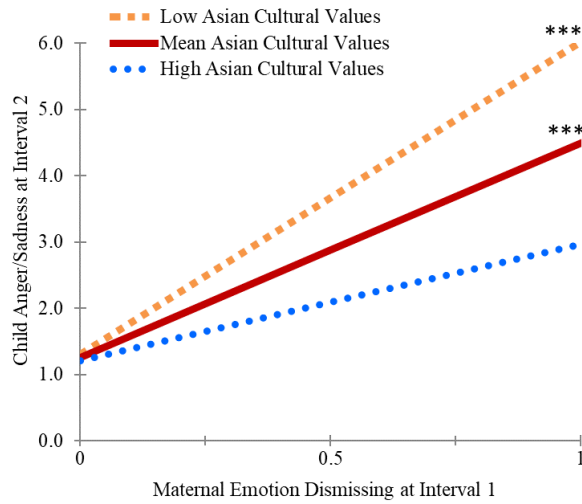


Figure 1a.

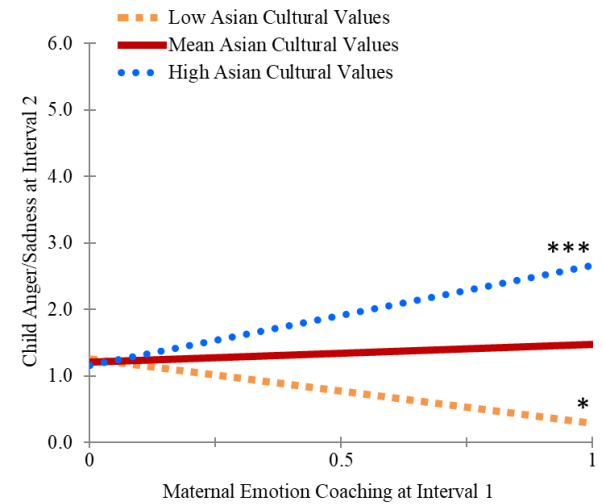


Figure 1b.

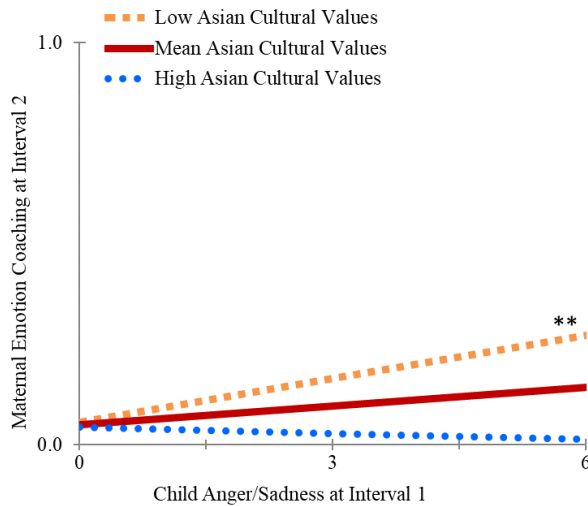


Figure 1c.

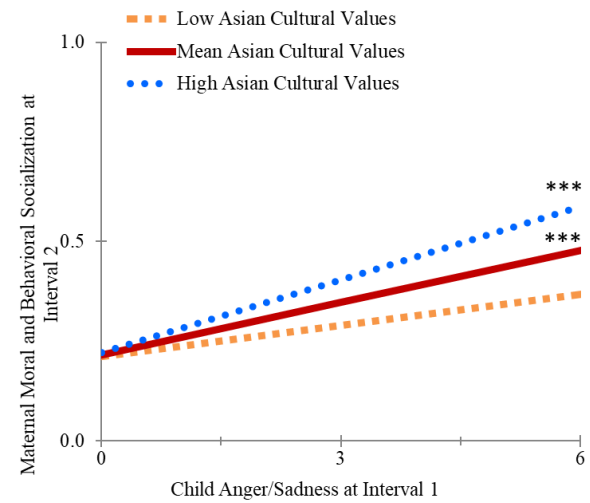


Figure 1d.

Figure 1. Moderators in the bidirectional associations between maternal emotion socialization and child anger and sadness. The top two graphs indicate associations of mothers' emotion socialization practices at Interval 1 and children's anger and sadness at Interval 2. The bottom two graphs indicate associations of children's anger and sadness at Interval 1 and mothers' emotion socialization at Interval 2. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.