Gender and ethnic differences in young adults' emotional reactions to parental punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices

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Abstract:

This study examined differences in how African American and European American participants (*N* = 553) recalled feeling when their parents engaged in punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices during childhood. We conducted this study to replicate and extend previous empirical work by using a more generalizable sample containing both male and female participants and by asking participants to report separately on their mothers and fathers. Results indicated that African American participants reported feeling less hurt and ashamed than European American participants when their mothers and fathers engaged in punitive and minimizing practices. African American participants also reported feeling more loved than European American participants when mothers engaged in punitive and minimizing practices. In addition, gender differences suggested that women feel more hurt and less loved than men when both mothers and fathers engaged in punitive and minimizing emotion socialization behaviors.

Keywords: emotion socialization | affect | ethnic differences | gender differences

Article:

Societal and cultural norms heavily influence expectations regarding the appropriate expression of emotion (Saarni, 1993). In an effort to communicate these expectations to their children, parents use emotion socialization practices that teach children the cause and consequences of emotions, how to display emotions in socially appropriate ways, and how to regulate emotions effectively (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998). The socialization of negative emotions has been of particular interest to developmental scientists because the task of coping with negative affect is thought to be more developmentally difficult for children than coping with positive affect (Ramsden & Hubbard, 2002). Moreover, the regulation of negative affect is strongly linked to psychological adaptation and maladjustment (Cicchetti, Ackerman, & Izard, 1995; Cole & Deater-Deckard, 2009).

Parents use a variety of emotion socialization techniques when responding to their children's negative emotional displays. Previous research, however, has indicated that punitive and minimizing reactions, in which parents punish their children for displaying negative emotion or minimize the significance of their negative feelings, may hinder children's later social and emotional functioning. Punitive and minimizing responses are believed to be particularly problematic because these parental reactions communicate that expressions of negative emotion are unacceptable and focus on suppressing negative affect (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996; Jones, Eisenberg, Fabes, & MacKinnon, 2002). When parents encourage the suppression of negative affect, they pass up the opportunity to teach children problem-solving skills for effectively coping with negative emotional experiences. These missed opportunities may then impede children's later ability to autonomously regulate their emotions in socially acceptable ways (Denham, Mitchell-Copeland, Strandberg, Auerbach, & Blair, 1997; Jones et al., 2002).

Theoretical and empirical work has suggested that punitive and minimizing parental emotion socialization responses may increase children's personal distress, which has been shown to be associated with children's use of inappropriate self-regulation strategies (i.e., seeking revenge, displaying physical aggression, or running away from situations that involve negative affect; Eisenberg et al., 1998; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1994; Eisenberg, Fabes, Carlo, & Karbon, 1992; Eisenberg, Fabes, & Murphy, 1996; Eisenberg, Fabes, Schaller, & Carlo, 1991). Children's lack of effective emotional coping may subsequently contribute to externalizing behavior problems over time (Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers, & Robinson, 2007). It has also been hypothesized that children may interpret punitive and minimizing parenting behaviors as harsh, judgmental, or critical which may undermine their sense of self (Morris et al., 2007; Thompson & Meyer, 2007). A diminished sense of self may in turn result in increased internalizing symptoms such as depression or anxiety (Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002).

A number of studies have found associations between punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices and maladaptive outcomes. For example, minimization responses have been linked with children's increased anger, sadness and fear, low social competence, and decreased popularity (Denham, Bassett, & Wyatt, 2007; Eisenberg et al., 1992, 1996). Punitive parental responses have been associated with avoidant coping, decreased social skills, and externalizing and internalizing problem behaviors (Eisenberg et al., 1992, 1999; Hastings et al., 2008; Klimes-Dougan et al., 2007; O'Neal & Magai, 2005). Importantly, however, with the exception of the study by O'Neal and Magai (2005), these studies have been conducted with samples composed primarily of European American participants.

More recent work investigating ethnicity as a moderator in the association between punitive and minimizing practices and children's social and emotional functioning indicated that a different pattern may exist for African American and European American families (Leerkes, Supple, Su, & Cavanaugh, 2013; Montague, Magai, Consedine, & Gillespie, 2003; Nelson et al., 2013). Specifically, Montague, Magai, Consedine, and Gillespie (2003) found that the association between remembered punitive emotion socialization in childhood and insecure adult attachment was significantly stronger for European American adults than African American adults. Further, remembered parental emotion minimization in childhood was associated with depressive symptoms for European American women but not African American women (Leerkes et al., 2013). In a study examining the relation between mothers' responses to their children's negative

emotions and teachers' reports of children's academic performance and social–emotional competence, African American children whose mothers encouraged them not to express their negative emotions were rated as more socially and emotionally competent by their teachers; this association was not evident for European American children (Nelson et al., 2013). Similarly, Smith and Walden (2001) found that mothers' punitive and minimizing reactions to negative emotions were associated with less aggression in the classroom in a sample of preschool-aged African American boys. Taken together, these studies suggest that punitive or minimizing emotion socialization practices may not relate to child outcomes the same way across European and African American families. Some punitive and minimizing responses may in fact be adaptive for African American children. Thus, we opt not to use the term nonsupportive to describe these practices, even though that is common practice in the field (DeBoard-Lucas, Fosco, Raynor, & Grych, 2010; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1994; Shaffer, Suveg, Thomassin, & Bradbury, 2012).

Multiple mechanisms that explain the differential effect of punitive and minimizing emotion socialization responses on subsequent socioemotional adjustment for African American and European American children have been suggested (Morelen & Thomassin, 2013). African American and European Americans have different sociocultural experiences and expectations that influence how they interact in social situations (Cole & Tan, 2007; Ogbu, 1981). For example, negative emotional displays from African Americans are more likely to be viewed as aggressive and threatening from the majority culture (Kang & Chasteen, 2009; Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Cameron, & Davis, 2002). Thus, African Americans may develop highly nuanced emotion socialization practices in response to racial discrimination such as discouraging the expression of negative affect in certain situations.

It is possible that punishing and minimizing emotional displays are employed by African American parents as a way to intentionally protect children from racism by teaching them to minimize negative emotional displays in mixed-race settings to reduce the chances they will be viewed in a threatening manner (Odom, Garrett-Peters, & Vernon-Feagans, 2014). And indeed, punitive and minimizing parental responses that discourage the expression of negative emotion are more common in African American families than European American families (Halberstadt, Craig, Lozada, & Brown, 2011; Leerkes & Siepak, 2006; Montague et al., 2003; Nelson et al., 2013). If African American children are able to recognize the negative societal consequences of displaying negative emotions (i.e., racism and discrimination), children may interpret their parents' attempts to discourage negative emotional expression as protective and may view parents' punitive and minimizing behaviors as evidence of love and concern, a feeling that should be reinforced by the within-group normativity of these behaviors. In contrast, European American children often do not face the same consequences for displaying negative emotions, and punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices are less common in European American families. Therefore, European American children may perceive punitive and minimizing emotion socialization behaviors as evidence that parents did not understand their feelings or that they do not care about their emotions. This interpretation may then lead to feelings of hurt and shame (Leerkes et al., 2013; Montague et al., 2003). Taken together, this work suggests that one explanation for the mixed findings regarding emotion socialization and developmental outcomes across African American and European American samples is the

interpretation of the meaning behind these behaviors as a result of different experiences associated with racism, discrimination, and White privilege.

To date, one study has tested this hypothesis. Leerkes, Supple, and Gudmunson (2014) examined ethnic differences in the extent to which adult women recalled feeling loved, hurt, and ashamed when their parents engaged in punitive, minimizing, teasing, and ignoring emotion socialization practices during childhood. They found that African American women reported feeling more loved, less hurt, and less ashamed than European American women when their parents engaged in these emotion socialization practices during times of distress. Although this study was an important first step in investigating differential emotional reactions of punitive and minimizing emotion socializations behaviors across ethnicities, it had a number of limitations.

Similar to most previous work aiming to strengthen our empirical understanding of emotion socialization, the study by Leerkes and colleagues (2014) did not address the important role of child and caregiver gender on emotion socialization interactions. Researchers have underscored the importance of considering the influence of child gender on emotion socialization and have suggested that future work consider the role of fathers when evaluating emotion socialization contexts surrounding children's development (Morelen & Thomassin, 2013). However, the sample collected by Leerkes and colleagues (2014) was composed only of first-time expectant mothers and did not differentiate between their mothers' and father's emotion socialization behaviors. Therefore, the first aim of the current study was to replicate the work conducted by Leerkes and colleagues (2014) with a larger more generalizable sample including both male and female participants.

The second aim of the current study was to examine whether men and women differed in their emotional reactions to punitive and minimizing emotion socialization behaviors. Gender differences in emotional reactions to emotion socialization strategies may result from differing interpretations and feelings men and women have about the parenting they receive. Previous work has found that boys and girls expect different reactions in response to negative emotional expressions. For example, Fuchs and Thelen (1988) found that boys held less favorable expectations than girls when asked how their parents would respond to their negative affective state. These findings may be due in part to the fact that parent's responses to negative emotions differ depending on the gender of the child (Brown, Craig, & Halberstadt, 2015; Chaplin, Casey, Sinha, & Mayes, 2010). Generally, this work has suggested that parents tend to label emotions and discuss emotional states more frequently with their daughters than their sons (e.g., Brody & Hall, 1993; Fivush, Brotman, Buckner, & Goodman, 2000). Parents also tend to be more accepting of their daughters' expression of sadness and their sons' expression of anger (Cassano, Perry-Perrish, & Zeman, 2007; Chaplin, Cole, & Zhan-Waxler, 2005; Fivush, Brotman, Buckner, & Goodman, 2000). Given that the literature on the differential socialization of boys and girls suggests that parents tend to express more emotion and talk about emotions more frequently with their daughters than their sons (Brody, 2000; Fivush et al., 2000), daughters may come to expect emotion socialization responses that are more encouraging of their negative emotional displays. Thus, they may feel more hurt and ashamed and less loved, when parents do not respond in the expected encouraging way.

Finally, we aimed to examine whether race and gender differences in participants' emotional reactions are comparable for mothers versus fathers. Leerkes and colleagues (2014) asked participants to report on how they felt when their parent(s) engaged in specific emotion socialization practices. As the authors acknowledged, examining parental responses as a composite may mask differences in how adults recall feeling when their mothers versus their fathers engaged in specific emotion socialization practices in childhood. Therefore, the third aim of the current study was to extend this work and examine whether race and gender differences in participants' emotional reactions are comparable for mothers versus fathers.

In sum, in the current study, we aimed to examine (a) whether African American and European American participants differed in their recalled feelings of love, hurt, and shame when their parents engaged in punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices during childhood; (b) potential gender differences in participants' recalled feelings of love, hurt, and shame when their parents engaged in punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices during childhood; and (c) whether race and gender differences in participants' recalled emotional reactions to parental emotion socialization are comparable for their mothers versus fathers. Based on prior empirical and theoretical work, we hypothesized that African American participants would recall feeling more loved, less hurt, and less ashamed than European American participants when their parents engaged in punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices in childhood than European American participants. Because parents tend to be more emotionally open with their daughters, and as a result, daughters may expect greater encouragement of negative emotional displays, we also hypothesized that women would recall feeling more hurt and ashamed and less loved than men when their parents responded in a punitive or minimizing manner. Finally, although exploratory given the absence of prior literature, we hypothesized that ethnic and gender differences would remain the same regardless of whether participants were reporting on their mothers or their fathers.

Method

Participants

Participants were drawn from a larger sample of 685 college students (72% women; 72% freshman or sophomores) ranging in age from 17 to 53 years old ($M = 20.51$) from a moderate sized Southeastern city in the United States. We restricted the present sample to include only African American ($n = 196$; 70% female, 30% male) and European Americans ($n = 357$; 73% female, 27% male) who were 25 years old or younger (range 18–25; $M = 19.67$), resulting in a sample of 553 participants (71% freshman and sophomores) who were representative of the overall undergraduate population (66% women; 27% African American). Participants reported on their financial situation when they were growing up; 25% reported "high income," 55% reported "middle income," and 20% selected "low income."

Procedures

Participants were recruited from classrooms across multiple disciplines and the university cafeteria. Consent forms were summarized by a research assistant and every participant was given a copy to read and sign before participation. Upon signing the consent form, participants

completed questionnaires regarding how they were parented during their childhood; their current relationship with their mothers and fathers; and current information about themselves including race, gender, academic level, and childhood family income. For their participation, participants were entered into a drawing for a visa gift card.

Measures

Participants completed a modified version of the Affective Meaning Questionnaire (AMQ; Leerkes, Supple, & Gudmunson, 2014). The AMQ is designed to assess the way respondents recalled feeling when their parents engaged in specific emotion socialization practices during childhood. In our modified version, participants were presented with two scenarios reflecting two types of emotion socialization practices. The first scenario reflecting the *punishment* of emotion asked participants "If you were upset as a child and your parents scolded you or punished you for being upset by sending you to your room, how much would you feel." The second scenario reflecting the *minimizing* of emotion asked participants "If you were upset as a child and your parents told you that you were overreacting or should keep tighter control of your emotions, how much would you feel." For each scenario, participants rated the extent to which they felt 10 emotions or feelings on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*) when this occurred during their childhood separately for when their mother and father engaged in this type of behavior. Previous work has indicated that there are three factors for each scenario: *loved* (loved, protected, cared for), *hurt* (hurt, sad, mad), and *ashamed* (ashamed, guilty, bad). The 10th item, felt controlled, did not load on any factor and therefore is not considered in the current analyses. Internal consistency reliabilities (Cronbach's α) were calculated separately for African American (range .76 to .86) and European American (range .65 to .86) participants when reporting on both mothers and fathers. Participants' reports of how loved, hurt, and ashamed they felt were highly correlated across the punitive and minimizing scenarios when reporting on both mothers and fathers (correlations ranged from .47 to .58, all $p < .001$). Thus, for each factor (i.e., love, hurt, and shame), an average score for mothers and an average score for fathers across the punitive and minimizing context was used. In total, six scores were calculated: Three scores indicating how loved, hurt, and ashamed participants felt when their mothers responded punitively/minimizing to their emotions and three scores indicating how loved, hurt, and ashamed participants felt when their father responded punitively/minimizing to their emotions.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Single imputation in SPSS, Version 20, was implemented to account for missing data. Single imputation is recommended over casewide deletion to prevent biased results and is appropriate in cases with few missing data (<5%; Acock, 2005); and in these data, less than 5% of data were missing overall.

Next, *t*-tests and correlations were calculated to examine the possibility that age, academic level, and past family income should be treated as covariates. There were no significant differences between African American participants and European American participants with regard to age

or academic level, and neither age nor academic level correlated with remembered emotional responses to parents' punitive/minimizing emotion socialization practices during childhood. Thus, age and academic level were not included as covariates. However, African American participants reported lower levels of past income ($M = 2.98$; $SD = .68$) than European American participants ($M = 3.13$; $SD = .77$), $t(488) = 2.02$, $p < .05$. Therefore, past income was controlled for in subsequent analyses.

Hypothesis Testing

The hypotheses that there would be gender and ethnic group differences in participants' emotional reactions to punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices were tested using a multiple univariate analyses approach. Conducting multiple univariate analyses, as opposed to a multivariate analysis, has been suggested as ideal when researchers are primarily interested in explained variation and univariate group contrasts (Huberty & Morris, 1989). To control for potential Type I error that may result from conducting multiple tests, we used Bonferroni adjusted p values and considered significant only F values for which $p < .008$ (i.e., .05 divided by 6). Separate analyses were run for mothers and for fathers, given some respondents only reported on one parent and not both (549 reported on their mothers, 500 reported on their fathers, and 496 reported on both). Gender and ethnic group were the fixed factors. The six types of emotional response (loved, hurt, and ashamed) were the dependent variables. Finally, reported past income was included as a covariate. It should be noted, however, that in all models, the findings remained the same with or without past income being included as a covariate. Six analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs), which included the interactions between ethnic group and gender, were run in order to examine the extent to which there were gender or ethnic group differences for each of the three emotional reactions for each parent. Estimated marginal means, controlling for past income, by ethnic group and gender when reporting on both mothers and fathers are reported in Figures 1 and 2.
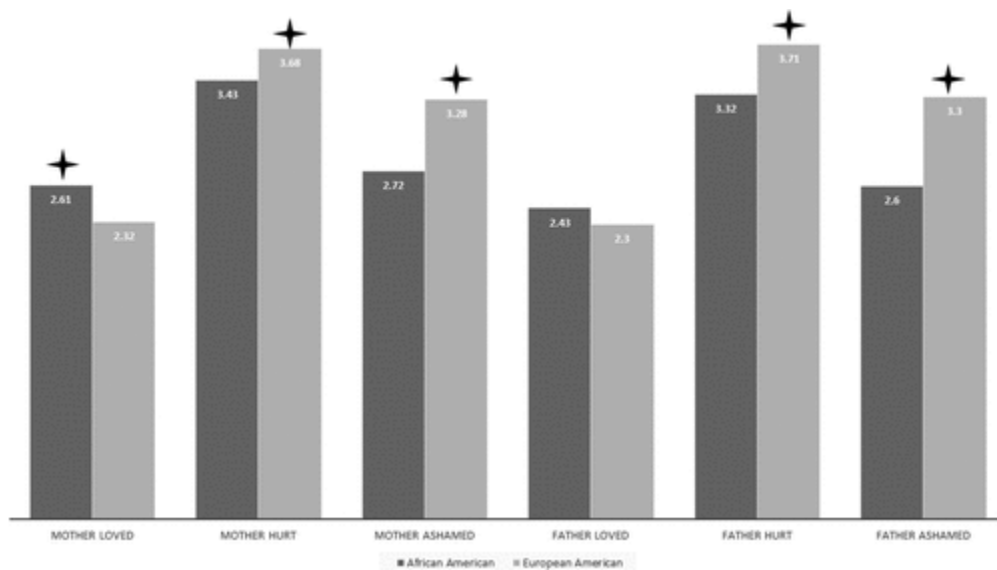

Figure 1. Ethnic group differences in recalled emotional reactions to negative emotion socialization practices by both mothers and fathers.
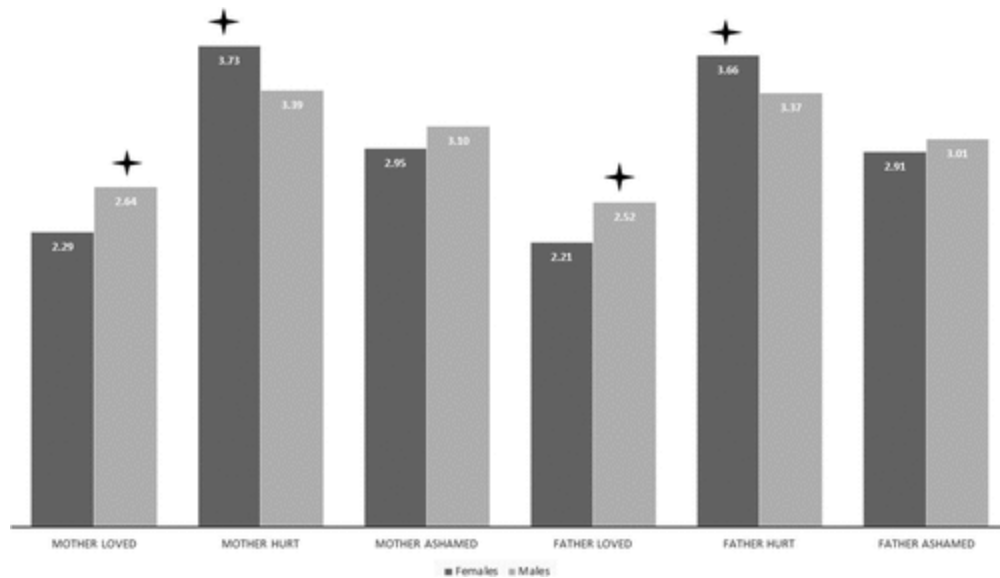
Figure 2. Gender differences in recalled emotional reactions to negative emotion socialization practices by both mothers and fathers.

Table 1. ANCOVA Results for Both Mothers and Fathers.

Reaction to Mothers	Loved		Hurt		Ashamed	
	F	η_p^2	F	η_p^2	F	η_p^2
Ethnicity	9.89**	.02	8.10**	.02	31.13**	.06
Gender	14.54**	.03	15.45**	.03	1.05	.00
Ethnicity × Gender	2.43	.00	.21	.00	.07	.00

Reaction to Fathers	Loved		Hurt		Ashamed	
	F	η_p^2	F	η_p^2	F	η_p^2
Ethnicity	1.74	.00	16.30**	.03	40.92**	.08
Gender	9.87**	.02	8.42**	.02	1.00	.00
Ethnicity × Gender	.61	.00	.01	.00	.01	.00

Note. Results presented are controlling for participant reported childhood income. However, when income was removed from analyses, results did not significantly change. Bonferroni correction was used to control for type I error and the adjusted significance level was .017; **$p < .005$. Partial η^2 can be interpreted like R^2 and values of .02, .15, and .35 correspond to small, medium, and large effects respectively (Richardson, 2011).

Emotional reactions to mothers' punitive and minimizing behaviors

The results of the ANCOVAs testing gender and ethnic group differences in each of the three emotional responses for mothers are reported in Table 1. There was a significant main effect of ethnic group for all three emotional reaction outcome variables. As illustrated in Figure 1, African American participants reported feeling significantly more loved, less hurt, and less ashamed than European American participants in response to mothers' punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices. These differences were consistent with prediction. There was also a significant main effect of gender for feeling loved and hurt. As illustrated in Figure 2, female participants reported feeling significantly more hurt and less loved than male participants

in response to mothers' punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices, and the difference between women and men in feeling ashamed was not significant.

Emotional reactions to fathers' punitive and minimizing behaviors

Table 1 also displays the results of the ANCOVAs testing gender and ethnic group differences in each of the three emotional responses for fathers. Similar to when responding about mothers, and as illustrated in Figure 1, African American participants reported feeling significantly less hurt and less ashamed than European American participants in response to fathers' punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices. However, reported feelings of love from fathers were not significantly different across ethnic group. Again, similar to when reporting about mothers, there was a significant main effect of gender for feeling loved and hurt. As illustrated in Figure 2, female participants reported feeling significantly more hurt and less loved than male participants in response to punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices by fathers, and the difference between men and women in feeling ashamed was not significant.

Discussion

The first aim of the current study was to replicate and extended findings from the study conducted by Leerkes and colleagues (2014) by examining differences in how African American and European American participants recalled feeling when their parents engaged in punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices during childhood. To do this, we used a more generalizable sample containing both male and female participants and asked participants to report separately on their mothers and fathers.

Consistent with prediction and Leerkes and colleagues' (2014) findings, African American participants recalled feeling less hurt and ashamed than European American participants when both mothers and fathers engaged in punitive and minimizing practices. Interestingly, African American participants felt significantly more loved than European American participants when mothers engaged in punitive or minimizing practices, but this difference was not found for fathers. These findings support the view that African American children interpret punitive and minimizing emotion socialization behaviors less negatively than do European American children and this may help explain previously reported ethnic group differences in the effects of punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices on child functioning (Leerkes et al., 2013; Montague et al., 2003).

The fact that African American participants only recalled feeling more loved than European American participants when mothers engaged in punitive and minimizing was unexpected. Differences between African American mothers and fathers regarding how they use punitive and minimizing responses might be one possible explanation. In a separate study using the same data set (Dunbar, Perry, Cavanaugh, & Leerkes, 2013), we found that African American mothers engaged in much higher levels of supportive responses than they did punitive and minimizing responses. In contrast, African American fathers' supportive responses were more equal to their use of punitive and minimizing responses. Thus, it may be that African American participants only felt more loved when mothers engaged in punitive and minimizing responses because

mothers' higher levels of supportive responses provide a context for children to interpret punitive and minimizing responses as done out of love and protection.

The largest ethnic group differences were found for recalled feelings of hurt and shame, with European Americans demonstrating higher levels than African Americans. This finding is consistent with the results reported by Leerkes and colleagues (2014) and suggests that European Americans are particularly likely to internalize punitive and minimizing responses to their negative emotions as criticism or a reflection of themselves, which may subsequently put them at a greater risk for experiencing internalizing symptoms such as anxiety or depression (Leerkes et al., 2014).

When investigating potential gender differences, we found that women felt significantly more hurt and less loved than men when both their mothers and their fathers responded in a punitive or minimizing manner to their negative emotions. This finding is consistent with our hypothesis that women may expect more supportive emotion socialization practices that encourage the expression of negative emotion than men, given childhood gender differences in emotion socialization. That is, parents engage in more positive discussions of emotions and express a broader spectrum of emotions with girls than with boys (Brody & Hall, 1993; Fivush et al., 2000). Given these expectations, it is also possible that women may be more sensitive or attune to parents' negative responses. Thus, women may recall feeling more negatively than men when parents' behaviors did not align with their expectations.

It is interesting that this gender difference did not appear for feelings of shame. Rather, both men and women felt comparably ashamed when their parents, both mothers and fathers, engaged in punitive and minimizing responses. That is, men and women are equally likely to feel ashamed of showing their emotions when they have been punished or minimized, but only women are likely to feel less loved and more hurt by the experience. Perhaps this pattern indicates that emotional reactions are context-specific for men, whereas for women, emotional reactions to punitive and minimizing emotion socialization behaviors are broader in nature and threaten their relationship with their parents and their feelings about themselves. Young women are thought to place a higher value on interpersonal relationships than men (Buhrmester & Furman, 1987; Ryan, La Guardia, Solky-Butzel, Chirkov, & Kim, 2005). For example, Kenny and Donaldson (1991) found that a strong emotional bond was more important to the well-being of daughters than sons. If this is the case, it seems likely that minimizing or punitive emotion socialization behaviors that have the potential to disrupt an emotional bond may have a more negative effect on women than on men. Consistent with this view, a strong emotional connection served as a buffer against the negative effects of maternal punitive reactions on anger expression among young women but not young men in this sample (Perry, Cavanaugh, Dunbar, & Leerkes, 2015).

Limitations and Future Directions

To our knowledge, this is the first study to examine gender differences in emotional reactions to parents' punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices; thus, additional research and replication in other samples is warranted. Ideally, future work will not rely on retrospective reports of parenting but rather focus on concurrent measures or prospective longitudinal designs.

Extensions of this work include considering the extent to which parents' use of supportive emotion socialization strategies or the emotional climate of the parent–child relationship influence the affective meaning young adults place on punitive and minimizing emotion socialization. That is, young adults may feel less hurt and ashamed and more loved in response to punitive and minimizing emotion socialization if it occurs in the context of high support or an emotionally warm relationship. Future research should also examine how the link between parental emotion socialization practices and young adults' adjustment may depend upon the affective meaning (i.e., feelings of shame, love, hurt) attributed to specific emotion socialization practices. Finally, considering potential differences in the meaning of emotion socialization in other ethnic groups would be a useful addition to the literature. Within-group and within-family research will provide avenues to further explore how gender plays a role across mothers, fathers, sons, and daughters.

Although the current study replicated and significantly built upon prior work in this area by examining differences by gender and by parent, it is not without limitations. First, a retrospective measure was used to assess how adults recalled feeling when their parents responded to their negative emotions in childhood. It is possible that time and experience have influenced adults' recollections of their parents' behaviors and how they reported feeling during emotional experiences from childhood. However, the way in which adults currently understand and feel about these childhood experiences may be most salient to their current mental health and well-being (Montague et al., 2003). Nevertheless, longitudinal research examining ethnic group differences in children's emotional responses to concurrent emotion socialization and links with subsequent outcomes is needed before asserting causal inferences. In addition, although large in size and more representative of the larger population than previous work, the sample used in the current study is one of convenience and composed of students from one university in the southeastern United States, thus somewhat limiting its generalizability.

Conclusion

Building upon previous research, our findings suggest that the extent to which punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices are a risk factor for subsequent maladjustment may vary across ethnic group. African American participants recalled experiencing their parents' punitive and minimizing practices less negatively than did European American participants as indicated by their reported emotional reactions. The difference in these reactions may be one reason why punitive and minimizing emotion socialization practices appear to be less detrimental for African Americans than European Americans, given the larger societal context. Our findings also shed light on potential gender differences in recalled emotional reactions to parents' emotion socialization behaviors, generally indicating that women may be at greater risk for later psychological maladjustment when experiencing punitive and minimizing emotion socialization behaviors. However, the potential links between specific emotion socialization practices and child outcomes across gender and ethnicity warrant further investigation.

Authors' Contribution
Nicole B. Perry, contributed to conception, design, and analysis; drafted and critically revised article; gave final approval; and agrees to be accountable for all aspects of work ensuring integrity and accuracy. Esther M. Leerkes, contributed to conception, design, and interpretation;

critically revised article; gave final approval; and agrees to be accountable for all aspects of work ensuring integrity and accuracy. Angel S. Dunbar contributed to conception and interpretation, critically revised article, gave final approval, and agrees to be accountable for all aspects of work ensuring integrity and accuracy. Alyson M. Cavanaugh contributed to conception and interpretation, critically revised article, gave final approval, and agrees to be accountable for all aspects of work ensuring integrity and accuracy.

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