Introduction and Review of Relevant Literature

Socialization is the central concept in the study of human development (Much, 1997) and is defined as "an ongoing process of social interaction through which children become functional members of a society" (Raj & Raval, 2013, p.2); and being functional is guided by the broader sociocultural context. Research on various domains of socialization is well documented across cultures (e.g., Bugental & Grusec, 2006; Much, 1997; Parke & Buriel, 2006). Emotion socialization is a rapidly growing research area that addresses the socialization of emotion across cultures and developmental periods. However, socialization of emotions during toddlerhood is less studied in the Indian context. The present study attempted to explore emotion socialization of toddlers in an urban Indian context. This chapter provides an overview of emotion socialization. The chapter highlights research on emotions across cultures with special focus on the Indian culture. It further identifies gaps in the existing literature following which the rationale and significance of the study is presented. Next, the conceptual framework that guides the research is presented followed by research assumptions. The chapter ends with research questions, research objectives and highlights.

Theoretical Perspectives on Emotions

The challenge to define "emotion" in scientific terms is as old as psychology as a field (Genderon, 2010). Izard (2010) conducted a survey with prominent researchers

working in the area on definition of emotions and concluded that defining the term "emotion" lacks unitary consensus. In search of consensus in defining emotion, Izard (2010) outlined six key defining features of emotion, namely neural systems, response systems, feelings, expressive behavior, signaling systems, antecedent cognitive appraisal, and cognitive interpretation of feelings.

Different theories provide different perspectives on the experience of emotions. The theoretical perspectives can be categorized into six domains: (1) physiological, (2) psycho-biological, (3) cognitive, (4) psychoanalytical, (5) social constructivist, and (6) cultural (Sibia & Misra, 2011). (1) Physiologically oriented theories: The physiological oriented theorists postulated that the origin of emotion lies in physiological reaction to stimuli. The classical physiological theory dates to James-Lange theory (1884-1887) which hypothesizes that physiological reaction to a stimulus trigger emotion. Later, Cannon-Bard thalamic theory of emotions (Cannon, 1927) marked the shift from the James-Lange theory and studied central brain mechanisms of emotion. This theory postulated that emotions are experienced first, followed by experiencing physiological reactions. (2) The psycho-biological theory (Panksepp, 1982) suggests that basic emotions (e.g., fear, rage, panic and expectancy) are associated with specific neural circuits in the brain, and these four interact to produce other emotions. (3) Cognitive theories: Schachter and Singer's (1962), cognitive labeling theory proposes that emotions are a result of general physiological arousal and a cognitive labeling. Cognitive appraisal theories focus on the role of cognitive factors such as thought, learning, memory, and perception in the experience of emotion. Lazarus (1991) identified three major

components of emotion namely cognitive appraisal, action impulses, and patterned bodily reactions. (4) The psychoanalytic theory of Freud emphasizes on negative emotions like anger and anxiety resulting from unconscious and unresolved issues of early childhood. (5) The social constructivists underline the importance of language and social experience in emotions. Emotions are viewed intrinsically social phenomena and can only be valued as part of the culture in which they have meaning. (6) Cultural context influences individual behavior through its influence on the meanings and practices of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Of these theoretical perspectives, the current study has focused on the last aspect, that is, cultural context influences on emotion socialization.

Indian theoretical perspective on emotion. Paranjpe and Bhatt (1997) assert that the construct of emotion as a concept has been analysed and well-studied by ancient Indian literary critics, philosophy and religion compared to modem Indian work. The field of aesthetics has explored the causes, control, and modulation of emotions. The ancient Sanskrit text *Natyasastra* (science of dramatics) was composed by the philosopher Bharata around third century AD primarily in the context of theatre. The Indian approach of emotions is developed in *rasa* theory

Bharata proposed eight major aesthetic moods or *rasas* and their corresponding eight common human emotions or *bhavas.* The eights major *rasa*s are *srngara* (love), *hasa* (laughter), *karuna* (sorrow), *raudra* (anger), *vira* (perseverance), *bhayanaka* (fear), *bibhatsa* (disgust) and *adbhuta* (wonder). The major emotions (*sthayi bhavas)* are *rati* (erotic feeling), *hasa* (mirth), *shoka* (sorrow), *krodha* (anger), *utsaha* (energy/mastery), *bhahya* (fear), *jugupsa* (disgust), and *vismaya* (astonishment). Additionally, Bharata

recorded thirty-three minor and transient emotions. Bharta postulated that emotions have aesthetic, cognitive, animalistic, moral, and spiritual components. The theory further postulated that the expression of emotions includes four conditions: causes (*vibhava*), symptoms (*anubhava*) and other ancillary feelings (s*ancaribhava*) and their conjunction (*samyoga*). The theory suggests that it is through the *samyoga* (union) of *bhavas* that *rasas* are expressed (Sibia & Misra, 2011).

The Indian theoretical perspective on emotion offers insights into the emic view of emotions in an Indian context. However, there is no empirical evidence on conceptualization of emotions in contemporary society as described in *rasa* theory.

Emotions and Culture

Emotions are culturally constructed and derived from cultural values, beliefs and norms (Menon, 2000) and emotion development is guided by the prevailing model of cultural self-construal, that is, interdependence or independence (Trommsdorff, 2006). In Western culture, the model of independence dominates which emphasizes individuality and independence and promotes 'ego focused' emotions (e.g., anger) whereas in non-Western cultures, interdependence dominates, and self is understood in relation to social groups, and promotes expression of 'other focused' emotions (e.g., sympathy) (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Friedlmeier, Corapci & Cole, 2011).

Emotion socialization aims at promoting emotional competence, including emotion regulation among children (Friedlmeier, et. al., 2011, p. 410) and is further

associated with social competence, well-being, and social and academic outcomes (Denham, Bassett, & Wyatt, 2007). Emotion socialization is thus a pathway to emotional competence that is comprised of three elements, namely, emotional expression, understanding emotions of self, and others, and emotion regulation. These three elements are described in the section below.

Emotion expression. Emotion expression captured through facial expressions "served as the backbone" for the universality of emotional expression (Matsumoto, 2008, p. 268). There can be differences in display rules of facial expressions across culture. Matsumoto, Yoo and Fontaine (2008) in a cross-cultural study of display rules found that collectivistic cultures promote display norms of less expressivity than individualistic cultures suggesting maintaining the social order of collectivistic cultures. Further in an exploratory study with Gujarati children, Pai (1998) found that children reported hiding expressions of both positive and negative emotions than substituting them. Boys hide more than girls and older children reported hiding feelings more than younger children. Children reported sharing their emotional experiences frequently with mothers than fathers, siblings, significant family members and peers. The findings of the study confirm that the regulation of emotions is culturally relevant; in collectivistic cultures like India social behaviour is guided by norms, duties and expectations of others.

Understanding the emotions of self and others. Understanding emotions refers to children's knowledge about their own and others' emotions. According to Denham, Bassett and Wyatt (2007), this domain comprises three important elements, (1) comprehension of basic emotions such as happiness, their expressions, situations, causes,

and consequences (e.g., what causes expression of happiness in a particular situation), (2) approaching of more complicated emotions (e.g., different people can feel different emotion in response to similar stimuli, such as one person feels sad while others does not feel sadness in the same situation), and (3) discernment of display rules, mixed emotions, and more complex emotions (e.g., guilt and shame). Understanding the emotions of self and others is crucial for regulating one's emotions.

Emotion regulation. Despite long years of work in the area of emotion regulation (e.g., Cole, 2014; Mesquita & Albert, 2007), there is a lack of universally accepted definition of this construct. Eisenberg and Spinrad (2004) have defined emotion regulation as modulation of the experience of emotion and related physiological states and the regulation of overt behaviors associated with the experience of emotion. Emotional self-regulation develops by the integration of both intrinsic factors (e.g., temperament) as well as extrinsic factors (e.g., family and cultural factors) (Brownell & Kopp, 2007).

Emotion regulation is considered as a core aspect of human growth and development. It is seen central to adult well-being and child competence (Gross & John, 2003) and children's poor emotion regulation has been linked to increased risk behavioral issues (Brownell & Kopp, 2007).

Emotion regulation requires complex conceptualizations (Cole, 2014). However, given the limited capacity of young toddlers for complex conceptualizations, caregivers play an active role in regulation of emotions. Emotional development is shaped by early experiences with caregivers (Denham, Bassett & Wyatt, 2007) and culture plays an

important role in shaping caregivers' emotion regulation practices. Cultural variations regarding caregivers' ideas about emotion socialization goals and beliefs is well studied (Keller, 2007). However, there is a dearth of research on understanding the process of how cultural variability translates into socialization practices which further foster emotional self-regulation, particularly in toddlers. Most research has concentrated on parents' (particularly mothers') reactions to emotions and emotion regulation (Denham, Bassett, & Wyatt, 2007). The current study is an expansion and includes multiple caregivers' perspectives on emotion expression and regulation of emotions of young children.

Existing Literature on Emotion Socialization: A Bird's Eye View

Existing literature on emotion socialization has focused on various themes such as culture and emotions, parenting styles in the context of emotion socialization, gender of parents and children, emotion display rules, and emotion regulation across the developmental ages. Themes such as emotion socialization in Asian context, emotion expression, emotion regulation, emotion competence, models of self-construal and co-existence of the two dimensions of cultural self, and multiple caregiving are relevant in the context of present research. Table 1 presents a summary of relevant researches.

Table 1

Summary of Relevant Researches: Bird's Eye View

Authors and year	Research Topic and Culture/Community Studied	Synoptic View	Critics/limitations of the study
Crowe, M. L., Raval, V.V., Trivedi, S. S.; Daga, S. S., & Raval, P.H. (2012)	Processes of emotion communication and control: A comparison of India and the United States	Total 268 (United States: $n = 160$ and India: $n = 108$) completed a self-report measure using hypothetical vignettes and a series of questions related to elicited emotions, expression, motives guiding expression and control, and method of expression. Findings are discussed in the light of models of self. Indian participants reported expressing felt emotions in relation to others and express emotions implicitly than directly expressing whereas U.S participants express experienced emotion in relation to others.	The study only focused on college going student (18- 23 years). Sample was not equally distributed for genders. Indian culture is multi ethnic, diverse widely with caste and class, it is important to study within caste and class differences. Self-reports are common in emotion research, observation as a method can further provide insights in future researches.

| Raval, V.V., Raval, P. H., & Deo, N. (2013) | Mother's socialization goals, mother's emotion socialization behaviors, child emotion regulation, and child socio emotional functioning in urban India | The research aimed at understanding the link between maternal socialization goals, behavior and child's functioning. Purposive sampling was adopted for sample selection. Total 110 mothers and one of their children mothers participated. Questionnaires were used to collect the data. The findings revealed that mother relational goals (e.g., respect for others, consideration for wellbeing of others) were positively related to mother's explanation related behavior. Further, mother's report of non-supportive behaviors was positively related to children's reports of emotion dysregulation. | Only self-reported measures were used

Only two schools were selected for sample selection.

The study focused only on early adolescence and their mothers.

Multiple informants (e.g., fathers, peers, other family members) can be included for further research. |

| Raval, V., & Martini, T. S. (2011) | "Making the child understand:" Socialization of emotion in Urban India. | Mothers (N=602) completed a self-report measure for screening of children with somatic, internalizing, and externalizing problems. Finally, 120 mothers participated, formed into four groups. Questionnaire followed by an open-ended interview were conducted. Quantitative analysis demonstrated variation in mothers' reported emotions and behaviors across groups. Gender differences were noted. Further, the researchers presented a broader framework to understand emotion socialization in Gujarati families: "Making the child understand" wherein mothers reported to make the child understand (*samjhavanu*), guided by child or parent centered goals. | The research focused only on two negative emotions i.e. anger and sadness.

To understand the emotion socialization completely, it is important to study both positive as well negative emotions.

Only self-reported measures were used.

Only mothers were participants in the study. |

Raval, V. V., & Martini, T. S. (2009)	Maternal socialization of children's anger, sadness and physical pain in two communities in Gujarat, India.	Total 80 mother-child dyads recruited from four elementary schools located in two Hindu communities (sub urban and old city) from Ahmedabad. The distribution of sample was identical across gender and age. Questionnaires were administered to parents in small groups. Emotion regulation interviews were conducted with children. Both urban communities differ in their cultural values and goals of socialization. Mother's report indicated fewer acceptances for expressions of anger or sadness than physical pain particularly among people from old city. Further, acceptance of expression of emotion also varies based on audiences (e.g., father, mother and peers).	The study focused on young children (5 to 9 years) and their mothers. There is a need to study children younger than 5 years old to capture the onset of culture specific emotion socialization. In India, care giving is socially distributed; other caregivers besides mother shall be included in the study.

| Raval, V., Martini, T. S., & Raval, P. H. (2007) | 'Would others think it is okay to express my feelings?' Regulation of anger, sadness and physical pain in Gujarati children in India. | Using hypothetical vignettes with young children (5-6 and 8-9 years old) the researchers attempted to understand the regulation of anger, sadness and physical pain. Children considered others to be less accepting for anger and sadness than physical pain. Gender differences were noted- girls express less anger than boys. Children were less expressive for sadness and pain in front of father than mother. Reasons for control: avoid scolding, maintaining social norm. Reasons for expression of felt emotion: instrumental assistance, desire to prevent future occurrences (anger), instrumental assistance (sadness). Methods of control: manipulating facial expression. | Based on pioneer work on emotion socialization in India (Pai, 1998), researches have largely focused on anger and sadness. Also, Western literature indicates that negative affect provides richer opportunity for emotion socialization and is common target of emotion regulation. There is a need to include more negative and positive emotions to understand the socialization of emotions in larger picture. |

Cole, P. M, Bruschi, C. J., & Tamang, B. L. (2002)	Cultural differences in children's emotional reactions to difficult situations comparing children in Nepal (Tamang and Brahman) and in the U.S.	The aim of the study was to understand the emotion reactions of children in difficult situations and study cultural differences. The findings are suggestive that children endorsed anger more than ashamed and endorsed more negative emotions than positive.

Tamang children endorsed feeling ashamed more than both their counterparts.

U.S children endorsed more anger than Tamang.

Children in all three groups endorsed more problem focused than emotion focused strategies.

U.S children reported to change the situations. Tamang and Brahaman children likely to accept the situation. | Only children were interviewed.

Only interviews were used for collecting data.

Multi-methods in future research is suggestive. |

Cole, P., Tamang, B. L., & Shrestha, S. (2006)	Cultural variations in the socialization of young children's anger and shame comparing children in Nepal (Tamang and Brahman)	Anger and shame were studied in two communities of Nepal. Within cultural differences were noted. Finding of Tamang was consistent with the view that children are socially graceful and never gets angry. Brahman practices were consistent with privileges and duties of high caste.	Only primary caregiver interaction was noted. Children as young as two years do not deploy emotion expression or regulation according to cultural display rules.
Cole, P. M., & Tamang, B. L. (1998)	Nepali children's ideas about emotional displays in hypothetical challenges. comparing children in Nepal (Tamang and Chhetri-Brahmin)	Tamang children were more likely to report feeling "ok." Brahman children endorse more negative emotions and reported to mask their emotions more than Tamang. The action choices for most stories were "avoidant." Brahman mother teach children whereas Tamang mother believed that children learn automatically.	Other emotions and multi-method approach need to be included.

Chan, S. M., Bowes, J., & Wyner, S. (2009)	Parenting style as a context for emotion socialization (Hong-Kong Chinese mothers)	Authoritative parenting was most adopted along with psychological control. Parental practices: training and reflection enhancing are the most prevalent followed by reflection enhancing. Mothers valued both relational and individualistic goals. Relationship: relational competence goals were most associated with both authoritative and psychological control.	Only mothers were involved. Other members of the family could be a part of future research.
Keller, H. & Otto, H. (2009)	The cultural socialization of emotion regulation during infancy. (Comparing German middle class and NSO farmer families)	NSO farmers pointed out that good child is a one who is calm and inexpressive especially for negative emotions; Western urban prototype focused on emotional expression and maintenance implicit in socialization.	Most of the studies are based on broad cultural dimensions of interdependence (relatedness) and independence (autonomy).

The studies highlighted in Table 1 provides an integrated view of research on emotion socialization in several Asian cultures, such as India, Nepal and China, and cross-national studies. These studies broadly covered emotion socialization of anger and sadness in an urban setting in India (Raval et al., 2011, 2013), differences in emotion socialization between two communities, Tamang and Brahman of Nepal (Cole et al., 2002, 2006), and parenting style as context in emotion socialization of Chinese mothers (Chan et. al., 2009). In addition, there are few cross-cultural studies on emotion socialization. For example, the study by Crowe et al., (2012) compares Indian and United States college-going students' emotion communication and control. The findings indicated that Indian participants expressed emotions in relation to others while US participants expressed emotions in relation to self. Another cross-cultural study by Cole et al., (2002) compares children's emotion reactions in difficult situations. Nepali children, both Tamang and Brahman accepted the situation, while U.S children reported acting to change the difficult situation.

The Cultural Pathways of Emotion Socialization

Cultural pathways serve as developmental goals that organize social behavior (Greenfield, Keller, Fulgini, & Maynard, 2003). Cultural pathways related to emotion socialization have largely adhered to the cultural model of independence or interdependence as two distinct dimensions (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000). Chan et al., (2009) presented two dimensions of emotional competence models: (1) individualistic emotional competence aims to promote individual self and (2) relational

emotional competence aims to promote interpersonal harmony. The detailed account of models prevalent in Western, European (individualistic) and non-Western (relational) contexts is presented in the following section.

Cultural pathways of emotion socialization in Western and European cultures. The cultural models of Western societies like United States, Australia and Germany emphasize on promoting autonomy and independence. The norms and practices in these societies comprise *individualistic emotion competence* wherein children's negative emotions are accepted, and expression of such emotions is encouraged. In these cultures, self-expression and open communication of 'ego focused' emotions (such as anger and pride) are readily tolerated. These emotions indicate inner states of autonomous individuals who rely on themselves to achieve goals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Caregivers with individualistic emotional competence endorse problem focused reactions and encourage expression of negative emotional states (Friedlmeier, et. al., 2011).

Cultural pathways of emotion socialization in Asian cultures. The cultural model of Asian societies emphasizes on relatedness and interdependence. In this context, *relational emotion competence* is promoted, and caregivers encourage knowledge of emotional display rules and expression of other-focused emotions (Friedlmeier et al., 2011). Their cultural norms prioritize relationships, respects for elders, loyalty in family and group harmony. Children in these cultures are taught to regulate ego-focused emotions (for example, anger) and promote expression of other-focused emotions (for

example, sympathy) (Chan, et al., 2009). The learning of appropriate emotion display

rules is more important in group-oriented societies, whereas in individual-oriented

societies natural expression of emotion and emotional independence are valued (Chan et

al., 2009).

Expressions and regulation of emotions are also influenced by the display rules

of culture (Matsumoto, Yoo, Fontaine, Anguas-Wong, Arriola, Ataca, … Granskaya,

2008; Cole, 2014). For instance, since in Indian culture emotions are expressed in relation

to others, one may experience an emotion but may not express it. For example, the

emotion of anger may be experienced but may not be expressed, since it is a potential risk

to group harmony. Raval and Martini (2007) in their study with children in Ahmedabad

(India) reported that children expressed and controlled emotions (anger, sadness more

than physical pain) based on the acceptance and approval of these emotions by significant

others. In the same vein, Matsumoto et al., (2008) in a cross-cultural study of display

rules in over 30 countries found that collectivistic cultures promote the display norm of

less expressivity than individualistic cultures, suggesting the significance of maintaining

social order and harmony of the culture.

Emotion expressions may also differ across ethnic cultures (Cole, Bruschi, &

Tamang, 2002) and different social class groups within the same culture (Raval &

Martini, 2009). For example, in a study with two groups of Nepali cultures (Tamang and

Chhetri- Brahmin), Cole and Tamang, (1998) reported *Brahman* children to endorse more

negative emotions and to mask their emotions less than Tamang children. The difference

in endorsement and expression of emotions is associated with the socialization process. Brahman mothers believe in teaching about emotions to their children while Tamang mothers believe that children learn by themselves. Raval and Martini (2009) reported that Indian mothers in the old city of Ahmedabad were less accepting of children's expression of emotions than those from a suburban community. In these cultures, relational emotional competence is promoted; knowledge of display rules is emphasized, and emotions are expressed in relation to others. Caregivers' strong emphasis on reflection-enhancing (does not encourage expression but encourages regulation), training (explanation about consequences), and unacceptability of expressions are consistent with relational emotional competence. This approach is consistent with the cultural model of individuals defined by relationships and interdependencies where emphasis is on maintaining interpersonal relations and group harmony.

Cultural pathways of emotion socialization beyond dichotomized dimensions: Co-existence of cultural pathways. Most cited and known models on cultural emotion socialization are independence and interdependence as two distinct dimensions. Kagiticibasi (2007) has proposed the concept of 'emotional interdependence' which suggests that rather than retaining a dichotomized dimension of individualistic and relational emotional competence, both individualistic and relational emotional competence can be endorsed to a different degree. Research evidences across cultures are supportive in this direction. Chan et al., (2009) reported that Hong Kong mothers displayed a balance between two dimensions (individualistic and relational) with more

endorsement of relational goals. The researchers argue that this is due to the Western oriented education of the mother living in Hong Kong. Similar findings have been noted by Tuli and Chaudhary (2010) with Indian mothers. In their study, urban Indian mothers promoted pan Indian characteristics (e.g., relatedness, familism, socially appropriate behavior and respect for elders) at the same time, mothers also promoted autonomy in their daily practices. However, this autonomy was conditioned on mother's beliefs about 'safe' areas. For example, although mothers believed that the children should dress themselves, they preferred doing it for the children for practical reasons, such as saving on their time. Raval, Raval and Deo (2013) also reported that mothers from urban India endorsed both relational and autonomous socialization goals to a certain level; however, they endorse more relational than autonomous goals. For example, parents would value emotional interdependence, discourage their children from expressing ego-focused emotions, especially in front of seniors, and train their children to be competent in expressing other-focused emotions. A happy co-existence of both individualism and collectivism has also been noted among youth of Turkey (Uskul, Hynie, & Lalonde 2004). Thus, the above discussed research indicates growing evidence of co-existence of cultural pathways in socialization practices.

Understanding Cultural Pathways of Emotion Socialization in India

Indian socialization practices are organized around interdependence and familism (Keller, Lamm, Abels, Yovsi, Borke, Jensen, Papaligoura, Holub, Lo,

Tomiyama, Su, Wang, & Chaudhary, 2006) and the focus is on teaching the child to express the emotion that maintains social harmony. In this context emotion socialization practices are guided either by parent-centered goals such as confirming to society or child-centered goals such as teaching something to the child, calming child's emotions or for child's wellbeing in the long term. Figure 1 presents the cultural pathways of emotion socialization in the Indian context.
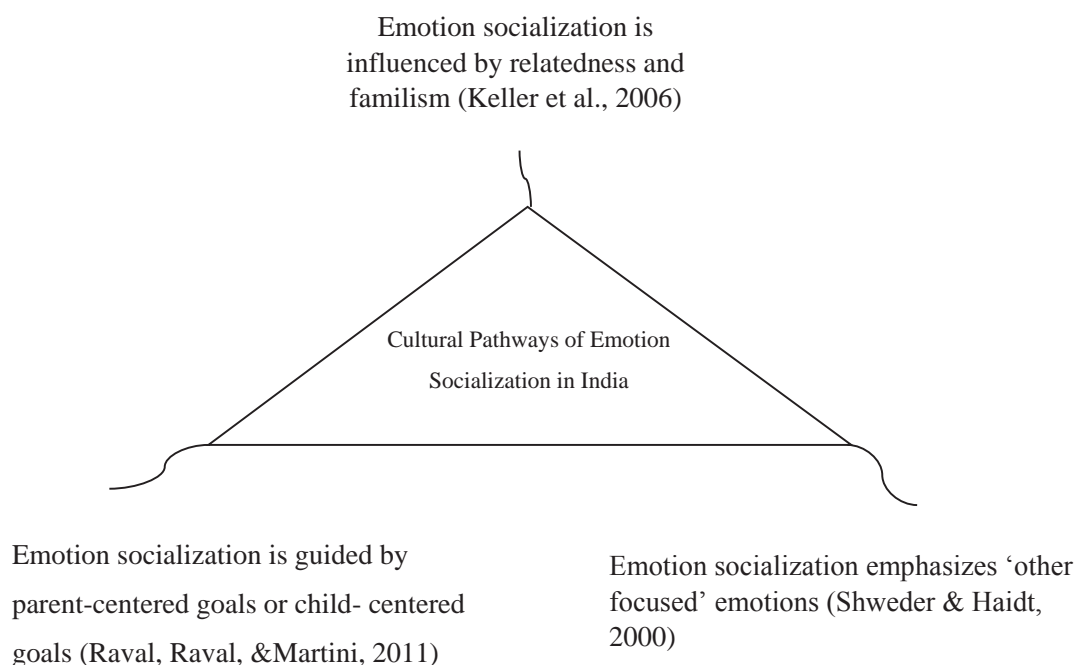
Emotion socialization is
influenced by relatedness and
familism (Keller et al., 2006)

Cultural Pathways of Emotion
Socialization in India

Emotion socialization is guided by
parent-centered goals or child- centered
goals (Raval, Raval, &Martini, 2011)

Emotion socialization emphasizes 'other
focused' emotions (Shweder & Haidt,
2000)

Figure 1. Cultural pathways of emotion socialization in India.

There are few Indian studies to understand emotion socialization among young children in an Indian context. A study by Raval, Martini and Raval (2007) has shed light upon the practices of emotional socialization in the city of Ahmedabad, India. Participants of the study included school going children forming two groups 5-6 years old and 8-9 years old. Children in the study reported others (parents and other significant

adults) to be less accepting of the negative emotions such as anger and sadness than physical pain. The findings of the study were consistent with the idea that the norms, duties and expectations of others guide the social behavior of the people. For example, respect of elders, care for others, valuing other's perception, adjusting own needs and goals to fit the social environment. Likewise, another study by Raval, Martini, and Raval (2009) explored the methods and reasons for emotional expression and control in children (6 to 8 years old) with internalizing, externalizing and somatic problems. The study revealed that children were less likely to express anger and sadness through verbal communication than physical pain. These emotions may be experienced but not expressed since these interfere with the group harmony. Further, Raval and Martini (2009) in a study with upper caste Gujarati families of Ahmedabad found that expressions of negative emotions are less accepted in the presence of parents than peers, which indicates cultural emphasis on respecting elders. Since fathers are an authority figure in the family, mothers reported non-supportive behavior to children's expression of negative emotions towards their fathers.

The framework for understanding emotion socialization in urban India is proposed by Raval and Martin (2011). The researchers suggest that emotion socialization of children in Gujarati families is conceptualized in the context of "making the other understand." In other words, mothers attempted to make children understand (*samjhavavu*), directed either by child-centered goals (desire to teach something to the child, calm the child's emotion) or parent-centered goals (conformity to the society).

Mother's relational socialization goals (respect for elders, consideration for wellbeing of others) were related to their explanation-oriented behavior of children's emotion and were associated with less child behavior problems (Raval, Raval, & Deo, 2013). Panda and Gupta (2004) conceptualized that respect for status, power, familism and primacy of personalized relations are pan Indian characteristics and these characteristics are taught to children from a young age. The hierarchical nature of the Indian culture is reflected in Pai's (1998) research which noted that children are taught to express emotions differently with people in relation to their status in family and society. For example, Raval and Martini (2009) noted that expression of negative emotions is less approved in relation to parents than peers. Their study also demonstrated non-supportive behavior of mothers towards children's expression of negative emotions in the presence of their fathers than when mothers are with the child since fathers are perceived as authority in the family. Thus, the Indian studies discussed above are reflective of the collectivistic goals of the Indian culture. Group goals are valued over individual goals and behaving in a socially appropriate way is valued in society. Thereby, parents discourage the expression of negative emotions such as anger and sadness.

Gender and Emotion Socialization

Empirical research addressing gender differences in emotion socialization in parental teaching style, parent-child interactions, and display rules are discussed in the

following section. Gender of caregivers and children plays an important role in emotion socialization.

Emotions are culturally constructed and are derived on the basis of cultural values, beliefs and norms (Menon, 2000). An interesting issue in this reference is to understand emotion socialization with regard to gender roles in cultural context. Gender stereotypic emotion socialization is evident across cultures and is influenced by cultural values, parents' gender, child's gender and the type of emotion (Kapadia & Gala, 2015).

Caregivers' gender and emotion socialization. Parent's gender plays an important role in socialization of emotions. Mothers are considered as emotional gatekeepers of the family whereas fathers are considered as loving playmates. In addition, mothers more than fathers focused on teaching emotions (Denham, Bassett, & Wyatt, 2010). Parents differed in encouraging and discouraging different emotions in their girls and boys (Root & Denham, 2010). Indian mothers were more sympathetic towards their son's expression of anger than daughters (Raval & Martini, 2011) indicating the cultural expectation of less acceptance of anger among women. Similarly, Hindu folk theories indicated that anger is less accepted in women than men. It is easier for men to express uncivilized emotions such as anger and laughter, while women are likely to experience and express more refined emotions such as modesty and deference (Menon, 2000). Additionally, in a cross-cultural research across 48 countries on adults' desire for children's emotion, fearlessness is desired among boys than girls (Diener & Lucas, 2004).

Children's gender and emotion socialization. Gender of the child also influences the emotion socialization practices of the parents. Raval and Martini (2007) in their study with Gujarati (India) children found girls to be less expressive for anger than boys, indicative of the different socialization goals for girls and boys such that anger is more acceptable for boys whereas expression of sadness is approved for girls. Similarly, Parmley and Cunningham (2007) found that preschool children in the U.S were reflective of gender emotion stereotypes. For example, they perceive men as angry and women as sad. Joshi and McLean (1994) in a comparative study between Indian and English children's understanding of apparent and real emotions reported Hindu girls from an early age understand the difference between feelings and expression more than their counterparts (Indian boys and Britain participants), which is reflective of differential gender and cultural socialization.

Socialization and parenting in an Indian context: An overview

India is a country with large social, historical and cultural variations which led to variations in social evolution of the groups living in different parts of the country. India's language, religion, dance, food and customs differ from place to place within the country. The Indian culture is commonly referred as an amalgamation of cultures that has been influenced by a millennia old history (Keay, 2011).

In the Indian context, socialization process is shaped along with pan Indian characteristic, which is the desire to be a part of group and families (Panda & Gupta,

2004). The goal is to socialize the children to function interdependently (Saraswathi &

Dutta, 2010), and recognize the needs of others and please significant adults (Paiva,

2008). The family is central to all levels of social interaction and serves as the primary

model of social interactions for children who are taught deference and obedience and are

not encouraged to assert themselves (Srinivasan & Karla, 1997). Roland (1988) proposed

this deep-rooted group-oriented feature of Indians as the 'familial self'. Thus, it is not

surprising that most studies on Indian socialization and parenting are centred on the

dimensions of interdependence and familism (Keller et al., 2006).

Parenting is seen as a sacred duty (*dharma)* of parents. The *dharma* of parents is

to inculcate good *sanskaras* (good habits and manners) in their child such as social

harmony and respect for interpersonal relationship in their children. Saraswathi and

Ganapathy (2002) in a study on parental ethno-theories noted that parental conception of

sankari child (good child) is one who possesses *sanskar* (values)" such as being

respectful to parents and adults, being truthful, compassionate, tolerant and valuing

others, indicating clear emphasis on relational orientation. Children from an early age are

taught to be polite, greet elders, share their toys and resources with other children in the

network indicating clear emphasis on collective orientation (Sharma, 2003). Academic

achievement is a salient feature of Indian parenting. Parents take pride when their

children excel in academics. Mothers emphasize the value of education from very young

age (Sharma, 2003).

Parenting is a shared experience and multiple caregiving is a key component of

Indian society; though mothers remain the primary caregivers with other female and male

caregivers being involved in early socialization practices (Roopnarine & Suppal, 2003). In contemporary context, fathers are being involved in child care practices. There is an ideological shift in father's involvement regarding beliefs, responsibilities and roles of childcare (Roopnarine & Suppal, 2003; Sriram, 2011). Subhramanyama and Chadha (2002) found that adolescents reported their fathers to be easily accessible and are aware of their emotional characteristics along with being involved in routine caregiving activities. In a study on continuity and change in fathering in the Indian context, Sriram (2011) found that in the present scenario besides playing a traditional role of provider, disciplinarian and transmitter of cultural values, fathers are also involved in child care and nurturance. Fathers in the study also shared changes in fathering today. Fathers reported themselves to be more involved and spending considerable time with their children compared to their own fathers who did not have time to spend with children and hence their emotional needs were not fulfilled.

Multiple caregiving is a way to realize the goal of interdependence with the family and through their interaction with extended family members. Traditionally, joint family is an ideal and desired family structure in India. Children are raised not only by their parents but also by other adults of the family such as grandparents, uncles, and aunts. The traditional Indian joint family follows the same principles of collectivism (Chadda & Deb, 2013). However, with the advent of global, economic change and immigration the traditional joint family system of India is undergoing a change at a tremendous pace. Family structures especially in urban areas are undergoing rapid changes (Bhatia, 2006; Sharma, 2003) giving rise to nuclear families. Kakar (1981)

asserts even when the family lives outside the traditional joint system, family members still maintain strong social ties with relatives (Kakar, 1981) and frequently discuss with each other any important life decisions. Children are raised not only by their parents but also by other adults of the family such as grandparents, uncles and aunts. Children are primarily within the care of mothers and grandmothers during the first two years and extended toward other family members from third years onwards when the child becomes more mobile, verbal and interpersonal (Kakar, 1981; Sharma, 2000). Child care in India is thus socially distributed (Raval & Martini, 2011).

The existing review of literature highlights the cultural pathways in Western and Non-Western contexts, with special focus on emotion socialization in Indian context. Studies on emotion socialization across cultures have predominantly focused on negative emotion socialization such as anger and fear. Overall, emotion socialization in the Indian context is embedded in the collectivistic phenomenon.

Exiting Gaps in Research

Based on the existing literature discussed above, several gaps in the research can be identified:

Focus on negative emotions. Much research on socialization has primarily focused on negative emotions such as anger, sadness, and disgust, particularly in Indian context (e.g., Raval, & Martini, 2009, 2011, 2013) since negative emotions are often considered as factors of emotion regulation and risk to socio-emotional competence.

However, positive emotions are essential to protecting against stress and promoting health and competence (Frederickson, as cited in Friedlmeier et. al., 2011).

   Age of children. In Asian context, research on emotion socialization has essentially focused on childhood and adolescence (Pai, 1998; Raval, Raval & Deo 2013; Cole, Tamang, & Shrestha 2006). There is a paucity of research with toddlers, particularly in India. Young children in the age range of 1-2 years are an important developmental age group to teach children culturally appropriate values and standards (Perez & Gauvain, 2007).

   Gender and emotion socialization. Gender stereotypic emotion socialization is evident across cultures and is influenced by parents' gender and child's gender. However, there is a scarcity of Indian work on the link between gender and emotion socialization, particularly about young children.

   Co-existing cultural pathways. Cultural explanations related to emotion socialization have largely adhered to the model of independence or interdependence as two distinct dimensions, and autonomy and relatedness as the related developmental goals (e.g., Chan et al., 2009). Most of the cross-cultural studies on emotion expression investigated differences between Euro-American and East Asian adults as representing the two cultural models of autonomy and relatedness (Keller & Otto, 2009). There is however some recent research that demonstrates a mixture of both models (Chan et al., 2009). We expect a similar mixture of both models in an urban upper middle class Indian context. There is scarcity of scientific evidence of co-existence of these two dimensions in the Indian context. Sinha and Tripathi (2003) are of the view that Indian culture

represents coexistence of collectivist and individualist orientation because of its "highly complex" social structure. Kagitcibasi (2007) proposed a dialectic synthesis of 'emotional interdependence,' wherein both individual and groups loyalties can co-exist and both can be endorsed to different degrees. On similar lines, Tuli and Chaudhary (2010) recognized that mothers "choose" to include other people in the lives of children so that they may benefit from other relationships. Mothers' socialization practices focused on relatedness and familism and promoting socially appropriate behaviour and respect for elders. At the same time value of autonomy was also seen in the mothers' practices. However, the self-reliance was conditional based on mother's belief about "safe" areas for expressing autonomy. The researchers contend that there can be domain-specific autonomy, wherein mothers choose to be interdependent or independent depending upon the domain of development. 'Elective interdependence' (p.16) is the term offered to explain the agency that mothers manifest in choosing to be independent or interdependent in their socialization.

Focus of the Present Study

There are various concepts related to emotion socialization that require further exploration and explanation. The present research attempted to study the following aspects using a multi-method approach:

Positive and negative emotions. The current study attempted to study both positive as well as negative emotions to obtain a comprehensive picture.

Co-existence of cultural models. The study explored the possibility of co-existence of cultural models (independence/interdependence as found in the study by (Chan et al., 2009) in the urban upper middle-class Indian context.

Young toddlers (18 months to 34 months). Young children (in the age group of 1-2 years) are an important developmental age group. Most of the research on emotion socialization in this age group has been conducted with Western populations. In the Asian context research on emotion socialization has essentially focused on childhood and adolescents (Raval et al., 2007, 2013; Cole, et.al., 1998, 2002). Not much attention has been given to young children 0-2 years as research participants.

Multiple-caregiving. The study involved multiple caregivers from joint family as well as families who may not be living in joint families but are connected in relationship in terms of sharing emotional connectedness and frequent familiar interchanges. Given the consideration that multiple caregiving is a characteristic feature of the Indian culture, it becomes important to understand the contribution of each caregiver to the socialization practices. The present study attempted to capture the perspectives of a range of caregivers (fathers, grandparents, uncles and aunts) to get more comprehensive data on emotion socialization.

Gender. The study captures the perspectives of caregivers and its link to children's gender.

Rationale and Significance

Emotion socialization is an important determinant of emotional and social competence. While several studies have explored the socialization processes (e.g., Bugnetal & Grusec, 2006; Liberal, Reddy, Hicks, Jonnalgadda & Chintalpuri, 2011), studies on emotion socialization practices and their implications for young children's development of emotion regulation abilities are scarce. Review of available research on the emotion regulation primarily focused on child's emotion regulation in an interaction with parents or one parent. However, in an Indian context, child care-giving is a shared activity by different members of the family such as father, grandparents, uncle and aunts. The present study considered the perspectives of multiple caregivers in the socialization of emotions. Caregivers act as mediators between the child's emotion development and the cultural context. Culture influences the fashion in which emotion competence is defined which in turn influences how individuals experience and express emotion (Friedlmeier et al., 2011). On the one hand, young children learn emotion regulation based on the parents' vicarious emotion regulations and develop different expectations of proper behavior. Children observe and learn from caregiver's emotional reactions. On the other hand, parents' emotion socialization practices follow the expected requirements of the cultural settings learned as a result of their own experiences. Identifying the cultural sources of learning child-rearing will add to the knowledge regarding agents and institutions largely involved in this process.

Conceptual Framework for the Study

The conceptual framework of the current study is partially informed by the Tripartite model of the impact of family on children's emotion regulation (Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers & Robinson, 2007). Figure 2 presents the conceptual framework for the study.
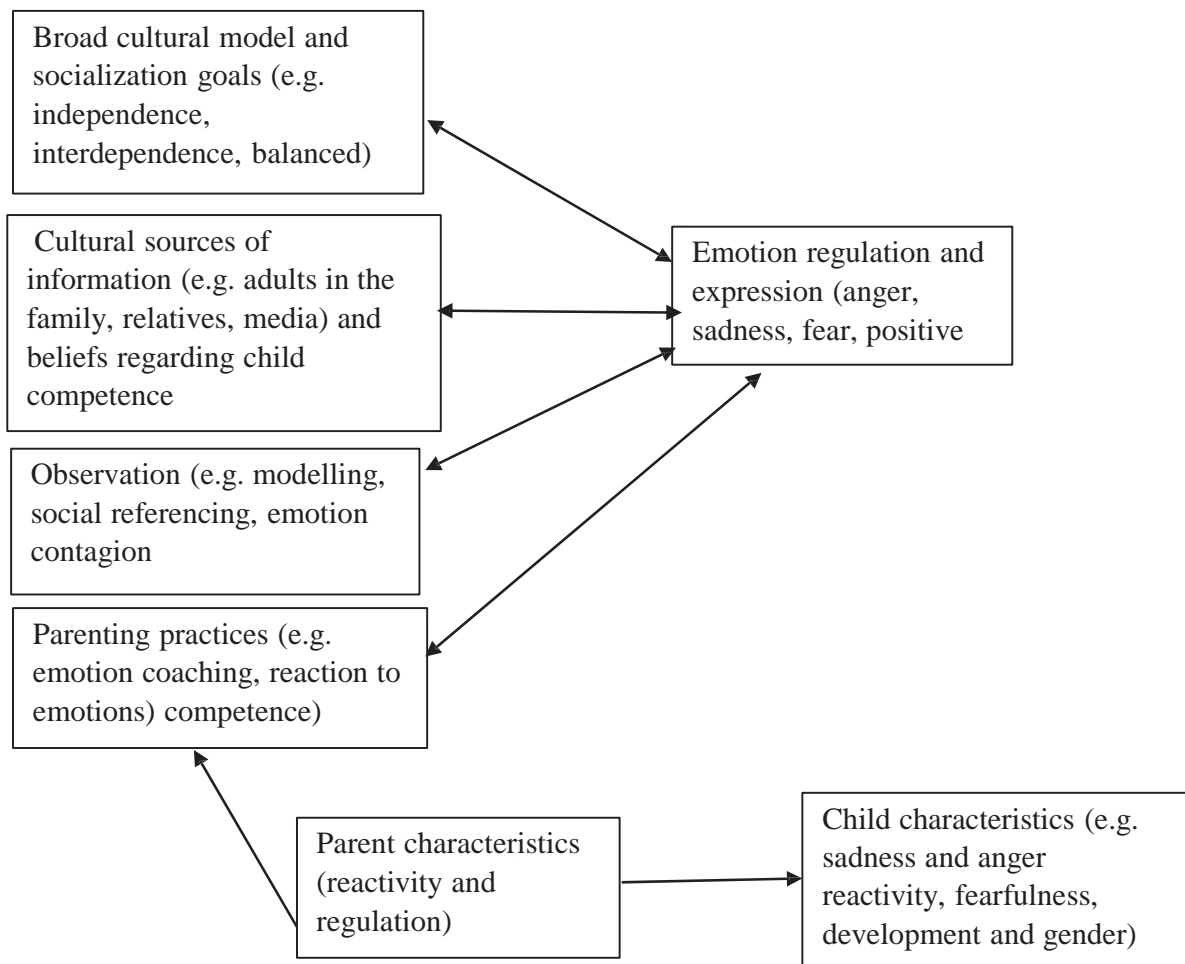

Figure 2. The conceptual framework of the study.

The Tripartitie model summarizes that family context affects the children's emotion regulation through three socialization components. First, child learns emotion regulation through observation, second, specific parenting practices affect emotion regulation, and third, climate of the family, the quality of the attachment relationship, styles of parenting, family expressiveness and the emotional quality of the marital relationship affect emotion regulation. Moreover, the model also asserts that parent characteristics (such as parents' own emotion regulation) as well as child's characteristics have indirect influences on children's emotion regulation. The current study draws on first two socialization components, observation and emotion related parental practices of the Tripartitie model. The third component, emotional climate of the family was out of the scope for the present study.

The first emotion socialization component of the Tripartitie model, observation, is parental modelling. Parents' emotional display and their own emotion regulation strategies serve as a model for children (Morris et al., 2007). Children learn emotion regulation based on the parents' vicarious emotion regulations and develop different expectations of proper behavior. For example, punitive parental reaction towards child' expressions of emotion may induce fear and anger whereas supportive reaction may reduce child's fear and anxiety to express. The second emotion socialization component of the tripartite model is parenting practices. Parents differ in their reactions– either supportive or non-supportive to their children's expression of positive or negative emotions (Eisenberg, Cumberland & Spinrad., 1998; Davidov & Grusec,2006). Parental reactions to children's negative emotions have shown to be strongly related to various

child emotion regulation outcomes (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Moreover, the research noted

that supportive and non-supportive reactions are usually negatively related to one another

(Gunzenhauser, Fasche, Friedlmeier, & Suchodoletz, 2014). Morris et al. (2007) also

pointed out that parents' characteristics guide their modeling and parenting practices and

indirectly influences children's emotion regulation. Parental beliefs, norms, and

socialization goals can be important indicators of parental characteristics.

In addition to the Tripartitie model, the current research also includes cultural

sources of socialization, caregivers' emotion socialization practices, their notions of child

competence, self-construal (independence, interdependence) and child expression as

critical areas of inquiry for the present study. Although culture plays an important role in

child's emotion socialization, the cultural component is missing in the Morris's Tripartite

model. Cultural scripts influence parental beliefs, practices and socialization goals.

Parental socialization goals, culturally shared beliefs about qualities desirable in children

that parents try to instill through the process of socialization are influenced and shaped by

the culture and these goals further shape their interaction with the children (Keller &

Otto, 2009). In addition, parental notion of child's emotion competence is also likely to

guide the parental practices of emotion regulation and emotion expression. Thus, the

ideals of good child influence the parental practices of emotion socialization, emotion

regulation and emotion expression. Raval and Martini's study (2009) indicated that in the

Indian culture, parental beliefs are evaluative of their children's emotions and influence

the behavior of children. A child's experiences and expression of emotions are shaped by

significant persons during the early years and children learn how others evaluate them

and modify their expressions and behavior accordingly. Thereby cultural beliefs, caregiver's practices and children's expression are interrelated processes.

As guided by the adapted version of the Tripartite model (Morris et al., 2007) the present study examined the caregivers' emotion socialization of young child children.

Research Assumptions

Based on the existing review of literature, we expected that caregivers would endorse relational socialization goals more than individualistic goals and their socialization goals would be linked to emotion socialization practices. We assumed caregiver's supportive response (e.g., emotion focused) in response to children's negative social engaging emotions (sadness, fear); whereas in response to children's negative social disengaging emotions (anger, jealous) that may harm group harmony, we expected caregivers to endorse training responses. Since family is central to all levels of social interaction in the Indian society, we expected caregivers to look for family sources to procure information on child rearing; mothers in particularly are thought to expand their sources and may use out of family sources as well (e.g., Internet). Besides family, social responsibilities are also very important, therefore, we expect that interrelatedness and proper demeanor skills are central for caregivers' perception of competence but also social skills (social sensitivity and social responsibility) may be emphasized.

Research Questions

- What are the emotion socialization goals of the caregivers?

- What is the caregiver's perception of child competence? (idea of who is a competent child)

- What are the different societal sources that influence emotion socialization practices of caregivers? (Cultural sources of socialization)

- What are the practices or strategies of emotion socialization used by caregivers?

- How do caregivers' socialization goals influence emotion socialization practices?

- How does gender influence emotion socialization goals and practices?

Research Objectives

- Investigate the emotion socialization goals of the caregivers.

- Examine the caregiver's perception of child competence.

- Explore the societal sources (family members, neighbors, community, religious group) that influence the emotion socialization practices

- Examine the practices or strategies of emotion socialization used by caregivers.

- Examine the links between socialization goals and emotion socialization practices.

- Explore the link between gender and emotion socialization.

Highlights of the Chapter

The chapter reviewed the current literature on emotion socialization. It provided a comprehensive picture of emotion socialization including the interplay between parent teaching, role of culture, gender, navigating cultural pathways in contemporary context. It presented a systematic review of related research on emotion socialization available to the researcher through library journal search, and online library. The highlights of the chapter are as follows:

- Emotion socialization is a process of socialization of emotions (e.g., happiness, anger and sadness) among children.

- Emotional socialization is a process guided largely by the cultural models that further shapes socialization goals of the caregivers.

- Cultural pathways serve as developmental goals that organize social behavior. The resultant behavior defines pathways (independence/interdependence) influenced by given cultural context and discussed in the chapter above.

- In the Indian context, multiple caregiving is a common phenomenon. Existing gaps in the relevant literature are highlighted, for example, methodological gap and lack of knowledge about emotion socialization of toddlers.

The next chapter described detailed methodology of the study.