

Parental Beliefs About Children's Emotions:
*A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Norwegian and Russian
Parents*

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Abstract

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Title: Parental Beliefs about Children's Emotions: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Norwegian and Russian Parents

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Aim: This study aimed to develop a questionnaire to assess parental beliefs about children's emotions and to investigate how culture influences these beliefs by assessing parents in Moscow, Russia and Oslo, Norway.

Method: The questionnaire assesses beliefs about the development of children's emotional competencies and beliefs related to cultural dimensions based on the Hofstede model. Questions were developed through in-depth discussions with experts, collaborators and target group representatives (parents). In total, 300 parents of children between the age of 4 and 10 years participated in the study.

Results: The Hofstede dimensions seem relevant as a framework for measuring parental beliefs about emotions both across and within countries. Analyses within Norway showed small to medium main effects of gender. Norwegian mothers tended to hold beliefs about emotions that are more individualistic, feminine, higher on uncertainty avoidance and more short term oriented. Compared to fathers, mothers also had a tendency to believe their children develop emotional competencies slightly earlier. Parents of both genders seem to agree on beliefs about indulgence and power distance within Norway. Cross-cultural comparison indicated that cultural belonging had a clear influence on parental beliefs. Russian parents were found to hold emotional beliefs that are more collectivistic, power distant, masculine, long term oriented, and restrained than Norwegian parents. Norwegian and Russian parents tended to hold similar beliefs about emotions on the dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance. Norwegian parents tended to believe that children develop emotional competencies slightly earlier compared to Russian parents. The present study is a step towards an approach that takes cultural complexity into account by providing researchers and professionals with a tool to investigate the diversity of emotional beliefs.

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Introduction

Parents all over the world differ in their beliefs about how they should talk to their children, what their children should learn and how children should express emotions. For instance, some parents encourage their children to always express how they feel, regardless of the circumstance, whereas others believe that emotions are harmful and should be suppressed (Lozada et al., 2016; Nelson et al., 2012). Among other factors, it seems that these differences could be explained by cultural belonging. However, although parents' impact on their child's emotional development has received significant attention in the literature (e.g. Dunsmore et al., 2009; Perez Rivera & Dunsmore, 2011; Saarni, 1999), only few studies have focused on how culture impacts parental beliefs and behaviours related to emotions and, consequently, how this would impact the child's emotional development (e.g. Parker et al., 2012). Aiming to contribute to fill in this gap, the present study raises the following questions: 1) How can we assess these parental beliefs about emotions?; and 2) are these beliefs different across and within cultures?

An assessment of parental beliefs about children's emotions across cultures can contribute to a better understanding of parental and cultural mechanisms underlying emotional development. In addition, it can aid developing culturally adapted interventions, aimed, for example, at enhancing parental understanding of emotions and their emotion awareness (Bowie et al., 2013; Garner et al., 2014; Hastings, 2018). A questionnaire that is based on extensive literature and studies on cultural and developmental psychology might also guide practitioners when trying to understand parents from diverse cultural backgrounds. Therefore, the main goal of this research project was to *develop a questionnaire to investigate parental beliefs about emotions and to compare these beliefs between parents from Norway and Russia*. Norway and Russia were included in the study due to their different cultural practises (Hofstede et al., 2010) and linguistic background (Germanic vs. Slavic). In addition, the present study is grounded in an ongoing collaboration between the Department of Psychology at the University of Oslo and the Faculty of Psychology at Lomonosov Moscow State University.

The first part of this thesis presents the theoretical and empirical background of the present study and consists of four main topics: a) emotional development: the role of caregivers; b) parental beliefs about emotions; c) culture and emotions; and d) the present study. The second part provides a description of the current study by presenting its

methodological design. The third part presents the results of the study and the fourth and final chapter consists of a discussion of the main findings in light of previous studies, and a conclusion where limitations and future prospects are also presented.

Emotional Development: The Role of Caregivers

Through years of evolution, humans have developed the ability to interact and learn from others (Tomasello et al., 1993). Emotions are formed on the basis of this process, as they are the primary source of human communication and interaction with the social world (Skinner, 2013). By interacting with our significant and more competent others - primarily the caregivers - humans not only can survive, but also learn a wide range of knowledge, skills, values and beliefs that can be transmitted from one generation to the next. How does this unique ability to learn from others affect our emotional development?

Emotional Competence: Main Concepts

Emotional competences include the ability to experience and express different emotions, regulate emotional expressiveness, and understand the emotions in the self and others (Denham, 1998; Denham, 2019; Saarni, 1999). Emotional expression is often referred to as humans' way of communicating internal states to others (Skinner, 2013). It might be behavioural, non-verbal, or verbal and it has been argued that humans rely on emotional expression early in life to communicate our needs to the primary caregivers (Gross, 1998). Emotional regulation is found to be a complex ability, often defined as the human process of influencing and changing our own and others emotions, which emotions to feel, how to express emotions and how to experience emotions (Chen, 2016). As early as the age of 3 to 4 years, children start to develop the ability to show basic control over their expressions of negative emotions. Around the age of 10, children typically have developed the necessary skills to manage their emotions effectively in response to social demands (Saarni, 1999; Zeman et al., 2006).

One other main concept underlying emotional competence is the ability to understand one's own and other's emotions. Pons et al. (2004) define Emotional Understanding as the ability to understand the nature, causes, and consequences of emotions with the main functions of identifying, explaining, predicting and controlling emotions in the self and in others (Tang et al., 2018; Tenenbaum et al., 2004). Research has shown that there are important hierarchical developmental phases for emotional understanding, occurring between

the age of 3 to 11 years (e.g. Tang et al., 2018, for a recent review). Children first develop more external understanding of emotions, like verbally recognizing facial expressions. Then they develop more mental and reflective understanding of emotions, such as the relation between desires, reminders, beliefs and emotions. The last phase is related to abilities like understanding moral, self-reflective and mixed emotions. According to Pons and Harris (2019), Emotional Understanding is the declarative aspect of emotional competence, whereas feeling, expressing and regulating emotions comprise what the authors call emotion experience. In this thesis, we therefore use the terminology emotional competence to refer to both the experiential and the declarative dimensions.

It has been argued that emotional competence is influenced by our individual history – including genetics and temperament (Jaffe et al., 2010) –, cognitive development, such as language and executive function (Beck et al., 2012; Burnett et al., 2013), the system of beliefs and values from the culture we live in, and the immediate dynamic context in which emotions are evoked and experienced, for instance, attachment, parenting style and the emotional environment at home (Saarni, 1999). Higher emotional competence has been shown to positively correlate with higher levels of social competence, well-being, problem-solving and better academic outcomes (Denham et al., 2003; Denham & Brown, 2010; Viana et al., 2019). One central question related to emotional developments is: How is this development affected by children's immediate social surroundings?

Children's Emotional Development

Carolyn Saarni has been an important contributor to the research on parental socialization of emotions. Socialization of emotions is the process through which values, beliefs and norms about emotions are transmitted by parents and other adults to the child through social interaction (Grusec, 2011). The emotional competence theory proposed by Saarni outlines that emotions and relationships are inseparable (Saarni & Crowley, 1990). During emotional events, social partners transmit important information about beliefs, values and expectations on how emotions should be expressed and communicated (Denham, 2018). Therefore, these interactions significantly influence children's emotional experience, emotional expression, emotional regulation and emotional comprehension. The emotional competence theory highlights that children's emotional development is based on experiences with caregivers (their first social partners) in addition to surrounding socio-cultural environments (Saarni & Crowley, 1990). Importantly, socialization is not a process where

only parents influence their children, but the child's own characteristics also influence their parents to some extent (Grusec, 2011). Temperament, which is the child's biological predispositions regarding reactivity and self-regulation, as well as language and cognitive skills, can be acknowledged as some of the within-child factors that impact the process of emotion socialization (Denham et al., 2010). These factors create individual differences in the way children react to their parents' socialization, which therefore can influence their parent's beliefs and practices towards emotions. As the goal of this thesis is to explore parental emotional beliefs, this thesis will focus on the social and cultural aspects influencing the development of emotional competence.

According to Denham (2018), important ways to socialize children's emotions are through parents' own expressiveness, how they talk and how they react to their child's emotions. The situations parents choose for their children to be a part of are also a way to promote emotional socialization (e.g., what movies or TV-shows are allowed, which kindergarten to attend, religious meetings etc.) (Eisenberg et al., 1998). Additionally, it has been found that parents' use of these different mechanisms might influence the child's level of emotional competence, such as strategies of problem solving and emotional regulation (Denham, 2018). These mechanisms (parents own expressiveness, reactions, way of talking and selection of situations) are influenced by their emotional beliefs. These beliefs therefore guide parents to convey information about the appropriateness and acceptability of emotions. Indeed, the way parents socialize emotions has been found to be highly influenced by their cultural belonging, as they transmit to their children culturally appropriate standards for both experience and understanding of emotions (Saarni, 1999). Cultural values and practices give meaning to parental expectations and responses (Hastings, 2018). This again, makes children learn to limit the expression of culturally disapproved emotions and increase the expression of socially accepted emotions (Saarni, 1999). The Emotional competence theory, therefore, highlights the importance of recognizing cultural variations in parents' beliefs and emotion socialization (Saarni & Buckley, 2002).

This thesis is also based on the ecological systems theory proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979). His theory is coherent with the goal of the present study, considering the complexity and dynamicity amongst the different factors enhancing child development. The ecological systems theory argues that child development is not only determined by biological factors within the child, but also their interaction with the surrounding world, in which biological,

social, political and economic conditions are all intertwined (Tekin, 2011). Therefore, a bioecological perspective is in line with the emotional competence theory (Crowley & Saarni, 1990) and the idea behind emotion socialization (e.g. Denham, 2018). Whereby the ecological systems theory argues that the social and cultural influence on a child's development must be understood through the characteristics of several levels of systems. According to the Bronfenbrenner' model, these levels are: 1) the child's immediate environments (Microsystem; e.g., family, friends); 2) the interrelationship among these environments (Mesosystem: e.g., communication between family and friends); 3) the broader settings (Exosystem: e.g., maternal workplace); 4) the infiltration of cultural attitudes and ideologies (Macrosystem); and 5) the influence of current time (chronosystem; e.g., lockdown due to COVID-19) (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007; Masten, 2014). The dynamic interaction processes between these five levels of systems (micro-, meso-, exo-, macro- and chronosystem) and the child's biological characteristics direct the child's development (Masten, 2014).

All of these systems have been found to influence children's cognitive and emotional development. For example, within the mesosystem, it has been shown that the quality of interaction between parents and school has an impact on children's academic performance (Hill & Torres, 2010). When observing exosystems, research has found that parental job quality (i.e. workloads, job control and support from colleagues) influences children's level of emotional difficulties (Strazdins et al., 2010). Within the macrosystem, cultural values and practices seem to provide families with the social context where parenting takes place (Paat, 2013). This suggests that cultural rules, norms, values and beliefs direct, for example, how parents interact with their children. Within the chronosystem, factors like parental divorce have been found to influence children's level of anxiety and depression (Strohschein, 2005). Also, the history of a group of people can possibly affect child development through, for instance, racial stereotypes and cultural context (Kiang et al., 2016).

As one of the main microsystems, parents are in the position of directly influencing child development, as the family is a social institution providing a foundation in which children learn how to navigate and find their place in society (Paat, 2013). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that cultural values and norms (macrosystem) affect parental beliefs and behaviour (microsystem), which again interact with the child's own characteristics (individual

level) and direct his/her development. How can this theoretical model be used to understand children's emotional development?

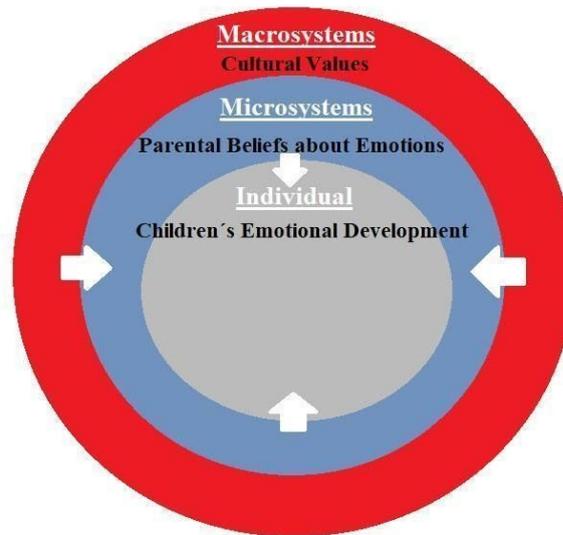


Figure 1. *The Ecological systems of Bronfenbrenner (1979)*

Figure 1 shows how the ecological systems proposed by Bronfenbrenner can be useful to understand the mechanisms through which culture and parents mutually influence the child's emotional development. As previously discussed, our emotional world develops through social interaction, and the quality of parent-child relationship strongly influences children's emotional development (Saarni & Buckley, 2002). The influence of parenting style however does not occur in a social vacuum; what takes place within the family must be considered in a broader social and cultural context. Thus, how one perceives the world depends on both significant others and cultural belonging (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). From this perspective, it can be argued that broader cultural values towards emotions at the macrolevel would influence how parents perceive and understand the rules of emotions at the micro level and would, therefore, shape children's emotional development at the individual level. To better understand this process and the importance of having an instrument to assess cultural beliefs about emotions, it is relevant to understand in greater depth how parental beliefs about emotions influence emotional development and how culture and emotions are related to each other.

Parental Beliefs About Emotions

We have previously discussed that beliefs about emotions play a significant role in human interaction by directing emotion socialization and influencing how caregivers handle

both their own and also their children's emotional events (De Castella et al., 2018; Halberstadt et al., 2008). Research has found that some people believe that emotions can be controlled, while others do not believe this (De Castella et al., 2018). Lozada et al. (2016) argued that some people believe that positive emotions are always of value whilst others do not. How can these beliefs about emotions be understood? In this section, we consider in greater depth how these beliefs can be categorized and how culture can shape differences in emotional beliefs.

Meta-emotions, often defined as emotions about emotions, refer to how people feel about certain emotions (e.g. feeling ashamed about being sad) (Gottman et al., 1997). According to the emotion socialization theory, the way parents feel about certain emotions will therefore influence the way they socialize emotions with their child. A study by Lozada et al. (2016) found that emotional beliefs can be clustered into three main dimensions: (1) positive emotions are always of value; (2) negative emotions provide opportunities for children and are important to experience; and (3) emotions can be harmful for children when experienced too often or too intensely. Parents who believed that positive emotions were of high value, strived to see their children experience joy, happiness, and pride (Lozada et al., 2016). These parents allowed their children to express these emotions at any time (Stelter & Halberstadt, 2011). Parents who believed in the importance of negative emotions perceived negative emotional experiences and expressions as necessary for the children's social and emotional development (Gottman et al., 1997). While parents who believed that emotions were harmful or dangerous perceived the expression of emotions as something one should ignore, minimize, or punish (Gottman et al., 1997).

Another way to categorize emotional beliefs has been proposed in a study by Castro et al., (2015) which focused on parental value/danger of emotions and the guidance of emotion socialisation. Castro et al. (2015) proposed three dimensions; (1) emotions are valuable and the expression and experience of both negative and positive emotions are useful and provide opportunities for the child (see also Park et al., 2013); (2) Children's emotions are dangerous or problematic, so that emotions are perceived as not useful in most situations and should be avoided; (3) Children need emotional guidance and parents should provide explicit instructions for both the causes and consequences of emotions (Castro et al., 2015).

Research has shown that beliefs about emotions guide emotion socialization which, therefore, influences children's emotional development (Kagitcibasi et al., 2009; Wong et al.,

2008). Wong et al. (2008) found that 5th graders with mothers who reported being more accepting of their child's negative emotions themselves reported higher peer competence. The study by Perez-Rivera and Dunsmore (2011) found that when mothers believed that preschool children can learn about emotions on their own, they seemed to develop a weaker ability to recognize emotions (Perez-Rivera & Dunsmore, 2011). Another belief that has been found to put emotional development at risk is the belief that children, whatever their age, should always be guided through their emotional world (Castro et al., 2015). When parents put high value on guiding children's emotions this negatively affected children's emotion recognition skills. However, in contrast to the study by Perez Rivera and Dunsmore (2011), children in the study of Castro et al. (2015) ranged from 8-11 years. The study by Castro et al. (2015) found that when children passed a certain age (third grade), they no longer tended to benefit from parental guidance through their emotional experiences. This suggests that the impact of emotion socialization on emotional development depends on the child's developmental phase.

Parental beliefs about emotions also affect children's psychosocial development. Wong et al. (2008) found that parents who minimize children's emotions put their children at a greater risk of developing lower social competence, increased use of avoidant coping styles and becoming more emotionally negative (Eisenberg et al., 1996; Fabes et al., 2002). On the other hand, when parents supported their child's emotional expressions, children were more likely to develop higher levels of emotional understanding (Fabes et al., 2002) and greater friendship quality (McElwain et al., 2007).

Parental beliefs about emotions have been found to relate to gender, where parents of boys seem to hold different beliefs than parents of girls. Nelson et al. (2012) found that African American mothers reported being less supportive of boys' displaying sadness and fear than of girls' expressing sadness and fear. The researchers argued that this might be due to African American mothers perceiving boys' expression of negative emotions (e.g. anger, sadness, or fear) as a sign of vulnerability and might threaten their child's possibility of success. Other studies have supported the idea that the gender of the child influences beliefs about emotions, where they showed that parents were more likely to support girls' expression of sadness than boys' expression of sadness (Cassano et al., 2007; Thomassin et al., 2019). Notably, the study of Thomassin et al. (2019) pointed out that parents also acknowledged their child's unique personality in emotional socialisation, not only the gender roles (e.g. that it is always unacceptable for boys to express emotions). The study of Cassano et al. (2007)

also highlighted that parents tended to believe it is more beneficial to use a problem-focused (i.e. try to help the child solve the problem) response to girls' expression of sadness than it is to boys' expression of sadness. The researchers discussed the fact that parents might uphold a belief that girls are more emotionally vulnerable than boys and are therefore in need of external help to overcome their sadness. On the other hand, the study of Halberstadt et al. (2008) found in their study of American parents no gender differences in beliefs about whether emotions are perceived as valuable or dangerous.

Up until today, only a few studies have been conducted to observe differences and similarities between mothers and fathers' beliefs about emotions. Dunsmore et al., (2009) found that mothers and fathers were quite similar in their beliefs about emotions. The study found no significant difference between mothers and fathers in the beliefs that emotions are dangerous, that it is important to guide children's emotions, nor in their experience of emotional intensity. Brown et al. (2015) supported this argument, but stated that the influence of gender on beliefs about emotions depends on cultural belonging. They found that although European American and African American mothers and fathers held similar beliefs about emotional expressions, Lumbee American fathers reported significantly greater levels of negative emotional expressions at home compared to mothers. As the authors argued, this difference might be due to the belief among Lumbee parents, that men should be encouraged to express negative emotions openly. In several studies mothers were found to be more accepting and encouraging towards children's expression of negative emotions compared to fathers, who are found to minimize children's expression of sadness more than mothers do (Cassano et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2008). Wong et al. (2008) argued that this is in line with the idea that women value emotional expression more than men. Several studies observing influential factors on parental beliefs about emotions have also outlined an interaction effect between gender of the parent and gender of the child (e.g. Cassano et al., 2007). Cassano et al. (2007) found in their research indications of parents having an advantage of understanding emotional behaviour when the child was of the same sex as themselves (i.e. fathers of sons, mothers of daughters). Compared to mothers, fathers were more likely to view their sons as inhibiting sadness, whilst mothers were more likely to view this with their daughters. The authors argued that this could be because parents recognize behaviour that is similar to their own behaviour as adults or which they recall using when they were at the age of the child. Combined, beliefs about emotions have been found to be directed by a complex interaction

dynamic between different factors. How are these beliefs about emotions understood across cultures? To explore this issue, we first shed light on the debate about emotions and culture.

Culture and Emotions

Cultural clusters are often characterised by language, religion, history, and shared values (Molina et al., 2014). They differ between geographical regions and change over time (Bilsky et al., 2011). Beliefs construct a foundation of cognitive interpretations, directing our attitudes about what to think and how to behave, while cultural values are argued to be long-lasting beliefs about what is important (Ajzen & Sexton, 1999). Cultural values influence emotional development (Capobianco et al., 2019) and have been shown to affect parenting style (Varela et al., 2004), emotional expressions (Matsumoto et al., 2008), cognitive emotional regulation (Potthoff et al., 2016), and children's development of Emotional Understanding (Fivush & Wang, 2005). Culture is therefore in the position of shaping the way we interact in numerous facets of human life. Some cultural studies claimed that the use of categories based on cultural dimensions can make cultural comparison more feasible (Hofstede, 2011; Bilsky et al., 2011).

Cultural Dimensions

Cultural dimensions aim to systematise and explain behavioural differences between nations, and observe numerous phenomena on national, organizational, and individual levels (Cronjé, 2011). The organisation and prevalence of specific values reflects people's cultural belonging and significantly influences our way of thinking and behaving (Bilsky et al., 2011; Fiske, 2002). However, it is important to keep in mind that culture is constantly changing, and even within the same culture there can be differences in people's interpretation of rules, values and practices (Hofstede, 2011; Molina et al., 2014). Several studies have shown interest in a minimal number of cultural dimensions, for example, comparing cultures high in collectivism (valuing membership of a group) to cultures high in individualism (valuing independency) (Fivush & Wang, 2005; Molina et al., 2014). Others use numerous dimensions when defining a cultural cluster (Bilsky et al., 2011; Hofstede, 2011). Bilsky et al. (2011) observed a European sample and identified nine different human values: universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction. Hofstede (2011), on the other hand, observed cultures all over the world and identified six dimensions of culture: Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism vs

Collectivism, Masculinity vs Femininity, Long vs Short Term Orientation, and Indulgence vs Restraint, all argued to be essential for a categorization of cultures.

There is no consensus regarding which cultural model is the most suitable for psychological research. In fact, numerous models have been developed, but only a few have been utilized extensively around the world (Signorini et al., 2009). The 6-D model of Hofstede (2011) has been translated and used in more than 50 countries (Hofstede et al., 2010). The dimensions appear in a continuous fashion and are used to categorize cultures by catching the trend of how people behave across countries (Hofstede, 2011). Based on these arguments, the Cultural Dimensions model of Hofstede is used in the present study. The core characteristics for the different dimensions are summarized in table 1.

Table 1

The Six cultural dimensions of Hofstede

| Cultural dimension | Characteristics |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Individualism vs. Collectivism | Individualism: independence, autonomy, expectancy of expressing your own mind and emotions. Collectivism: membership in a group, interdependency, expectancy of expressing emotions that keep harmony. |
| Masculinity vs. Femininity | Masculinity: gender differences in amount of caring behaviour. Women and girls should be more emotional. Higher levels of assertive and competitive behaviour among men and boys. Femininity: expressing emotions and being modest/caring among both women and men. |
| Power Distance | Level of equality, type of hierarchical power within an organisation. Large: older people are respected and feared, parents teach children obedience Small: child is equal, older people are neither respected nor feared. |
| Indulgence vs. Restraint | Indulgence: allow gratification of natural desires, related to enjoying life and having fun. Restraint: controls gratification of needs and regulates it by means of strict social norms. |
| Uncertainty Avoidance | High levels: minimize unstructured situations and emotional experiences, with strict behavioural codes, laws and rules, disapproval of deviant opinions. Low levels: accept and pursue novel, unstructured situations. |
| Long vs. short term orientation | Reflects cultural focus of the most important life events; They are occurring in the future vs happening now/before. |

Note: A summary of the six cultural dimensions adapted from Hofstede (2011).

Because the present study will focus on Norwegian and Russian parents, we illustrate the dimensions proposed by Hofstede (2011) by showing the cultural trends in these two countries. Figure 2 illustrates dimensional scores for Norway and Russia.

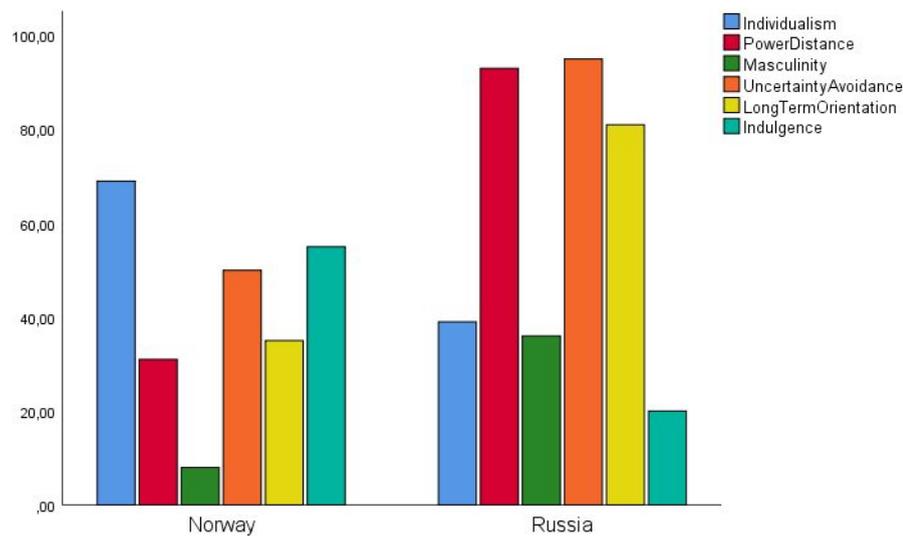


Figure 2. *Norway and Russia in the 6-D model based on the research of Hofstede et al. (2010)*

The 6-D categorisation model indicated for example that Russian people score higher on the dimension of Power distance compared to Norwegian people (Hofstede et al., 2010). Russians are thus more likely to believe that hierarchy should be respected and inequalities amongst people are acceptable. Another example is the dimension of Masculinity, where Norway scored significantly lower than Russians. A low score is associated with a belief in sympathy for the underdog and that one should always support each other. A last example of the differences between Russia and Norway is illustrated by the dimension called Indulgence. Russian people were found to score exceptionally low on this dimension compared to Norwegian people (Hofstede et al., 2010). A low score indicates a tendency to be more pessimistic with a perception that their actions are restrained by social norms – indulging themselves therefore seems wrong (Hofstede, 2011).

Although individual differences exist within a specific culture, due for example to individual temperament and personal history, cultural belonging has a strong impact on shaping who we are (Bedford & Hwang, 2003). In fact, it has been found that different cultural values create discrepancies in people's perception of the world (Nisbett et al., 2001).

Thus, to what extent do cultural values determine our experience and understanding of emotions?

The Impact of Culture on Emotional Development

In this section, we explore the extent to which culture seems to impact different aspects of emotional development; emotional experience and emotional understanding.

Emotional Experience. Although recent studies have questioned the theory that humans all over the world have the same basic emotions (BE Theory) (see Crivelli & Fridlund, 2019 for a review), research has found robust evidence for similarities in the way humans experience and express emotions across cultures, indicating, for example, that the expression of the six basic emotions (anger, fear, disgust, happiness, sadness and surprise) are to some degree universal (Ekman, 2016; Ekman et al., 1969). Benitez-Garcia et al. (2018) found in their study of East-Asian and Western participants that four of the six basic emotions (happiness, anger, sadness and surprise) were recognized across cultures, while disgust and fear were culture specific. Research has also indicated that children's development of emotional regulation skills is to some degree universal as the age-related changes in emotional regulation strategies seem to be present across cultures (Zelman et al., 2006). Differences between boys and girls are also found to be similar across countries (Ghanaian, Kenyan, & American) where girls reported more control over anger whereas boys reported more control over sadness expression (Morelen et al., 2012).

Nonetheless, emotional experience also seems to differ across cultures. The way one interprets emotional events is often based on cultural norms, ideals, and goals, and these can be referred to as a 'cultural mandate' (Mesquita et al., 2016; Mesquita et al., 2017). Cultural mandates correspond to a shared reality that gives direction to emotions. For example, Mesquita et al. (2017) found in their study that when an emotion corresponded with the cultural mandate, people were more likely to give attention to that emotion; whereas when emotions went against the cultural mandate, people were more likely to suppress those emotions. Additionally, emotions that help achieve socially valued outcomes are found to be more frequent and intense while emotions that do not support the cultural mandate in a culture are found to be infrequent and less intense (Lim, 2016; Mesquita et al., 2017). For instance, research has found that in the US people appeared to experience anger more intensely when compared to people from Japan. Anger is an emotion that helps people get what they want - an outcome that is in line with the cultural mandate of autonomy and self-assertion in the US,

but violates the Japanese cultural mandate of relational harmony (Kitayama et al., 2006). The study by Lim (2016) also found that Eastern more collectivistic cultures tended to experience lower emotional arousal in line with their cultural mandate to adjust to other people (Tsai, 2007). While Western, more individualistic cultures tended to experience higher emotional arousal in line with their cultural mandate to influence other people (Lim, 2016).

Cultural differences related to expression of social and moral emotions, such as gratitude, pride, shame, anger, sadness and guilt, have also been found (Sznycer & Lukaszewski, 2019). Social emotions are hypothesized to be evolutionary adaptations to deal with the challenges of survival based on dependency (Sznycer & Lukaszewski, 2019). For example, pride can motivate academic achievement or anger can provoke seeking better treatment in for example situations that are unfair (Sznycer & Lukaszewski, 2019). Sznycer and Lukaszewski (2019) argued that there is a connection between values in the local community and the experience of different social emotions.

Considering that emotion expression is modulated via emotional regulation strategies, culture seems to also influence emotional regulation (Deng et al., 2013). In accordance with cultural differences regarding emotional arousal, people from East Asian countries implicitly evaluated emotional control as more positive and they adjusted emotions more often to adapt to social norms compared to people from Western countries (Deng et al., 2019; Wei et al., 2013). In contrast, European Americans perceived emotional control as something related to negative psychological functioning (Soto et al., 2011).

Emotional Understanding. The previously mentioned hierarchical organisation of children's development of emotional understanding has been found to be present across different cultures (see Pons & Harris, 2019 for review). For example, Molina et al. (2014) found similarities between Italian and German children with respect to the hierarchical development of the components underlying emotional understanding. This was supported by Tang et al. (2018), who presented similar findings for Chinese, German, British and Italian children. Both studies also found this hierarchical development to be similar for boys and girls across these cultures. However, cultural belonging has been found to affect children's level of competence within specific components of emotional understanding. For example, Italian children were found to develop the ability to understand the distinction between real and apparent emotions earlier than German children. This was discussed to be a result of cultural differences in level of interdependency (Molina et al., 2014). The study of Tang et al. (2018)

showed that Italian and Chinese children, living in cultures higher in collectivism, found it more difficult to understand the impact of reminders on emotions but easier to understand the distinction between real and apparent emotions. In contrast, the two more individualistic cultures - Britain and Germany, displayed a reversed pattern for the same components. The study discussed the notion that in the more individualistic countries, people express emotions more freely compared to the more collectivistic cultures, where people strive to maintain group harmony and children may be expected to hide their feelings.

Although there have been some contradicting results and a lack of studies on the impact of culture on emotional development, the current findings suggest that emotional experiences and emotional understanding are influenced by cultural belonging. Considering that parental beliefs guide the way parents interpret and experience emotional events in the family, it is therefore relevant to explore how culture shapes parental beliefs about emotions, which is the core aspect investigated in this thesis.

Parental Beliefs About Emotions Across Cultures

Although previous studies have illustrated the importance of culture on emotional development, the majority of studies on beliefs about emotions has been conducted in western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic (WEIRD) countries and must thus be interpreted with caution (Jones, 2010). When it comes to understanding the impact of emotional beliefs, it is important to acknowledge that similar beliefs can have different consequences in different cultural environments. It might thus be most beneficial for children to be socialized in accordance with the cultural context they live in (Denham, 2018; Hastings, 2018). In this section we therefore focus on studies outlining higher cultural diversity in terms of beliefs about emotions.

Cultural belonging seems able to inform us about parental beliefs, the acceptance of children's emotional expression and values concerning children's emotions. For example, Parker et al. (2012) showed that Indian American parents found it important to not express anger in front of their children. African American and European American parents, on the other hand, believed that children should be exposed to some level of adult conflict. They outlined that when children observe discussions, they learn how to better handle discussions themselves (Parker et al., 2012). The study also found that European American and African American parents believed that it is important to give their children time to themselves when they experience emotional events. They believed that children will eventually seek help when

needed. Indian American parents, on the other hand, believed it was important to know how their children are always feeling, this is to better understand how to help them (Parker et al., 2012). Lastly, European American, and Indian American parents believed that emotional expressions should be restricted in situations where they can be harmful to other people. A study by Raval et al. (2013) found that, compared to Indian mothers, American mothers reported significantly more sympathy towards their children's expression of anger and sadness. American mothers were also more likely to state that it is important to accept and encourage the expression of anger and sadness. Researchers argued that this might be due to the fact that American mothers are more likely to support children being autonomous.

Perez Rivera & Dunsmore (2011) showed that the degree of acculturation or enculturation influenced mothers' beliefs about children's emotions. Acculturation is the adaptation foreigners make to a new culture (e.g. adapting new sets of beliefs, relearning interpretations of symbols and letting go of old traditions) (Burnam et al., 1987), and enculturation is defined as the process through which an individual is determined to retain his or her original cultural belonging (Davidson & Cardemil, 2009). The study found that mothers with a greater Latino enculturation were more often found to believe that it was their responsibility to guide their children's emotions than more Anglo-accultured mothers. The researchers argued that this might be due to the low tolerance of uncertainty in Latino cultures (Hofstede et al., 2010). Additionally, more Anglo-accultured mothers were found to be less likely to believe that emotions are dangerous when compared to mothers higher in Latino-enculturation (Perez Rivera & Dunsmore, 2011). In sum, it is clear that parental beliefs about emotions depend to some degree on cultural belonging, and in the next section we will further explore how these beliefs are assessed.

The Assessment of Parental Beliefs About Emotions

There is a complex dynamic between parenting practices, globalization, expectations from the local community and research bias to consider when developing strategies to collect data across the world. Are today's existing measurements of parental beliefs about emotions able to assess relevant categories that tap parents' emotional beliefs across cultures?

Different approaches have been used to assess parental beliefs about emotions across cultures. For instance, some studies focused on in-depth group-interviews, talking to parents from different ethnic groups (African American, Indian American, and European American) (Parker et al., 2012). This type of approach manages to collect detailed information, however,

it lacks the ability to collect data in large samples and might therefore not be found to be generalisable. For example, in the study by Parker et al. (2012), the researchers outlined that they did not reach enough fathers. Secondly, the study included only three different ethnic groups, all English-speaking parents living in the USA. Many cultures around the world would not be covered by these ethnic groups. Lastly, the lack of anonymity in this type of approach might cause a social desirability bias in the responses. Other studies have tried to accommodate these limitations by developing questionnaires (Dunsmore & Karn, 2001; Halberstadt et al., 2013). Halberstadt et al. (2013) have managed to reach a significantly larger sample. However, their development of the 'beliefs about emotions' questionnaire also lacked cultural diversity, as they based their questionnaire on the previous study of Parker et al. (2012) in addition to an unpublished questionnaire (Halberstadt et al., 2013). This underlines a need for a questionnaire that builds on previous, cultural research, which might be in a better position to enhance the cultural knowledge needed to compare countries on beliefs about emotions. In addition, the questionnaire of Halberstadt et al. (2013) contains general statements (e.g. Children can control their emotions) for parents to agree or disagree with. As Peng et al. (1997) pointed out, general questions like this might challenge the validity of the questionnaire. Where they are likely to be interpreted differently across cultures. For example, when asked whether children can control their feelings, parents will interpret this question in their cultural context. As previously discussed, Deng et al. (2019) found that people from China valued emotional control more highly than to European Americans. European American parents might judge their children's emotional control to be sufficient in their cultural context. A Chinese parent might think otherwise, coming from a culture with higher expectations of emotional control. To overcome the issue of questions being interpreted differently, Peng et al. (1997) suggested using contextualized questions. By using contextualised questions, it is not up to the participant to give meaning to abstract concepts, they would only be asked about behavioural preferences.

Cultural comparison in relation to emotional beliefs is difficult because, among other things, there is a lack of a tool to measure these beliefs across cultures. The main goal of the present study was to develop a questionnaire based on the Cultural Dimensions of Hofstede and connect them to beliefs about emotions in specific contexts.

The Present Study

Cultural beliefs about emotions have been shown to affect parental practices, and influence children's emotional development, both in terms of experience and understanding of emotions. How these beliefs about emotions differ between fathers and mothers and across countries have been studied to some degree (e.g. Halberstadt et al., 2013; McElwain et al., 2007). However, research has not yet been able to measure, to any large extent, parental beliefs about emotions in a way that includes a wider range of cultural dimensions. The present study aimed to develop a questionnaire, based on the cultural dimensions of Hofstede (2011), that assesses beliefs about emotions using questions that are sufficiently contextualized. The six dimensions of Hofstede reflect a century of cross-cultural research and applying these cultural dimensions might enhance the ability to create a questionnaire that takes a wide range of cultural values into consideration. A better insight into parental beliefs about emotions across cultures might enhance the knowledge about the influential role of children's most significant microsystem (caregivers) and their emotional development.

Thus, the present study aimed to develop a questionnaire that assesses parental beliefs about emotions based on extensive cultural and developmental literature, and to investigate how culture influences these beliefs in Russia and Norway. The study focused on a within-culture approach among Norwegian parents, and a cross-cultural approach between Norwegian and Russian parents. In light of the previous mentioned arguments and empirical evidence, the hypotheses of this study were:

H1 - No significant differences within Norway: In general, the first hypothesis was that in Norway parental beliefs about emotions were not related to gender. We did not expect any significant discrepancies based on gender due to Norway being a country extremely low on masculinity, practicing strong values of gender equality (Hofstede et al., 2010). More specifically, and based on previous research, we expected beliefs about children's development of emotional competencies not to be influenced by (*H1a*) gender of the child nor by (*H1b*) gender of the parents. We also expected beliefs about emotions related to cultural dimensions to not depend on (*H1c*) gender of the child nor (*H1d*) gender of the parents.

H2 - Significant difference between Norway and Russia: In general, the second hypothesis was that parental beliefs about emotions would be related to cultural belonging. More specifically, (*H2a*) we expected beliefs about children's development of emotional competencies to differ between Russian and Norwegian parents due to cultural specific

development of emotional competencies (Molina et al., 2014; Tang et al., 2018). For example, Russia and Norway have been shown to differ in beliefs related to Individualism (e.g. seeking to see your child to be independent and learn to handle emotions on their own) and Uncertainty Avoidance (avoiding situations creating mixed emotions)(Hofstede et al., 2011). Additionally, (H2b) we expected parental beliefs about emotions related to cultural dimensions to differ between Norwegian and Russian parents, due to their different scores within the Cultural Dimensions of Hofstede et al. (2010). Lastly, because previous studies showed gender differences in parental beliefs and due to Norway's and Russia's different scores on Masculinity (Hofstede et al., 2010), (H2c) we expected the effect of gender of the child and gender of the parent to depend on cultural belonging.

Results from the present study might contribute to the development of culturally adapted interventions, aimed to enhance parental awareness and understanding of emotions. Culturally adapted interventions related to emotions are argued to be more effective than those which are not (Collins et al., 2004; Garner et al., 2014). The questionnaire might also guide practitioners when trying to understand parents with different cultural backgrounds. In this way these results can contribute to support a positive development of children's emotional competencies.

Methods

This study has been conducted in collaboration with the Faculty of Psychology at Lomonosov Moscow State University (MSU) as part of the project “Psychology as Bridge Between Norway and Russia” coordinated by Professor Francisco Pons (UiO) and Professor Aleksander Veraksa (MSU). The data collection was carried out in 2019-2020 in Oslo, Norway and Moscow, Russia. The authors of this thesis were responsible for creating the questionnaire, collecting data in Oslo, Norway and worked as collaborators in the data collection in Moscow, Russia. In addition, both authors of the thesis went to Moscow in July 2019 to meet students and professors who were collaborators in the project, thereby strengthening research partnership and enhancing the quality of the questionnaire developed and used in the present study.

Ethical Considerations

This research collected personal information related to the child's and the parent's age, gender, and country of origin. Therefore, the project required an approval from NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata. Schools and participants were contacted after we got the ethical approval from NSD. Ethical approval for testing in Russia was collected by our Russian colleagues in accordance with local guidelines.

Following the NSD guidelines, the questionnaire contained an opening page with information about the project and contact information of the researchers in charge of data collection. This first page informed the parents that participation was voluntary and anonymous, and that the participants were free to withdraw from the study at any time before the answers were submitted without any negative consequences for the participant. Participants were also informed that all data would be deleted at the end of the research project. Following this information, parents were asked to tick a box if they agreed to participate in the study. See appendix A for complete consent form.

Participants

Sample size was estimated with G*Power 3.1.9.4. based on 1 degree of freedom to detect medium to large effects ($f = .15$) at power (0.8) and $\alpha = .05$ to run the main analyses. We did not reach the desired sample size of 351 due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The sample was composed of 300 parents of children aged between 5 to 10 years, 195 from Norway and 105 from Russia. This number of participants is however in line with other similar studies (Bowie et al., 2013; Raval et al., 2013). The parents were recruited through the head of primary schools, head of kindergarten (In Russia children stay in kindergarten until the age of 7), and the parent council's working committee in Oslo, Norway and in Moscow, Russia.

In Norway, a list of all primary schools in Oslo was printed. It was then decided to exclude all schools in areas (neighbourhoods) with more than 50% inhabitants of foreign background. It was done due to the cultural influence this might have on parental beliefs about emotions. This exclusion was based on Perez Rivera and Dunsmore (2011), which states that people moving to another country show different levels of enculturation and this influences maternal beliefs about emotions. By foreign people, we considered people born outside of Norway or people who have parents born abroad. For this exclusion criteria we

used recent data from Statistisk Sentralbyrå¹ (“05752: Innvandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre, etter region, landbakgrunn, statistikkvariabel og år. Statistikkbanken”, n.d.). We also excluded schools for children with disabilities due to the possible effect the distinct family environment has on beliefs about emotions (Reichman et al., 2008). In total, 75 Norwegian schools were contacted. Due to few responses from the school administrations, several parent representatives were also contacted. In Moscow, no exclusion criteria were applied based on foreign cultural background, due to low levels of immigration. Schools for disabled children were also excluded from the Russian sample. The selected kindergartens in Moscow were all in middle-class areas which is also congruent with the overall socioeconomic status of the participants in Norway. Approximately 500-600 Russian parents received the questionnaire through the head of kindergartens.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics

| | Norway | Russia |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Education | | |
| University Degree | 91.3% | 82.9% |
| High School | 7.7% | 17.1% |
| Elementary School | 1% | 0% |
| Native Language | | |
| Norwegian/Russian | 87% | 100% |
| Other | 13% ^a | 0% |
| Participants with other country of origin: | 4 ^b | 0 |
| Child age range (M/SD) | 6-10 (7.61/1.08) | 4-8 (5.8/0.71) |
| Child Gender | 91 girls, 104 boys | 59 girls, 46 boys |
| Parent gender | 152 Mothers, 43 Fathers | 99 Mothers, 6 Fathers |

^aLanguages represented from most to least frequent: Swedish, English, Portuguese, French, German, Urdu, Serbian, Persian, Spanish, Finish, Arabic, Czech, Tagalog, and Pakistani

^bCountry of origin other than Norwegian (for both participant and partner): Bosnian, Pakistani, Tunisian, Czech

¹ The central institution for the collection, processing and dissemination of official statistics in Norway

The total sample consists of 251 (83.6 %) females and 49 (16.3 %) males. Their age ranged from 26-64 years ($M = 39.31$; $SD = 6.48$). Our aim was to reach a more equal distribution of men and women. The reason why there was a skewness in our sample may be due to several factors, but one might be that mothers are found to be more actively involved in the child's academic activities (Fletcher & Silberberg, 2006) and might thus be the ones receiving the questionnaire. The distribution of the sample per country can be found in table 2.

Materials

Development of the Questionnaire

The *Parental Beliefs about Emotions Questionnaire (PBEQ)* was developed by the two master students writing this thesis in collaboration with the supervisors, Research Fellow Karine Viana and Professor Francisco Pons. The development of the questionnaire was built on theoretical and empirical literature on Emotional Development (e.g., Halberstadt & Lozada, 2011; Saarni & Crowel, 1997), Emotional Understanding (e.g., Pons et al., 2004; Tang et al., 2018), Culture (e.g., Bilsky et al., 2011; Hofstede, 2011) and previous instruments assessing emotional beliefs (Dunsmore, & Karn, 2001; Halberstadt et al., 2013). In this process, clusters of different types of questions (e.g., general or contextualized; emotional expression of children or of parents etc.), and ways of framing the questions (e.g., “how do you respond” or “do you believe”, etc.) were discussed. In order to allow discussion and feedback from parents and experts from different cultural backgrounds, the first edition of the questionnaire was developed in English and it contained 49 questions. The questionnaire was reviewed through in-depth discussions with parents from Tsjetsjenia, Norway, The Netherlands and Lebanon. The changes and improvements in the questionnaire were also based on discussions with the supervisors and several other experts. Meetings with Clinical Psychologist Judith van der Weele (specialized in culture) focused on creating a questionnaire also appropriate for clinical settings. Meetings with professor in Anthropology Alan Fiske focused on capturing the great variety of culture. Professor Emeritus John Berry and Professor Paul Harris shared their thoughts on important issues and had some literature recommendations for developing the questionnaire.

In this phase of the study, the two master students went to Moscow to meet with students and professors from Lomonosov Moscow State University who would collect data in

Russia. The questionnaire was then further discussed with the Russian collaborators. Aiming to capture a vast variety of cultural inputs, several meetings with a group of international master, bachelor and PhD students took place in Oslo during August 2019 to discuss and improve the questionnaire. The countries represented were Russia, China, Brazil, Japan, Spain and Norway. In the final phase, the questionnaire was translated into Norwegian and three different pilots were conducted: two of them were in English and one in Norwegian. All three pilot studies were conducted with people within the master students' own network. In total, 17 people of diverse ethnic backgrounds (both parents and non-parents) participated in the pilot-studies. Some last changes were made before final translation to Norwegian and Russian was carried out.

The Final Version of the Parental Beliefs About Emotions Questionnaire (PBEQ)

The final version of the questionnaire has 22 questions organized in three categories and is parent-directed. The complete questionnaire can be found in Appendix B. The first category is based on literature about the development of Emotional Competencies and the Test of Emotion Comprehension (Pons & Harris, 2019; Pons et al., 2004; Saarni, 1999; Tang et al., 2018) and assesses parental beliefs about when their child develops certain emotional competencies (e.g., recognition of emotional facial expressions). The second and main part is arranged around the six cultural dimensions of Hofstede (2011): (a) Individualism vs Collectivism; (b) Power Distance; (c) Masculinity vs Femininity; (d) Long Term Orientation; (e) Indulgence vs Restraint; and (f) Uncertainty Avoidance. Two to three questions for each dimension, with several following statements, were created for all six dimensions (in total 64 statements). This part is structured as a scale to capture the nuances and complexity of cultural phenomena. The final question is about parental desires for children and is based on cultural values and beliefs in a more general way compared to the questions arranged around the Hofstede dimensions. When answering questions regarding values and beliefs about children's emotions, the parents were asked to specifically keep their child of 4-10 years in focus.

The questionnaire was originally created in English and it was subsequently translated to Norwegian by the two master students, Maiken Gjøen and Anine Gundersen, and to Russian by Margaritha Gavrilova and Ksenia Fomina, all native speakers of their respective languages. The Norwegian version was translated into two independent versions, compared,

and back translated by a colleague. For the Russian version, two independent translations were done, then again compared, and revised by Postdoctoral fellow Natalia Kartushina.

The demographic information requested about the parents included age, gender, area of upbringing, mother tongue, area of residence, level of education, professional occupation, and shared custody. The same demographic questions were asked for the partner if the participant stated yes to the question about shared custody (due to the possible influence of sharing custody with someone from a different cultural background). In addition, parents were asked about the child's age and gender. Due to ethical guidelines in Russia, participants were not asked if they share custody with another partner. After data collection, the Russian data was exported from Russia to researchers in Oslo through an Excel file.

Procedure and Scoring

The questionnaire was conducted online in Nettskjema in Norway and Google Forms in Russia. A link to the online questionnaire was sent out to the parents through the head of school, head of kindergarten or parent representatives. The first four questions related to the beliefs about development of emotional competencies were open; parents were asked to write any number, indicating the age they think their child would develop the emotional competence in target, or “I do not know”. Participants stating “I do not know” or an unspecified age (e.g. kindergarten age) were excluded from the analysis. Missing values varied from 17 to 21 between the four questions.

For the second section of the questionnaire, each of the six dimensions were assessed through two or three questions; for each question there were two to five underlying statements in which participants responded using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (“Strongly disagree”) to 5 (“Strongly agree”). To create a dimension score for each of the six cultural dimensions, basic rules were used. The first step was to re-code all statements of reversed influence on the dimension (i.e., 5 = 1, 4 = 2, 3 = 3, 2 = 4, 1 = 5). We also excluded from the calculation of the dimension scores statements that did not measure beliefs relevant to that specific dimension. One example of such a statement is that one should pray with the child when the child sees a picture of his/her pet that died and starts feeling sad. The characteristics of the Long Term Orientation dimension of Hofstede does not mention religion, we did however acknowledge the importance people might see in approaching a god when faced with grief. We thus included this question to represent a wider cultural perspective for this question. This way we

try to prevent participants perceiving the questionnaire as not relevant for their culture. The criteria to reverse or exclude statements were thus mainly based on previous research (e.g. Hofstede, 2011). In the second step, an average score for every question was calculated by summing up the score of each statement and then dividing the sum by the total amount of statements included in that question. Then, for each dimension, the mean score for all questions were summed up and divided by the amount of questions (two or three) to create mean scores for each of the six cultural dimensions. The dimension score for each dimension is presented as a number between 1 and 5 and indicates whether parents of a group are more likely to agree or disagree with the beliefs underlying a dimension. As with the dimensional categorisation of cultures proposed by Hofstede (2011), results are interpreted by comparing dimension scores between different groups (e.g. mothers and fathers; Russian and Norwegian parents). For the last question in the PBEQ, parents were asked to pick their top three choices in a list of eight future desires for their child (e.g. being healthy, being happy). Participants ticked the box for the three desires of most value to them.

Statistical Analysis

SPSS Statistics 26.0 was used for all analyses in the current study. The main analysis of the study was based on Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) as it assessed the impact of three independent variables (gender of the parent, gender of the child and cultural belonging) on one dependent variable (Parental Beliefs about Emotions). Analysis of variance is based on the mean scores for comparisons and determination of within and between variances and it is thus relevant for this study. We used an alpha level of .05 for all statistical tests. To determine the effect size partial eta squared (n^2_{partial}) was used (small $n^2_{\text{partial}} = .010$, medium $n^2_{\text{partial}} = .060$, large $n^2_{\text{partial}} = .140$) (van den Berg, 2020). To answer the research hypotheses, the main analyses were carried out in two sections: (1) within country (Norway), and (2) between countries (Norway vs. Russia). In all performed ANOVA, main effects and interaction effects between independent variables were assessed.

For the first part, a two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of gender of the child and gender of the parent on parental beliefs about children's development of emotional competencies in Norway. In the next step, a two-way ANOVA was conducted for assessing the effect of gender of the child and gender of the parent on each of the six cultural dimensions within Norway.

In the second part, a two-way ANOVA was performed to test the effect of culture and gender of the child on parental beliefs about children's development of emotional competencies. For the beliefs related to cultural dimensions a two-way ANOVA was used to examine the effect of culture and gender of the child, first on the dimension score then on all underlying statements. One question was not included in the Russian online version of the questionnaire, due to a misunderstanding between research collaborators. This question (about allowing expression of anger in different situations) was therefore excluded in the calculation of overall scores for the dimension Indulgence. Analysis was based on 21 questions, not 22 which is the number of questions in the original version of the PBEQ. The intended exploration of the effect of gender of parents across countries was not conducted due to the extremely low participation rate among fathers in Russia.

For the last question, descriptive statistics were run to observe the cultural trends for parental beliefs about desires for children.

Results

The results are presented in two main sections: 1) similarities and differences in parental beliefs about children's emotions within Norway; and 2) similarities and differences in parental beliefs about emotion between Russia and Norway. Lastly, we will present cultural trends of parental desires for their children.

Beliefs About Emotions Within Norway

To test our first hypothesis about within culture differences among Norwegian parents, we divided this section into two parts: 1) the effect of gender of the child and gender of the parents on parental beliefs about children's development of emotional competencies; and 2) the effect of gender of the child and gender of the parent on parental beliefs related to the 6-D model of Hofstede.

Parental Beliefs About the Development of Children's Emotional Competencies

A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of gender of the child and gender of the parents on parental beliefs about the development of children's emotional competencies. The results from ANOVA are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Parental beliefs about children's age when developing emotional competencies in Norway

| Ability | Gender of the Child | | | | | Gender of the Parent | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| | n _{girl} | n _{boy} | Girls (SD) | Boys (SD) | Sig. | n _{mother} | n _{father} | Mother (SD) | Father (SD) | Sig. |
| Mixed Emotions | 82 | 93 | 3.50 (2.51) | 2.80 (2.21) | .063 | 135 | 40 | 2.91 (2.27) | 3.86 (2.61) | .035* |
| Recognize Emotions | 85 | 93 | 2.17 (2.19) | 1.74 (2.04) | .081 | 138 | 40 | 1.75 (1.98) | 2.61 (2.46) | .030* |
| Hide Emotions | 84 | 90 | 5.65 (2.92) | 5.36 (2.85) | .259 | 135 | 39 | 5.42 (2.84) | 5.78 (3.03) | .544 |
| Regulate Emotions | 86 | 88 | 6.58 (3.49) | 7.81 (4.62) | .016* | 135 | 39 | 7.00 (4.04) | 7.90 (4.41) | .143 |

Note: parent's response in age provided in years

* $p < 0.05$

Results indicated a significant small main effect of gender of the parent on their beliefs about children's ability to recognize emotions ($F(1, 178) = 4.79, p = .030, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .027$) and on their ability to experience two feelings at the same time (mixed emotions) ($F(1, 175) = 4.49, p = .035, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .026$). Compared to Norwegian mothers ($M = 1.75, SD = 1.98$), Norwegian fathers ($M = 2.61, SD = 2.20$) tended to believe that their children are able to recognize emotions at a later age. The same pattern was found for the ability to experience two feelings at the same time ($M_{\text{Mothers}} = 2.91, SD_{\text{Mothers}} = 2.27; M_{\text{Fathers}} = 3.86, SD_{\text{Fathers}} = 2.61$).

A significant small main effect of gender of the child was also found on parental beliefs about children's ability to regulate emotions ($F(1, 174) = 5.96, p = .016, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .034$). Compared to parents of boys ($M = 7.81, SD = 4.62$), parents of girls ($M = 6.65, SD = 3.49$) tended to believe that their child develops the ability to regulate emotions at an earlier age.

No interaction effect between gender of the parent and gender of the child was found for any of the four emotional competences addressed in the questionnaire.

Beliefs About Emotions Related to Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions

A two-way ANOVA was conducted for each of the six cultural dimensions to examine the effect of gender of the child and gender of the parent on parental beliefs about emotions. These results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4
Parental dimension scores in Norway

| Dimension | Gender of parent | | | | | Gender of child | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------|
| | Mother (<i>SD</i>) | Father (<i>SD</i>) | <i>F</i> (1) | η^2 partial | Sig. | Girl (<i>SD</i>) | Boy (<i>SD</i>) | <i>F</i> (1) | η^2 partial | Sig. |
| Individualism | 3.47 (0.41) | 3.32 (0.47) | 3.95 | .020 | .048* | 3.39 (0.48) | 3.49 (0.37) | 3.24 | .017 | .073 |
| Power Distance | 1.91 (0.40) | 2.00 (0.32) | 2.77 | .014 | .097 | 1.88 (0.36) | 1.96 (0.40) | 5.02 | .026 | .026* |
| Masculinity | 1.74 (.52) | 1.97 (0.51) | 6.17 | .031 | .014* | 1.85 (0.50) | 1.74 (0.55) | 0.02 | .000 | .887 |
| Uncertainty Avoidance | 3.81 (0.37) | 3.69 (0.44) | 3.94 | .020 | .049* | 3.83 (0.41) | 3.75 (0.36) | 2.91 | .015 | .089 |
| Long Term Orientation | 2.65 (0.31) | 2.81 (0.36) | 7.44 | .037 | .007* | 2.72 (0.32) | 2.67 (0.32) | 0.49 | .003 | .484 |
| Indulgence | 3.68 (0.36) | 3.56 (0.39) | 3.44 | .018 | .065 | 3.63 (0.39) | 3.67 (0.36) | 0.20 | .001 | .664 |

* $p < .05$

Individualism vs. Collectivism. As shown in Table 4, there was a significant small main effect of gender of the parent on the overall score of Individualism ($F(1, 195) = 3.95, p = .048, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .020$). Compared to mothers ($M = 3.47, SD = 0.41$), Norwegian fathers ($M = 3.32, SD = 0.47$) tended to agree less with an individualistic way of thinking with regards to emotions (e.g. beliefs that their child should be more autonomous and express one's own emotions at all times). No significant interaction effect of gender of the child and gender of the parents was found for this cultural dimension.

Power Distance. Table 4 shows that there was a significant small main effect of gender of the child on parental beliefs about emotions related to Power Distance ($F(1,195) = 5.02, p = .026, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .026$). Compared to parents of girls ($M = 1.88, SD = 0.36$), Norwegian parents of boys ($M = 1.97, SD = 0.39$) tended to agree more with Power distant beliefs with regards to emotions (e.g. valuing respect towards elders and that inequalities are accepted). No significant interaction effect of gender of the child and gender of the parents was found for this cultural dimension.

Masculinity vs. Femininity. As shown in table 4, a significant small main effect of gender of the parent on overall score for Masculinity ($F(1,195) = 6.17, p = .014, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .031$) was found. Norwegian fathers ($M = 1.97, SD = 0.51$) tended to agree more with beliefs about emotions related to masculinity compared to Norwegian mothers ($M = 1.74, SD = 0.52$). (e.g. beliefs that there are emotional differences between females and males). There was no interaction effect between gender of the child and gender of the parents for this dimension.

Uncertainty Avoidance. Results indicated a significant small main effect of gender of the parent on the overall score of this dimension ($F(1,195) = 3.94, p = .049, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .020$). Compared to fathers ($M = 3.69, SD = 0.44$), Norwegian mothers ($M = 3.81, SD = 0.37$) tended to agree more with emotional beliefs related to uncertainty avoidance (e.g. value avoiding emotional uncertainty and ambiguity). No significant interaction effect of gender of the child and gender of the parents was found.

Long Term Orientation. A significant small to medium main effect of gender of the parent on beliefs about emotions related to the cultural dimension of Long term Orientation was found ($F(1,195) = 7.44, p = .007, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .037$). Compared to mothers ($M = 2.65, SD = 0.31$), Norwegian fathers ($M = 2.81, SD = 0.36$) tended to agree more strongly with emotional beliefs related to a Long Term Oriented way of thinking (e.g. valuing traditions and to not focus on past emotional events). No significant interaction effect of gender of the child and gender of the parents was found.

Indulgence vs. Restraint. For the overall score of this dimension, there were no significant main effects of gender of the parents, gender of the child nor interaction effect between these two variables.

Beliefs About Emotions Across Norway and Russia

To test our second hypothesis about the cross cultural differences between Norwegian and Russian parents, we divided this section into two parts: 1) the effect of cultural belonging and gender of the child on parental beliefs about children's emotional development; and 2) the effect of cultural belonging and gender of the child on parental beliefs related to Hofstede's cultural dimension.

Parental Beliefs About the Development of Children's Emotional Competence

To answer the second hypothesis, a Two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of cultural belonging and gender of the child on parental beliefs about children's development of emotional competencies. Results are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Parental beliefs about children's age when developing emotional competencies

| Ability | Cultural belonging | | | | | Gender of the child | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|-------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|------|
| | n _{Russia} | n _{Norway} | Russia (SD) | Norway (SD) | Sig. | n _{girl} | n _{boy} | Girls (SD) | Boys (SD) | Sig. |
| Recognize Emotions | 105 | 178 | 2.68 (1.69) | 1.94 (2.12) | .002* | 144 | 139 | 2.33 (2.04) | 2.10 (1.96) | .705 |
| Mixed Emotions | 105 | 175 | 4.76 (5.67) | 3.13 (2.38) | .001* | 141 | 139 | 3.74 (2.29) | 3.75 (5.23) | .372 |
| Hide Emotions | 105 | 174 | 6.13 (2.66) | 5.50 (2.88) | .055 | 143 | 136 | 5.72 (2.76) | 5.76 (2.88) | .529 |
| Regulate Emotions | 105 | 174 | 7.89 (4.48) | 7.20 (4.13) | .121 | 145 | 134 | 6.76 (3.43) | 8.23 (4.94) | .002 |

Note: Age provided in years

* $p < 0.05$

Results indicated significant small main effects of culture on parental beliefs about when children learn to recognize emotions ($F(1) = 9.39, p = .002, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .033$), as well as when they are able to experience two emotions at the same time ($F(1) = 12.32, p = .001, \eta^2 = .043$). Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 1.94, SD = 2.12$), Russian parents ($M = 2.68, SD = 1.69$) tended to believe that children develop the ability to recognize emotions at a later age. Russian parents ($M = 4.76, SD = 5.68$) also tended to believe that their child develops the ability to experience two feelings at the same time at a later age compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 3.13, SD = 2.38$). We also found a significant small main effect of gender of the child on the belief about when children develop the ability to regulate emotions ($F(1) = 9.60, p = .002, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .034$). Across countries, parents of boys ($M = 8.23, SD = 4.93$) tended to believe that their child develops the ability to regulate emotions later than parents of girls ($M = 6.76, SD = 3.42$). No significant interaction effect was found between culture and gender of the child for any of the four emotional competencies.

Beliefs About Emotions Related to Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions

A two-way ANOVA was conducted for each cultural dimension to examine the effect of cultural belonging and gender of the child on parental beliefs about emotions. Main results are summarized in table 6. Results for all six dimensions will first present the dimension score followed by in-depth analysis of all related statements.

Table 6
Cross country parental dimension scores

| Dimension | Cultural belonging | | | | | Gender of child | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------|
| | Norway (<i>SD</i>) | Russia (<i>SD</i>) | <i>F</i> (1) | η^2 partial | Sig. | Girl (<i>SD</i>) | Boy (<i>SD</i>) | <i>F</i> (1) | η^2 partial | Sig. |
| Individualism | 3.44 (0.42) | 3.07 (0.38) | 52.41 | .150 | .000* | 3.27 (0.48) | 3.36 (0.42) | 0.44 | .001 | .506 |
| Power Distance | 1.93 (0.38) | 2.13 (0.47) | 15.63 | .050 | .000* | 1.98 (0.41) | 2.02 (0.44) | 1.04 | .003 | .309 |
| Masculinity | 1.79 (0.53) | 2.35 (0.50) | 73.93 | .200 | .000* | 2.07 (0.55) | 1.91 (0.59) | 3.55 | .012 | .061 |
| Uncertainty Avoidance | 3.78 (0.39) | 3.83 (0.49) | 0.54 | .002 | .461 | 3.84 (0.45) | 3.77 (0.40) | 1.71 | .006 | .192 |
| Long Term Orientation | 2.69 (0.32) | 2.91 (0.32) | 30.05 | .092 | .000* | 2.79 (0.34) | 2.75 (0.34) | 0.14 | .000 | .713 |
| Indulgence | 3.51 (0.38) | 3.39 (0.38) | 6.41 | .021 | .012* | 3.44 (0.39) | 3.50 (0.37) | 1.23 | .004 | .269 |

* $p < .05$

Individualism vs. Collectivism. Results indicated a significant large main effect of culture on overall score for Individualism ($F(1) = 52.41, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .150$). Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 3.44, SD = 0.43$), Russian parents ($M = 3.07, SD = 0.39$) tended to agree less with an individualistic way of thinking with regards to emotions regardless of the child's gender. Analyses indicated significant large main effects of culture on the beliefs that "shame is harmful" ($F(1) = 57.50, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .163$), "shame is used to learn what's right/wrong" ($F(1) = 97.98, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .249$), and "shame is important to learn prosocial behaviour" ($F(1) = 82.70, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .218$). Regardless of the gender of the child, compared to Russian parents ($M = 2.42, SD = 1.13$), Norwegian parents ($M = 3.44, SD$

= 1.12) tended to agree more with the belief that shame is harmful. Compared to Russian parents ($M = 3.5$, $SD = 1.12$), Norwegian parents ($M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.13$) tended to agree less with the belief that shame can be used as a way for children to learn the difference between right and wrong. The same pattern was found for the belief that shame is useful for learning good social behaviour ($M_{Norway} = 2.32$, $SD_{Norway} = 1.22$; $M_{Russia} = 3.62$, $SD_{Russia} = 1.07$).

There was also a significant small interaction effect between gender of the child and culture on the statement about shame being harmful ($F(1) = 3.89$, $p = .049$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .013$). Russian parents of girls ($M = 2.58$, $SD = 1.15$) tended to agree more with the statement compared to Russian parents of boys ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 1.09$), while Norwegian parents of boys ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.14$) tended to agree more with the statement than Norwegian parents of girls ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.10$).

Power Distance. Results indicated a significant medium main effect of culture on the overall score of Power Distance ($F(1) = 15.63$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .050$). Regardless of the child's gender, compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 1.93$, $SD = 0.38$), Russian parents ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 0.47$) tended to agree more with a Power Distant way of thinking with regards to emotions. Results showed significant large main effects of culture on the beliefs that children should hide anger ($F(1) = 53.20$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .152$), sadness ($F(1) = 38.73$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .116$), fear ($F(1) = 54.27$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .155$) and happiness ($F(1) = 21.17$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .067$). Compared to Norwegian parents, Russian parents showed a tendency to believe it is more important to hide expressions of anger ($M_{Russia} = 2.81$, $SD_{Russia} = 1.19$, $M_{Norway} = 1.93$, $SD_{Norway} = 0.87$), sadness ($M_{Russia} = 2.15$, $SD_{Russia} = 0.99$; $M_{Norway} = 1.55$, $SD_{Norway} = 0.68$), fear ($M_{Russia} = 2.16$, $SD_{Russia} = 1.02$; $M_{Norway} = 1.44$, $SD_{Norway} = 0.67$) and happiness ($M_{Russia} = 1.90$, $SD_{Russia} = 1.04$; $M_{Norway} = 1.42$, $SD_{Norway} = 0.74$). Additionally, it was also found significant medium and large main effects of culture on the beliefs that when being angry at their children for doing something wrong, parents should “discuss with the child” ($F(1) = 17.29$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .055$), “give physical punishment” ($F(1) = 59.18$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .167$) and “ignore the child” ($F(1) = 19.30$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .061$). Compared to Russian parents ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 0.89$), Norwegian parents ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 0.46$) tended to agree more with a belief that one should discuss with children when they did something wrong. Russian parents ($M = 1.62$, $SD = 0.80$) tended to agree more with a belief that one should give physical punishment compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 1.11$, $SD = 0.34$). Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 1.14$, $SD = 0.35$), Russian parents ($M = 1.37$, $SD = 0.54$) also tended

to agree to a larger extent with the belief that when angry at their child, one should ignore the child. No significant interaction effects of culture and gender of the child were found for this dimension.

Results also demonstrated significant small main effects of culture on the beliefs that when faced with a choice, “the child should decide without any guidance” ($F(1) = 8.32, p = .004, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .027$), “discuss, then let him/her decide” ($F(1) = 33.88, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .103$), “discuss with the child then decide for him/her” ($F(1) = 5.03, p = .036, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .017$) and “you decide for the child” ($F(1) = 4.05, p = .045, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .014$). Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 2.90, SD = 1.02$), Russian parents ($M = 3.28, SD = 1.16$) tended to agree more with a belief that children should decide their own outfit, without guidance from adults. Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 3.46, SD = 0.94$), Russian parents ($M = 4.11, SD = 0.88$) also tended to agree more with the belief that children's choice should be discussed, then to let the child decide. Compared to Russian parents ($M = 2.39, SD = 1.09$), Norwegian parents ($M = 2.68, SD = 0.99$) tended to agree more with the belief that children's choices should be discussed with the child then decided for him/her by adults. Norwegian parents ($M = 2.22, SD = 0.85$) also tended to agree more with the belief that when faced with an important choice, the parent should decide for the child than Russian parents ($M = 1.98, SD = 1.09$).

Masculinity vs. Femininity. A significant large main effect of culture on the dimension score of Masculinity ($F(1) = 73.93, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .200$) was found. Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 1.79, SD = 0.53$), Russian parents ($M = 2.35, SD = 0.50$) tended to agree more with beliefs about emotions related to masculinity.

Results indicated a significant large main effect of culture for the beliefs “boys express emotions more physical than girls” ($F(1) = 41.45, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .123$), “girls express emotions more verbally than boys” ($F(1) = 42.35, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .125$), “boys and girls express anger the same way” ($F(1) = 49.90, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .144$) and “Girls are more emotional than boys” ($F(1) = 22.49, p = .000, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .071$). Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 2.21, SD = 0.99$), Russian parents ($M = 3.04, SD = 1.13$) tended to agree more with the statement that boys express emotions more physically than girls. The same pattern was found for the beliefs “girls express emotions more verbally than boys” ($M_{\text{Russia}} = 3.19, SD_{\text{Russia}} = 1.06; M_{\text{Norway}} = 2.35, SD_{\text{Norway}} = 1.02$) and “girls are more emotional than boys” ($M_{\text{Norway}} = 2.32, SD_{\text{Norway}} = 1.02; M_{\text{Russia}} = 3.00, SD_{\text{Russia}} = 1.32$). For the belief that girls and boys express emotions equally, Norwegian parents ($M = 3.77, SD = 0.93$) tended to agree more strongly

compared to Russian parents ($M = 2.89$, $SD = 1.11$). There was also significant small and medium main effects of culture for the belief “it is ok for children to show emotions around the child's “Father” ($F(1) = 11.18$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .036$) and “Grandfather” ($F(1) = 15.49$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .050$). Compared to Russian parents, Norwegian parents tended to believe that it is more ok for children to show emotions around their father ($M_{\text{Russia}} = 4.51$, $SD_{\text{Russia}} = 0.68$; $M_{\text{Norway}} = 4.75$, $SD_{\text{Norway}} = 0.52$) and grandfather ($M_{\text{Russia}} = 4.28$, $SD_{\text{Russia}} = 0.84$; $M_{\text{Norway}} = 4.63$, $SD_{\text{Norway}} = 0.67$). Results also showed a significant small main effect of gender of the child on the belief that girls and boys expressing emotions equally ($F(1) = 4.62$, $p = .032$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .015$) and that girls are more verbal than boys ($F(1) = 4.51$, $p = .034$, $\eta^2 = .015$). Across both cultures, compared to parents of girls ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.11$), parents of boys ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.04$) tended to agree more with the belief that girls and boys express emotions equally. Parents of girls ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.10$) also tended to agree more with the belief that girls express emotions more verbally compared to parents of boys ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 1.09$). No significant interaction effect was found for any of the beliefs within this dimension.

Uncertainty Avoidance. There was no significant main effect of culture found on the dimension score for the dimension Uncertainty Avoidance ($F(1) = .544$, $p = .461$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .002$). Norwegian ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 0.39$) and Russian ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 0.49$) parents tended to hold similar beliefs about emotions related to this dimension. However, results showed a significant small to medium main effect of culture on the belief that children need flexibility in their daily life to be happy and safe ($F(1) = 13.55$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .044$). Norwegian parents tended to agree more with this statement ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 0.75$) compared to Russian parents ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.10$). No significant interaction effect between culture and gender of the child was found for beliefs related to this dimension.

Long Term Orientation. A significant medium to large main effect of culture on the dimension score of the dimension of Long Term Orientation was found ($F(1) = 30.05$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .092$). Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 2.69$, $SD = 0.32$), Russian parents ($M = 2.91$, $SD = 0.32$) tended to agree more with beliefs about emotions in the direction of Long Term Orientation. Results showed significant medium to large main effects of culture on several beliefs related to Long Term Orientation. Among these are the beliefs of “enjoying new ways of celebrating” ($F(1) = 77.14$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .207$) and “when sad after a pet has died, children should ignore their sadness” ($F(1) = 61.26$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .171$). Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 0.18$), Russian parents ($M = 4.16$, $SD = 0.77$) tended to

agree more with the statement that they enjoy new ways of celebrating when having an important celebration. Russian parents ($M = 2.07$, $SD = 0.89$) also tended to agree more with the belief that children should ignore their sadness when missing their dead pet than Norwegian parents ($M = 1.37$, $SD = 0.63$). Results also indicated a significant medium main effect of culture on the beliefs that “a good life depends on hard work” ($F(1) = 17.43$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .056$) and “a good life depends on luck” ($F(1) = 101.46$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .255$). Russian parents ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 0.89$) tended to agree more with the belief that a good life depends on hard work than Norwegian parents ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 0.94$). The same pattern was found for the belief that a good life depends on luck ($M_{\text{Norway}} = 2.23$, $SD_{\text{Norway}} = 0.91$; $M_{\text{Russia}} = 3.39$, $SD_{\text{Russia}} = 1.07$). No significant interaction effect between culture and gender of the child was found for any of the beliefs within this dimension.

Indulgence vs. Restraint. Results indicated a significant small main effect of culture on the dimension score for the dimension Indulgence ($F(1) = 6.41$, $p = .012$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .021$). Compared to Norwegian parents ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 0.38$), Russian parents ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 0.38$) tended to agree less with beliefs about emotions in the direction of Indulgence. In-depth analysis indicated significant medium main effects of culture on the beliefs that “it is ok to express happiness in the store” ($F(1) = 15.33$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .050$), “it is ok to express happiness with grandparents” ($F(1) = 18.55$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .059$) and “it is ok to express happiness at the doctor’s office” ($F(1) = 35.36$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .107$). Compared to Russian parents, Norwegian parents tended to believe it is more acceptable for children to express happiness across all mentioned situations; ‘in the store’ ($M_{\text{Norway}} = 4.54$, $SD_{\text{Norway}} = 0.54$; $M_{\text{Russia}} = 4.25$, $SD_{\text{Russia}} = 0.72$), ‘around grandparents’ ($M_{\text{Norway}} = 4.67$, $SD_{\text{Norway}} = 0.47$; $M_{\text{Russia}} = 4.36$, $SD_{\text{Russia}} = 0.74$) and ‘at the doctor’s office’ ($M_{\text{Norway}} = 4.53$, $SD_{\text{Norway}} = 0.52$; $M_{\text{Russia}} = 4.03$, $SD_{\text{Russia}} = 0.94$). Additionally, significant medium to large main effects of culture on the beliefs that children should carry on despite being “bored when doing chores” ($F(1) = 61.14$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .171$), “bored at social gatherings” ($F(1) = 14.27$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .046$) and “bored at all times” ($F(1) = 13.84$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .045$) was found. Norwegian parents ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 0.54$) tended to believe it is more important to carry on when being bored of chores compared to Russian parents ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 0.88$). Russian parents ($M_{\text{Social gatherings}} = 3.90$, $SD_{\text{Social gatherings}} = 0.85$; $M_{\text{Always}} = 3.01$, $SD_{\text{Always}} = 1.10$) tended to believe that it is more important to carry on despite being bored at social gatherings and always compared to Norwegian parents ($M_{\text{Social gatherings}} = 3.5$, $SD_{\text{Social gatherings}} = 0.80$; $M_{\text{Always}} = 2.55$, $SD_{\text{Always}} = 0.95$).

No interaction effect between culture and gender of the child was found for any of the beliefs within the dimension.

Parental Desires for Children

To assess parental desires for their children in both cultures, descriptive statistics were used to assess the frequency of responses in each cultural group. Results can be found in Table 7.

Table 7.

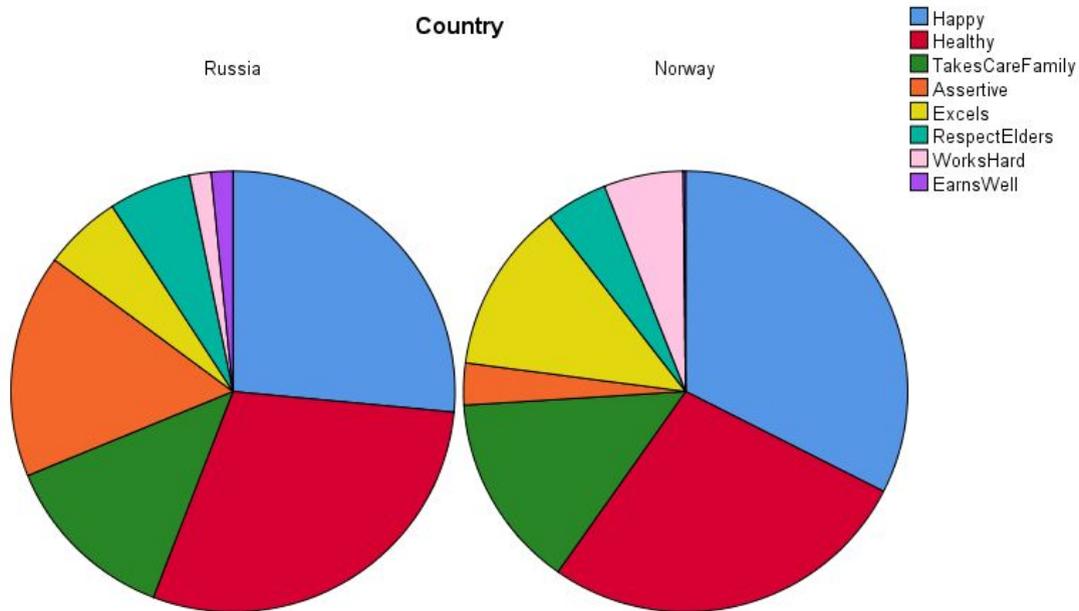
Proportion of total answers parental desires for their child

| Wish for child | Russia | Norway |
|----------------------|--------|--------|
| Happy | 80 % | 93 % |
| Healthy | 88 % | 78 % |
| Excels | 17 % | 35 % |
| Respect Elders | 18 % | 13 % |
| Assertive | 50 % | 9 % |
| Works hard | 5 % | 16 % |
| Takes care of family | 39 % | 41 % |
| Earns Well | 5 % | 1 % |

Note: Participants were asked to pick three desires for their child's future.

Some only chose one or two.

Table 7 shows that happiness, seeing their child healthy and taking care of family is what Norwegian parents see as the most important desires for their child when they grow up. Quite similarly, Russian parents are most likely to wish to see their children being happy, healthy and assertive when they grow up. The proportions of what parent's desire for their child is seen in figure 3.



Note: Participants were asked to pick three desires for their child's future. Some only chose one or two.

Figure 3. Proportions of total answers about parental desire for their child

Discussion

The main goal of the current study was to examine parental beliefs about emotions across Russia and Norway. Our first hypothesis was partly rejected while the second hypothesis was confirmed. These main findings are discussed in the following section: (a) gender differences in Norway; and (b) the comparison of Norwegian and Russian parents.

Emotional Beliefs in Norwegian Parents: the Effect of Gender

Our first hypothesis about the non-significant effect of gender on parental beliefs about children's development of emotional competencies was partly rejected. Overall, parents believed that children develop external emotional competencies (e.g. recognise emotions) earlier than more mental and reflective competencies (e.g. emotional regulation), which is in accordance with previous research showing same patterns of hierarchical phases in children's development of emotional understanding (Pons et al., 2004). Mothers and fathers held similar beliefs about when children develop the ability to regulate and to hide emotions. Parents' beliefs were in accordance with empirical studies showing the mean age children start to develop these competencies, which is between 4-8 years (Pons et al., 2004). However, mothers tended to believe that their child develops the ability to recognize emotions and experience two emotions at the same time about a year earlier than fathers do. These results

contradicted our primary expectation based on the high value of gender equality found in Norway (Hofstede et al., 2010) and the fact that fathers in Norway for example are entitled to a paternity leave and take an active role in raising their children. One possible explanation for this might be that mothers have been found to be more emotionally focused compared to fathers (Wong et al., 2008) and are often more present during the child's first year, even in Norway. Mothers might thus be more likely to recognize early signs of children's emotional competencies. Interestingly, mothers believed that their child develops the ability to recognize emotions at a slightly earlier age (1.75 years) than has been found in empirical studies (3 years) (Pons et al., 2004). Fathers' beliefs (2.61 years) about their child's recognition of emotions was closer to the actual age children develop the ability to recognize emotional expressions according to empirical studies (e.g. Pons et al., 2004). However, the differences found in our study between fathers and mothers have small effect sizes and should thus be interpreted with caution.

For the beliefs about children's developmental age, parents of boys and girls were found to have similar beliefs for three out of four emotional competencies (recognize emotional expressions, hide emotions and experience mixed emotions). This is in line with previous research showing no gender differences for the development of these competencies (e.g. Molina et al., 2014; Tang et al., 2018). However, parents of girls tended to believe that their child develops the ability to regulate emotions about a year earlier than parents of boys. The effect size was found to be small to medium. This belief is in line with children's actual development of emotional regulation, where for example Davis (1995) found that girls develop the ability to regulate negative emotions earlier than boys.

Regarding beliefs about emotions related to the six cultural dimensions, we expected Norwegian parents of both genders to hold similar beliefs due to their extremely low score of masculinity in the categorisation of Hofstede et al. (2010). This was confirmed only for beliefs about emotions related to Power Distance and Indulgence. Norwegian parents of both genders were more likely to believe in the importance of listening to children's emotional needs and accept children to freely express emotions around all adults (Power distance). Norwegian parents also tended to agree with beliefs that children should be allowed to express any emotion in most situations, and that children do not need to carry on doing what bores them (Indulgence). These results are in accordance with indications from the study of Dunsmore et al. (2009), which suggested that mothers and fathers hold similar beliefs about

children's emotions. However, it also contradicts previous research from the USA, suggesting that mothers are more supportive of expressing negative emotions than fathers (Wong et al., 2008). This contradiction may underline culture specific effects of gender and should be further investigated.

Nonetheless, despite being one of the most feminine countries in the world (Hofstede et al., 2010), the results of this study contradicted our initial hypothesis, as beliefs about emotions were found to differ both between gender of the parent and between parents of girls and boys. In four out of six dimensions (Individualism, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance and Long term orientation) significant differences were found between mothers and fathers. One additional dimension (Power Distance) showed significant discrepancy between parents of girls and parents of boys. Effect sizes were found to be small to medium.

Mothers were, for example, more likely to expect children to express emotions freely and see shame as harmful (individualistic beliefs) compared to fathers. While fathers, holding more collectivistic beliefs compared to mothers, recognized the importance of children restricting expressions of emotions when social harmony was threatened, and tended to perceive shame as a more valued emotion. This is in accordance with previous studies suggesting that fathers are more likely to restrict children's expression of sadness than mothers (Cassano et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2008). Norwegian mothers tended to value beliefs such as “children should express emotions around both males and females” and “boys and girls express emotions equally” more strongly than fathers (feminine beliefs). This significant discrepancy found between mothers and fathers contradicts the original categorisation of Hofstede et al. (2010), which suggest Norwegian men and women to hold similar beliefs.

Compared to fathers, Norwegian mothers also agreed more with emotional beliefs such as happiness depending on structure and rules, and that children need help understanding the emotions they are experiencing (beliefs related to Uncertainty Avoidance). The gender differences between mothers and fathers regarding this dimension contradicts the findings of previous studies (e.g. Dunsmore et al., 2009). The study of Dunsmore et al. (2009) found that mothers and fathers hold similar beliefs about guiding children's emotions. Compared to mothers, Norwegian fathers tended to hold emotional beliefs more oriented towards the future; children should not focus on emotional events in the past but focus on good things that will happen in the future (related to Long Term orientation). This is in line with previous studies where mothers tend to be more open to speaking more extensively about past

emotional events and have a higher emotional focus in the conversation (Fivush et al., 2000). Fathers also believed more strongly that a good life depends on hard work and that traditions are not that important compared to mothers (beliefs related to Long Term orientation).

Discrepancies were also found to be present between parents of girls and parents of boys. Parents of boys tended to believe that for example respect towards elders when expressing emotions is of higher importance than parents of girls (Power Distance). Even though this contradicts the original categorisation of Hofstede et al. (2010), it is in line with other previous research. Thomassin et al. (2019) for example found that parents are more likely to expect their sons to control their expressions of emotions compared to parents of girls. However, the effect size was found to be small and results should be interpreted with caution.

In sum, gender seems to affect parental beliefs about emotions despite Norway being a country where equality is highly valued. It is reasonable to assume that when it comes to emotions, Norwegians might not be as gender equal as seen in other cultural categorisations (e.g. Hofstede, et al., 2010). The Hofstede model was not originally designed to measure beliefs about emotions, and it might be that when converted for use in a study about emotions this creates stronger gender differences than originally assumed. This also underlines the relevance of having a specific instrument aimed to assess beliefs about emotions.

Emotional Beliefs Across Cultures: Norwegian Parents Compared to Russian Parents

Our second hypothesis about the effect of culture and gender on parental beliefs about children's emotions was partly confirmed. First, we found that cultural belonging predicted parental beliefs about children's development on two out four emotional competencies. Regardless of the gender of the child, Russian parents believed that children develop the ability to recognize emotions and experience two emotions at the same time around a year later than Norwegian parents. This contradicts previous research, where for example Tang et al. (2018) found that children's development of emotional understanding only seems to be influenced by culture on the two components of 'hiding emotions' and 'reminders of emotions'. For the emotional competence of experiencing two feelings at the same time, it might be that Russian parents, higher in Uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede et al., 2010), prefer avoiding this type of ambiguous experience. Therefore they might become less aware or more dismissive towards this experience in their child's development. This is in line with previous

research, which states that cultures higher in Uncertainty avoidance prefer to avoid emotional ambiguity, due to it causing uncertainty (Mealy et al., 2006).

It was also shown that gender of the child, across cultures, has an overall effect on parental beliefs about children's regulation of emotion. Whereby Norwegian and Russian parents of boys seemed to share the belief that their child develops the ability to regulate emotions at a later age compared to parents of girls. Interestingly, as earlier discussed, this belief created gender differences also when observing the within country sample (i.e. Norwegian parents); which underlines an assumption that some beliefs about emotions might be more gender oriented than culture oriented. Despite Norway and Russia being two countries practicing significantly different levels of masculinity (Hofstede et al., 2010) they agree that boys and girls are different in their development of emotional regulation. Even though effect size was found to be small, this is in line with previous research suggesting that girls develop the ability to regulate emotions earlier than boys (Davis, 1995). Additionally, the study by Morelen et al. (2012) found that boys and girls, across cultures (American, Ghanaian & Kenyan), use different emotion regulation strategies. In their study boys are for example more likely to report higher control of sadness, whilst girls are more likely to report higher control of anger.

Based on the original categorisation of Hofstede et al. (2010) we expected Russian and Norwegian parents to hold different beliefs about emotions related to all six cultural dimensions. This was confirmed for five out of six emotional dimensions (Individualism, Power Distance, Masculinity, Long Term Orientation & Indulgence). In addition, no significant effect of gender of the child on dimension scores was found for any of the six dimensions, suggesting that cultural belonging explains more of the differences in emotional beliefs than gender. However, for the dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance, Russian and Norwegian parents held similar beliefs. Overall, parents from both cultures tended to believe in the importance of helping children understand what emotions they are experiencing. This contradicts the study of Perez Rivera & Dunsmore (2011) which found that countries higher in Uncertainty Avoidance (i.e. Russia according to Hofstede et al. (2010)) value guidance of children's emotions more strongly than countries lower on Uncertainty Avoidance (i.e. Norway). Norwegian and Russian parents also tended to agree that to be happy, children need boundaries and a structured daily life. The only belief related to Uncertainty Avoidance that showed significant differences, was the belief that children need flexibility to be happy and

safe. Norwegian parents tended to agree more strongly with this belief than Russian parents. It might be that, overall, the study did not manage to create questions that reflect the core of Uncertainty Avoidance and are thus not able to tap the expected discrepancy. Another possible explanation for this could be that Norwegian and Russian parents share beliefs about emotions related to Uncertainty Avoidance and the differences seen in Hofstede et al. (2010) are related to other aspects of cultural values. Further research should take these issues into account.

Regarding the other five cultural dimensions, Russian and Norwegian parents differed in their beliefs about emotions. Compared to Russian parents, Norwegian parents were more likely to agree with beliefs that it is acceptable to allow children to express disappointment, and for children to find their own way to handle sadness (Individualism). This is in accordance with the study of Parker et al. (2012) which found that cultural belonging influences beliefs about whether to give children time on their own when they experience intense emotions. The question about shame created large discrepancies between the two countries. Compared to Norwegian parents, Russian parents tended to find this emotion of higher value, and more effective for assisting children in learning social norms. Contrarily, Norwegian parents strongly believed that shame is harmful. However, the gender of the child influenced the level of agreement with the belief that shame is harmful between the two countries. Russian parents of girls valued this belief more than Russian parents of boys, whilst this was the opposite for Norwegian parents. Previous research suggests that there are great cultural differences in the value of shame (e.g. Cole et al., 2006). Cole et al. (2006) observed two cultural groups, and found that compared to Brahman parents, Tamang parents were more likely to react to children's expression of anger by encouraging a sense of shame on their child. Additionally, the study of Furukawa et al. (2012) found that, across cultures (Japanese, Korean & US), girls were more prone to shame than boys, suggesting an existence of both cultural and gender differences in the experience and use of shame.

Our findings also showed that, compared to Norwegian parents, Russian parents tended to expect their children to respect adults in their expression of emotions (i.e. belief related Power Distance). This is in accordance with the study of Parker et al. (2012) which showed that some cultures only allow children to express emotions which are appropriate for the situation. Russian parents were also more likely to believe that when parents are angry at their children, it is more acceptable to give corporal punishment or ignore the child compared

to Norwegian parents. Norwegian parents on the other hand believed it was more important to discuss with children why the parent is angry. Norwegian law prohibits parents from using corporal punishment with children at any circumstance, and urges society to strive to take the child's opinion into consideration (e.g. Barne Lov, §30, 1982; Barnevernloven-bvl, §1-6, 1993; Barneombudsloven, §1, 1981). Whereas in Russia, no laws prohibit corporal punishment and the perspective of grown ups is more valued than the child's voice (*Russian Federation | Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children.*, n.d.; Kravchuk, 2015). This supports the argument suggested by the ecological model of Bronfenbrenner; society in terms of laws, media and so forth influence the microsystem of parents. The overall medium effect size of culture on beliefs about emotions related to Power distance gives strength to these interpretations. On the question about how to respond when the child does not wish to wear an outfit parents chose for them, Russian parents' responses were the opposite of those expected based on Hofstede et al. (2010). Russian parents seemed to believe more strongly that the child should be allowed to choose their own outfit compared to Norwegian parents. A possible explanation to this might be that, in this question, there are other values disguising the actual effect, such as the importance of wearing clothes in accordance with weather conditions or the social occasion. No significant effect of gender of the child was found on the dimension score of Power Distance. This contradicts the earlier discussed result from the within country analysis in Norway, and suggests that the effect observed in the Norwegian sample was culture specific and not found to be generalizable across cultures.

In this study, the cultural dimension called masculinity was found to be the dimension creating the biggest discrepancies between Norwegian and Russian parents. This difference had a large effect size. Compared to Russian parents, Norwegian parents tended to value gender equality more highly (e.g. boys' and girls' express emotions equally) and that emotions should be expressed around both male and female family members. These results are in line with the original categorisation of Hofstede et al. (2010). Russian parents were not as consistent in their feminine direction of beliefs about emotions as Norwegian parents. Whereby Russian parents tended to agree with beliefs like "children are allowed to express emotions around both female and male family members" but are more likely to disagree that boys' and girls' express emotions equally. The Russian belief about emotional expression is

supported by empirical studies, for example a study by Chaplin (2015) which found that there might be both biological and social reasons why boys and girls express emotions differently.

Compared to Norwegian parents, Russian parents were more likely to agree that when planning an important celebration, they enjoy doing it in new ways (i.e. belief related to Long Term Orientation). This is in accordance with the original categorisation of Hofstede et al. (2010). Russian parents also believed more strongly that when grieving a lost pet, children should try to forget about their sadness than Norwegian parents. This is in line with previous research which has suggested that cultural belonging affects how parents talk about past emotional events (Wang, 2001). However, in the study of Wang (2001) the focus is directed towards individualism and not Long Term Orientation, where more individualistic cultures were found to show stronger interests in the child's feelings when talking about past emotional events (Wang, 2001). Based on the original categorisation of Hofstede, it could be argued that this behaviour taps into the dimension of Individualism but also Long Term Orientation. Lastly, there were significant differences between Norwegian and Russian parents on the beliefs that a good life depends on hard work and that a good life depends on luck, where Russians agree more strongly with both. This contradicts their overall score. It would be expected for a country high on Long Term Orientation (i.e. Russians) to value hard work and disregard luck as important for a good life (Hofstede, 2011).

Norwegian parents tended to find it more acceptable for their children to express their emotions freely whatever the circumstance compared to Russian parents (i.e. beliefs related to Indulgence). This discrepancy is in line with the study of Parker et al. (2012) which found that there are cultural differences in whether children should express emotions at all times, or only when it does not threaten to harm others. Interestingly, results for the belief that children should carry on despite boredom underlines the complexity of parental beliefs about emotions. Russian parents tended to find it more important for children to carry on despite being bored at social gatherings compared to Norwegian parents, which is in line with their low score on Indulgence according to Hofstede et al. (2010). However, compared to Russian parents, Norwegian parents found it more important for children to carry on when bored of homework/chores. This contradicts Norway's higher score on indulgence (Hofstede et al., 2010). It should be noted that the beliefs within this dimension, might to some degree also reflect levels of collectivism. Collectivistic beliefs would imply high importance on social harmony, and thus it might be inappropriate to express feelings of boredom in social

situations (e.g. classroom, social gatherings). Also, due to a misunderstanding, this dimension is based on two questions, rather than three (as the original version of the PBEQ indicates). This affects the overall score for the dimensions. These two issues must be considered when interpreting the results.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study consists of mainly middle to upper class parents all living in the capital of their country, resulting in a vastly homogenous sample group. The Norwegian and Russian samples were matched for socioeconomic status (SES) to see more clearly the influence of culture. However, it might be that different SES groups hold different beliefs about children's emotions. Park et al. (2013) argue, for example, that expressions of negative emotions depend on social status. Americans with high social status seem to express less anger than their low social status counterparts, whilst Japanese people with high social status expressed more anger than their low social status counterparts. Future research should include participants from distinct SES-groups.

When translating a questionnaire created in English, modifications and changes will happen in the translation. For this study, the researchers asked translators to choose words that are commonly used by the general population. However, it might be that translations and adaptations give a different meaning to the questions asked, and therefore reflect other beliefs than originally desired. One translation of the PBEQ that created contradictions across languages was the word assertive/confident. The Norwegian translation used a word more similar to assertive, whilst the Russian translation used a word more similar to confident. As noted by Lim (2016), emotions are experienced differently across cultures. This could challenge the validity of the questionnaire, because participants from different cultures have different understandings of what emotions are, for example, what it means to be sad and how sadness is experienced. The questionnaire added context to the questions to make them as concrete as possible (Peng et al., 1997), however it should be noted that these contexts might also be perceived differently across cultures (e.g. not all cultures allow children to have pets (Foltz, 2014)). This underlines the complexity of creating a valid questionnaire measuring the exact same beliefs across cultures. Even though the PBEQ was developed with people from several different ethnic groups, it should be reviewed by someone with local knowledge before assessment.

The study did not control for the personality or temperament of the child. Children's personality and level of temperament might influence parents' beliefs about emotions, regardless of cultural belonging. Future research could benefit from controlling for temperament when assessing beliefs about emotions. Additionally, the mean age of Russian and Norwegian children differed by around one and a half years. It should be noted that the child's age might affect parents' beliefs about emotions. Different developmental stages can lead to different behavioural preferences. Overall, it would be interesting to see the potential relations between parental beliefs about emotions and children's emotional development. For instance, do different emotional beliefs relate to different emotional regulation strategies? Can emotional beliefs explain cultural differences in the development of emotional understanding?

Another limitation to be listed is that the method used in this study was self-report. Self-reports are not in the position of categorizing actual behaviour. Future research should combine measurements of parental beliefs about emotions and observation of parental behaviour related to these beliefs. The study also has a skewness in the sample, where significantly more mothers participated in the study than fathers. Differences between mothers and fathers thus must be interpreted with caution. Future research should strive to collect data from an equally distributed sample of mothers and fathers. It should also be mentioned that to create a culturally neutral questionnaire is almost impossible. Theories and previous research are still mostly conducted by researchers from or in WEIRD countries, resulting in a lack of information based on cultural diversity. It is thus important to run pilot studies of this questionnaire in other cultural groups with distinct language backgrounds. We highlight that the questionnaire will be piloted in Brazil (Portuguese language) soon.

Based on the idea that the best way to socialize children's emotions is probably in accordance with the cultural context children live in (Hastings, 2018), new questions arise: What is then the best way to socialize children when parents immigrate to a new culture? Should children be socialized in line with their family's cultural context, or in line with the larger society's cultural context? Dilemmas like these are often seen when families meet professionals in a new country. PBEQ could guide practitioners in what questions to ask, and how values related to emotions might differ across cultures. Using the questionnaire or questions from PBEQ could lead to rich discussions between professionals and families about their different values, for example "do children need to be happy?" or "is shame useful for learning?". This way parent counselling can be more culturally sensitive. Further research

should explore tendencies of parental beliefs about emotions among immigrant parents and, for example, observe them in comparison to parents from the majority group.

In research we need a continual awareness of cultural issues in the study of emotions. Simplifying these complex issues can mislead our knowledge on parenting practices. In this thesis the Hofstede dimensions were used as guidance for the development of the questionnaire. Although his theory has been largely used in research, we must keep in mind that his study originally was created within the field of organizational psychology. Nonetheless, our study shows that Hofstede's dimensions are also relevant in research on parenting. However, as mentioned earlier, a couple of questions were discussed to tap into more than one dimension. To create questions only relevant for one dimension is challenging and it could be beneficial to review the overlapping questions found in our study. Cultural dimensions are meant to simplify and categorize cultures in order to investigate and explain culture, however it might be that real life behaviour is too complex to fit into only one dimension. Nonetheless, simplifying culture is an essential step towards understanding human nature, but one should be aware of the complexity of culture.

In future studies, it would be interesting to explore other intercultural theories in addition to Hofstede to better understand the cultural dimensions in research on emotions. An example of an important issue to be explored is the preference for verbal or nonverbal communication.

Conclusion

The findings from the present study lead to two main conclusion: 1) Norwegian mothers and fathers differ to some extent in their beliefs about emotions; and 2) parental beliefs about emotions related to cultural dimension goes in the same direction as the original categorisation of Hofstede et al. (2010) for both Russia and Norway. Our study therefore found support for the argument suggested by both Saarni (1999) and the ecological model of Bronfenbrenner (1979); cultural values seem to be reflected in parents' emotional beliefs and it is reasonable to assume that they affect parents' socialization of children's emotions. Our study did also support the argument that gender has an impact on parental beliefs about emotions (e.g. beliefs about development of emotional competencies) (Cassano et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2008). The complexity of relationships between different ecological systems is underlined. Some beliefs were found to create discrepancies between parents of boys and

parents of girls, regardless of the cultural belonging, other beliefs showed gender effects between parents of girls and parents of boys within Norway, but not across the two countries. Nonetheless, most of the beliefs showed that cultural belonging was the more prominent factor. Additionally, it is also quite reasonable to assume that there are several other factors influencing emotional beliefs, factors like SES, child temperament or national and international laws.

Another main conclusion of this study is related to the feasibility of the instrument developed; the Parental Beliefs about Emotions Questionnaire. The PBEQ was created based on cultural dimensions and contextualised in a culturally sensitive way. It might thus be beneficial to use with a diversity of cultural groups. Cultures can be difficult to categorize and define by limited dimensions based on theory. Research should always be critical when attempting to describe a culture within predefined static categories. Awareness between universal and relative phenomena within the field of emotion research is paramount. This awareness is not only important in research, but also in clinical settings. Professionals should be humble to cultural differences, and not be blinded by their local beliefs about emotions, assuming these are universal. PBEQ might be used to enhance children's emotional development and help children from both different cultural backgrounds and children in struggling families in a more culturally sensitive way. Despite the limitations of the questionnaire, the present study is a step towards an approach that takes cultural complexity into account by providing researchers and professionals with a tool to investigate the diversity of emotional beliefs. Attempting to see the bigger picture of emotional development, the present study highlights the importance of acknowledging cultural context.

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Appendix A: Consent form

Are you interested in taking part in the research project *Parents and Emotions*?

This is an invitation to participate in a research project where the main purpose is to better understand parental beliefs about emotions across cultures. In the following, we will give you more detailed information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

What is the purpose of the project?

The main goal of this project is to investigate parental beliefs and values about children's emotions around the world. We are going to collect information from Norwegians, Russians, and Brazilians. The project is a pilot study and data might be published in a relevant scientific journal. According to the plan, the project will be terminated 15.05.2021.

Who is responsible for this research project?

Professor Francisco Pons, Faculty of Social Science, University of Oslo are the persons and institutions responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

We are interested in parents with children between the age of 6-9 years and you have been contacted because of the age of your child. Approximately, 500 parents with children between 6 and 9 years of age from 3 different countries (150-200 participants per country) will be asked to participate. Schools will be selected randomly, and all parents will be asked.

What does participation involve for you?

If you choose to take part in this project, it will involve that you fill in a questionnaire. It will take approx. 10- 15 minutes. The questionnaire includes a few general background questions and a set of questions regarding your beliefs about emotions.

Participation is voluntary and anonymous

All your answers are completely anonymous (i.e. there is no way for the research team or any other person to identify you or to make the link between you and your answers) and will be deleted when the project is over. Participation in the project is voluntary. You can withdraw at any time during the completion of the questionnaire without giving a reason. There will be no negative consequences for you if you choose not to participate or decide to withdraw.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project please contact one of the Project Leaders from the Department of Psychology, University of Oslo, Francisco Pons, (francisco.pons@psykologi.uio.no), Karine Viana (k.m.viana@psykologi.no), Maiken Gjøen (maikengv@hotmail.com), Anine Sæthereng Gundersen (anine.sgundersen@hotmail.com). If you have questions about ethical considerations contact our Data Protection Officer, and/or NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, on email (personverntjenester@nsd.no) or by telephone (55 58 21 17).

Consent form

Please, tick the box below to indicate that you have read and understood the information about the research project *Parental Beliefs about Emotions* in order to proceed.

I have read and understood the information above and would like to participate!

Appendix B: Parental Beliefs about Emotions Questionnaire

Questions marked “ur” are irrelevant for the dimension. Questions marked “r” are reversed.

Overview

Development of emotional competencies: question 1 - 4

Individualism: question 5 - 7

Power Distance: question 8 - 10

Masculinity: question 11 - 12

Uncertainty avoidance: question 13 - 15

Long Term Orientation: question 16 - 18

Indulgence: question 19 - 21

Future desires: question 22

Information to the Participants Before Answering the Questionnaire

You are now about to start the questionnaire, but first we will inform you about a few guidelines:

Throughout the questions it is important that you have your son/daughter of 6-9 years in mind. When the question is adult-directed, we ask you to keep yourself in focus (not the general population). If a question is hard to answer, we are interested in your best guess.

Thank you for your participation!

Parental Beliefs About Emotions Questionnaire

In the next four questions you will be asked at what age your child is capable to do a series of things. There are no right or wrong answers, we are interested in your personal beliefs. If you find it hard to define the age of your child you can write «I don't know» in the text-box.

Q1. *You believe that your child will be/was able to recognize emotions just by looking at facial expressions, at the age of ...*

..... years.

Q2. *You believe that your child will be/was able to experience two emotions at the same time at the age of ...*

..... years.

Q3. *You believe that your child will be/was able to hide his/her emotions at the age of ...*

..... years.

Q4. *You believe your child will be/was able to regulate emotions without the help of adults at the age of ...*

.....years.

In the next section we have a series of questions with several following statements. We would like you to rate to what degree you agree or disagree with all the given statements. There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your beliefs about your child's emotions. It is possible to agree or disagree with all or several statements in the same topic.

Response scale:

1-Strongly Disagree 2-Disagree 3-Neither Disagree nor agree 4-Agree 5-Strongly Agree

Q5. *You believe that when your child is sad, it would be ok/all right that he/she:*

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | finds his/her own way to deal with his/her sadness | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | talk about his/her sadness with others | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | remains strong and brave by for example not showing his/her sadness (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. | expresses his/her sadness regardless of the people around | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q6. *You believe that shame*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | ... is important for learning what is right and wrong | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | ... is important for learning good social behaviour | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | ... is an emotion that is harmful | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q7. *Imagine your child is expressing disappointment when receiving a gift that he/she does not like. You then believe it is important to...*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Punish him/her | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | Ignore and pretend that you did not hear it | (ur) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | Acknowledge the situation, and allow him/her to express his/her disappointment | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. | Tell him/her to be polite, and say thank you | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q8. *Imagine that you choose an outfit for your child that he/she is going to wear for a party. Your child clearly states that he/she does not want to wear it. You then believe it is important that..*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | He/she decides without guidance from parents | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | You discuss it with your child, but in the end let him/her decide | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | You discuss it with your child, but in the end make the choice for him/her | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. | You decide for your child | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q9. *You believe that when your child is with adults (i.e. parents, neighbours, teachers, strangers) it is important that he/she hides emotions like:*

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Anger | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | Sadness | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | Fear | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. | Happiness | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q10. *Imagine being angry at your child when he/she did something he/she was not allowed to do (i.e. break a window, hit a friend). You then believe it is important to..*

- a. ... discuss with the child why it was wrong (r) 1 2 3 4 5
 - b. ...give physical punishment 1 2 3 4 5
 - c. ...ignore the child 1 2 3 4 5
 - d. ...take away privileges 1 2 3 4 5
 - e. ...express or talk about your disappointment or anger with your child 1 2 3 4 5
- (ur)

Q11. *When it comes to children's expression of emotions, you believe it is ok that*

- a. boys use more physical expressions than girls 1 2 3 4 5
- b. girls use more verbal expressions than boys 1 2 3 4 5
- c. boys and girls express anger the same way (r) 1 2 3 4 5
- d. girls are more emotional than boys 1 2 3 4 5

Q12. *You believe it is ok/alright for your child to express and talk about emotions with his/her:*

- a. Mother (ur) 1 2 3 4 5
- b. Father (r) 1 2 3 4 5
- c. Grandfather (r) 1 2 3 4 5
- d. Grandmother (ur) 1 2 3 4 5

Q13. *To raise happy and safe children you believe it is important to have a daily life that is ...*

- a. ...structured and organized 1 2 3 4 5
- b. ...flexible and spontaneous (r) 1 2 3 4 5

Q14. *You believe it is important to help your child to understand if he/she is*

- a. Sad 1 2 3 4 5
- b. Angry 1 2 3 4 5
- c. Scared 1 2 3 4 5

Q15. *You believe that rules and boundaries are...*

- a. ... very important. It makes life less stressful and more predictable for your child. 1 2 3 4 5
- b. ...sometimes important. (r)
You should use as few rules as possible for your child. 1 2 3 4 5

Q16. *When planning an important celebration in your family, you enjoy...*

- a. ... upholding the same traditions as the past years (r) 1 2 3 4 5
- b. ... exploring new ways of celebrating 1 2 3 4 5

Q17. *Imagine your child had a pet that died. A year later he/she sees a picture of his/her pet and starts feeling sad. You then believe it is important to...*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Talk to your child about why he/she is feeling sad | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | Tell your child to ignore this emotion and focus on the future | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | Hug your child, show love and care | (ur) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. | pray with your child | (ur) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q18. *You believe it is important to teach your child that a happy/good life depends on*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | ...hard work | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | ...luck | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | ...Gods will | (discuss) (ur) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. | ...our ability to learn from others | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e. | ...family | (ur) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q19. *You believe it is important to teach your child to carry on despite him/her feeling bored or restless...*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | At all times | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | At family dinners | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | When the child has chores or homework | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. | At public gatherings (religious meetings, parties, etc) | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q20. *You believe it is okay for your child to show, express or talk about happiness when ...*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | ... in the store | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | ... with grandparents | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | ... when in class | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. | ... at the doctor's office | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e. | It is almost never okay to show happiness | (r) | | | | | |

Q21. *You believe it is okay for your child to show, express or talk about anger when ...*

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | ... in the store | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. | ... with grandparents | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c. | ... in the classroom | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d. | ... at the doctor's office | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e. | It is almost never okay to show happiness | (r) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

In the next question we would like you to choose the three most important qualities

Q22. *It is important to you that your child grows up to become a person who ...*

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | is happy | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. | excels at what he/she does | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. | is assertive (confident) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. | works hard | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. | takes care of the family | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. | shows respect to elders | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. | is healthy | <input type="checkbox"/> |

h. earns well

□