The Cultural Development of Emotion and Emotion Regulation in Children:

A Cultural-Historical Study of Everyday Family Life

Feiyan Chen

M.Ed. (Early Childhood), GradDip.Ed. (Early Childhood)

B.A. (English Literature), Dip.Ed. (Early Childhood)

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General Declaration

In accordance with Monash University Doctorate Regulation 17.2 Doctor of Philosophy and Research Master's regulations the following declarations are made:

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

This thesis includes one accepted manuscript and three published papers in peer reviewed journals. The core theme of the thesis is children's development of emotion and emotion regulation in everyday family life, drawing upon a cultural-historical perspective. The ideas, development and writing up of all the papers in the thesis were the principal responsibility of myself, the candidate, working within Monash University Faculty of Education under the supervision of Professor Marilyn Fleer.

In the case of Chapters 4-7, my contribution to the work is showed in Table 1.

Table 1

The Candidate's Contribution to Publications Presented in Chapters 4-7

Thesis chapter	Publication title	Publication status	Nature and extent candidate's contribution
Chapter 4 (Paper one)	A cultural-historical reading of how play is used in families as a tool for supporting children's emotional development in everyday life	Accepted	Conception, key ideas, research investigation and development, and write-up (85%)
Chapter 5 (Paper two)	Re-signing: A cultural-historical study of signs for supporting young children's development of emotion regulation	Published	Conception, key ideas, research investigation and development, and write-up (90%)
Chapter 6 (Paper three)	Parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies in emotionally situated zones: A cultural-historical perspective	Published	Sole author
Chapter 7 (Paper four)	Parents' *perezhivanie* supports children's development of emotion regulation: A holistic view	Published	Sole author

I have not renumbered sections of submitted or published papers in order to generate a consistent presentation within the thesis.

Signed: [redacted]

Date: 30 June 2015

Ethics

The research for this thesis received the ethics approval of the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval number: CF12/1568 - 2012000847).

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My supervisor and I in 2011

List of Publications Included in the Thesis

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Chen, F. (2015). Parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies in emotionally situated zones: A cultural-historical perspective. *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood, 40*(2), 107-116.

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List of Other Publications

Li, L., & Chen, F. (2013). Early childhood education in China. In L. Meyer (Ed.), *Oxford Bibliographies in Education*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chen, F. (2012). A preliminary exploration of Vygotsky's works on emotions. *International Journal of Early Childhood Education, 20,* 51-58.

Chen, F., & Agbenyega, J. (2012). Chinese parents' perspectives on home-kindergarten partnership: A narrative research, *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood, 37*(2), 95-105.

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Table of Contents

General Declaration ..... **i**

Ethics ..... **iii**

eThesis Notices ..... **iv**

Notice 1 iv

Notice 2 iv

Acknowledgements ..... **v**

List of Publications Included in the Thesis ..... **vii**

List of Other Publications ..... **viii**

List of Tables ..... **xii**

Tables Excluded from Publications xii

Tables in Publications xii

List of Figures ..... **xiv**

Figures Excluded from Publications xiv

Figures in Publications xiv

Abstract ..... **xv**

Chapter 1 Introduction **1**

Introduction 1

Personal Motivation for the Study 1

Research Context of Children's Emotional Development 2

Research Problem 3

Theoretical Framework 4

Purpose of the Study 4

Research Question 4

Structure of the Thesis 5

Conclusion 7

Chapter 2 Literature Review 8

Introduction 8

Theoretical Issues 8

Conceptual Issues 11

Empirical Issues: Themes and Methodological Approaches 18

Cultural-Historical Theory 29

Conclusion 40

Chapter 3 Methodology 41

Introduction 41

Cultural-Historical Research Paradigm 41

Dialectical-Interactive Methodology 44

Qualitative Case Study Approach 47

Research Design 48

Conclusion 58

Chapter 4 Play and Emotion Regulation 59

Suggested Declaration for Thesis Chapter 59

Overview of Thesis Including Publications 60

Background of Paper One 61

Paper One 62

Chapter 5 Signs and Emotion Regulation 92

Suggested Declaration for Thesis Chapter 92

Background of Paper Two 93

Paper Two 94

Chapter 6 Emotion Regulation Strategies 113

Background of Paper Three 113

Paper Three 113

Chapter 7 Perezhivanie and Emotion Regulation 124

Background of Paper Four 124

Paper Four 125

Chapter 8 Conclusion 143

Introduction 143

Summary of Findings and Arguments 143

Contributions 146

Implementations 148

Limitations 149

Future Research Directions 149

Conclusion 151

References 153

Appendix A: A Paper Related to the Literature Review…… 190

Appendix B: Ethical Approval…….. 198

Appendix C: Explanatory Letter and Consent Forms…… 199

List of Tables

Tables Excluded from Publications

Table 1 *The Candidate's Contribution to Publications Presented in Chapters 4-7*…… ii

Table 2.1 *Basic Perspectives on the Definitional Questions of Emotions (adapted from Mascolo & Griffin, 1998, p. 5)*……... 12

Table 2.2 *Three Periods of Vygotsky's Theoretical Legacy*……... 32

Table 3.1 *Information of Research Participants*…… 50

Table 3.2 *Data Collection Schedule*……... 51

Table 3.3 *Summary of Video Data*…….. 55

Table 4.1 *The Candidate's Contribution to the Chapter*……..…….. 59

Table 4.2 *The Co-Author's Contribution to the Chapter*……..……. 59

Table 5.1 *The Candidate's Contribution to the Chapter*……..... 92

Table 5.2 *The Co-Author's Contribution to the Chapter*……..……. 92

Table 8.1 *Summary of Findings and Arguments in Four Papers*……. 144

Tables in Publications

Paper Two

Table 1 *Process of Cultural Development of Emotions by Signification*……... 98

Table 2 *Hours of Video Data*…… 100

Table 3 *Signification of Emotions by Children and Parents*……...…. 104

Table 4 *Methods and Contents of Verbal labelling: Parents' Use of Speech Signs*… 104

Paper Three

Table 1 *Parents' Emotion Regulation Strategies: Expanding the Work of Holodynski (2009)*……... 118

Table 2 *New Context-Specific Emotion Regulation Strategies Used by Parents*……. 119

Table 3 *Children's Emotion Regulation Strategies*…….. 119

Table 4 *Emotion Regulation Strategies from Parents' and Children's Perspectives*.. 120

Paper Four

Table 1 *Parents' Information*……... 132

Table 2 *Categories*……... 133

List of Figures

Figures Excluded from Publications

Figure 2.1. Number of publications that contain the exact term "emotion regulation" in Google Scholar……... 25

Figure 3.1. A model of children's activity settings in different institutions (adapted from Hedegaard, 2012a, p. 130)…….. 46

Figures in Publications

Paper Two

Figure 1. Categories……. 102

Figure 2. "I am angry!"…… 106

Figure 3. A calming down camel……. 107

Paper Three

Figure 1. Emotion regulation strategies in emotionally situated zones……... 121

Paper Four

Figure 1. Perezhivanie as the collective unity of affect, intellect, and act……138

Abstract

Recent curricula development in early childhood education has paid increasing attention to the development of emotion and emotion regulation in young children. The burgeoning literature on emotions has showed that children's early development of emotion and emotion regulation plays an essential role in their development of social competence, school readiness, and later academic success. Much of the research on the early development of emotion and emotion regulation focused on the development in an *individual* and its *correlations* with other aspects of development by using *quantitative* methods that are conducted in *laboratory* settings. These quantitative studies provided important scientific evidence for the existence of correlations and the individual phenomenon of emotions. However, little is known about *how* children's emotion and emotion regulation develop in a more complicated context, that is, an *inter-personal everyday* setting.

Drawing upon a cultural-historical theoretical framework, this study examines how parent-child interactions create the conditions for children's cultural development of emotions and emotion regulation in everyday family life. Four middle-class families with six focus children (3-6 years) participated in the study in Australia. A total of 61 hours of video data were collected in 23 visits over a period of six months. Methods of data collection included digital video observations, interviewing, photographs, and field notes. Data were analysed through the three levels of analysis in the dialectical-interactive approach (Hedegaard & Fleer, 2008).

The overarching finding showed that in daily parent-child interactions play, parents' re-signing, their use of emotion regulation strategies, and their *perezhivanie* in emotionally charged situations created the conditions for children's development of emotion and emotion regulation. First, everyday play, introduced by parents as a

maintainer, a reward, and a temptation, created an emotional zone of proximal development (ZPD) supporting children's development of emotion and emotion regulation. Second, parents re-signed children's emotion-related signs, which supported the emergence of children's intrapersonal emotion regulation. Third, parents' emotion regulation strategies, acting as an ideal form, created the conditions for children's acquisition of emotion regulation strategies. Finally, parents' perezhvianie, as a collective unity of affect, intellect, and act, created the conditions for children's development of emotion regulation. Their perezhivanie does not function alone but interacts with children's emotional experiences, which reflects its nature of mutuality and collectivity. These findings were presented in four publications presented in Chapters 4-7.

I argue that children's development of emotion and emotion regulation is collectively constructed in *everyday social interactions* rather than an individual practice as stated in much of the literature. This study contributes to the development of emerging cultural-historical studies on children's development of emotion and emotion regulation. It has developed Vygotsky's unfinished work in the affective dimension of child development by conceptualising children's development of emotion and emotion regulation in everyday family life and by making the process rather than the product of development visible. It helps adults better understand how they can create the conditions in adult-child interactions for children's development of emotion and emotion regulation, contributing to the development of a whole child.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Introduction

This thesis is a story of investigation in children's development of emotion and emotion regulation. It is a thesis including published works. To begin this chapter, I brief my motivation for the study, followed by the description of the research context and the research problem. After that, a cultural-historical theoretical framework is introduced, followed by the purpose and the central research question of the study. This chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis structure.

Personal Motivation for the Study

Before starting my doctoral study, I had been working as a teacher for young children (aged 0-8 years) in both China and Australia for about seven years. During those years, what greatly caught my attention were those children who frequently expressed their intense negative emotions (e.g., anger) in everyday social interactions. Those emotions pushed away other children, resulting in their unsuccessful peer relationship and less harmonious and enjoyable social lives. Parents were worried about it but did not know how to deal with it. Since these children were ordinary without mental illness, parents did not consider getting some help from psychologists and counsellors. The problem left unsolved.

As an educator who had a strong mental bond with children and was willing all children to have a good life, I was motived to find a way to support parents and their children's emotional development in everyday life.

Research Context of Children's Emotional Development

A large body of research shows that young children's emotional development (including the development of emotion regulation) plays an essential role in their school readiness and academic success (Bagdi & Vacca, 2005; Denham, 2006; Denham & Brown, 2010; Denham, Bassett, Thayer, Mincic, Sirotkin, & Zinsser, 2012; Diamond, 2010; Eisenberg, Valiente, & Eggum, 2010; Nadeem, Maslak, Chacko, & Hoagwood, 2010; Raver, 2003; Rhoades, Warren, Domitrovich, & Greenberg, 2011; Teglasi, 2010; Webster-Stratton & Reid, 2004), social competence (Denham, Bassett, Sirotkin, & Zinsser, 2013), as well as wellbeing (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002). For example, children's ability in emotion regulation helps maintaining a positive emotional mode, which is conducive to their classroom engagement and academic performance (Denham, 2006; Denham et al., 2012). In contrast, early emotional difficulties result in less school success or academic failure and predict later mental health issues such as depression (Koomen, van Leeuwen, & van der Leij, 2004; Meagher, Arnold, Doctoroff, Dobbs, & Fisher, 2009; Raver & Knitzer, 2002).

Emotional development, therefore, has been receiving increasing attention in early childhood education lately. Evidence can be seen from recent early childhood educational curricula all over the world. For instance, in Australia, the national framework, *Belonging, being and becoming: The Early Years Learning Framework for Australia (EYLF)* (DEEWR, 2009), considers emotional development as an important dimension of children's wellbeing. It encourages children to "become strong in their social and emotional wellbeing" (p. 31) and to develop empathy and abilities in emotion recognition and understanding, emotion expression, and emotion regulation. In China, the most recent national learning framework, *the Early Learning and Development Guidelines*, includes emotional development as part of children's health (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2012). It specifies learning outcomes in

emotion expression, understanding, and regulation. Furthermore, the New Zealand Early Childhood Curriculum, *Te Whàriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) and *California Preschool Curriculum Framework* (California Department of Education, 2010) in the United Sates stress children's emotional development in early years.

Research Problem

The aforementioned research context has stimulated a burgeoning rise of research into emotions over the past few decades, particularly studies on emotion regulation. Much of the research reviewed in early emotional development focused on emotional development in the *individual* and the *correlations* between emotional development and other variations such as attachment security, social competence, school success, and the mechanisms of emotion socialisation (see Chapter 2). Predominantly, the studies were quantitative and based on laboratory settings. Little attention has been directed to the *process* of the development of emotion and emotion regulation in *inter-personal* relations by using *multi-methods* (particularly *observational* methods) in *naturalistic* settings (Campos, Walle, Dahl, & Main, 2011; Cole, 2014; Cole & Tan, 2014; Gross, 2013a).

Quantitative correlational studies are important due to their contribution to identifying the relations between two variables. However, they hardly explain detailed information such as the particular process of emotional development. Additionally, a laboratory is an artificial setting where the complexity of emotions and their regulatory processes in the real life is simplified (Campos et al., 2011). Hence, a qualitative study employing observational methods in everyday life is needed to gain a comprehensive understanding of the development of emotion and emotion regulation.

Theoretical Framework

In response to the research problem discussed above, a cultural-historical theory was selected for the study. This theoretical framework is appropriate because it is a theory on the origin and process of child development (Chaiklin, 2003; Veresov, 2010a; Vygotsky, 1997a); it takes a holistic view on development by bringing together the natural and the cultural positions (Kravtsova, 2010; Vygotsky, 1997a); it considers social relations as the source of development, stressing the reciprocal relations between the subject and the environment rather than focusing on a single dimension (i.e., either the subject or the environment) and on one direction of the relation (i.e., either the subject influences the environment or the environment impacts on the subject) (Vygotsky, 1994a).

The cultural-historical theory focuses attention on the reciprocal social relations, rather than the individual or the environment only, in supporting children's development of emotion and its regulation.

Purpose of the Study

This study aimed to examine children's development of emotion and emotion regulation in their daily social relations.

Research Question

The central research question is: *How do parent-child interactions create the conditions for children's cultural development of emotion and emotion regulation in everyday family life?*

Parents are the primary socialisers of children's development and, therefore, play an important role in the development of emotion and its regulation in children.

Literature reviewed suggested the involvement of fathers in emotions research (see Chapter 2). Hence, parents in the study include both mothers and fathers. Instead of being a determinant, social relations are the source of development (Vygotsky, 1994a) that *create the conditions* for child development. The child (e.g., subjective properties) is the decisive factor of his/her development. *Children* refer to young individuals aged between three to six (including six and a half) years in the study. The *cultural* means the social (Vygotsky, 1997a) that is broader than the ethnic culture. *Everyday family life* is the real life context, in contrast to laboratory settings.

Under the overarching research question, subsidiary questions are addressed in four papers (see Chapters 4-7). These questions include

- How do parents use play to support children's development of emotion regulation in everyday parent-child interactions? (Paper one/Chapter 4)
- How does parents' signification of children's emotions create the conditions for the emergence of children's intrapersonal emotion regulation in parent-child interactions? (Paper two/Chapter 5)
- How does parents' use of emotion regulation strategies in daily parent-child interactions relate to children's development of emotion regulation strategies? (Paper three/Chapter 6)
- How do parents experience emotionally charged situations with children and create the conditions for children's emotional development? (Paper four/Chapter 7)

Structure of the Thesis

After the introductory chapter, Chapter 2 firstly provides a literature review regarding the theoretical, conceptual, and empirical issues of the development of emotion and emotion regulation. It then narrows down to focus on the cultural-historical

theory used in the study. Due to the nature of the thesis by publication that each paper contains empirical and theoretical literature review, this chapter remains a sketch of the review, capturing the large picture of what has happened in the field of emotions research, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition.

Chapter 3 is a methodological chapter that discusses a cultural-historical research paradigm and the rational for the study, dialectical-interactive methodology, qualitative case study approach, and research design.

Chapters 4-7 are composed of four papers, presenting findings of the study. Each paper/chapter addresses one subsidiary research question listed above. Chapter 4 shows that everyday play introduced by parents as a maintainer, a reward, and a temptation created an emotional zone of proximal development that assists children's development of emotion and emotion regulation in parent-child interactions.

Chapter 5 reports that parents re-signed the emotion-related signs of children, which supported the emergence of children's intrapersonal emotion regulation.

Chapter 6 presents another finding that the emotion regulation strategies used by parents, acting as an ideal form, created conditions for children's acquisition of emotion regulation strategies.

Chapter 7 indicates that parents' perezhvianie, as a collective unity of affect, intellect, and act, created the conditions for children's development of emotion regulation. Their perezhivanie does not function alone but interacts with children's emotional experiences, which reflects its nature of mutuality and collectivity.

Chapter 8 draws the thesis into a conclusion. It summarises all findings, discusses contributions, implications, and limitations of the study, and suggests directions for the future research in the field of early emotions research.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the study. The next chapter reviews the literature on emotion and emotion regulation in early childhood and provides an overview of the cultural-historical theory for the study.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on children's development of emotion and emotion regulation mainly in early childhood in the last 20 years. However, this is not a comprehensive and detailed review due to the nature of the thesis by publications where each chapter has its individual literature review. My purpose in this review is to gather general information in the field of emotions research, to identify research gaps where the study can fit in, and to brief a theoretical framework that is used in the study.

The review begins with the general information in the field of emotions research, including its theoretical, conceptual, and empirical issues. Findings and research gaps are summarised at the end of the empirical issues section. After that, a cultural-historical theory is briefly introduced.

Theoretical Issues

Research on emotions started with Darwin's and James's works at the end of the 19 century (Avia, 1999). I began the review of the mounting literature with various theories of emotions because theories are fundamental in emotions research. In the review, my purpose was to gain a general understanding of the area instead of studying all theories in detail.

Emotion has been studied in numerous disciplines such as psychology, philosophy, history, anthropology, sociology, and cultural psychology (Strongman, 1996, 2003). The majority of literature on emotions falls into the discipline of psychology. Emotion theories in this discipline vary, including developmental theories, cognitive theories, social theories, behavioural theories, physiological theories,

phenomenological theories, clinical theories, specific emotions theories, phenomenological theories, and early philosophical theories of emotion (Strongman, 1996, 2003). Due to my research topic being on the *development* of emotion and emotion regulation, the focus of this section is on a selective review of four developmental emotion theories that are basic and influential in the field, including structuralist, functionalist, systems, and social-cultural perspectives.

Structuralist approach. Structuralist approach, also known as a biological perspective in some literature (e.g., Mascolo & Griffin, 1998), prioritises the biological functioning or the role of discrete emotional systems in emotion responding (Mascolo & Griffin, 1998). It conceptualises emotions as discrete systems of physiology, expressive behavioural and subjective activities (Ackerman, Abe, & Izard, 1998; Ekman, 1992; Izard, 1977). The underlying assumption of this approach is that "a core emotion is manifested in a correlated fashion across different expressive modalities" (Thompson, 2011a, p. 279). Discrete emotional systems are convergent activities (Thompson, 2011a). Izard (1977) identified 10 discrete emotions that have their neural foundations, including interest, joy, surprise, distress, anger, disgust, contempt, fear, shame, and guilt.

Functionalist approach. A functionalist approach rises in popularity in the 1980s (Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). It views emotions as psychological functions (Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). This means emotions reflect *goal* achievement of individuals (Thompson, 2011a). For example, a child may get upset when s/he cannot achieve a goal of winning an award of chocolates. Another feature of this approach is its emphasis on the reciprocal relationships between an individual and the environment (either external or internal) in relation to goals (Barret & Campos, 1987). Changes in the individual lead to that in the environment, and vice versa (Barret & Campos, 1987). Furthermore, Fischer and Manstead (2008) advanced the social functions of emotions that emotions help individuals' social survival. The functionalist approach contributes to

the understanding of the complexity of emotion responding and regulation, as well as participants' emotional experience and researchers' interpretation of emotions (Thompson, 2011a).

Systems perspectives. Different from structuralist, developmental systems theory such as dynamic systems theory and developmental systems highlights mutual relations of aspects of an emotional system (Camras & Witherington, 2005; Mascolo & Griffin, 1998). In drawing upon Fogel and Wolff's and lately Lewis's theoretical work, the dynamic systems theory centres on *self-organisation* that origins from reciprocal relations among different aspects in a system (Camras & Witherington, 2005). It contributes to the analysis of developmental changes in emotions such as emotional expressions, as well as to the understanding of the organisation of different systems in managing emotional responding (Thompson, 2011a). The developmental systems theory asserts that different components of emotion impact on one another and is conditioned by contexts in emotional response (Thompson, 2011a). Thompson (2011a) pointed out its strength that this theory explains changes in emotional development.

Social-cultural perspective. A social-cultural perspective stresses the importance of social and cultural aspects in emotional development (Mascolo & Griffin, 1998) and perceives emotional development as a result of socio-cultural co-construction (Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). This emphasis does not mean to neglect biological factors in emotional development (Oatley, 1993, as cited in Mascolo & Griffin, 1998). Compared to the structuralist account, the social-cultural perspective transcends structuralist's limitation in intrapersonal activities of individuals (Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). Although some functionalists and systems perspectives pay attention to the social context of emotions, their interpersonal attention remains peripheral (Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). Holodynski and Friedlmeier (2006) further commented that the social-cultural perspective does not focus on the re-

directional relations between the individual and social-cultural factors. Instead, it mainly goes in one direction, that is, how social-cultural dimensions impact on individuals.

Summary. Various theoretical perspectives have their unique contributions to the field of emotions research. However, they have limitations. Other theoretical perspectives that go beyond a focus on examining emotions in themselves and on a one-way relation of extrinsic emotions are needed. Such possible frameworks may include Holodynski's (2013) internalisation model of emotional development that is based on a cultural-historical theory (see Chapter 5). The cultural-historical theoretical framework is used in the study and is discussed later in the chapter.

Conceptual Issues

This section discusses fundamental conceptual questions of emotion and emotion regulation. These questions include what is an emotion? What develops in emotional development? What is emotion regulation? What develops in the development of emotion regulation? How do emotion (generation) and emotion regulation relate to each other?

What is an emotion? What develops in emotional development?

In 1884, William James asked a question, "What is an emotion?" This long-term historical issue remains a debate in contemporary emotion research (Barrett, 2006; Thompson, 2011b). Definitions of emotion vary in the different literature due to diverse theoretical perspectives (Cole, Martin, & Dennis, 2004; Mascolo & Griffin, 1998). Likewise, answers to another definitional question "what develops in emotional development" are various. Table 2.1 summarises basic theoretical perspectives in defining emotions and their development. This Table is directly but selectively adapted from Griffin and Mascolo's (1998) work.

Table 2.1

Basic Perspectives on the Definitional Questions of Emotions

Perspectives	Leading scholars	What is an emotion?	What develops?
Biological	Izard	Discrete sets of neurochemical processes-expressive behaviours-feeling states -- Each has its own neurophysiological substrate -- Each independent of cognition	Connections with other systems are established -- Emotions themselves are largely invariant over the life span
Cognitive	Kagan	Superordinate categories representing varied relations among external incentives, thoughts, a detected changes in feeling states	Incentives that contribute to feeling states develop as a function of cognitive development -- New emotions become possible
Structural-development-al	Sroufe	Subjective reactions to salient events characterized by physiological, experiential, and overt behavioural change	Differentiated affective systems (e.g., joy, anger, fear), undergo developmental transformation from earlier to more advanced forms organised around an affective core
Functionalist	Campos and Barrett	Patterns of interaction between organism and environment in service of a goal -- Dependent on "appreciation" of relation of event to goal	Number and complexity of interaction patterns change as a function of socialisation and cognition development -- Some "appreciations" exist at birth and are continuous over life span
Social-cultural	Abu-Lughod and Lutz	Socially or culturally constructed syndromes constituted by interaction of many components related to individuals in their social and physical context	Syndromes change as a function of socialisation, discursive practices, and enculturation.

(Adapted from Mascolo & Griffin, 1998, p. 5)

Table 2.1 shows the diversity in defining emotions from five theoretical perspectives. Gross and Barrett (2011) summarised a commonly agreed definition that emotions "refer to a collection of psychological states that include subjective experience, expressive behaviour (e.g., facial, bodily, verbal), and peripheral physiological responses (e.g., heart rate, respiration)" (p. 9). This definition describes a multi-faceted feature of emotions (Gross, 2013b). The second widely agreed characteristic of emotions is related to *when emotions arise* that emotions occur when an individual assesses goal related situations (e.g., biological, cultural, and social) (Scherer, Schorr, & Johnstone, 2001).

These two features are reflected in Gross's (2013b) modal model of emotion which shows the sequence of situation-attention-appraisal-response-situation. In the sequence, the starting point is an external or internal psychologically relevant situation where an individual perceives and evaluates the situation in relation to his/her goals, which leads to experiential, behavioural, and neurobiological alterations in the response system (Gross, 2013b). The response system then links back to the situation because it changes the situation (Gross, 2013b). Similarly, Izard (2009) noted the consensus on components and characteristics of emotions that the neural system is part of the emotion infrastructure and emotions "motivate cognition and action and recruit response systems" (p. 7).

Another feature is that emotions have "control precedence", that is, "a place of precedence in the control of action and of information processing" (Frijda, 1986, p. 78). Control precedence is able to privilege impulse and involuntary behaviours in an individual in some situations (Frijda, 1986). In everyday life, for example, when control precedence dominates a person, we may see him/her out of control of his/her emotions. However, what we can see can be opposite in a different situation because the person regulates his/her emotions in order to keep a nice image in front of other people. This

example indicates that emotions are adjustable, and their feature of control precedence allows for emotion regulation (Gross, Sheppes, & Urry, 2011a).

There are some key emotion related terms including affect, attitudes, moods, and feelings. According to Gross (1999, 2010, 2013b), affect is an umbrella term that covers three subsets of affective processes, attitudes, moods, and emotions, although this ordering is not a universal agreement. Attitudes refer to "relative stable beliefs about the goodness or badness of something or someone" whilst moods are "less stable than attitudes, and unlike attitudes, often do not have specific objects" (Gross, 2010, p. 212). Emotions are the shortest and most unstable state among these three affective processes (Gross, 2010) and have different types encompassing basic emotions (e.g., joy, interest, anger, sadness, disgust, & fear), emotion schemas (i.e., emotions that interact with cognition and impact on mind and behaviour) (Izard, 2009), and socialising emotions (e.g., pride and shame) (Röttger-Rössler, Scheidecker, Jung, & Holodynski, 2013). Both Gross (2010) and Izard (2009) considered feelings as an aspect of emotions. Damasio (2003) defined feeling as "the perception of a certain state of the body along with the perception of a certain mode of thinking and of thoughts with certain themes" (p. 86). One important requirement to have feelings is consciousness. However, Izard (2009) argued that feeling an emotion does not promise a high level of conscious awareness. My view is that feeling is a conscious affective process in parallel with rather than subordinate to emotions when affect is an umbrella term.

What is emotion regulation? Emotion regulation is one form of affect regulation other than coping, mood regulation and psychological defences (Gross, 1998; Gross, Richards, & John, 2006). Similar to the conceptual issue of emotions, defining emotion regulation has also been a debatable problem in emotion regulation research (Bridges, Denham, & Ganiban, 2004). Most child development literature regarding emotion regulation does not define the notion but only uses it (Cole, 2014; Cole et al.,

2004). Studies that contain a definition of emotion regulation have frequently drawn upon Thompson's definition (Cole, 2014; Denham, 2010) that "emotion regulation consists of the extrinsic and intrinsic processes responsible for monitoring, evaluating, and modifying emotional reactions, especially their intensive and temporal features, to accomplish one's goals" (Thompson, 1994, pp. 27-28). This definition is integrative (Denham, 2010) and contains the external impact on emotions (Gross, 1998). Compared to Thompson's (1994) definition, Gross (1998) highlighted emotion regulation in *self* that

> Emotion regulation refers to the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions. Emotion regulatory processes may be automatic or controlled, conscious or unconscious, and may have their effects at one or more points in emotion generative process. (Gross, 1998, p. 275)

Gross (1998) specified emotion regulatory processes that encompass situation selection, situation modification, attention deployment, cognitive change, and response modulation. I used both aforementioned definitions of emotion regulation as an integrated working definition in this study. In the definition, I stress the role of one's *goals* in emotion regulation, which is emphasised by a functionalist view (Frijda, 1987; Izard, 2009; Saarni, Campos, Camras, & Witherington, 2006). These goals are related to individuals' needs and intentions. They impact on whether individuals regulate their emotions and to what extent.

Another vague issue in the definition is that emotion regulation can be understood either the regulation *by* or *of* emotions (Gross, 2013b; Gross & MuAoz, 1995). The regulation *by* emotions refers to that emotions regulate something else, for instance, behaviour and thoughts (Gross, 2013b). An alternative term used in Holodynski and Friedlmeier's (2006) work is *emotional* regulation or emotional action

regulation. The regulation *of* emotions means that the object of regulation is emotions instead of something else, for example, we attempt to regulate our emotions through expressing them differently (Gross & MuAoz, 1995). To achieve the regulation *of* emotions, what is regulated includes arousal processes operated by neurophysiological systems, attention processes, emotionally arousing events, encoding of internal emotion cues, access to coping researches, emotional demands of familiar settings, and emotion expression in accordance with situational goals (Thompson, 1994). Holodynski and Friedlmeier (2006) used the notion emotion regulation to refer to the regulation of emotions. In the current study, emotion regulation refers to both the regulation by and of emotions.

What develops in the development of emotion regulation? According to Thompson and Goodman (2010), the development of emotion regulation encompasses moving from extrinsic to intrinsic emotion regulation (i.e., emotion self-regulation); changing emotion self-regulation strategies from behavioural (e.g., seeking support) to psychological strategies (e.g., cognitive reappraisal); using a wider range of emotion regulation strategies in a more sophisticated and flexible way; recruiting both emotion-specific (e.g., manage anger but not sadness through a certain skill) and emotion-general emotion self-regulation strategies (e.g., leaving a negative situation); developing superior interpersonal and individual goals that are behind self-regulatory efforts which have combined with social and cultural rules; and enhancing individual differences in emotion regulation (e.g., regulation goals and strategies) in keeping with personality development.

How do emotion (generation) and emotion regulation relate to each other? A long-term debate in emotion regulation research has been about the distinction between emotion generation and emotion regulation. Scholars have different opinions on whether emotion and emotion regulation should be separated or as an

indivisible whole (Kappas, 2011). Some prefer to divide emotion and emotion regulation into two processes (Ekman, 2003). Others argue that emotion and emotion regulation are in one (Campos, Frankel, & Camras, 2004; Frijda, 1986; Kappas, 2011, 2013; Thompson, 2011b). In many situations, the differentiation is detrimental since it blurs when and why emotions are modified (Mesquita & Frijda, 2011). Gross et al. (2011a) comment that there is no one right or wrong position on the distinction between emotion generation and emotion regulation. What is essential is to make one's perspective and goals clear and to allow diversity. They also suggest to transcending this debate to "a more specific consideration of *when* and *in what ways* this distinction is useful and from what philosophical vantage point" (Gross et al., 2011a, p. 775).

My perspective, in answering the question of how emotion (generation) is related to emotion regulation, is to agree with some scholars' view (e.g., Frijda, 1986; Mesquita & Frijda, 2011) that *emotion regulation is part of emotion*. They are intertwined in everyday situations (Gross et al., 2011a) and are inseparable. The development of emotion regulation is therefore considered a dimension of emotional development.

Summary. This section discussed five definitional questions about the development of emotion and emotion regulation. Although answers vary according to different theoretical perspectives, some agreements are reached. A working definition of emotion regulation was developed by integrating two commonly known definitions to guide this study. This conceptual section lays an important foundation for my understanding of the field in emotion and emotion regulation, as well as for the development of the study.

Empirical Issues: Themes and Methodological Approaches

The purpose of this section is to answer two basic questions about empirical studies on children's emotional development, "what have been researched?" and "How have they been researched?"

In the early childhood literature, children's emotional development has been commonly discussed together with social development under the term "social-emotional" or "socioemotional" development (see Denham & Brown, 2010; Teglasi, 2010). This is because social and emotional development is closely interrelated (Isen, 2008; Miller, Fine, et al., 2006; Saarni, 1999). Similar terms to social-emotional development are social emotional learning (SEL) and social-emotional competence (Epstein, 2014). Related literature on social-emotional development/learning/competence is included in the review in addition to the literature on early emotional development between 1994 and 2014.

The result showed diverse research themes in the field of emotional development. This section covered four *main* themes in early emotional development appeared in the review, comprising the relations among emotional competence, attachment security, social competence, and school success, prevention and intervention, emotion socialisation, and emotion regulation. Other comparatively minor themes such as relations between emotional development and early literacy, play and social-emotional development, assessment and social-emotional development, the relations between the components of emotional competence, gender issues, and adults' perspectives on emotional development perspectives are not discussed here. Furthermore, methodological approaches and future research directions in emotion and emotion regulation research provided in the literature are also included.

Relations among emotional competence, attachment security, social competence, and school success. Much research examined relations among emotional competence, attachment security, social competence, and school success (e.g., Denham et al., 2013; Denham et al., 2012; Denham, Bassett, Way, Mincic, Zinsser, & Graling, 2012; Waters, Virmani, Thompson, Meyer, Raikes, & Jochem, 2010). Emotional competence encompasses emotional experience and expressiveness, emotion knowledge (e.g., understand their own and others' emotions), and emotion regulation (Denham, Zinsser, & Brown, 2013). Some studies found that secure attachment is positively related to emotional competence and social competence (Denham, 1994; Denham, Blair, Schmidt, & DeMulder, 2002; Panfile & Laible, 2012; Raikes &Thompson, 2006; Waters, et al., 2010). Others noted that emotional competence contributes to and predicts social competence and school success including classroom adjustment and academic readiness (Bassett, Denham, Mincic, & Graling, 2012; Denham, et al., 2003; Denham, Bassett, Zinsser, & Wyatt, 2014; Denham, Way, Kalb, Warren-Khot, & Bassett, 2013; Herndon, Bailey, Shewark, Denham, & Bassett, 2013; Spritz, Sandberg, Maher, & Zajdel, 2010). For example, less emotion knowledge at age three and four predicts aggression in the subsequent year and advanced emotion knowledge benefits early classroom adjustment and academic success (Denham et al., 2012). All these studies indicate that it is important to foster secure attachment in children in order to develop their emotional competence that plays an essential role in children's development of social competence and school success.

Prevention and intervention. There is another large body of literature describing preventive and interventional programs and evaluating their implementation in supporting young children's social and emotional development. The majority of these programs are designed and implemented in early childhood settings and for preparing educators (e.g., Hemmeter, Fox, & Snyder, 2013; Perez, 2011; Whitcomb & Merrell,

2012), with a few of them are particularly for families and parents (e.g., Fox, et al., 2012; Havighurst, Harley, & Prior, 2004). These programs vary across the world, including the Teaching Pyramid model (Branson & Demchak, 2011; Fox & Hemmeter, 2009; Hemmeter, Ostrosky, & Fox, 2006) and the Strong Start curriculum (Caldarella, Christensen, Kramer, & Kronmiller, 2009; Gunter, Caldarella, Korth, & Young, 2012; Whitcomb & Merrell, 2012) in the United States, the Television Program in Turkey (Baydar, Kagitcibasi, Kuntay, & Goksen, 2008), the Project Primar in Germany (Koglin & Petermann, 2011), and the Looking Glass project in Australia (Colmer, Rutherfors, & Murphy, 2011). The literature showed that the implementation of preventive and interventional programs is useful and pivotal because it contributes to the development of children's social and emotional competences and to their school readiness (Green, Malsch, Kothari, Busse, & Brennan, 2012; Izard, Trentacosta, King, & Mostow, 2004).

In addition to the description and evaluation of preventive and interventional programs, some literature focused on specific pedagogical strategies for enhancing social-emotional development, for example, storytelling and dramatization (Berkowitz, 2011; Wright, Diener, & Kemp, 2013), classroom pets that children learn emotions and their management through interactions with pets (Meadan & Jegatheesan, 2010), nursery rhymes mixing with music (Kenney, 2005), music experience for the development of emotion knowledge (Vist, 2011), Nurture Group approach (Cooper, 2004; Cooper & Tiknaz, 2005), garden-based learning activities (Miller, 2007), arts-based learning (Smilan, 2009), and the use of persona dolls (Pierce & Johnson, 2010). Another pedagogical strategy is to create a safe, caring, supportive, trust, and consistent environment (Berson & Baggerly, 2009; Gloeckler & Niemeyer, 2010; Swick, Knopf, Williams, & Fields, 2013), particularly for children who have experienced trauma. This approach reflects the essence of some intervention programs, for instance the Teaching

Pyramid, which stresses the importance of positive relationships among teachers, children, families and a helpful and engaging community (Hemmeter et al., 2006).

Emotion socialisation. In searching for the literature on children's emotional development, the term "emotion socialisation" and related studies emerged frequently. Except for the intrapersonal dimension including children's personal characteristics (e.g., temperament), emotion socialisation is considered a vital interpersonal factor impacting on children's emotional development (Denham, Bassett, & Wyatt, 2007). This section aims to obtain a general state of knowledge in the area of emotion socialisation in children. It begins with the definition of socialisation and emotion socialisation, followed by a summary of what has been researched and needs to be done in the field.

Definition. Socialisation is necessary for human beings to satisfy their needs of staying together securely and harmoniously and keeping their own wellbeing in different cultural groups and communities (Grusec & Hastings, 2007). Maccoby (2007), one of the key scholars in the area of socialisation research, defined socialisation as "processes whereby naïve individuals are taught the skills, behaviour patterns, values, and motivations needed for competent functioning in the culture in which the child is growing up" (p. 13). Emotion socialisation in children has become under a significant attention in contemporary socialisation research (Maccoby, 1992). In the current study, emotion socialisation is understood as processes where others contribute to children's development of emotional competence, such as parents, siblings, teachers/caregivers, peers, and other people.

Emotion socialisation has three mechanisms, *modelling* the expressiveness and display rules of emotions, *contingent reactions* to emotions, and intentional *teaching/coaching* of emotions (Denham et al., 2007). Emotion reactions are basically categorised into non-supportive and supportive reactions (Eisenberg, Cumberland, &

Spinrad, 1998). According to Gottman, Katz, and Hooven (1996), emotion coaching is associated with meta-emotion philosophy that refers to an organized set of an individual's thoughts and feelings regarding his/her own and his/her children's emotions. Emotion coaching meta-emotion philosophy involves being aware of emotions, taking negative emotion as coaching opportunities, labeling and validating children's emotions, and solving problems and discussing coping strategies with children (Gottman et al., 1996).

Emotion socialisation practices encompass both socialisers' beliefs and behaviours (i.e., emotion expressiveness, emotion reactions, and emotion talk/discussion) in supporting children's emotional development (Thompson & Meyer, 2007).

Relations between emotion socialisation and emotional development. A bulk of research focused on the relation between three mechanisms of emotion socialisation and children's development of emotional competence (e.g., Hurrell, Hudson, & Schniering, 2014; Morris, Denham, Bassett, & Curby, 2013). Such research found that socialisation agents' modelling, reactions to emotions and teaching/coaching are related to children's emotional expressiveness and experience, emotion understanding/knowledge, and emotion regulation (Denham, 1998; Hurrell et al., 2014). For example, some studies explored links between emotion coaching and emotion regulation. A laboratory based quantitative study conducted by Hurrell, Hudson, and Schniering's (2014) investigated the relationship between maternal emotional coaching (considered as one type of emotion talk in the study) and child emotion regulation in 74 pre-schoolers aged 46-58 months and their mothers. Findings suggested that maternal emotional coaching and child emotion regulation are related and emotional coaching can be enhanced through training.

Some other studies examined the relation between parental emotion reaction and children's emotional competence (e.g., Root, Byrne, & Watson, 2014). Eisenberg, Cumberland, and Spinrad (1998) suggested that parental non-supportive reactions (i.e. parental negative emotionality and negative reactions) to children's emotion display lead to children's negative emotionality (i.e., emotion expressivity and experience). In contrast, Root et al. (2014) found that mother's supportive reaction to children's fear helps children's development of emotion regulatory skills. However, Cole, Dennis, Smith-Simon and Cohen (2009) argued that supportive maternal response to children's emotions does not necessarily contribute to children's development of emotion regulation. Their study found that less emotional support from mothers predicts children's higher level of generation of regulation strategies. Maternal structuring (i.e., one type of supportive emotion regulation) is not associated with child strategy understanding.

The literature also showed the relation between adults' emotional expressiveness and emotion talk and children's emotion knowledge. For example, emotion talk predicts children's development of emotion knowledge (Bergen, Salmon, Dadds & Allen, 2009; Garner, Dunsmore, & Southam-Gerrow, 2008; Laible, 2011; Rivera & Dunsmore, 2011; Salmon & Bergen, 2010; Waters et al., 2010). The frequency of emotion talk (Laible, 2011; Rivera & Dunsmore, 2011), parental emotion explanation (Garner, et al., 2008; Laible, 2011; Salmon & Bergen, 2010), as well as parents' expression of positive emotions (Laible, 2011) in emotion talk have been considered essential factors associated with children's development of emotion understanding.

Future research directions. Several future research directions have been identified in the field of emotion socialisation. Since mother-participants have been dominant in most studies, it is necessary to involve other socialisation agents such as fathers in future studies (Denham et al., 2007; McElwain, Halberstadt, & Volling, 2007;

Nightengale, 2014; Sallquist, et al., 2010). Denham et al. (2007) also pointed out the need to take a developmental perspective (i.e., investigating developmental changes across the lifespan and the matter of context and meaning) to examine emotion socialisation in diverse cultural contexts beyond the European American culture where the majority of current studies sit in. In addition, observational research in naturalistic contexts requires more attention in the field (Hurrell et al., 2014).

Emotion regulation. Emotion regulation is a comparatively new research area that started to rise drastically in the 1990s (Gross, 1999, 2008). Figure 2.1 shows the number of publications that contain the exact term "emotion regulation" in Google Scholar in every 10 years from 1980 to 2010 and the latest year 2014 (for the number of publications each year, see Gross, 2013b). The number of publications showed in Figure 2.1 indicates the rapidly increasing attention in emotion regulation research. Gross (2008) explained the reasons this area becomes attractive that we all more or less encounter emotion regulation issues in our lives and emotion regulation research is pivotal in two scientific trends including multilevel collaboration and the reciprocal interaction between basic research and clinical application.

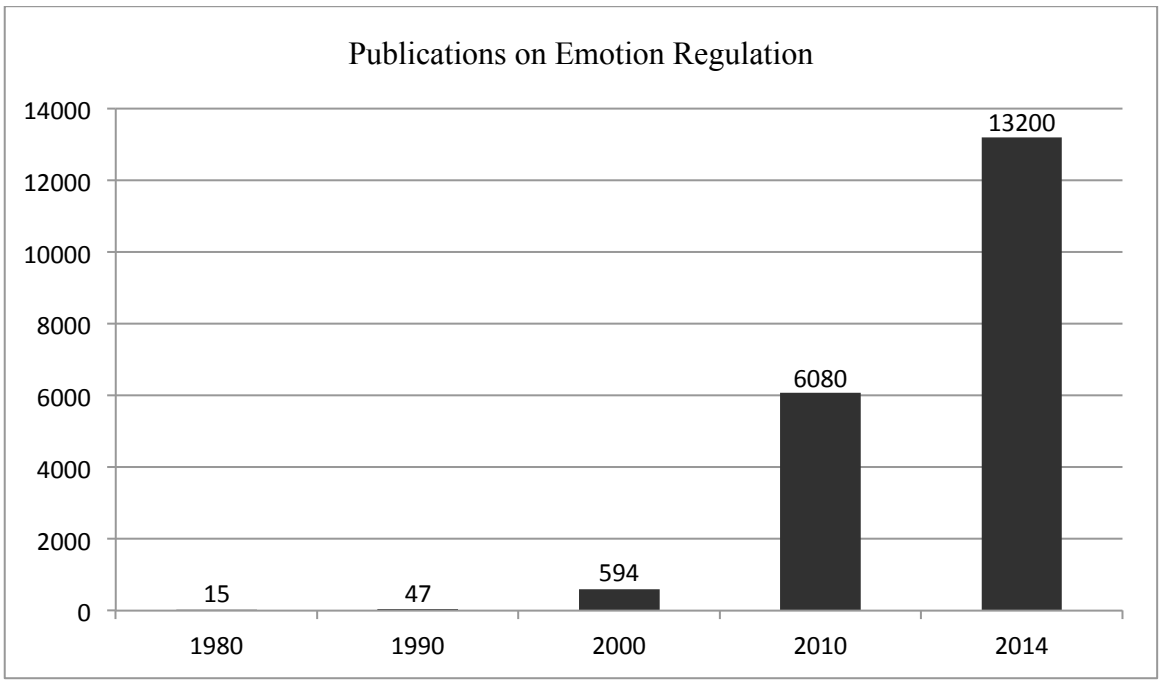

Figure 2.1. Number of publications that contain the exact term "emotion regulation" in Google Scholar.

Emotion regulation research has its historical root in the psychoanalytic tradition and the stress and coping tradition (Gross, 1999). It firstly appears in developmental and adult literature (Gross, 1999). In the discipline of psychology, emotion regulation has been studied in seven subfields of psychology including biological, cognitive, social, developmental, clinical, health, and personality psychology (Gross, 1998). This section mainly focuses on the literature on emotion regulation in early childhood development and education.

What has been researched? The burgeoning empirical literature on early emotion regulation centres to the *relationship* between emotion regulation and cognition executive functioning (Fuster & Tan, 2009), language ability (Cohen & Mendez, 2009; Karrass et al., 2006), attachment security (Waters et al., 2010), temperament and social competences (Blair, Denham, Kochanoff, & Whipple, 2004; Denham & Burton, 1996; Dollar & Stifter, 2012), contextual factors (e.g., culture, family functioning, and

teaching styles) (Boyer, 2013; Fosco & Grych, 2013; LaBillois, & Lagacé-Séguin, 2009), and psychopathology (Robinson et al., 2009). There are also a large number of studies focusing on emotion regulation strategies (e.g., antecedent-focused strategies and response-focused strategies including cognitive reappraisal and expressive suppression) (e.g., Sala, Pons, & Molina, 2014; Vikan, Karstad & Dias, 2013), the socialisation of emotion regulation (Root, Byrne & Watson, 2014; Thompson, 2013), emotional self-regulation (Raver, 2004; Thompson, Virmani, Waters, Raikes, & Meyer, 2013), and individual differences in emotion regulation (English & John, 2013). A detailed review on some of these topics is covered in papers (see Chapters 4-7) and is not repeated here.

How have they been researched? The study of emotion and emotion regulation has encountered methodological challenges such as "the inconsistent and often poor convergence of multiple measures of emotion from the same assessment" (Thompson, 2011a, p. 276), the proper assessment of emotions in developmental samples (Thompson, 2011a), and the improvement of the scientific rigor to go beyond poor design and the over-interpretation of results (Cole et al., 2004). There are diverse methodological approaches and measurements in the field (Adrian, Zeman, and Veits, 2011; Thompson, 2011a). According to Gross et al. (2006), dominant contemporary approaches include the semi-structured interview, the survey, and the laboratory experiment. Adrian, Zeman, and Veits (2011) in their 35-year review of emotion regulation assessment in children reported four basic measures of emotion regulation, namely, self-report methods, other reporters (e.g., parents, teacher, or peer), observational methods, and physiological-biological indicators. They also found that the types of measures used depend on different sample age groups (Adrian et al., 2011). For example, a self-report method is popular in middle childhood while an observational method is widely used in young children aged 3-5 years (Adrian et al., 2011). This is

because young children have difficult in becoming aware of, reflecting on, and reporting, their emotional experiences (Cole et al., 2004).

Self-report method, a quantitative method conducted in laboratory settings, requires participants to retrospect and report their emotional experiences and behaviours (Bylsma & Rottenberg, 2011). The disadvantage of this method is that participants are likely to be biased or erroneous in the reconstructive process when they recall feelings, thoughts, and behaviours (Bylsma & Rottenberg, 2011). A more advanced method, Experience Sampling Method (ESM), also known as Ecological Momentary Assessment (EMA), partially overcomes the weakness of the traditional self-report method. In ESM, participants "typically describe thoughts, feelings, and behaviours across a range of situations encountered in their daily lives" (Bylsma & Rottenberg, 2011, p. 226). This method has been commonly used in psychological research and clinical practice to capture the dynamic *processes* of emotion and emotion regulation in everyday life (Bylsma & Rottenberg, 2011; Cole, 2014). The study conducted by Carstensen et al. (2011) provided an empirical example in the use of this method. In the study, researchers used electronic pagers to page participants during the day to examine their feelings in everyday life (Carstensen et al., 2011). By collecting data in the real life setting, EMA avoids the limitation of laboratory context where there is difficulty to induce some real emotional experiences due to ethical concerns (Bylsma & Rottenberg, 2011). However, since this method still depends on the report of participants, it also has the limitation similar to that of the self-report method discussed earlier.

Future research directions in emotion and emotion regulation. The literature has advised future research foci and methodology in the study of emotion and emotion regulation. First, emotion and emotion regulation need to be understood and studied as *processes* rather than discrete objects (Cole, 2014; Gross, 2013a; Gross et al., 2006). More attention is required to examine *how regulatory processes develop* (Gross, 2013a;

Gross et al., 2011b) and nonlinear development of processes is essential in understating developmental changes of emotion self-regulation (Zimmermann & Thompson, 2014). Second, Gross (2013a) suggested to moving the research focus from intrinsic emotion regulation to *extrinsic emotion regulation* (i.e., emotion regulation between people). Third, much remains to be understood about the relation between *context* and emotion regulation (Aldao, 2013; Cole, 2014; Gross, 2013a; Gross et al., 2006). Contextual factors comprise all surrounding circumstances of a process such as the presence of other people (Aldao, 2013). Finally, it is essential to use *multi-methods* rather than a single quantitative or qualitative method (Adrian et al., 2011; Campos et al., 2004; Cole & Tan, 2014; Gross et al., 2006) to study emotion regulation in *everyday life* (Campos et al., 2011; Gross, 2010; Gross et al., 2006; Kurki, Järvelä, Mykkänen, & Määttä, 2014). For example, Campos et al. (2004) suggested to integrating experiment and ethnographic reports of behaviours in real-life situations.

Summary. In sum, the empirical literature review showed a wide range of *themes* on children's emotions and emotion regulation. Emotion regulation has been examined as part of emotional development in early childhood literature. One of the major categories of themes in early emotion regulation is on the links between emotion regulation processes (e.g., emotion regulation strategies) and other variations such as cognitive functions and personality traits. Among all the studies reviewed, the research theme on the *correlations* between emotional development (including emotion regulation) and other variations mentioned earlier dominates the early emotions research.

Similar to various research themes, the diversity also characterises methodological approaches. Different methods and measurements are used in emotion and emotion regulation research. However, quantitative methods in laboratory contexts, such as self-report, are predominant. This finding is consistent with what was found in Quinones's (2013) dissertation. Laboratory context is a greatly simplified setting where

it is hard to capture the complexity of emotion and its regulatory processes in real life (Campos et al., 2011) and has drawbacks in the generalization of findings (Rozin, 2001). Different methodological approaches and topics beyond laboratory based quantitative correlational studies are needed. Scholars in the field pointed out future research directions to focus on the *process* of emotional development in *extrinsic* emotion regulation by using *multi-methods* (particularly including *observational* methods) in *naturalistic* settings. Specifically, emotion socialisation research needs to take a developmental perspective that examines *developmental changes* across the lifespan with a consideration of context and meaning. It also is necessary to include socialisation agents other than mothers in studying emotional development in diverse cultural contexts other than European American culture.

In response to these research gaps, I employed a cultural-historical theoretical framework and a corresponding methodology to examine children's development of emotions and emotion regulation. The cultural-historical theory will be discussed in the section that follows.

Cultural-Historical Theory

Diverse theoretical perspectives lead to various understandings of child development. Many theorists in classical psychology, such as Freud whose psychoanalytical theory has a heavy biological tendency, interpret development through a *single* aspect of development, either a biological or a sociological facet (Kravtsova, 2010; Vygotsky, 1997a). For example, some biological features including dentition and age have been dominantly used to judge the level of children's whole development (Fleer, 2010). In contrast, Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory, known as a non-classical psychology, opens a new page in the understanding of child development. This theoretical perspective offers *a holistic view* of child development by integrating the

biological and sociological positions together to study child development as a dialectical whole rather than a separate element (Kravtsova, 2010; Vygotsky, 1997a).

Compared to four basic categories of emotion theories (i.e., structuralist, functionalist, system theories, and social-cultural perspective) discussed earlier, although Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory appears to be similar to the social-cultural perspective because they both share an interpersonal tendency in studying emotions, they are different. Cultural-historical theory focuses on the *reciprocal* relation between the subject and the environment (Vygotsky, 1998) whilst the social-cultural perspective limits in one direction mainly on how the environment changes the subject (Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). In addition, empirical studies from the social-cultural perspective predominantly focus on ethnical culture in the environment whilst cultural-historical development has a broader interpretation of the environment.

This section aims to provide a general picture of Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory rather than an exhaustive theoretical discussion since main theoretical concepts are discussed in papers (see Chapters 4-7). It begins with the background information on Vygotsky and his cultural-historical theory, followed by three periods of his theoretical legacy. After that, a brief cultural-historical view of child development is introduced.

Vygotsky and a brief cultural-historical background of his theory. Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky, the "Mozart of psychology" (Toulmin, 1978, as cited in Wertsch, 1985) and the founder of non-classical psychology (Robbins, 2010; Veresov, 2006; & Kravtsova, 2010), was born in a Jewish middle-class family in Tsarist Russia in 1896 (van der Veer, 1997). His cultural-historical view in psychology was influenced by his cultural-historical life experiences. Starting from his childhood, Vygotsky had a great interest in cultural life that was reflected in his passion with art (e.g., drama and poems) (van der Veer, 1997). After his graduation in 1917, he became

a teacher and a cultural official who dedicated to meet the social need of a high quality education and culture that was resulted from the national Russian Revolution in 1917 and the international First World War during 1914-1918 (van der Veer, 1997).

After that, in his academic career, he was also an active clinical psychologist. His working experiences with children with special needs (e.g., blind, dead, and mental impaired children) gave him insight into the creation of cultural-historical theory (van der Veer, 1997). Vygotsky held a view that the problem of the development of those children was not their socially considered biological defects but the mismatch between their natural abilities and cultural tools (van der Veer, 1997). For example, most existing cultural tools (e.g., vocal language) are suitable for the majority of people but not the minority group. He highlighted the important role of cultural tools in the development of children with special needs. This insight shed the light to his later developed theoretical view of considering the environment as the source (Vygotsky, 1994a) rather than the factor of development.

Vygotsky's life experiences in the broad social and historical context had more or less impacted on the development of his cultural-historical theory. As stated by Gonzalez Rey (2011a), the cultural-historical psychology starts with Vygotsky's interest in "looking for ways through which complex social, economic, and cultural facts become psychological processes" (p. 261). The following section discusses different periods of his theoretical legacy.

Three periods of Vygotsky's theoretical legacy. Vygotsky's work was categorised into three moments by his different theoretical emphasises. Those moments with corresponding theoretical emphasis and his representative works are summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.2

Three Periods of Vygotsky's Theoretical Legacy

Moment	Period	Theoretical Emphasis	Representative Work
First	1915-1927	The generative character of human psyche: Emotions, fantasy, motivation, unconsciousness, imagination, the unity of affect and intellect, and personality	*Psychology of Art* (1971), *The Fundamentals of Defectology* (1993), and *Educational Psychology* (1997b)
Second	1928-1931	Objectivistic and instrumental view: Semiotic mediation, signs, cognition, internalisation, and higher mental functions	"The problem of the cultural development of the child" (1994b b), "The genesis of higher mental functions" (1997a), and "Tool and sign in the development of the child" (1999)
Third	1932-1934	Subjective complexity: Emotions, sense, and perezhivanie (the unity of affect and intellect)	"Thinking and speech" (1987), "On the questions of the psychology of the creative artist" (1999), "The problem of the environment" (1994a), and "The teaching about emotions" (1999)

(Source: Gonzalez Rey, 2007, 2011a; Smagorinsky, 2011)

It can be seen from Table 2.1 that Vygotsky's theoretical foci in his career were inconsistent. Emotions and the unity of affect and intellect emerged in the first phases of his work. The second phase took a different direction towards cognition, objectivism, and semiotic mediation, with little attention to emotions. In the last period of his life, Vygotsky returned to the focus on "a theoretical development of the problem of affect, its relationship to intellectual processes and to the problem of the transition from elementary emotions to the highlight feelings characteristic of man" (p. 15), due to his

dissatisfaction and problems concurred with his previous emphasis on the cognitive mental functions in the study of human personality as a system (Bozhovich, 1977).

His theoretical ideas in the second phase that highlights the intellectualism (Bozhovich, 1977) have been widely known as the cultural-historical theory (Gonzalez Rey, 2007, 2011a). In contrast, his theoretical attempts in the first and last periods of his career have been highly ignored by both Soviet and Western psychologists (Gonzalez Rey, 2011a). Additionally, due to Vygotsky's short life, those interesting ideas emerged in the first and last phases of his work were not fully developed and finished (Bozhovich, 2009; Gonzalez Rey, 2011a; Mahn & John-Steiner, 2002; Smagorinsky, 2011). This theoretical gap opened space for my study to explore children's development of emotion and emotion regulation from a cultural-historical theory. Although some related works of Vygotsky have not been completed, each period of Vygotsky's existing work was important and inspired the study when all his contradictory ideas were brought together and examined as a whole in the study.

A cultural-historical view of child development. Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory centres on the *origin* and *process* of child development (Chaiklin, 2003; Veresov, 2010a). It is a system encompassing various theoretical concepts and principles that illustrate the origin and process of development (Chaiklin, 2003; Veresov, 2010a; Vygotsky, 1997a). Some of the main ideas of this theory including the relations between two lines of development and cultural development (general genetic law, process, and social as the source of development) are discussed in this section. Some other key concepts that are used in the study, including tools and signs, the interactions between ideal and real forms, zone of proximal development, social situation of development, and perezhivanie, are elaborated in papers (see Chapter 4-7).

Two lines of development: Natural or cultural? Differing from the perspective of classic psychology on child development that has a single biological orientation, the

cultural-historical view emphasises the dialectical unit of the two lines of development, i.e., natural and cultural (Vygotsky, 1997a). The natural line is the biological maturation and growth whilst the cultural line refers to the cultural, social, and historical formation of all mental functions (Vygotsky, 1994b, 1997a). These two lines of development are intertwined together and inseparable (Vygotsky, 1994b). As elaborated by Vygotsky,

> Cultural development of the child is still characterized primarily by the fact that it occurs under conditions of dynamic change in organic type. It is superimposed on processes of growth, maturation, and organic development of the child and forms a single whole with these…The growing of the normal child into civilization usually represents a single merging with processes of his organic maturation. Both plans of development—the natural and the cultural-coincide and merge. Both orders of changes mutually penetrate each other and form in essence a single order of social-biological formation of the child personality. To the extent that organic development occurs in a cultural environment, to that extent it is turned into a historically conditioned biological process. At the same time, cultural development acquires a completely unique and incomparable character since it occurs simultaneously and is merged with organic maturation, since its carrier is the growing, changing, maturing organism of the child. (Vygotsky, 1997a, pp. 19-20).

Child development is determined by the merge of cultural and biological lines of development. The cultural mediates children's mental functions but is conditioned by their natural maturation that in turn is modified by the culture (Vygotsky, 1994b; 1997a). In my opinion, this cultural-historical view highlights the importance of both the subject and the environment in examining child development. It informed the study to explore parents' role in the emotional development of children in a certain age group (3-6years). Both parents as a cultural form and children's biological age were considered in the study. The following section focuses on the cultural development of the child.

Cultural development. Central to the cultural development of a child is its general genetic law that is conceptualised by Vygotsky (1997a) as

> Every function in the cultural development of the child appears on the stage twice, in two planes, first, the social, then the psychological, first between people as an intermental category, then within the child as a [sic] intramental category. This pertains equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, to the formation of concepts, and to the development of will. (Vygotsky, 1997a, p. 106).

This principle conveys three important messages. First, the social relation is the *source* of development (Vygotsky, 1994a). This means that child development has its origin in their social relations with the environment. The cultural refers to the social that is broader than the ethnic culture (Vygotsky, 1997a).

Second, the principle indicates that not all social relations but "the drama that occurs among people" (p. 106), meaning "a collision of the innate and the social-historical" (p. 222), is essential for the cultural development of the child (Vygotsky, 1997a). He explained this message of drama in an example of arithmetic development (see Chapter 8 in Vygotsky, 1997a) that children developed arithmetic in the collision between what they can do by themselves and what adults require or teach them to do. The idea of drama or dramatic collision that is emotionally coloured, according Veresov (2010a, 2010b), was reflected in the term "category" which was originally developed as part of the glossary informing the theatre in Russia. In the current study, Vygotsky's (1997a) idea of the dramatic social relations informed me to focus on emotionally charged situations where there were conflicts in children's social interactions.

Third, the cultural development is a process of developmental change from the inter- to the intra-psychological functioning. Semiotic mediation is essential in the process. Vygotsky (1997a, 1994b) has explained four basic processes of cultural development in cognition, including the primitive, using external methods without

understanding, using external methods with understanding, and internalization. The first process is the natural or primitive stage where children interact with the external world through their *innate* biological functions. It is a natural state of development that has not undergone a cultural development. This is followed by the process of naïve psychology where children attempt to copy adults to use the external assistance of cultural methods *without* understanding and awareness. For instance, children try to use pictures as a way of memorizing words but they cannot because they are unable to understand the connections between pictures and words. In the third process, children are able to *voluntarily* (i.e., understanding and conscious awareness) use external methods (e.g., signs). For example, the natural connections between pictures and words were made and new connections were created. This process quickly turns to the last process of the internalization of external methods. Once are external activities transformed into internal activities, auxiliary methods are no longer needed. As a result, there is a decrease in the use of external methods. This procedure is described as "seam-like ingrowing" (p. 66) by Vygotsky (1994b). Mediation plays an essential role in the process of transformation from the inter- to the intra-psychological functioning (for a further theoretical discussion, see Chapter 5).

The cultural development discussed above mainly represents Vygotsky's ideas in his second period of work stressing an objectivistic and instrumental view of child development. Although these ideas are important, they have been criticised about their over-emphasis on the role of the social factor in child development (Bodrova & Leong, 2007). Some scholars (e.g., Gonzalez Rey, 2009, 2014) also questioned his idea of internalization from the external to the internal mental functions (see Chapter 5). Vygotsky himself was also dissatisfied with the intellectualism in his work (Bozhovich, 1977). However, Vygotsky's objectivistic and instrumental view in the second period of

his work is only part of the whole story. His ideas in the first and third periods that link to subjectivity and emotions are essential and are discussed below.

Subjectivity and emotions. Since Vygotsky's first and third periods of work (see Table 2.1) is unfinished, contemporary scholars such as Bozhovich and Gonzalez Rey have been devoted to the development of his work. Particularly, Gonzalez Rey's work on a system of knowledge about subjectivity and emotions greatly contributes to a comprehensive understanding of human psyche and child development, overcoming a one-sided interpretation of Vygotsky's work centring on semiotic mediation.

The concept of subjectivity goes beyond the predominant understanding of human psyche as "logical, objective, cognitive, and instrumental" (Gonzalez Rey, 2007, p. 6). It challenges the reflective character of the human psyche and stresses its generative character (Gonzalez Rey, 2007, 2011b). This means that human psyche is not simply a duplicate of the reality but has the ability to generate new psychological processes that are not objective but an aspect of human reality (Gonzalez Rey, 2007, 2009, 2011b, 2012). This subjective aspect of psychological phenomenon disagrees with the one-sided conception of development that occurs from the external to the internal (Gonzalez Rey, 2004, 2007). Rather, development is as a result of the integration of the external and the internal (Gonzalez Rey, 2004).

The subject has its emotional character because the subject is in its experiences, carrying a complicated system of motives and needs (Gonzalez Rey, 2002). Bozhovich (1997, 2009) explains that the experience of emotions reflects motives and needs, such as the level of satisfaction of a subject's needs. Needs are the sources of emotions (Gonzalez Rey, 2002) and their development closely links to the development of emotions (Bozhovich, 1977). The concept of motive is traditionally understood as still and concrete driving force of human behaviour but interpreted by Vygotsky as psychological units, although it is underdeveloped in Vygotsky's work and Soviet

Psychology (Gonzalez Rey, 2014). The study of emotional experiences contributes to the understanding of motives and needs (Bozhovich, 2009).

Vygotsky, in the third period of his life, directed his attention to the unity of affect and intellect through the concept of sense which was firstly and narrowly understood by Vygotsky as "the internal, semantic instance of language" (p. 7) and later as a novel unity of human psyche (Gonzalez Rey, 2007). Sense, perezhivanie, and the social situation of development introduced in Vygotsky's last period of work indicate his focus on unities rather than elements in examining human development (Gonzalez Rey, 2009). Sense and perezhivanie are both unities configured in subject's experiences and emphasize the pivotal role of emotions in the interpretation of human psyche (Gonzalez Rey, 2009). As pointed out by Bozhovich (1977), Vygotsky "denoted to entire last period of his life to a theoretical development of the problem of affect, its relationship to intellectual processes and to the problem of the transition from elementary emotions to the higher feelings characteristic of man" (p. 15).

Gonzalez Rey (2004) developed the notion of subjective sense to replace sense in order to "rescue the meaning of sense from the development of historical cultural definition of subjectivity" (p. 256). Subjective sense is an indivisible unity of symbolic processes and emotions (Gonzalez Rey, 2004, 2007, 2008). That is, "emotions are generated from a complex system of sense in which semiotic codes take part" (Gonzalez Rey, 2004, p. 257). Of central in symbolic processes is the meaning. The relation between emotions and meanings is that emotions are in meanings and impacted by meanings (Gonzalez Rey, 2004).

The production of subjective sense is resulted from the complicated and dynamic process of *subjective configuration* in the social *contexts* where the subject develops actions (Gonzalez Rey, 2007). Gonzalez Rey (2007) suggested that subjective sense is the units of a new system, namely, subjectivity that is a system constantly

involving in "the *tension* between the social and the individual configurations" (p. 10). The tension or contradiction brings about qualitative changes in the configuration and is essential to human development (Gonzalez Rey, 2008, 2012). Gonzalez Rey (2008) states that this tension is reflected in Vygotsky's (1998) concept of the "social situation of development" (p. 198) that refers to a system of relations between the subject and the environment and "represents the initial moment for all dynamic changes that occur" (p. 198). He further explains that

> The subject represents a living and open expression of personality, which constantly generates reflections, emotions, and complex clusters of emotions and ideas that are permanently in contradiction within the complex processes of communication that characterize social systems of relationships. Those contradiction lead the subject to assume new alternatives, to develop new systems of sense, as well as to produce new constructions that lead him or her to move through the complex spaces of social life. (Gonzalez Rey, 2004, p. 267).

Gonzalez Rey's interpretation about the role of tension is consistent with Vygotsky's (1997a) drama and Veresov's (2010a, 2010b) interpretation of category in the general genetic law of development discussed earlier. The idea of tension that characterises the possibility of human development further inspired the study to examine the contradictions between the child and the environment such as parents' demands in studying children's development of emotion and emotion regulation.

Vygotsky's first and third moments of work and contemporary scholars' related works inspired the study to take a holistic view in the exploration of children's development of emotion and emotion regulation. That is to transcend the dichotomy of the external and the internal. For example, the child and the environment are an inseparable whole and therefore it is important to take both parents' and children's perspectives and focusing on their relations. In addition, emotions cannot be studied

alone. Instead, they should be explored together with other mental functions such as intellect in a system that configures in the living experiences of the subject.

Summary. This brief theoretical review has provided background information about Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory and his major ideas on child development, as well as the contemporary work of some key contributors on the further development of his unfinished work. A theoretical gap has been identified and how the theory inspired the study also has been discussed.

Conclusion

The chapter has reviewed the literature on children's early development of emotion and emotion regulation. General information in the field including the theoretical, conceptual, and empirical issues, as well as the cultural-historical theoretical framework, has been discussed. Theoretical and empirical research gaps have been identified, which indicated a need to investigate the cultural development of children's emotion and emotion regulation in naturalistic settings by using multiple methods (particularly qualitative methods) from a cultural-historical perspective. The next chapter discusses research methodology.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to discuss research paradigm, methodology, and methods of the study. Informed by the cultural-historical paradigm, this study employed a dialectical-interactive mythology and a qualitative case study approach/method for data collection and analysis. The justification for adopting the paradigm, the methodology, and methods are elaborated in sections that follow.

Cultural-Historical Research Paradigm

A research paradigm is a philosophical worldview or a set of beliefs that guides the research project (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In social research, positivism and anti-positivism are two basic categories of paradigms (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). Positivists, also termed as objectivists, perceive the social world as natural phenomena that are "hard, real and external to the individual" (p. 8), aligned with quantitative research approach including the use of surveys and experiments for data collection (Cohen, et al., 2007). In contrast, anti-positivists or subjectivists understand the social world as soft reality created by human beings and use a qualitative approach for data collection and analysis (Cohen, et al., 2007). The interpretivist/constructivist is a commonly known paradigm falling into the anti-positivist category. Constructivists believe the reality is socially reconstructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) and stress participants' understanding of the reality (Creswell, 2014). They employ a qualitative or a mixed method for data collection and analysis (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006).

Cultural-historical. The current study is based on a type of constructivism, that is, cultural-historical research paradigm. What does "cultural-historical" mean? According to Vygotsky (1997a), "everything cultural is social" (p. 106) and is "by its nature a historical phenomenon" (p. 9). Something is social has an interactive nature. *Social interactions* are therefore the focus of the current study in emotional development. In addition, studying something historically does not simply mean to explore its past but to

> Study it in motion…To encompass in research the process of development of some thing [sic] in all its phases and changes-from the moment of its appearance to its death-means to reveal its nature, to know its essence, for only in movement does the body exhibit that it is. Thus, historical study of behavior is not supplementary or auxiliary to theoretical study, but is a basis of the latter. (Vygotsky, 1997a, p. 43).

Vygotsky's this explanation indicates one of the central characteristics of the cultural-historical research paradigm, that is, investigating development in its movement. The movement refers to all changes and processes from the beginning to the end of a developmental course (Vygotsky, 1997a). This dynamic process is discussed in the next section.

Process. Development is not a specific and static *thing* but a whole dynamic *process* (Vygotsky, 1997a). This whole process includes how development starts to occur (i.e., the origin/genesis), to establish, and to reach a higher level of development (i.e., the result) (Vygotsky, 1997a). Vygotsky (1978) used a metaphor of "buds", "flowers", and "fruits" (p. 86) to describe different processes of development such as maturing and matured processes. Therefore, the method of analysis in cultural-historical research paradigm focuses on analysing how development takes place from the buds to the fruits. In the current study, the process of the development of emotion and emotion

regulation should be examined, for example, how children's raw emotions are developed into cultural emotions.

Genetic analysis. The cultural-historical research paradigm also emphasises a genetic analysis that returns to *the initial point and establishment* of development instead of fossils (i.e., the finished and solidified result of a long history of development) (Vygotsky, 1997). Examples of fossils in human behaviours can be a calm facial expression when an individual is in danger or an upsetting situation. This calm reaction does not necessary indicate his/her original reactions such as a frightened emotion expression. Some genetic traits of emotional expressions have already lost. Hence, it is important to go back to the earlier processes and origins of the development of emotion and emotion regulation.

Explanatory. Another key feature of cultural-historical paradigm is an explanatory rather than a descriptive analysis. Compared to a descriptive analysis that direct on a description of external phenomena, a cultural-historical explanatory analysis explains the *genesis or origin* of development and causal-dynamic *relations* underlying the phenomena in development, without ignoring the phenotypic characteristics of developmental processes (Vygotsky, 1997a). For example, explanatory analysis not only pays attention to manifestations of development, but also elaborates the relationship between the child and the environment instead of an external or an internal dimension of development, as well as the relation between different mental functions (e.g., the relation between affect and intellect). This explanatory feature guided the study to observe emotion expressions and to illuminate the essence and relations that were behind the observable phenomena of emotions and emotion regulation in child development.

Unit of analysis. In the process of development, what change are not mental functions but their *relations* with other functions (Vygotsky, 1997c) and with the

environment (Vygotsky, 1987). Development is resulted from the change of these relations in a psychological system. Emotional development does not happen by the transformation of emotion itself but a result of the development of a *whole system* of mental functions. The analysis of this psychological system requires an analysis of a whole rather than elements. This analysis is the unit of analysis (see Chapter 7 for more information). For example, perezhivanie or word meaning is a unit of analysis. Hence, the study of emotional development needs to examine its relations with other mental functions such as cognition and with the environment in a unit instead of the emotion itself as an element.

Dialectical-Interactive Methodology

The cultural-historical tradition suggests that children's development needs to be understood with the consideration of society, culture, and history surrounding children, that is, the social situation of children's development (Hedegaard, Fleer, Bang, & Hviid, 2008). However, research and theories in developmental psychology have overlooked the social conditions, norms, and values (Hedegaard et al., 2008). Drawing upon the cultural-historical research paradigm, Hedegaard and Fleer (2008) have developed a dialectical-interactive methodology, also known as a cultural-historical wholeness approach (Hedegaard, 2012a). This methodology was adopted in the study.

Dialectical-interactive approach has extracted a variety of theoretical distillation from Leontiev, Vygotsky, and Elkonin (the cultural-historical tradition), Schutz (the phenomenological tradition), Barker, Wright, and Gibson (the ecological tradition), as well as the anthropological methodology of qualitative field research (Hedegaard et al., 2008). It aims to "research the conditions as well as how children participate in activities" (Hedegaard, 2008a, p. 35). This approach allows researchers to "study children in their everyday lives within a particular historical setting, using concepts that

can transcend these settings" (Hedegaard et al., 2008, p. 5). It also enables researchers not only to attain diverse perspectives of participants, but also to research "children's motives, projects, intentional actions and interpretation" (p. 5) through a new way (Hedegaard et al., 2008). Specifically, such research approach holds *a holistic view* that captures the *relations* among concepts of societal conditions, institutional practices and individual's activities, attempts to visualise the *changes* of children's development, focuses on children's *everyday activities* as the research objects, and integrates diverse *perspectives* of society, institutions, and individuals (Hedegaard, 2008a, 2008b, 2012a). Therefore, this methodological framework is appropriate for the study that aims to explore children's development of emotion and its regulation in everyday parent-child interactions.

In order to illustrate such cultural-historical view of studying child development and to frame up cultural-historical research, Hedegaard (2008b) developed a model of children's learning and development through participation in institutional practices that include various perspectives. She advanced this model by adding and stressing the activity settings (Hedegaard, 2012a). The new model is showed in Figure 1 (adapted from Hedegaard, 2012a, p. 130).

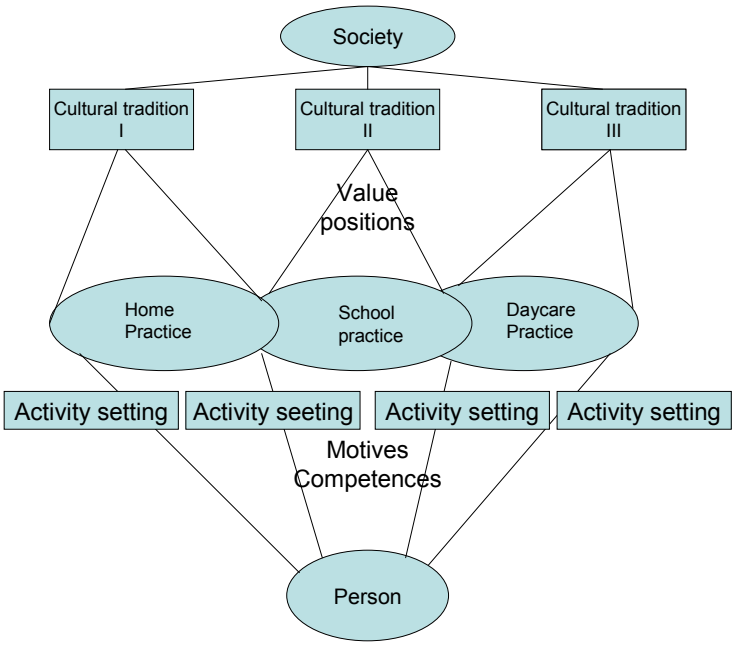

Figure 3.1. A model of children's activity settings in different institutions.

Children learn and develop through their participation in everyday activities in different institutions (e.g., home, school, and day-care) (Hedegaard, 2008b, 2012b). In the model (see Figure 1), Hedegaard (2012a) conceptualises children's activities as an integral whole which includes three planes, namely, the societal plane reflecting cultural traditions and value positions of the society, the institutional plane reflecting "informal conventional traditions and demands" (p. 130), and the specific plane relating to a person's concrete activity settings. These three planes represent societal, institutional, and individual perspectives. From children's perspectives, their activities in particular settings are their social situations which are "characterised by the child being an agent, putting demands on another person as well as initiating activities" (Hedegaard, 2012a, p. 135). It is essential to include three planes in the analysis of children's social situations (Hedegaard, 2012a).

According to the cultural-historical wholeness approach (Hedegaard, 2012a), researching children's development of emotion and emotion regulation is the study of

the whole child in his/her concrete activity settings that reflect the societal, the institutional, and the individual perspectives. Activity settings are not only physical materials but also social interactions (Hedegaard, 2012a). In the current study, activity settings include daily routines such as mealtimes, bath times, and preparing for bed at home, as well as outdoor activities. Of central in the activity settings are parents' beliefs and demands on children that may be impacted by societal cultural traditions and values, as well children's motives, intentions, and demands on parents in parent-child interactions. This is because contradictions between parents' and children's motives and demands yield learning and development (Hedegaard, 2012a), which is consistent with Vygotsky's (1997a) idea of drama discussed earlier. Detailed information on how this approach frames the study is discussed in the section on research design.

Qualitative Case Study Approach

In selecting research approach for a study, three elements need to be considered, that is, "the type of research question posed", "the extent of control an investigator has over actual behavioral events", and "the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events" (Yin, 2009, p. 8). Qualitative research examines human beings' social interactions in natural contexts (Lichtman, 2014). Case study is a method to profoundly address "how" or "why" questions about contemporary events in real-life situations, with little or no control by researchers (Yin, 2009). Merriam-Webster's dictionary (2009, as cited in Flyvbjerg, 2011) also describes that case study is "an intensive analysis of an individual unit (as a person or community) stressing developmental factors in relation to environment" (p. 301). It has a feature of intensity which means that case studies explore "more detail, richness, completeness, and variance – that is, depth" (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 301). The present study investigates the answers of a "how" question about young children's development of emotion and its regulation. It attempts

to understand such phenomenon in parent-child *interactions* in everyday family life that is *natural contexts* rather than laboratories, as well as to capture the deeper *richness and details* regarding children's emotion development. Therefore, a qualitative case study approach is appropriate for the current study.

Research Design

The role of the researcher. Differ from some other research where researchers take a passive role as a fly on the wall, the dialectical-interactive research paradigm brings a new possibility for researchers who are allowed to take two roles simultaneously, a researcher and a participative partner, in research activity settings (Hedegaard, 2008c). Hedegaard (2008c) termed this special feature as the "double-ness" (p. 205) of researchers' role. As a researcher, s/he needs to clearly understand the motives, project and intentions of the research (Hedegaard, 2008c). For example, it is important for the researcher to be able to give participants a clear research orientation about the research goals and theories through an orienting meeting, a written introduction, or short narratives by showing material to children before entering the field of data collection (Hedegaard, 2008c).

As a participator, researchers need to be responsible to children and teachers when reactions or help are required but do not replace the teacher. They also should take into account participants' motives, intentions, needs, and interests and reacting to them in activities (Hedegaard, 2008c). This role of participator benefits researchers constructing meaning in activities (Hedegaard, 2008c), which is very important in a cultural-historical study that takes a holistic view to include all perspectives including researchers.

In the research field, I was mainly an observer taking video observation in family activity settings and a participator occasionally involving in the activities when

necessary, such as helping parents and responding to or supporting children's interests and needs. As suggested by Hedegaard (2008c), I also attempted to make sure not to be overactive in participation in case I took over parents' role in interacting with children. Most of the times, the doubleness of researchers' role was successfully achieved. However, it could sometimes be challenging. In my experience, an important question to ponder is that what we should do when there is a conflict between being a researcher and a participant. For example, when I was filming a very interesting activity with the focus child in a family, the other child suddenly asked me to stop filming and to play with him (my researcher assistant was unavailable at the moment). In this situation, if I stopped filming, I would lose important data. If I did not play with the child, he probably got upset. Similar dilemmas occurred many times during my data collection. My solution was to try firstly to find out a way that can conduct both roles. In the case I mentioned earlier, I used a small table tripod to continue filming when I have to move away from the camera for playing with the child and kept an eye on the camera when playing. There is no one solution that fits all diverse situations. A cultural-historical researcher who takes the dialectical-interactive research framework needs to have a holistic view that always thinks and acts as both researchers and participants.

Participants. Four middle-class families (an annual income AUD$ 37,000-180,000) with six focus children (four boys and two girls) aged between three and six years (including six and a half years) in Australia were involved in this study. They were from different cultural backgrounds, including two multiethnic families (i.e., one parent is Chinese-Australian and the other is European-Australian), one Chinese-Australian family, and one European-Australian family. Each family had two children. All focus children were enrolled in different types of early childhood programs (either full-time or part-time), including sessional playgroup, long day care, kindergarten, and pre-primary school. Table 3.1 shows the information of participants (i.e., pseudonyms

and ages of all children in each family including two non-focus children, Mac and Crystal).

Table 3.1

Information of Research Participants

	Clayton Family		Waverley Family		Murrum Family		Westall Family	
Children	Nick	Mac	Mike	Sue	Otis	Sara	Dell	Crystal
Age (Months)	39	16	66	45	77	58	47	25

Families were recruited from childcare centres and preschools. The director or coordinator of early childhood institutions distributed flyers, statement letters, and consent forms to invite parents to participate in the study. Those parents who were interested in the study returned their consent forms to the director or coordinator. I then collected those consent forms from the director or coordinator.

Families were selected based on two criteria. First, families shared similar family profiles such as similar socioeconomic status and family structure (e.g., number of children). This was to minimise variations that may impact on the study but not the focus of the study. Second, children were born in Australia and aged between three to six years (including six and a half). The selection of this age group was because these children were more likely to express their emotions in different ways such as verbal expressions than younger children, which could enrich the data. The older group of children may be a focus in my post-doctoral studies.

Before starting to collect data in the field, I had an orientation meeting with every family in their homes. The purpose of doing this was firstly for me and

participants to get to know each other and to build a trust relationship between us, as well as for participants to get familiar with the research project. During the meeting, I introduced myself and briefed the main information of the study by the assistance of the PowerPoint showing through my laptop (e.g., research aim, theoretical framework, methodology, and the role of the researcher). What families mostly interested parents was the information about how they should be involved in the study. In order to make sure all of them could make sense of and feel comfortable with different data collection methods, I not only invited them to ask questions but also gave digital video cameras for them to have a try. Some parents were excited with filming (particularly children) whilst some felt slightly uncomfortable for the first time filming. After a few times of practising, those felt uncomfortable at the beginning started to like filming. At the end of the meeting, families were motivated and looked forward to starting data collection.

Data collection. Data collection started from October 2012 and ended in April 2013, with one month break in January 2013. It took a total of 6 months to complete the whole process of data collection. The detailed schedule of data collection for each family is showed in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

Data Collection Schedule

Families	2012			2013		
	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.
Clayton Family						
Waverley Family						
Murrum Family						
Westall Family						

During the period of data collection, different sources of data were generated through the methods of digital video observing, interviewing, and field notes taking. As stated by Yin (2009), one of the key principles of data collection in case studies is the use of multiple sources of evidence because it contributes to the more possibility of addressing broader variety of issues and the attainment of more accurate and reliable findings. The following sections will report how various data sources were generated in the current study.

Digital video observation and photograph. Digital video observation is a major method used for collecting data in the study. The cultural-historical theory and the dialectical-interactive methodology require a method that is able to capture the holistic view of children's social situations (Fleer, 2008) and the dynamics of the process of child development. As elaborated by Fleer (2008), digital video observation is especially helpful for cultural-historical research that directs toward the examination of "the dialectical relations between participants, the social setting and the institutional practices" (p. 110). It is, therefore, suitable for the study that seeks to capture the dialectical relations between parents and children in the emotionally charged situations in exploring the cultural development of emotions in young children. Digital video observation also allows researchers to view repeatedly their materials to gain profound understandings of children's social situation for development (Fleer, 2008). In addition, video clips can be used as materials for in-depth interviews (Fleer, 2008), which was adopted by the study for obtaining further information that was invisible or unable to capture by observations.

In the study, my research assistant and I conducted digital video observations. The main focus was to record parent-child interactions in children's everyday family routines and activities, including mealtimes, taking shower/bath, preparing for bed, transitions between home and kindergartens, and activities during weekends. Two video

cameras were arranged for each visit. One camera aimed to capture *closely* parent-child interactions (e.g., parents and children's facial expressions). The other focused on the whole activity situation from a distance.

Photos of important moments (e.g., participants' facial expressions) were also taken during filming. Those still moments captured by the photograph were useful for the later analysis and publications.

Interviews. Interviews are an effective method of data collection to obtain the evidence that cannot be directly observed (Creswell, 2008). Particularly, the in-depth interviewing helps the researchers to seek the in-depth information and understanding of the research topic (Johnson, 2002; Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003). In the study, I conducted three different types of interviews as a supplementary method to digital video observations. Those interviews were informal conversational interviews, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and group interviews (i.e., stimulated recall).

The informal conversational interviews occurred during or after the digital video observation in each family visit. Random questions related to what had been observed were asked to parents or children. As stated by Fraenkel and Wallen (2006), informal interviews basically aim to "find out what people think" (p. 455). Those interviews were therefore used to obtain further detailed information such as invisible thoughts in relation to the specific observation.

The semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with each parent after all observational visits were completed. Every interview lasted approximately 30-45 minutes at family homes or parents' workplaces. Prior to interviewing, interview protocols containing basic questions about children's emotional development were prepared. In addition to prepared questions, important questions emerged from the conversation were asked during the interview.

After the semi-structured in-depth interviews, a group interview lasted about 45 minutes was arranged for the whole family at each family home. Some video clips related to emotionally charged situations were selected and used for the interview. During the interview, parents and children together watched video clips one by one. After playing each clip, there was a group discussion guided by questions prepared earlier. As mentioned by Hedegaard (2008d), video clips collected children's attention and interests for interviewing, helping children with solving the difficulty of sitting and talking for a long time in interviews. Discussion between family members provided rich information that contributed to answering research questions.

Most of the interviews were videotaped, with very small amount of short interviews were audio recorded due to parents' special requirements according to the contexts. A detailed description of video observation and interviewing is presented in Chapter 5.

Field notes. Taking notes often happens in every case study. It can be conducted within or after collecting various sources of evidence such as observation and interviews, taking diverse forms including jottings and formal writing (Yin, 2012). In the study, the information that was unable to be recorded by video cameras or voice recorders and my personal thoughts, understanding, comments, and reflections on what have been observed and interviewed were written either on an iPad or a notebook during or after each field visit. Taking field notes helped me obtain data that were not captured by other methods. My reflection on the data collection process also supported the improvement of data collection in next visit.

Summary of overall data. A total of 48.25 hours of video observation data (including n=7 filmed by families and n=41.25 filmed by researchers) and 12.75 hours of interview data were collected through 23 field visits. Each visit lasted about 0.5-4.5 hours. Table 3.3 summarizes the hours of data and the number of visits to each family.

Table 3.3

Summary of Video Data

Families	Observations filmed by families (hours)	Observations filmed by researchers (hours)	Interviews (hours)	Total (hours)	Visits
Clayton Family	0	4.75	2.75	7.5	5
Waverley Family	2.75	16.5	4	23.25	7
Murrum Family	2.25	9	3.75	15	6
Westall Family	2	11	2.25	15.25	5
Total (hours)	7	41.25	12.75	61	23

Data analysis. The general procedure for data analysis is composed of data preparation and organisation, coding, and presenting (Creswell, 2013). In the current study, data analysis had gone through the processes of organising data, developing research protocols, and interpreting data for specific publications. Some processes of analysis started during the period of data collection.

Organising data. Data organisation included the process of filing data. The video and audio data, as well as photographs, were uploaded to the computer and organised into folders according to the dates when they were generated. The hand-written field notes were transformed into an electronic document, accompanied by those written on the iPad, and filed with other digital data by dates.

Developing research protocols. Diverse sources of data were then transcribed to research protocols. A research protocol is the written format of the outcomes of research processes (Hedegaard, 2008d). The structure of protocols developed in my study was based on the discussion in our Cultural-Historical Research Community led by my supervisor. It included the basic information of a data file (e.g., clip number), context,

description overview, categories, points of interest, and questions to explore. In the protocols, some important and interesting moments in the clips were also transcribed into texts. Those research protocols were the foundation texts for later interpretation that is presented in the following section.

Interpreting data. In the dialectical-interactive research, protocols are required to interpret systematically by using the three levels of analysis, that is, common sense interpretation, situated practice interpretation, and interpretation on a thematic level (Hedegaard, 2008d).

The common sense interpretation is "the first explicit statement made by the researcher in relation to what seems meaningful in an observation sequence" (Hedegaard, 2008d, p. 48). This first level of interpretation does not require the use of theoretical concepts (Hedegaard, 2008d). My initial understanding of each *single* activity was commented. Some evident relations and patterns emerged from the data set, for example, play during transitions.

The situated practice interpretation moves beyond the focus of single activity setting and examines activities *across settings* (Hedegaard, 2008d). On this second level of analysis, theoretical concepts were used as primary categories (e.g., demands and motives, conflicts, and perezhivanie) to analyze data. I firstly read through all the data on the protocols and marked the places where they were related to the first category such as demands and motives in parent-child interactions, followed by writing a narrative for this category. I repeated the same process to identify data for the rest of categories.

The interpretation on a thematic level refers to the process of generalization based on the second level of interpretation, aiming to find patterns that direct to answer the research questions (Hedegaard, 2008d). New categories emerged during the interpretation (see Chapter 7 for an example). Those new categories were resulted from

the dialectical interactions among the research questions, the previously selected theoretical concepts, and the data set, which was also noted by Hedegaard (2008d).

This section of data interpretation remains brief. More detailed illustration of how I used the three levels of analysis is available in papers such as Chapter 5.

Analysing data for specific publications. Drawing upon patterns and findings resulted from the third level of analysis, different topics for publications were defined. A set of papers was systematically planned. Data were then analysed in further depth according to each topic in every paper (see Chapters 4-7).

Ethical considerations. As suggested by Israel and Hay (2006), it is essential to take into account ethical issues and to make sure participants are protected and respected in the study. Ethical issues need to be considered in different research processes including research objectives and questions, data collection, as well as data analysis and interpretation (Creswell, 2014). In this study, ethical issues were strictly considered and applied.

Before data collection, ethical approval was obtained from the Monash University's Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans (SCERH). Participants were recruited through the third party (i.e., directors or coordinators) in early childhood institutions. Their participation was entirely voluntary and free. For instance, participants took the initiative to sign the consent form. They were also free to withdraw from the study anytime. In addition, detailed information about the study was transparent to participants. For example, the purpose and questions of the study and data collection procedures were explained to participants in the explanatory statement and orientation meetings. I ensured that participants understood the study and would be comfortable with all the processes of data collection.

During data collection, participants were informed again that they had the right to refuse answering questions or to end the interview and observation anytime when

they felt uncomfortable or stressful. Sensitive questions about personal privacy were avoided. In the procedure of data analysis and interpretation, confidentiality and anonymity were seriously applied. For example, pseudonyms were used to replace participants' real names as what was suggested by Coleman and Unrau (2008).

Validity and reliability. A quality research needs to achieve a high validity and reliability (Yin, 2009). Validity refers to the trustworthiness, authenticity (e.g., whether different voices are heard), credibility (e.g., whether the researcher accurately interprets what the participant means), or dependability of the data and the data interpretation (Creswell, 2013). Reliability plays a pivotal role in the validity of the study.

In order to increase validity and reliability, I used multiple sources of evidence discussed earlier (e.g., digital video observation, interviewing, and field notes), maintained a chain of evidence, addressed rival explanations, used case study protocol, and developed case study database (see Yin, 2009 for details of each strategy). My interpretation of data was checked with participants to achieve the credibility. Some key interpretation also was peer reviewed by my colleagues in our research community. Moreover, I explained detailed procedures for conducting the study and data analysis as much as possible, as well as clarified aims and some other information of the study to participants in order to improve reliability.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the theoretical paradigm that informed the study and how this study was designed and conducted. The following Chapters 4-7 present four publications that report the findings of the study.

Chapter 4 Play and Emotion Regulation

Suggested Declaration for Thesis Chapter

In the case of Chapter 4, the nature and extent of my contribution to the chapter is showed in Table 4.1. Table 4.2 presents the contribution of the co-author.

Table 4.1

The Candidate's Contribution to the Chapter

Nature of contribution	Extent of contribution (%)
Conception, key ideas, research investigation and development, and write-up	85%

Table 4.2

The Co-Author's Contribution to the Chapter

Name	Nature of contribution	Extent of contribution (%)
Marilyn Fleer	Conceptual, analytical, and editorial	15%

The undersigned hereby certify that the above declaration correctly reflects the nature and extent of the candidate's and co-author' contributions to the chapter.

Candidate's Signature: [redacted] Date: 20 March 2015

Supervisor's Signature: [redacted] Date: 20 March 2015

Overview of Thesis Including Publications

A thesis including publications requires publications to be presented in the thesis as a cohesive whole, rather than irrelevant papers simply gathered together. Papers included in the thesis were therefore planned systematically before writing up any of them. Findings, to the overall research question on how parents create the conditions for children's development of emotion and emotion regulation in everyday family life, showed that everyday play introduced by parents, parents' re-signing, their use of emotion regulation strategies, and their perezhivanie in parent-child interactions in emotionally charged situations created the conditions for children's development of emotion and emotion regulation. These findings were addressed in four papers.

Paper one discusses how play is used by parents as a tool to support children's emotion regulation in getting through dramatic moments of everyday routines (e.g., taking a bath). Paper two reveals parents' and children's everyday use of emotion-related signs in their interactions and how the process of re-signing conducted by parents contributes to children's development of emotion regulation. In Paper three, parents' use of emotion regulation strategies as a source of children's emotion regulation strategies is discussed. Paper four unpacks how parents' perezhivanie works as a holistic system in supporting children's development of emotion and emotion regulation.

These papers are related and provide knowledge on the role of parents in their everyday interactions with children in children's development of emotion and emotion regulation. The following section introduces background information about Paper one.

Background of Paper One

Paper one on play and emotion regulation is the first finding chapter in the thesis. It was co-authored with my supervisor Professor Marilyn Fleer. This paper was submitted to the *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal* (EECERJ) on the 15 August 2013 and accepted by the journal after 12 working days on the 3 September 2013. It will be published in 2016.

Below is the information about the journal from its website.

> The EECERJ, the Journal of EECERA, is one of the most prestigious early childhood journals in the world. It is one of only four early years journals indexed by the Institute for Scientific Information. The ISI is highly selective of the journals in the citation databases and indices it maintains. EECERJ is located in the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI). EECERJ is peer reviewed, scholarly and is particular interested in research which has application. Abstracts are in English, French and German. EECERJ is issued five times annually and now is in its 22nd year of publication. It has become a world leader in the field. EECERJ is published by Taylor & Francis. (Source: EECERA website).

This paper reports the finding of parents using play as a maintainer, a reward, and a temptation to support children's transitions in everyday routines in emotionally charged situations. The cultural-historical understanding of play is discussed based on the work of Elkonin (2005) and Vygotksy (1966). We used theoretical concepts, including demands and motives, as well as the zone of proximal development, to interpret the data that were collected from two out of four families. The following section is the full paper.

Paper One

This section contains the full Paper one in a format when its final revision was accepted by the Journal.

A cultural-historical reading of how play is used in families as a tool for supporting children's emotional development in everyday life

Feiyan Chen and Marilyn Fleer

Monash University, Australia

ABSTRACT: Many studies have identified the positive *link* between imaginary play and emotion regulation in laboratory settings. However, little is known about *how* play and emotion regulation are related in everyday practice. This paper examines how families use play as a tool to support young children's emotion regulation in everyday family life. Two middle-class Australian families with children aged 3 years were studied over a 6 month period (n=30.75 hours of video observations and interviews). Findings show how manipulative play was used by parents during everyday routines to mediate children's emotions. Parents and children interact *together* to create an emotional zone of proximal development through play, suggesting that the development of emotion regulation is not an individual practice as identified in the literature, but collectively constructed. This study opens a new angle for understanding for a dialectical relation between manipulative play and children's emotional development, and is supportive of arguments put forward by van Oers (2013a) about the need to study the degrees of freedom in play.

RÉSUMÉ: Le lien positif entre les jeux imaginaires et la régulation des émotions dans des conditions de laboratoire a déjà été établi par plusieurs chercheurs. Cependant, il y a eu, jusqu'à présent, comparativement, moins d'attention portée sur la façon dont le jeu et la régulation des émotions sont liés dans la pratique pédagogique quotidienne. Cette contribution examine la façon dont les familles ont recours au jeu comme instrument de régulation d'émotions chez les enfants dans le contexte familial usuel. Deux familles de classe moyenne, avec des enfants âgés de 3 ans ont été étudiées pendant quatre mois (n=30.75 heures d'observation vidéo et entretien). Les résultats démontrent la façon dont le jeu de manipulation a été utilisé par les parents pour gérer les émotions des enfants. Parents et enfants interagissent *ensemble* afin de créer un champ de développement mandataire par le jeu, ce qui suggérait que le développement de la régulation des émotions n'est pas une pratique isolée, comme soulignée dans la littérature, mais que ce développement est construit de façon collective. Cette étude offre un nouvel angle de compréhension d'une relation dialectique entre le jeu de manipulation et le développement émotionnel chez l'enfant, et, soutient les arguments de van Oers (2013a) sur la nécessité d'étudier les degrés d'autonomie dans le jeu.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG: Viele Studien haben die positive Verbindung zwischen imaginärer Spiel-und Emotionsregulation in Labor Situationen identifiziert. Allerdings ist wenig über den täglichen Praxis Zusammenhang zwischen Spiel-
und Emotionsregulation bekannt. Dieses Papier untersucht, wie Familien Spiel als Werkzeug benutzen, um die Emotionsregulation junger Kinder im familiären Alltag zu unterstützen. Zwei AustralischeMittelklassen Familien mit 3-jaehrigen
Kindern wurden über einen 4-Monats-Zeitraum (n=30.75 Stunden Video-Beobachtungen undInterviews) studiert. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, wie die
Eltern manipulatives Spiel im Alltag verwenden, um die kindlichen Emotionen zusteuern. Eltern und Kinder interagieren miteinander, um eine emotionale Zone der nächsten Entwicklung durch Spiel zu erstellen. Dieses Ergebnis deutet darauf hin, dass die Entwicklung der Emotionsregulation nicht eine individuelle Praxis ist, wie haeufig in der Literaturargumentiert wird, aber stattdessen kollektiv aufgebaut wird. Diese Studie eröffnet einen neuen Blickwinkel für das
Verständnis derdialektischen Beziehung zwischen manipulativem Spiel und der emotionalen Entwicklung junger Kinder, und
unterstützt Argumente von vanOers (2013A) über die Notwendigkeit, die Freiheitsgrade im Spiel zu studieren.

RESUMEN: Muchos estudios en laboratorios han identificado un *enlace* positive entre el juego imaginario y la regulación de emociones. Aun así, poco se sabe sobre cómo el juego y la regulación de emociones está relacionada con prácticas cotidianas. Este artículo examina como las familias usan el juego como una herramienta para ayudar a los niños a regular sus emociones en el día en día. Dos familias Australianas de clase media con niños de 3 años fueron estudiados por un periodo de 4 meses (n=30.75 horas de video observaciones y entrevistas). Los resultados muestran como el juego manipulativo es usado por padres y niños para interactuar *juntos* para crear una zona emocional de desarrollo próximo mediante el juego, esto sugiere que el desarrollo de la regulación de emociones no es una práctica individual como la literatura lo señala, pero es colectivamente construida. Este estudio abre un nuevo ángulo para entender las relaciones dialécticas entre el juego manipulativo y como se entiende el desarrollo emocional, y así mismo como sugiere van Oers (2013a) acerca como el juego debe estudiarse con las diferentes etapas de libertad.

Keywords: play, emotion regulation, young children, cultural-historical, everyday family life

Introduction

The role of play in children's social-emotional development has been increasingly investigated in early childhood education and psychology (e.g. Haight, Black, Ostler, and Sheridan 2006; Kaugars and Russ 2009; Milteer, Ginsbrug, and Mulligan 2012; Singer, Golinkoff, and Hirsh-Pasek 2006). Play has been used as a tool for healing and in the treatment of emotion–related mental issues in therapy (Haight, Balck, Ostler, and Sheridan 2006; Lowenstein 2010; Philipp 2012). There is also a growing body of studies focusing on the relation between diverse categories of play and emotion regulation (e.g. Cohen and Mendez 2009; Galyer and Evans 2001; Hoffmann and Russ 2012; Kuczaj II and Horback 2012; LaFreniere 2011). What these studies show is that pretend play contributes positively to children's development of emotion regulation (Galyer and Evans 2001; Kuczaj II and Horback 2012) and that make-believe play supports children's emotional self-regulation (Berk, Mann, and Ogan 2006). These studies also identify rough-and-tumble play as creating an important space for the development of emotion regulation skills, such as anger or aggression management (LaFreniere 2011). In addition, it has been found that higher levels of peer play interaction are positively related to better emotion regulation (Fantuzzo, Sekino, and Cohen 2004).

What is evident in the research over the past ten years is that there is a strong link between play and young children's development of emotion regulation. However, these empirical studies rarely explain *how* play and emotion regulation are related and under what kinds of everyday life conditions emotion regulation develops. Most studies examine the link between play and emotion regulation either in the laboratory context or use quantitative measurement approaches for examining emotions. Little is known about emotion regulation in everyday family life of very young children using qualitative study design approaches

(Quinones 2013).

In everyday family life, there are many daily routines (e.g. taking shower and having meals) that parents and children perform together. During these routines, children not only meet parents' requirement but also put demands on parents (Hedegaard 2012). For instance, children may wish to play rather than follow the request of parents to undertake a life support task, such as taking a shower or putting away their toys. In these situations, conflicts between parents and children may occur. The ways in which parents respond to these situations vary. For example, parents may create an imaginary situation, such as going on a boat ride in order to take a bath or they may be authoritarian and direct children to take a bath immediately without negotiation. In some situations, imaginary play is successfully used as a tool to get children though the daily routine so that the experiences are emotionally calm and the event is pleasurable. Play as a source of child development "contains all developmental tendencies in a condensed form" (Vygotsky 1966, 16) and as will be argued in this paper, provides a valuable tool for parents in supporting their child's emotional development in everyday life.

What is central to all the empirical studies reviewed is imaginary or pretend play. It is surprising that there are few research studies into other forms of play, such as *manipulative play* and its role in emotion regulation in the *everyday* life of young children. Interestingly, Tudge's (2008) in his investigation of everyday family life of young children across many countries and SES communities, has shown a broad range of ways of playing that are supported by families, not just imaginary play. How parents use play (however, broadly categorised), to not only smoothly get children through everyday routines but also to seize this opportunity for children's development, is a topic worthy of investigation.

This article seeks to examine how play is used by parents to create the conditions for the development of children's emotion regulation in their everyday family practice. The

paper begins with a cultural-historical reading of play in the context of children's development. This is followed by an overview of the study design. The findings are then discussed, and the paper concludes with a new understanding of how manipulative play supports children's emotional development.

In this paper emotion regulation and emotional development are understood as a "dialectical concept of inter- and intra-psychological functioning" (Fleer and Hammer 2013, 245) founded on Vygotskian (1987) theory and developed in relation to emotion regulation by contemporary scholars such as Holodynski (2009). We draw upon a cultural-historical reading of emotions because we take a holistic view of emotions, where a study of emotional development cannot be understood outside of a child's everyday social interactions and family/community practices. It is acknowledged that limited cultural-historical studies of emotional development exit (Quinones 2013), and it is noted that most of the research available into young children's emotional development is quantitative and laboratory based (e.g. Gavazzi 2011; Sallquist et al. 2010). Consequently, the latter studies have not been reviewed in this paper. What we have learned from a review of the literature, is that we need to know more about how parents use manipulative play to support children's emotion regulation in everyday family life.

A Cultural-Historical Definition of Play

We begin this section with an example from Elkonin (2005) of his conception of *Play*. In the expansive quote below, Elkonin (2005) creates an imaginary situation in order to find a way for his children to eat the porridge he has prepared, porridge that they do not wish to eat.

> On a school holiday, I ended up staying home alone with my two little girls, who were both pre-schoolers and attended kindergarten…I prepared the traditional farina porridge, which they had grown thoroughly tired of. They absolutely refused to eat and would not sit at the table. Not wanting to ruin everyone's mood by resorting to force, I

> suggested to the girls that we play kindergarten. They agreed eagerly. I put on a white coat and turned into the teacher, and they, by putting on their school aprons, turned into the pupils. We began to play at doing everything that was done in kindergarten…Then in my role as teacher I offered them lunch consisting of the self-same porridge. Without any protest, and even with signs of pleasure, they began to eat…trying to portray well-behaved pupils... (Elkonin 2005, 11-12).

In this example, children are engaged in the imaginary situation of being at their local kindergarten. They regulate themselves to eat the porridge since they are kindergarten children who have to follow the rules. During this process of following the rules in the imaginary play, they are exercising self-regulation. Therefore, the imaginary play helps children to self-regulate their emotions and to eat the porridge that they originally did not wish to eat. According to Vygotsky (1966), this achievement in play today, is what children will reach in the real life tomorrow.

Vygotsky (1966) highlights the important role of play in child development when he states that "play is the source of development and creates the zone of proximal development" (p. 16). In the example given by Elkonin, we see how play created the zone of proximal development because it allowed the children together with the father to eat the porridge in the role of being children at preschool eating lunch. According to Vygotsky (1966), in role-play children create an imaginary situation, where they change the meaning of objects and actions. Even though the porridge was real, the situation changed from being at home eating porridge to being at kindergarten eating lunch as preschool children. The imaginary situation contains rules (Vygotsky 1966), and these rules restrain what can be done. Children cannot respond impulsively in play, but must follow the rules (Vygotsky 1966). Elkonin (2005) argued that in role-play, the rules and roles that are followed come from everyday life. As Vygotsky (1966) explains, children follow the rules because "the rule[s] of the play structure promises much greater pleasure from the game than the gratification of an immediate impulse" (p. 14).

Therefore in play, children practise self-regulation by following the rules of everyday life in their play. They can pretend to do things that they may not be allowed to do in real life, even though they would like to do these things. Play gives this possibility. According to Vygotsky (1966), in play the child is a head taller than themselves. The child in play willingly participates, but does not always initially understand the rules or act consciously in role-play, but rather may imitate in play the mature or ideal forms of behaviour they see around them in everyday life. Consequently in play, children are in the imaginary situation and the narrative that forms in play, supports the child to follow the rules and roles, and through this to achieve emotion regulation over time.

Study Design

This study is part of a broader research project that focuses on the emotional development of young children in everyday family life. Ethical approval was gained from the Standing Committee on Ethics in Research involving Humans (SCERH) where confidentiality and anonymity were strictly considered and applied. Participant-families were recruited through childcare centres. Four middle class families in Australia participated in the project. In this paper two of the four families (i.e. the Clayton family and the Waverley Family) are discussed.

Participants

Both families are middle-class families with two different cultures. In the Clayton family, the father is a local European-Australian. The mother is a Chinese-Australian who is the second generation immigrant from Hong Kong. They both are professionals in their 30s and 40s. The focus child Nick is aged 39 months with a younger brother aged 16 months. Nick attends sessional childcare programs every Wednesday morning. He has slept in his own bedroom since he was a new-born. In the Waverley Family, both parents are first generation

immigrants in Australia. The father is a European-Australian Scientist who works full time. The mother is a Chinese Australian who works as a part-time counsellor in psychology. The focus child Sue is 45 months with an elder brother aged 66 months. Sue attends a childcare centre four days a week from Monday to Thursday. She shares the same bedroom with her brother. Both families have many toys and books for children.

Instruments

Video observations

A total of 24 hours video observation data were collected over a period of six months. There were 5 visits at the Clayton family home and 7 visits at the Waverley family home. Each visit lasted between 1.5-3.5 hours. Children's everyday routines and activities including mealtimes, bath times, preparing for bed, transitions between home and kindergartens, as well as outing during weekends were video recorded by two cameras. One camera captured the whole situation from distance and the other focused on a close study of the participants (e.g. children's and parents' facial expressions).

Interviews

A total of 6.75 hours interview data were collected through three types of interviews conducted in different period of times. The informal interview occurred during or after observations on each visit. In situ interviews with parents took place in order to obtain further detailed information in relation to the specific observation recorded. The second type of interview was semi-structured with each parent being interviewed for approximately 30-45 minutes at home after all observational visits were completed. After that, group interviews with each whole family were conducted after the individual interviews with parents in the

same visit for about 30-45 minutes. All the interviews were either video-taped or audio recorded.

Analysis

Conceptualisation of play

We take a cultural-historical reading of play, noting that Vygotsky (1966) and Elkonin (2005) both featured role-play in their theorisation of what is play. In line with Tudge (2008) who showed there was a diversity of ways of playing in family life, we draw upon this diversity, and specifically included in our broad categories of play: play with toys, natural objects, no objects (e.g. rough-and-tumble play), objects from the adults' or adolescents' world, and academic objects, pretend play, watching television, and engaging in entertainment, including manipulative play. Manipulative play refers to the use of toys and objects from adults' world without obvious creation of an imaginary situation by the child or the adult. We were particularly interested in the type and role of play for emotion regulation.

Data organisation and interpretation

All the video data were organized in relation to play episodes and everyday life transitions, and these were edited by a software program that is standard to mac computers - iMovie (Fleer 2008). Different sources of data were transcribed into research protocols (i.e. the written format of research results, see Hedegaard 2008) over the period of data collection. Only selected clips were transcribed. The data were then interpreted through the three levels of analysis drawing upon a dialectical-interactive approach (Hedegaard 2008). Those levels of interpretation encompass the common sense interpretation, situated practice interpretation, and interpretation on a thematic level (Hedegaard 2008). The concepts of demands and motives were used for coding in the second level of interpretation.

Concepts

The extracts of play (from beginning of play to end of play event) taken from the first level of analysis were analysed in relation to the concepts of motives and demands. Motive as one of the central concepts in cultural-historical theory has no one standard theoretical elaboration (Chaiklin 2012). In this paper, motive is understood as the "dynamic relation between person and practice" (Hedegaard and Chaiklin 2005, 64) that directs personal life and features the personality in diverse situations (Hedegaard 2005). It is "generated through observing or participating in an activity –rather than as something that comes solely from *within*" (Fleer 2012, 91). The demands that children meet as they transition between activity settings (Hedegaard 2012) and the demands that children make within activity settings (Hedegaard and Fleer 2013) were studied in relation to the play and daily routines and practices of the family, such as meal times, bath times and getting ready to go to childcare.

Findings

In this section we introduce the everyday practice of bath time routines from two families, the Clayton family and the Waverley family, in order to show how everyday routines can support children's emotional development. We begin with a detailed observation of each family, followed by the analysis and a discussion of how play is used by families as a tool for supporting daily routines. We argue that even though families do not consciously use play for emotional development, the practices they enact do lead to the children's overall development of emotion regulation.

Bath time routines in the Clayton family

Vignette 1: play before a bath

Nick is engaging in playing with toy balls in his bedroom. The father reminds him about bath time from another room. The father then enters the bedroom and starts to chat with him on his play. For example,

Father: Ok Mr., play with the balls.

Nick: Where the balls go in those holes?

Father: Enhe, where do they go when you put them down?

Nick: They go down, down, down, down, down.

Father: Ah, all way down to the bottom. Ok, we gonna go to the bath now.

Nick asks if he can take the ball to the bath. The father agrees. Nick then walks towards the bathroom by himself.

Vignette 2: play during a bath

After they get into the bathroom, the father keeps talking to Nick about the ball when undressing him. He then lets Nick play in the bathtub before washing his body. Nick sounds happy. After play, the father continues chatting with Nick about the ball and starts to wash his body while Nick keeps playing with the ball. Nick still sounds happy. However, when the father starts to wash his hair, Nick starts to cry. The father repeatedly asks him whether he played in the sandpit during the day in an attempt to distract him. He gradually stops crying and gets involved in the father's question about play. After a few seconds, washing is finished.

Vignette 3: play after a bath

After washing is over, Nick is still upset. The father asks him whether he wants to come out and do some flopping on the bed or play in the bath for two minutes. Nick chooses to play in

the bath and calms down. He cheers up through the play and pleasurably gets out of the bathtub after play.

However, he gets upset again when the father starts to dry his body. The father tells him that he has to dry his body first and then do some flopping on the bed. Nick agrees and calms down slightly. After drying and carrying Nick onto the bed, the father tells Nick that he needs to put on the nappy first and then do some flopping. Nick makes some uncomfortable sounds that appear to indicate he is unhappy. After putting the nappy on Nick, the father attempts to put pajamas on him. Nick refuses. He moves away from the father and cries. The father then verbally offers him the opportunity to play the flopping game that they usually do after bathtime. Nick repeats the word "flopping", pauses, and then calms down. The father suggests Nick put on his pajamas first and then to play flopping afterwards. Nick cries again and says "no". After that, the father plays "going upside down" with him once. Nick smiles and asks for more. The father agrees but Nick needs to put on pajamas first. Nick gets upset again. He cries and refuses to do it. The father continuously tries to offer him different types of play but Nick rejects all of them. The father then ignores his refusal and continues to put the pajamas top over his head. Nick strongly tries to pull it away and starts to cry very intensely and loudly.

Analysis: demands and motives

Before taking a bath, Nick is engaged in playing with balls in his bedroom (see vignette 1). After playing for a while, the father demands to that he takes a bath. The father reports in the interview that Nick does not like to take a bath because he feels uncomfortable when his hair is washed. In addition, he likes to continue what he is doing rather than moving to another activity. Nick's motive here is play. His intention is to play even though the father's demand is to take a bath. This situation can lead to emotionally intense moments (e.g. upset and

crying) according to what was reported by the father. Nevertheless, this emotional tension does not occur. Instead, the father smoothly gets Nick into the bath. Nick takes the initiative to walk to the bathroom and he is calm. What makes this happen? When the father comes into the bedroom, he does not stop Nick from playing or take him immediately to the bathroom. Rather, the father tries to play with Nick by talking to him about, and showing interest in his play. This interaction keeps Nick in a play mode. The father allows Nick to take the ball to the bathroom, which creates the condition for Nick to keep playing in the bathroom. Play acts as a transition and reduces the possibility of conflict between the father's demand for taking a bath and Nick's motive of continuing to play.

During the bath (see vignette 2), Nick's motive is to continue to play instead of participating in body and hair washing. Therefore he gets upset when the father washes his hair. The father tries to distract him by asking about his play in the sandpit during the day. He reported in the interview that his intention was to distract Nick from experiencing the uncomfortable moment by focusing Nick's attention on his play in the sandpit. This action by the father means Nick needs to recall and share his sandpit play, which is another way of focusing on Nick's motive for play. Hence, during the bath, Nick's motive of play and the father's demand of taking a bath occur simultaneously.

After washing his body and hair, the father offers Nick the choice of playing in the bath or getting out and doing flopping on the bed (see vignette 3). As is mentioned in the interview, his intention was to give Nick a reward for taking his bath. This offer continuously meets Nick's motive for play. Nick is happy. After getting out of the bath, Nick's intention is still to play because the father promises earlier to do flopping on the bed which has also become an after-bath-routine as reported by the father. Nevertheless, the father continuously poses many different demands on Nick, including drying the body, putting on the nappy, and getting dressed. Although the father plays "going upside down" with him once, it is not

enough to meet Nick's motive of play particularly in the context filled with tremendous demands. The father keeps trying to have his demand met. As a result Nick cries intensely and loudly.

Bath time routines in the Waverley family

We now turn to the bath time routine of the Waverley family.

Vignette 4: play before a shower

Before taking a shower, the whole family is playing a game called octopus. They are running around the house, laughter together. The mother later on tells the researchers that "the important thing is to *have fun to play*. If they feel that they have not *played enough*, then they won't come [to the shower]".

In the play, Sue keeps wanting to be the octopus. When it is her brother's turn to be the octopus, she cries and squats under the high chair. The mother ends the game. Sue then asks for stories. The mother agrees to do it, and lets her to select storybooks for reading. Sue cheers up.

After reading stories, the mother carries Sue to the bathroom. As she does this Sue cries. The father tells her to play with the sponges. The mother puts her down in front of the sponges under the shower and draws her attention by pointing to them, saying "look at all the sponges". Sue then stops crying and looks at sponges.

Vignette 5: play during a shower

Under the shower, Sue is holding and playing with sponges and other materials. When the mother washes her body, she still focuses on her play. She sometimes sings and smiles. When

the mother starts to wash her hair, she does not cry but screams slightly when water goes into her eyes. She still attempts to play. The mother quickly finishes washing her.

Vignette 6: play after shower

After washing Sue's body and hair, the mother asks Sue whether she would like to come out of the shower or continue to play. Sue chooses to play. After a while, the mother asks her if she is finished. She says "No".

Mother: How many more minutes?

Sue: Five minutes.

Mother: Five, that's very long. Five minutes. (*She sets up the alarm clock. After about 5 minutes, the alarm rings.*)

Mother: Sue, time is up, ok?

Sue: Let me fill this up, ok?

Mother: Take a long time.

Sue: Yeah, but I will be really quick.

The mother waits calmly until Sue fills up the bottle. Sue then comes out of the shower with a happy face.

Analysis: demands and motives

Before going into the bathroom, Sue demands to be the octopus when it is not her turn in the play (see vignette 4). This demand is not met. Sue therefore gets upset and makes another demand of having a story read to her. The mother meets this demand by letting Sue choose a storybook and then reads it to her. According to the mother's report in the interview, the

reading of stories is normally a routine at bedtime after the children have had their shower. The mother's original motive after playing the game was to clean her children. However, she postpones her demand of the children taking a shower and changes the routine. Sue is again satisfied and happy.

Later on, when the mother gets Sue into the bathroom, she cries. The mother demands Sue to take a shower which Sue does not like. However, she quickly stops crying and does not refuse to do it because her parents offer her the opportunity to play with the sponges under the shower. Sponges were what she wanted to take into shower and play with on a previous day. Her motive of playing with sponges is continuously met by getting into the shower.

Under the shower, Sue focuses on her play while the mother washes her body and hair (see vignette 5). In other words, her motive of play and the mother's demand of taking a shower occur simultaneously. Both of their motives and demands are met. Sue is happy.

After the shower, the mother provides Sue with the option of playing under the shower or getting out (see vignette 6). Sue wants to keep playing and the mother allows this. Her motive for play is met again. After play, the mother's demand is to get her out of the shower. However, Sue wants to fill the bottle up first, which she does quickly. Here she demands but simultaneously compromises with the mother's demand by promising to do it quickly. The mother also compromises by waiting for her instead of forcefully rushing her out, although she gently reminds her to get out. The mother here again postpones her demands to create space for Sue to play. Sue gets out of the bath in a calm and agreeable way.

Discussion: play as a meditational tool of children's emotions in everyday family life

Researching play in everyday family life in early childhood education and psychology has received insufficient attention. For example, some studies (e.g. Hedegaard and Fleer 2013; Tudge 2008) have partially focused on children's everyday family life and play. One of the chapters in Hedegaard and Fleer's (2013) work investigates how play is developed in everyday family life. Part of Tudge's (2008) work describes children's everyday play but his main focus is on the cultural similarities and diversities in child development. Although these works are related to play and everyday family life, they are not explicitly associated with how children's emotions develop. This section will discuss how play creates the conditions for emotionally harmonious transitions to and from bath/shower time, as well as the better understanding and theorisation of how these play events give the conditions for the development of emotion regulation.

Play for supporting transitions in emotionally charged situations

In both the Clayton and Waverley families, play functions as a mediational tool for transitioning children to and from the bath/shower time in emotionally charged situations. In the Clayton family (see vignette 1 and 3), Nick plays before he goes into the bathroom. Play provokes positive emotional states (e.g. pleasurable and calm) in Nick. During the transition from the bedroom to the bathroom, the father maintains Nick's positive emotional state through discussing and demonstrating interest in his play, as well as allowing him to take the ball to the bathroom to continue his play. Play here is as a *maintainer* of positive emotions. In other words, it is a way to avoid the intense emotionally charged situation during transitions. After washing Nick's body and hair, play is used as a *reward* for participating in bath time and a *temptation* to do the follow-up routines, which in turn cheer him up.

In the Waverley family (see vignette 4 and 6), the mother points out that having enough time to play and having fun before taking shower is a defining condition for getting her children into the shower. During the transition between bedroom and bathroom, playing with sponges is intentionally used by parents as a *temptation* to get Sue into the shower. It calms Sue down from her crying state. After the shower, play continues to keep Sue's sense of pleasure and smoothly gets her out of the shower.

What is evident in both families is that play is used as a maintainer, a reward, and a temptation to support children's emotions during transition points within everyday family practices that families have found to be emotionally charged.

Play for balancing the relations between demands and motives: the degrees of freedom

The relations between adults' demands and children's motives influence the effectiveness of how play can mediate emotions. In the Clayton family, play has been successfully used to mediate Nick's emotions for getting in and out of the bath (see vignettes 1-3). However, after getting out of the bath, using play does not work as effectively in relation to Nick's negative emotional state. Instead, it ends up with Nick getting extremely sad and refusing to play with any games offered by the father. What leads to the current situation? After getting out of the bath, it is evident that too many demands (including drying his body, putting on the nappy, and getting dressed) are made upon Nick and Nick's motive is met only once (playing the upside down game). In contrast, in the Waverley family, the mother postpones her demands to meet Sue's demands. We saw this when shower time was announced and Sue wanted to read a story (see vignette 4). We also saw this after shower time when Sue wanted to fill up the bottle and not leave the shower (see vignette 6). On both occasions the mother postponed her demands, and created the space for Sue's demands to be met. Sue's emotions are thus mediated smoothly through what van Oers (2013a) calls degrees of freedom in children's

play. Van Oers (2013b) in re-theorising play from an activity perspective has introduced the concept of *degrees of freedom*, and this concept helps explain the space given to Sue. Van Oers (2013b) states that in degrees of freedom play "allows participants to make their own decision on how to accomplish actions, to redefine goals, to invent new goals (within the confines of the practice), to pick up (or invent) new roles and to change rules, tools and scripts of the activity" (p. 239). It is argued by van Oers (2013b) that all definitions of play should include the concept of degrees of freedom. In this study, Sue had more degrees of freedom (e.g. the freedom of making decisions) in her play than Nick, and as a result, the transition into and out of the shower was positive and much more harmonious. Therefore, it can be argued that a greater degree of freedom in play mediates children's emotions positively and helps balance parents' demands on the child to be bathed in a timely way and the child's motives for continued and expansive time to play.

Play as creating the emotional zone of proximal development (ZPD)

It is prevalent that Vygotsky's concept of the ZPD is used to link to cognitive development rather than the affective plane of human development. The emotional ZPD is comparatively less heard and examined in education. However, it has been investigated by Holzman (2009) in social therapy. She explains that emotional ZPD is "a new social unit" (p. 36) created by a group of people collectively "engaged in the continuous activity" (Holzman 2009, 36). What is important here is that the emotional zone is a *collective* zone that is born out of the group participation of activities. This emotional zone is consistent with what we found in the current study that parents and children playing and doing the everyday routine together, which creates the emotional ZPD that affords the development of emotion regulation. In other words, parents use play in the bath/shower time routine to create the emotional zone where parents and children work together for children's emotional development.

How do parents and children work together for the development of emotion regulation in the emotional ZPD? Parents place the demand of taking a bath/shower on children. One of the rules in taking a bath/shower is to wash their head, something that is uncomfortable and which children feel reluctant to do. One would expect that children would just refuse to take a bath/shower. However, along with this demand, parents create situations for children to play during the bath/shower. In the situation of play *during* the bath/shower (see vignette 2 and 4), children's dual emotions emerge (i.e. unpleasant emotions in getting the routine done and pleasant emotions in play). It is similar to what Vygotsky (2005) describes "the double nature of the effective flow" (p. 91) in imaginary play and Nohl's "dual affective plan" (Vygotsky 1966, 14). Play motivates children to take a bath/shower. They do what they feel like most because play has the connection with pleasant emotions (Vygotsky 1966). As we can see, both Nick and Sue are happy when they are playing with the ball and sponges during the bath/shower. The joyful emotion in the play allows the unpleasant routine to take place. Vygotsky (1966) in quoting Spinoza explains this phenomenon: "an affect can only be overcome by a stronger affect" (p. 14). Play promises greater pleasure than the unpleasant experience of taking a bath/shower. In order to obtain this greater pleasure in play, children and parents master children's emotions *together* to support children not to react to the unpleasant routine immediately and impulsively (e.g. crying). For example, when Nick gets very upset because his hair is being washed, his father tries to distract him by talking about his favourite play in the sandpit. With the father's support, Nick gets through the difficult moment without intense emotional reaction. Play here functions as an external stimulus. As Vygotsky (1997a) states, "the basic law of mastering natural processes is mastering them through stimuli" (p. 210). In this study we see that the children practice emotion regulation with the support of the external stimuli of play and the social situation created by their families during bath time. Parents use play to create an emotional zone for children. Within

this zone, parents and children are working together to cope with the difficult moment (e.g. washing hair). As Holzman (2009) states, "*growth* comes from participating in the process of building the groups in which one functions" (p. 36). Children's emotion regulation develops within this shared emotional zone by exercising their emotion regulation with the support of parents.

Play *after* a bath/shower is another example of demonstrating that parents create conditions for children's development of emotion regulation through play in their shared emotional ZPD (see vignettes 3 and 6). In the Clayton family, after Nick gets out of the bath, he screams and cries when his father tries to dry his body. The father responds to him by a promise of doing some flopping on the bed later. When Nick agrees, his emotions slightly calm down. The father's requirement of drying the body first delays Nick's wish to play flopping on the bed. This *postponed moment* creates the opportunity for Nick to master his emotions because doing flopping promises greater happiness. Nick let his father dry his body and put nappies on him instead of reacting to it impulsively as he did before the father promised him to play the flopping game. As Vygotsky (1966) states, "play continually creates demands on the child to act against immediate impulse" (p. 14). This indicates that the emotional zone for children to exercise self-control on emotions is created. Children practice emotion regulation *together* with the parents instead of on their own.

In the Waverley family, similar to the Clayton family, the *postponed moment* is also created by the mother in the emotional ZPD. Different from the postponement of meeting Nick's need of play in the Clayton family (i.e. postpone meeting child's needs), the mother postpones her demands on Sue, such as delaying taking a shower and getting her out of the shower (i.e. postpone conducting adult's demands). It is a way of compromising, and it functions as an ideal form of interaction. Sue later on shows her compromise to her mother by telling her "I will be quick" when she wants to fill the bottle before getting out of the

shower. In this case, Sue has imitated the compromise from her mother. Imitation is "one of the basic paths of cultural development of the child" (Vygotsky 1997b, 95). Vygotsky (1997c) also states that, the general genetic law of cultural development is that "every function in the cultural development of the child appears on the stage twice, in two planes, first, the social, then the psychological, first between people as an intermental category, then within the child as an intramental category" (p. 106). The mother's postponement of her demands on Sue (i.e. compromising) becomes Sue's compromising (i.e. limiting her demands) to the mother. In other words, compromising is used as tool for expanding the degrees of freedom in play, and for supporting the child's development. In the process of compromising, Sue cannot do what she wants to do. Instead, she has to manage herself to avoid impulsive reactions, such as getting upset and crying to stop playing. Hence, these whole interactions between the mother and Sue (e.g. negotiating play time after the shower and the postponed moment), creates the emotional ZPD for the development of emotion regulation.

Conclusion

Imaginary play as conceptualised by both Vygotsky's (1966) and Elkonin's (2005) differs from the play in the present study where the play was more manipulative than imaginary. The findings of this study indicate that manipulative play as a tool for mediating children's emotions did support the families in creating the condition for their children's emotional development. Although it was thought that imaginary play would lead to the ideal conditions for supporting emotion regulation, it was found that manipulative play did contribute to creating the possibility for children to exercise and develop emotion regulation.

The findings demonstrate that play acts as a maintainer, a reward, and a temptation during emotionally charged situations, which supports children's transitions in the everyday family life. The relations between adults' demands and children's motives play an essential

role in determining the effectiveness of mediation and in contributing positively to young children's emotional development. When too many demands are made, they disrupt the balance and negatively influence mediation. The decisive factor in balancing the relations is the degree of freedom children have in play.

It was also found that parents and children interact *together* to create an emotional zone of proximal development though play. In play, children practise emotion regulation with the support of the their families, and through these socially mediated everyday interactions *today,* as day to day moments, this allows children over time to master their emotions independently as *tomorrow's* development of emotion regulation. Children's emotion regulation is thus practised collectively and developed through their participation in the emotional ZPD. This is in contrast to other studies which assume that emotion regulation and emotional development occurs within the child and is practised by the child on their own. Therefore, it is important for parents and early childhood practitioners to be *consciously aware* of the interaction they have with children in their everyday play, and to strategically make use of everyday play for supporting children's emotional development. Conceptualising emotion regulation as collectively constructed between children opens up a new line of inquiry into emotional ZPD. Here van Oers's (2013a) concept of degrees of freedom in play can be used for conceptualising the nature of young children's emotion regulation and emotional development. This is a new finding and adds to the literature on cultural-historical constructions of emotion regulation. However, it is acknowledged that the findings of this study cannot be easily generalised to other cultural contexts because this study only involved a small number of Australian and Chinese-Australian participants. Future studies into the emotional ZPD in play, and the degrees of freedom for regulating play and emotions, are urgently needed.

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Chapter 5 Signs and Emotion Regulation

Suggested Declaration for Thesis Chapter

In the case of Chapter 5, the nature and extent of my contribution to the chapter is showed in Table 5.1. Table 5.2 presents the contribution of the co-author.

Table 5.1

The Candidate's Contribution to the Chapter

Nature of contribution	Extent of contribution (%)
Conception, key ideas, research investigation and development, and write-up	90%

Table 5.2

The Co-Author's Contribution to the Chapter

Name	Nature of contribution	Extent of contribution (%)
Marilyn Fleer	Conceptual and editorial	10%

The undersigned hereby certify that the above declaration correctly reflects the nature and extent of the candidate's and co-author' contributions to the chapter.

Candidate's Signature: [redacted] Date: 20 March 2015

Supervisor's Signature: [redacted] Date: 20 March 2015

Background of Paper Two

In addition to the use of play discussed in Paper one, the finding also showed that parents utilised signs to support children's emotion regulation. This finding was reported in Paper two, another co-authored work with Marilyn Fleer. The first version of this paper was presented at the 2nd International Research in Early Childhood Education Conference in Chile in 2014. The presentation helped the development of this paper. Its second version, entitled "I am angry": A cultural-historical study on emotion-related signs for supporting young children's emotional development, was then submitted to the *Mind, Culture, and Activity: An International Journal* (MCA) on the 28 February 2014. We received valuable feedback from the reviewers and were invited to revise and re-submit the paper. We changed the previous title to Re-signing: A cultural-historical study of signs for supporting young children's development of emotion regulation. The manuscript presented in this chapter is the version published online.

Below is the information about the journal from its website.

> *Mind, Culture, and Activity* (MCA) is an international forum for the publication of peer-reviewed articles that examine the relationships between the human mind, the sociocultural environments they inhabit, and the way that mind and culture are constituted in a wide variety of human activities. We seek to promote dialogue among different schools of thought about these relationships, and encourage both interdisciplinary and international contributions. Particular emphasis is placed upon empirical research grounded in theoretical approaches that locate culture and activity at the center of attempts to understand human nature and research that attends to the methodological problems associated with the analysis of human action in everyday activities. (Source: MCA website).

This paper presents the finding on parents re-signing children's emotion-related signs that supported the emergence of intrapersonal emotion regulation of children. The theoretical concepts encompassing tools and signs and cultural development were

discussed and used for analysing the data generated from all four families. The section that follows is the full paper.

Paper Two

This section contains the full Paper two published online.

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Re-signing: A Cultural-Historical Study of Signs for Supporting Young Children's Development of Emotion Regulation

Feiyan Chen and Marilyn Fleer
Monash University

Recent cultural-historical literature stresses the need for understanding the role of signs in emotional development. This article examined how the signification of children's emotions in everyday parent–child interactions creates the conditions for the emergence of intrapersonal emotion regulation. Four families with children ages 3–6 years were studied in Australia. Findings indicated that parents' *re-signing* supported the emergence of children's intrapersonal emotion regulation. We argue that the cultural line of emotional development needs to be foregrounded and the process of development theorized, thus contributing to better understandings of the process, rather than the product of children's development of emotion regulation.

INTRODUCTION

There is a plethora of studies into children's emotional development (e.g., Ellis, Alisic, Reiss, Dishion, & Fisher, 2014; Gavazzi & Ornaghi, 2011). These studies are typically undertaken in controlled laboratory conditions and do not focus on the development of emotions in naturalistic settings. Although limited in number, a cultural-historical perspective on emotional development emphasizes social relations as a source of development, which is in contrast to the traditional view of emotional development as an individual practice (see Ferholt, 2009, 2010; Gonzalez Rey, 2009, 2012; Holodynski, 2004, 2009, 2013; Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006; Holzman, 2009). Recent empirically based cultural-historical studies examined the relations between mediation and children's emotional development in social interactions (e.g., Demuth, 2013; Fleer & Hammer, 2013; Magiolino & Smolka, 2013; Riquelme & Montero, 2013). These studies suggested that a range of mediational tools play an essential role in supporting children's emotional development. Examples include playworlds (Ferholt, 2009), the role-playing of fairytales (Fleer & Hammer, 2013), adult–child communicative genres (Demuth, 2013), reading activities (Riquelme

Correspondence should be sent to Feiyan Chen, Faculty of Education, Monash University, Peninsula Campus, P.O. Box 527, Frankston, Victoria 3199, Australia. [redacted]

& Montero, 2013), and signs (Holodynski, 2013; Magiolino & Smolka, 2013; Vadeboncoeur & Collie, 2013). These studies showed that the process of mediation contributes to children's development of emotions and emotion regulation.

Many of these studies identified future research directions for studying children's emotion and emotional development. Vadeboncoeur and Collie (2013) suggested that it is necessary to address what role social speech and dialogue plays in learning and development where a holistic view of speech, thinking, and feeling is considered as a unit. There is also a need for further investigation into how emotions and signification (i.e., the process of sign production and sense making) are interrelated (Magiolino & Smolka, 2013). In addition, Holodynski and Seeger (2013) pointed out that the relation between the introduction and use of expression and speech signs should be taken up in future research. Riquelme and Montero (2013) also supported this position, and argued for the need to examine children's use of private speech for regulating their emotions. In summary, as highlighted by Holodynski and Seeger, there is a need for cultural-historical studies to address the role of signs in emotion and emotional development.

As a result of this research agenda, the current study sought to examine how the signification of children's emotions in everyday parent–child interactions creates the conditions for the emergence of children's intrapersonal emotion regulation. Signification is the creation and use of signs (Vygotsky, 1931/1997e). Signs refer to "a special group of artificial means that humans have created and to which they have assigned conventionalized meanings and functions" (Holodynski, 2013, p. 15). Understandings of the term *emotion regulation* "is crucially ambiguous, as it might refer equally well to how emotions regulate something else, such as thoughts, physiology, or behaviour (regulation *by* emotions) or to how emotions are themselves regulated (regulation *of* emotions)" (Gross, 2007, p. 7). Holodynski and Friedlmeier (2006) used the phrase "emotional (action) regulation" to refer to regulation *by* emotions and "emotion regulation" as the regulation *of* emotions. In the current study, emotion regulation refers to both regulation by, and of, emotions, which is part of emotional development.

The study reported in this article was grounded in cultural-historical theory and the studies that have drawn upon this foundational theory for conceptualizing and undertaking research into emotional development. We begin with a theoretical discussion of tools and signs in cultural development and the cultural development of emotions from a cultural-historical perspective. This is followed by the research questions and the presentation of the study design, findings, discussion, and the conclusions reached.

TOOLS AND SIGNS IN CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Vygotsky (1931/1997a) conceptualized the general genetic law of cultural development by stating that "every function in the cultural development of the child appears on the stage twice, in two planes, first, the social, then the psychological, first between people as an intermental category, then within the child as an intramental category" (p. 106). This law stresses the social situation as the source of development (Vygotsky, 1994). In social relations, mediation transforms biological instincts or rudimentary functions into a cultural form of functions, that is, higher mental functions (Vygotsky, 1931/1997d, 1931/1997e).

Tools and signs are the mediators that have a mediating function and are the cultural devices of human social behaviour (Vygotsky, 1931/1997d, 1931/1997e). Tools mediate the objects or

means of activities, whereas signs change "nothing in the object of the psychological operation, it is a means of psychological action on behavior, one's own or another's, a means of internal activity directed toward mastering man himself [*sic*]" (Vygotsky, 1931/1997e, p. 62). Signs are artificially created by humans in order to master the behaviors of another or one's own behavior; the creation and use of artificial signs is "signification" (Vygotsky, 1931/1997e, p. 55). Of importance in the process of signification is the *meaning* designated to a sign. As described by Vygotsky (1927/1997b), every sign has its meaning. Meaning is an internal dimension of a sign.

The operation of signs plays an essential role in the cultural development of a child (Vygotsky, 1931/1997a). For example, the cultural development of the waving gesture may begin in its original form as a child's *random* hand movement when a parent leaves for work. The parent interprets the hand movement as a gesture of waving, which means the child says "good-bye" to him or her. In this interpretation, the parent has assigned a social meaning to the random hand movement and created a sign of waving. She or he may react to the child by saying, "Oh, you are waving" while waving back to the child, as well as saying "good-bye" to him or her. Through this social interaction, the child starts to understand the hand movement as a way of saying good-bye and to consciously use it as a waving gesture.

We can see from this example that the signification process offered by the parent enabled the child to develop his or her waving gesture. In other words, the sign operation transforms the interpersonal psychological functioning to an intrapersonal psychological functioning. As Vygotsky (1933/1999) noted,

> The sign initially acts as a means of social connection in the behaviour of the child, as an intermental function; subsequently it becomes a means of controlling his own behaviour and he just transfers the social relation to a subject inward into his personality. (p. 41)

Hence, sign mediation through another person during social interactions contributes to the cultural development of a child.

Vygotsky (1931/1997a) used internalization to describe the transformational process from the interpersonal to the intrapersonal psychological functioning. Some scholars such as Gonzalez Rey (2009, 2014) have questioned this concept because it appears to indicate a dualistic thinking and weakens the generative character of the psyche (i.e., the human mind). The subject has the generative or creative ability to produce new mental productions, rather than a passive receiver of social influences (Gonzalez Rey, 2009, 2012). Gonzalez Rey's (2009, 2012, 2014) works contribute to the understanding of Vygotsky's general genetic law of development in terms of internalization by stressing the role of subjective configuration in development and simultaneously acknowledging the importance of the environment. Our opinion is that social interactions and sign mediation create the conditions for subjective configurations. Development is a result of both social situations and subjective configurations. We therefore understand the concept of internalization as an integrative process of transformation from the inter- to the intrapersonal function, without ignoring the generative character of the psyche.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF EMOTIONS

The general genetic law of cultural development and role of the operation of signs in the cognitive domain of cultural development (e.g., memory, arithmetic, and speech) apply to *all* higher

mental functions (Vygotsky, 1931/1997a, 1931/1997e, 1933/1999). This interpretation of sign mediation has opened up a new possibility for thinking about emotional development. However, we found only a few studies written in English on sign operation and children's emotional development from a cultural-historical perspective within the last 20 years.

In the small pool of related studies, Vadeboncoeur and Collie (2013) emphasized the significant role of social speech and dialogue in children's development of verbal thinking and feeling. In their work, signs were perceived as a fusion of thinking and feelings, which is similar to what was described by Vygotsky (1987) where a word "absorbs intellectual and affective content from the entire context in which it is intertwined" (p. 276). Vadeboncoeur and Collie suggested a holistic perspective to examine speech, thinking, and feeling as an undividable unity in learning and development, and argued that in educational settings we should attend to the development of verbal feeling in learning and development. Another study conducted by Magiolino and Smolka (2013), examined the relation between emotions and signification. Signs were understood as a human production, rather than abstractions, that resulted from social relations. Magiolino and Smolka stressed the importance of interpretation in the process of signification. They argued that signs such as words and the signification process might transform emotions in interpersonal relations and contribute to the conscious awareness of, and the cultural-historical development of emotions. Both studies indicated the role of signs in developing children's conscious awareness of emotions and pointed to a future research need for examining sign operation in children's learning and development, particularly emotional development (Magiolino & Smolka, 2013; Vadeboncoeur & Collie, 2013).

Drawing upon Vygotsky's principles of development, sign mediation, and internalization, Holodynski and Friedlmeier (2006) developed an internalization theory of emotional development. Their theory categorized human emotional development and emotion regulation into five ontogenetic phases (Holodynski, 2009, 2013; Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). Because the last two phases relate to adolescence and adulthood and are still under development, we summarize the first three phases in conjunction with Vygotsky's original ideas about development and sign operation discussed earlier and shown in Table 1.

In the first phase, sign-mediated regulation emerges. Children acquire expression signs by caregivers' signification of their innate emotional expressions, and start to apply these signs to

TABLE 1
Process of Cultural Development of Emotions by Signification

Phases	*Processes of Emotional Development*	*Signification*	*Psychological Functioning*
	Innate or spontaneous emotional expression (raw emotions)	Sign for others	Interpsychological functioning
1	Emergence of sign-mediated regulation	Sign for the child (towards others)	
2	Emergence of intrapersonal regulation	Sign to the self	Intrapsychological functioning
3	Internalization of emotional expression	Miniaturization of expression signs; mental signs	

Note. Sources: Holodynski (2004, 2009, 2013); Holodynski and Friedlmeier (2006); Vygotsky (1997a, 1997d, 1997e).

caregivers in order to regulate caregivers' behaviour for motive satisfaction (Holodynski, 2009, 2013; Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). In the second phase, children gradually become able to move from the social to the intrapersonal emotion regulation (Holodynski, 2009, 2013). They use expression signs for self-regulation and perform motive-serving actions. Shame, pride, guilt, and fear and other socializing emotions also emerge during this period of development. The third phase is the internalization of emotion expression (Holodynski, 2009, 2013). The observable expression signs transform to mental signs that are inaccessible to others. For instance, children no longer need to display their emotions when they are emotional. Children's acquisition of emotional concepts leads to their conscious awareness of emotions, which then enables the internalization of external forms of emotions (Holodynski, 2013). Their ability for conceptual differentiation between emotional expression and feeling is positively related to the miniaturization of expression (Holodynski, 2004). In the internalization model, Holodynski (2004) views the miniaturization effect in solitary contexts as a result of emotion internalization, which signifies the emergence of intrapersonal emotion regulation.

Holodynski's (2013) internalization theory of emotional development comprehensively explains how social-cultural conditions promote emotional development in relation to sign operation. We are inspired by this theoretical model because it gives new insights into our understanding of emotional development for the early childhood period from a cultural-historical perspective by using Vygotsky's (1934/1987) concept of inter- and intrapsychological functioning and sign mediation in cultural development. Holodynski's (2013) central idea in the application of cultural-historical theory is that both speech signs and expression signs, with their culturally constructed meanings, mediate the development of emotions (Holodynski, 2013). Empirical studies have been done in experimental or laboratory contexts to confirm this idea (e.g., Holodynski, 2004; Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). However, what happens in naturalistic family settings? In this underresearched area, we have found only one recent study: Magiolino and Smolka's (2013) work discussed earlier, that provided an empirical example showing how a raw emotion expression was signified and made conscious to children through mother–child interactions in an early childhood everyday family situation. Their example captured an early phase of emotional development according to Holodynski's (2009, 2013) theory as summarized in Table 1. More research into the processes of how signs are used as mediators of emotional development in naturalistic settings is needed. We are interested in how parents create the conditions for children's development of emotions in everyday family practice. Specifically, our study aimed to examine the following research questions:

RQ1: How are children's emotions signified by their parents in everyday parent–child interactions in emotionally charged situations?

RQ2: How does parents' signification create the conditions for the emergence of children's intrapersonal emotion regulation?

METHODS

This research is a qualitative case study focusing on signs and young children's emotional development. Hedegaard and Fleer's (2008) dialectical-interactive methodology was applied in the study. This allowed us to take a holistic view when examining the interactions between

parents and children. Approval was granted by the university ethics committee for undertaking this study. Ethical considerations including confidentiality and anonymity were strictly applied. Pseudonyms are used in this article.

Participants

Four middle-class families in Australia were involved in the study. Those families were selected because of their similar family profiles including the age group of children, the level of socioeconomic status, and the number of children. This was important for minimising factors that were not related to the focus of the study. Families were recruited through childcare centers and preschools. Each family had two children. Six children between 3 and 6 years of age were the focus children (i.e., four boys aged 39, 47, 67, and 77 months, respectively, and two girls aged 46 and 58 months, respectively). The other two were not focus children, because they were younger than 3 years of age. The focus children attended different early childhood programs, either full-time or part-time, such as sessional playgroup, long day care, kindergarten, and pre-primary school.

Data Collection

Digital video observations and interviews were the major methods used for data collection in this study. The former was used to capture robust information about parent–child interactions. This allowed the researchers to repeatedly view the data, and it acted as source material for stimulated recall to support the interview process (Hedegaard & Fleer, 2008). The latter allowed for the obtaining of data not directly observable (Creswell, 2012). There were 61 hours of digital video observations and interviews data gathered. Table 2 summarizes the hours of video data collected across the four families. The Clayton Family withdrew from the study due to their busy family schedule, resulting in a smaller amount of data being collected. In addition, photographs were taken to record gestures and facial expressions during filming and the surroundings after filming. Field notes were also written about each field trip, particularly in relation to events that could not be recorded through a video camera.

Data collection lasted approximately 6 months. It started with two families first, followed by the third family in the 2nd month, and the fourth family in the 3rd month. There were 23 visits made to all the families (five to seven visits per family) for the purpose of making observations

TABLE 2
Hours of Video Data

Participants	*Hours of Observations Filmed by Families*	*Hours of Observations Filmed by Researchers*	*Hours of Interviews*	*Total Hours*
Clayton family	0	4.75	2.75	7.5
Waverley family	2.75	16.5	4	23.25
Murrum family	2.25	9	3.75	15
Westall family	2	11	2.25	15.25
Total hours	7	41.25	12.75	61

and interviews in the homes and outdoors (e.g., supermarket and parks). Each family was visited every week or every 2 weeks depending on their availability. Each visit lasted about 1.5 to 4.5 hours. The first visit to each family was an orientation meeting in order for participants to understand the study and for the researcher/the first author and participants to become familiar with each other and to build a trusting relationship. In this meeting, the procedure and how their video images would be used were clearly explained to families in order to avoid families becoming worried about the use of images. Video cameras were brought to the meeting for participants to play with. The children were excited by the cameras and filming. Parents were also delighted, and keen to start video observations in subsequent visits. Three families expressed interest in also collecting observation data for the study, and those families were given a video camera and a tripod. Participants filmed parent–child interactions during everyday routines across different parts of the day. Table 2 shows which families filmed and for what period of time. This was an important addition to the data, as it allowed for more personal moments in families to be documented without a researcher being present.

Digital video observations and interviews began in the second visit. Ethical protocols were always considered. At the beginning of the visit, an agreement was made about which situations could be filmed that day. The researcher also informed participants that they were welcome to stop filming any time they wished, and the researcher took the initiative to switch off the camera during some sensitive moments, such as bath time. There were two cameras arranged to record children's everyday routines and activities including having meals, taking a bath, preparing for bed, getting up, and transitioning between the home and the preschool, as well as shopping and outings over the weekend. One still camera on the tripod filmed the whole situation of the everyday routine from a distance. The other roaming camera operated by a researcher focused on a close study of parent–child interactions, such as participants' facial expressions. This camera also continuously followed the focus child, recording the focus children's interactions with parents. Near the end of each data gathering visit, an informal interview was conducted with the parents if the researcher had questions about what was observed and wanted to gain further related information that was not observable. This interview was video recorded. Field notes were also made after the visit. This process was repeated for subsequent data gathering visits except the final visit.

The last visit to each family was solely to conduct interviews. Semistructured interviews with each parent took place using a video stimulated recall interview approach (Lyle, 2003). The whole family, including all parents and children, was involved. Each interview lasted about 30 to 45 min and was video-recorded, with audio recording as a backup. In the semistructured interview, the parents were asked questions such as, "How do your children express their emotions in emotionally charged situations?" and "How do you usually react to them?" In the stimulated recall interview, four to five video clips related to emotionally charged situations were selected from the observation data and shown to parents and children one by one. After each clip was played, a group discussion with the parents and children took place. Parents and children were invited to recall their thinking and feeling in the events played in the video clips. Stimulated recall focused on the real-life contexts already gathered (Lyle, 2003), but allowed for more possibilities to add to the events selected by the researcher. This gave an additional opportunity for building greater understanding of the emotional episodes.

Data Analysis

The data analysis encompassed data organisation, writing research protocols, and data interpretation. All digital data, including video observations, interviews, photographs, and field notes, were uploaded to the computer and filed by date. Video observations and interviews were then transcribed into research protocols (see Hedegaard & Fleer, 2008). The data that was related to parent–child interactions in emotionally charged situations were selected from the whole data set. We identified emotionally charged situations through children's *observable* emotion-related signs, which are composed of speech signs and emotional expression signs. In the study, speech signs are verbal words regarding emotions or uttered with emotions. Expression signs are nonverbal and refer to "expressive reactions" (i.e., expressive processes and action readiness; Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006, p. 46) and involuntary biological reactions, which signal the quality and intensity of emotions, for example, facial expressions, gestures, body postures, touch, spatial behaviour, tone of voice, fleeing, changes in breathing rate, and blushing (for more examples, see Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006).

The selected video data were digitally edited into small video clips and transcribed. There were 59 video segments of negative emotional episodes. Nonemotionally charged situations before and after each emotional episode were used as context data to provide a situated interpretation of each emotional episode.

Following Hedegaard and Fleer (2008), the dialectical-interactive methodology required a systematic interpretation of the data set. The three levels of analysis, namely, common sense interpretation, situated practice interpretation, and interpretation on a thematic level, were employed in the study. The first level of analysis, a common sense interpretation, involved a focus on what emotion-related signs children and parents used in *each* emotional episode, for example, continual crying. Data were then analysed *across settings* for all the families. This constituted the second level of analysis (i.e., situated practice interpretation). For instance, we looked for crying episodes in the context of parent–child interactions across families and noting the situated practices around crying in each family. Signs have different forms and meanings. Meaning is "the internal aspect of the sign" and its formation is "the main function of the sign" (Vygotsky, 1927/1997b, p. 134). Through this process, the form and meaning of a sign were used as basic categories to analyse parent–child interactions in all emotional episodes (see Figure 1). Speech and nonverbal expressions were two forms of signs. The subcategories of expression signs include expressive processes, action readiness, and involuntary biological reactions that have

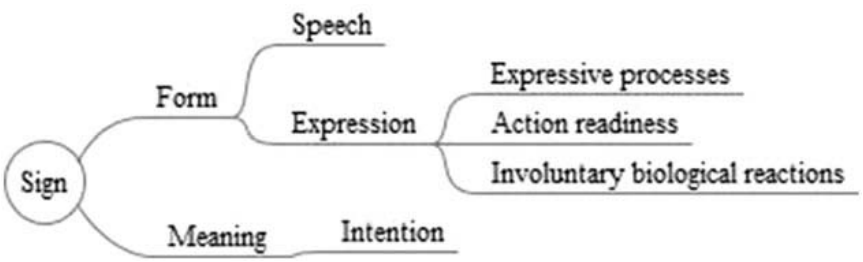

FIGURE 1 Categories.

been mentioned earlier. To code the meanings of signs, we examined parents' and children's intentions in each particular context. The forms and meanings of signs were analysed from both children's and parents' perspectives (also gained from the stimulated recall).

On the third level, interpretation on a thematic level, the research questions, the data materials, and the theoretical concepts including mediation and inter- and intrapsychological functioning were used thematically for answering the research questions. The concepts were used for gaining a theoretical understanding of the data analysed across families and the situated practice contexts that had been extracted from the second phase of data analysis. For instance, when we looked at emotionally charged situations, and examined the context of what took place prior to, and after these events, the cultural-historical concept of inter- and intrapsychological functioning helped us better understand the nature of the actions of the children in relation to the actions of the parents. These are elaborated further in the presentation of the data that follows in the Findings and Discussion section.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section opens up the central problem of how the signification of emotions in everyday parent–child interactions of emotionally charged situations creates the conditions for the emergence of children's intrapersonal emotion regulation. It starts with the findings of how children's emotions were signified from both the children's and the parents' perspectives. This is followed by the discussion of specific examples that illustrate two processes of development of emotion regulation, including interpsychological functioning and the transitional process toward intrapsychological functioning.

Signification of Emotions: Re-signing in Reciprocal Regulation

Findings revealed that children and parents regulate each other reciprocally through the signification of emotions. Specifically, we found that children used emotion-related signs to regulate parents' actions for serving their own motives. These emotion-related signs were then verbally labelled (with/without nonverbal reactions) and reassigned with new meanings by the parents. We defined this signification process of parents as *re-signing*. Re-signing is "signing the sign." It is a further process that occurs *after* children apply their previously learned signs to adults, as was described in the nonemotionally charged example of the waving gesture. Re-signing has a function of redirecting children's object of regulation from others to themselves. Table 3 summarizes the reciprocal emotion regulation that occurred between children and parents through signification.

The data summarized in Table 3 were representative of all four families. Children used different forms of emotion-related signs (see column 1 in Table 3) that conveyed particular meanings (see column 2) to regulate parents' actions. Parents received those signs. Instead of being regulated by those signs, parents verbally labelled children's emotions with or without nonverbal reactions (see column 3) and reassigned new meanings to children's signs (see column 4) as a process of re-signing. To better understand the data summarized in Table 3, the relations

TABLE 3
Signification of Emotions by Children and Parents

Signification by Children		*Signification by Parents*	
Form of Signs	*Meaning of Signs*	*Form of Signs*	*Meaning of Signs*
Stamping the foot	Give me a carrot	"Well, as soon as you stamp your foot, what happens?"	Don't get anything or go to the camel chair
Glaring eyes and showing a dark look	Let me leave the dining table to play	"Stop making a fuss. . . . Remember, if there is fuss, there is no sticker."	Don't get a sticker
Hitting violently	Give me the lolly	"When you are throwing a tantrum, you have to?"	Go to the camel chair
Continual crying	Don't want to eat	"You just cry, cry, and cry . . . no need." The mother left.	Staying alone
Keeping asking over and over for a chocolate and showing a crying face	Give me a chocolate	"You look upset. Stop nagging me." The mother went to the kitchen.	Staying alone
Frowning and making a crying-like noise in bed	Don't want to sleep	"If you *nao* [make a fuss, in Chinese], I will go downstairs"	Lose the mother's company
Pouting and yelling "I am angry"	Let me sit in the shopping trolley	"Look at your mouth, pouting. We gonna go." She started to walk.	Leaving the trolley to go home
Strongly pushing the chair away and hiding under the table	Let me be the octopus in the game	"Don't get upset. Otherwise we have to stop the game"	No more play

TABLE 4
Methods and Contents of Verbal Labelling: Parents' Use of Speech Signs

	Methods		
Contents	*Asking*	*Instructing*	*Describing*
Children's expressive processes	"Why are you crying?"	"Then you don't cry."	"Look at your mouth, pouting."
Children's emotional states	"Why are you angry?"	"No point to get upset."	"You look sad."

between the expressions of the child and the reciprocal mediation of the parent, further analysis was undertaken. Different ways of verbal labelling were found, and these are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4 shows how parents verbally labelled children's expressive processes and emotional states through the methods of *asking* questions, *instructing* children's behaviours, and *describing* children's emotions. These verbal labels of children's emotions were forms of signs. According

to Vygotsky (1927/1997b), the creation of a social meaning is the central aspect of a functional sign. Verbal words became new signs because they were assigned new social meanings by the parents. The parents' *reactions* (either verbal or behavioural; see column 3 in Table 3) to their children after verbal labelling of emotions had the effect of constructing meanings (see column 4) for the signs. For example, when a child continuously cried as a way of rejecting eating specific food, the parent reacted by leaving the child alone after labelling his emotional expressions. This reaction reassigned a meaning to the children's sign of "crying," as "crying does not work." Children were either left alone or did not get what they wanted. In this situation, children had to face their emotions by themselves. We call the type of meaning-making in column 4 "meaning of motive-dissatisfaction", that is, children's needs are not satisfied or not satisfied immediately when they use emotion-related signs as a tool to regulate parents.

How Does Re-signing Help?

The data analysis showed that re-signing created the conditions for the emergence of children's intrapersonal emotion regulation. We elaborate this finding through a discussion of two examples selected from Table 3.

Example 1

The mother pushes a big trolley (shopping cart) out of the supermarket after shopping (observation X21). Dell, aged 3 years 11 months, keeps trying to climb and sit in the trolley, but his mother asks him to get off because they have to return the trolley to the supermarket and walk to the railway station to go home.

Mother: You get off! We are going. (*She raises her voice*.)
Dell: No, I haven't sat in the trolley (*a crying tone*). I want to sit [in the trolley].
The mother ignores him.
Dell: I am angry! (*He puts his hands on his hips, thrusts out his lips, raises his voice, and yells out towards his mother*.) Mum, I am angry!! (*He repeats it more loudly*.)
Mother: Why are you angry?
Dell: I want to sit in the trolley, then, I am angry.
The mother is busy with managing the shopping trolley and keeps ignoring him.
Dell: Heng (i.e., a discourse marker indicating negative emotions such as anger and upset), I won't listen [to you]. (*He keeps hands on his hips and pouts.* See Illustration 1)
Mother: Enough!
Dell: I am angry! (*He puts hands on his hips and pouts again towards the mother*.)
Mother: What's wrong? Look at your mouth, pouting. We gonna go.

The mother started to walk toward the train station. The grandmother pulled Dell's hand and made him move. Dell was frowning, kept pouting, and trying to hold his mother's hand, but could not get it. He put his hands on hips again, telling the mother "don't walk with me" while taking a sidetrack and looking at his mother. He then came back quickly and asked for a hug from his mother.

FIGURE 2 "I am angry!"

Sign for the child. In Example 1, Dell got angry because he could not sit in the trolley. He showed his anger through different *forms* of emotion-related signs, including hands on hips, pouting, a crying tone, raised voice, frowning, and the words of "I am angry." Mastery and conscious awareness are two sides of the same mental process (Vygotsky, 1934/1987). Dell's mastery of the speech sign "I am angry" showed his conscious awareness of his emotions. His intention of using these emotion-related signs was to get his mother to allow him to sit in the shopping trolley. Therefore, the meaning of his signs in this particular social context was "let me sit in the shopping trolley." Here, the signs were used as a tool to influence another person. This process of signification was described by Holodynski (2013) as *sign for the child* towards others (see Table 1). Dell applied emotion-related signs to the mother in order to regulate her. Signs functioned as an appeal to others (Holodynski, 2013; Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006).

Re-signing. The mother's re-signing process was completed by her verbally labelling Dell's emotions (i.e., forms of signs), telling him "we gonna go" and walking toward the train station. Her reactions of telling and walking to the station constructed the meaning of the sign, that is, leaving for home, rather than sitting in the trolley. The mother reported that when Dell got upset or angry, he usually put his hands on his hips, pouted, and frowned, and used these expressions to get what he wanted. In this situation, she often ignored him. In Example 1, Dell's emotion-related signs were used to regulate the mother and signified his action of readiness to possibly exhibit more intense emotions, such as crying. However, he was not satisfied by the mother's response, and instead of starting to cry, he maintained his emotional expressions as before, but he nevertheless got involved in walking with her mother to the train station. His reaction indicated a certain level of emotion regulation. Furthermore, Dell tried to hold his mother's hand during this episode, made a detour, but kept eye contact with his mother, and then asked for a hug. These reactions were viewed as self-initiated interpersonal strategies for emotion regulation that are

FIGURE 3 A calming down camel.

similar to the strategies children used in frustrating situations as described by Holodynski and Friedlmeier's (2006).

The mother's re-signing reversed Dell's direction of regulation that was originally toward her back to himself and created an opportunity for Dell to face and practice self- regulation of emotion. Although in Example 1 Dell was still engaged in an interpersonal level of emotion regulation, the re-signing provided a possibility for the later emergence of intrapersonal emotion regulation.

Example 2

In the morning, the mother was preparing food for Otis's (age 6 years 5 months) lunchbox in the kitchen (observation K4). Otis wanted a carrot to be peeled for his lunchbox, but his mother did not want to do it. Otis insisted on getting the carrot. He quietly stood in front of the mother and looked at her once. His mouth pouted.

Mother: There is no point getting upset.
Otis: I want a carrot I want a carrot. (*said in a murmuring tone, head down, and then strongly stamping his right foot when he repeated the last word 'carrot,' which was simultaneously stressed by his raised voice*)
Mother: Well, as soon as you stamp your foot, what happens?
Otis: Nothing. (*lower and calmer voice*)
Mother: Yeah, you don't get what you want when you stamping your foot and making a fuss again. (*Short pause*)
Mother: Do you want to go and calm down in the hall for a minute? (*In the hall, there was a camel chair used as a regular solitary spot for calming down.* See Illustration 2.)
Otis: (*Shook his head immediately*)
Mother: What would you like to do?
Otis: Nothing. (*A low and quite tone, but still pouting and gently moved his left foot forward and backward and put it back to still.*)
Mother: All right. Here you go.

The mother left for another room. Otis followed her to get ready for school.

In Example 2, Otis expressed his emotions through different forms of expression signs, including standing still, pouting, the changeable intonation of his voice, head down, and stamping his foot. Those signs visualized the transformation of Otis's emotions from being upset to very upset and to slightly upset. At the beginning, when he was standing still, keeping quiet, and pouting he was upset, as labelled by his mother. The intensity of his emotion then increased considerably when he stamped his foot strongly and stressed the word "carrot." After the mother asked, "As soon as you stamp your foot, what happens?" he lowered his voice which suggested that the intensity of Otis's emotional expressions decreased, rather than getting more upset and becoming physically violent, as happened previously and as reported by the mother. Why did his mother's words lead to the change of Otis's emotions and actions?

Sign for the child. When Otis showed his emotions to his mother through different signs, his intention was to get a carrot. The meaning of these signs was therefore "give me a carrot." In this moment, signs are *for the child* toward the mother (see Table 1).

Re-signing. Instead of being regulated by Otis, the mother re-signed his signs by asking him, "As soon as you stamp your foot, what happens?" She was labelling his emotional expressive process and trying to remind him of the social meaning of his expressions. Stamping his foot meant that Otis would not get anything and probably had to sit on the camel chair: being excluded from the affectionate contact of his mother until he calmed himself down. Otis understood this meaning of motive dissatisfaction from his past experiences. According to what was reported by the parents, Otis had a long history of practising calming himself down on the camel chair. When he got angry, because of dissatisfaction, he often stamped his foot to get what he wanted. The parents considered this emotional expression inappropriate and applied the child-rearing strategy of social exclusion to him. Social exclusion induces socializing emotions, such as shame that children dislike (Röttger-Rössler, Scheidecker, Jung, & Holodynski, 2013). At the beginning, Otis sometimes refused to go to the camel chair, and according to the parents he had to be dragged there. After a long time of practicing the re-signing process, he could go there by himself and successfully regulated his emotions.

Sign to the self and the miniaturization of signs. The process of re-signing reversed the direction of Otis's signs that were originally toward the mother, back to himself. Signs are *to the self* (see Table 1). Re-signing overcame Otis's emotional action readiness. It resulted in Otis lowering his voice, which showed the miniaturization of his emotional expressions. Miniaturization refers to an individual who mitigates "expression signs of an emotion by replacing a prototypical expression sign with a partial pattern or even with no perceivable expression at all" (Holodynski, 2004, p. 16). The mother's verbal labelling of stamping his foot and her reminder (i.e., re-signing) helped Otis become consciously aware of his emotions and his experience of sitting on the camel chair to regulate himself. This conscious awareness has a positive effect in lowering the intensity of emotional expressions. This finding reflects the miniaturization effect for better conscious awareness of emotional states (Holodynski, 2004).

In Example 2, the miniaturization effect occurred without Otis sitting on the camel chair that he previously needed to use as a tool to support him with calming down. This is an indication that Otis completed this physical process of emotion regulation mentally. That is, his physical experience of sitting on the camel chair was transformed into a mental experience that helped

him regulate his emotions. The miniaturization effect is evidence of emotion internalization (Holodynski, 2004).

A Dynamic and Ongoing Process of the Cultural Development of Emotion Regulation

The analysis of data also showed that children's development of emotion regulation was a dynamic and ongoing social-cultural practice. As shown in Examples 1 and 2, emotion regulation through signification in parent–child interactions reoccurred many times in different contexts of everyday life, resulting in a dynamic process of development. Vygotsky (1931/1997c) stated that "the process of development consists of certain stages that in a certain regular pattern of change follow one after another" (p. 231). Examples 1 and 2 showed two processes of development where one follows the other, that is, one is more advanced than the other. These two processes are not linear. Instead, they are dynamic, because sometimes the preceding stage coexists with the subsequent stage (Vygotsky, 1931/1997a).

Compared to Dell in the Example 1, Otis in Example 2 had moved forward and was closer to emotion self-regulation as a result of being more consciously aware of his emotions. In Example 1, Dell still could not fully regulate his angry emotions after the re-signing process, although there was a certain level of emotion regulation. In contrast, Otis quickly regulated himself after the re-signing process. He did not continue to seek social support or to go to the camel chair for self-regulation, which indicated a more advanced form of development in emotion regulation. However, Otis's development as shown in Example 2 did not happen suddenly. Prior to this level of development, Otis had gone through the process of a more limited form of regulation, such as getting more upset and becoming physically violent as reported by the mother. He also needed his parents' constant support for emotion regulation as was described for Dell in Example 1, or he had to go to the camel chair to calm himself down. In Example 2, Otis was still dependent on his parents' verbal reminder. Some of his emotion regulation was experienced interpsychologically in social relations with his parents; however, with this active support and some agency on the part of Otis, his level of emotion regulation was developing. Through continual support interpsychologically, we anticipate that Otis will in time be able to regulate himself without verbal reminders or other social supports. This means that the function of his emotions will be transformed from inter- to the intrapsychological regulation. This transformation reflects the process of the development of the function of emotions as mutually constituted with the mental development of the child. This cultural-historical explanation highlights the interrelation between emotion and cognition, something that has traditionally been separated in research into the development of emotions.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this research indicated that the parents' *re-signing* of children's signification of emotions created the conditions for the emergence of the intrapsychological plane of children's emotion regulation. Re-signing, which functioned as a cultural device, produced opportunities to advance children's signification process from *sign for the child* to *sign to the self and to the miniaturization of expression signs* (see Table 1), thus supporting the development of emotion

self-regulation. Re-signing is not signing *again*, but a creative process that generates a new cultural meaning of the sign as operated by the child. Magiolino and Smolka (2013) noted that an organism needs an interpretation if an action or expression is to turn into a sign. We further suggest not only that an organism needs an interpretation of action or expression to become a sign, but also that a sign is reinterpreted and reconstructed with novel meanings, as was shown in Examples 1 and 2. Adults play an essential role in this process of signification for supporting children's emotional development. It is wise for parents and teachers to become more consciously aware of the signification of children's emotions in their everyday interactions with children.

The central topic in the emerging cultural-historical literature on emotions is to examine the (trans)formation of instinct emotions to cultural emotions (Magiolino & Smolka, 2013). Our study contributes to this cultural-historical dialogue on emotions and emotional development by exploring the historical process of children's development of emotion regulation in everyday dramatic parent–child interactions. This study has applied Vygotsky's principle of inter- and intrapsychological functioning to the development of emotion regulation in young children in naturalistic settings. It has elaborated Holodynski's (2013) internalization theory of emotions by conceptualizing how parents support children to develop from Phase 1 to Phases 2 and 3 in their development of emotion regulation (see Table 1), contributing to a better understanding of the process of the cultural development of emotion regulation in everyday family life.

As a result of the findings of this study, we argue that it is crucial to foreground and better understand the cultural development of emotions and to conceptualize it as a reciprocal, dynamic, and ongoing process from inter- to intrapsychological functioning, where emotions and cognition cannot be separated. Future longitudinal studies on the role of signs in children's development of emotion regulation are needed to show developmental changes in a more thorough and profound way than might be achieved through studies that focus on short periods of data collection.

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Chapter 6 Emotion Regulation Strategies

Background of Paper Three

Except for the use of play and re-signing, parents' various emotion regulation strategies were also found to be helpful to children's acquisition of emotion regulation strategies that is part of the development of emotion regulation. In the sole-authored Paper three, parents' and children's use of emotion regulation strategies in their interactions in emotionally charged situations were examined in four families. The central theoretical concept included was the interaction between ideal and real forms.

I submitted the manuscript to *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood* (AJEC) on the 16 February 2014. It was originally entitled emotionally situated zones: Parents and children's emotion regulation strategies from a cultural-historical perspective. I received helpful feedback from two reviewers. A minor revision was required. After the revision, I changed the title to parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies in emotionally situated zones: A cultural-historical perspective. The manuscript was accepted for publication on the 4 July 2014 and was published in May 2015.

Below is the information about the journal from its website.

> The *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood* (AJEC) is Australasia's foremost scholarly journal and the world's longest-running major journal within the early childhood field. Published quarterly, AJEC offers evidence-based articles that are designed to impart new information and encourage the critical exchange of ideas among early childhood practitioners, academics and students. (Source: AJEC website).

Paper Three

This section contains the full Paper three published in the Journal.

Parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies in emotionally situated zones: A cultural-historical perspective

Feiyan Chen
Monash University

ALTHOUGH THERE IS A vast amount of literature on emotion regulation strategies, few studies have examined the direct relation between parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies. Those studies, however, are mainly laboratory based. Little attention has been paid to parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies in a naturalistic context. In drawing upon a cultural-historical perspective, this study investigates how parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies are related in everyday family life. A total of 61 hours of video data were collected from four families in Australia. New context-specific emotion regulation strategies and five emotionally situated zones were found. Similarities in emotion regulation strategies used by parents and children were also found. It is argued that children's acquisition of emotion regulation strategies has its origin in parents' everyday use of their own emotion regulation strategies. This study contributes to our understandings of children's development of emotion regulation in the naturalistic contexts of family life. Pedagogical suggestions and future research directions are provided.

Introduction

Emotion regulation, as an element of emotional competence (Denham, Bassett & Wyatt, 2007; Denham et al., 2011), plays an essential role in children's learning and development (Davis & Levine, 2013; Graziano, Reavis, Keane & Calkins, 2007). It is defined as 'the extrinsic and intrinsic processes responsible for monitoring, evaluating, and modifying emotional reactions, especially their intensity temporal features, to accomplish one's goal' (Thompson, 1994, pp. 27–28). Children's acquisition of strategies for emotion regulation is a vital process that signifies emotional development (Holodynski, 2009; Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006). In the early childhood period (i.e. birth to age eight), it is important for educators and parents to have sufficient knowledge of emotion regulation strategies in order to create better conditions for children's development of emotion regulation.

Most studies examining emotion regulation strategies are laboratory based. They focus on either children's or one parent's (mainly mothers') emotion regulation strategies. Emotion regulation is constructed collectively rather than individually (Chen & Fleer, in press). It is therefore necessary to explore children's emotion regulation strategies in relation to those of adults. However, in early childhood education, very few studies have investigated the relation between children's and parents' emotion regulation strategies, particularly in the naturalistic context (Holodynski, Seeger, Kortas-Hartmann & Wörmann, 2013). The current study seeks to fill this gap in the literature. It explores the use of emotion regulation strategies from children's and parents' (both mothers' and fathers') perspectives in everyday family life. It goes beyond the laboratory and contributes to our understandings of children's development of emotion regulation strategies in the naturalistic context of families.

This paper begins with an overview of literature on emotion regulation strategies. Following this, a cultural-historical perspective of emotion regulation development is discussed. The study design is then presented, followed by the findings and a full discussion. The paper concludes with pedagogical suggestions and directions for future research.

What we know about emotion regulation strategies

Children's or parents' emotion regulation strategies

Numerous studies have examined emotion regulation strategies from either the children's or the parents' perspective. For example, some studies have investigated how children understand, are aware of, and use emotion

regulation strategies (Davis, Levine, Lench & Quas, 2010; Dennis & Kelemen, 2009; Gerstein et al., 2011; Gross & John, 2003; Thompson, Virmani, Waters, Raikes & Meyer, 2013; Vikan, Karstad & Dias, 2012; Woltering & Lewis, 2009). Other studies focus on children's emotion regulation strategies in association with their personality, attachment and perception of parental care (Gilliom, Shaw, Beck, Schonberg & Lukon, 2002; Gresham & Gullone, 2012; Jaffe, Gullone & Hughes, 2010), as well as social and cognitive development (Graziano, Calkins & Keane, 2011; Trentacosta & Shaw, 2009). There is also literature centring on *mothers*' use of emotion regulation strategies (Grolnick, Kurowski, McMenamy, Rivkin & Bridges, 1998) and its influence on child development (Coyne & Thompson, 2011; Morris et al., 2011).

All these studies focus separately on children's *or* parents' emotion regulation strategies. They have not yet taken parents' and children's perspectives together in the study of emotion regulation strategies.

Family socialisation and children's emotion regulation strategies

Another body of research pays attention to both parents and children by examining the relation between family socialisation and children's emotion regulation and strategies. Family socialisation is one of the influential factors of children's emotion regulation and expression (Dagne & Snyder, 2011). It encompasses parents' immediate responses to children (e.g. punitive maternal responses) and general emotional climate created in the family (Dagne & Snyder, 2011). For example, many studies suggest that *maternal* negative control, moods, and the level of warmth/responsiveness, as well as parental response (e.g. support and structuring) are associated with children's use or understanding of emotion regulation strategies (Cole, Dennis, Smith-Simon & Cohen, 2009; Dagne & Snyder, 2011; Feng, Shaw & Moilanen, 2011; Graziano et al., 2011). In addition, family emotional contexts (e.g. parenting styles, mother–father–child relationship, and family expressiveness) impact on children's emotion regulation (Koss et al., 2011; Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers & Robinson, 2007).

Collectively, those studies reviewed show that most research only includes one parent, mainly the mother, in exploring children's emotion regulation. Additionally, the relation between parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies has been rarely examined, which is a gap also pointed out by other researchers (see Bariola, Gullone & Hughes, 2011; Bariola, Hughes & Gullone, 2012; Holodynski et al., 2013).

Relation between parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies

From the extensive literature reviewed, only three studies have directly investigated the relation between parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies. The first study conducted by Garber, Braafladt and Zeman (1991) involved 33 mother–child dyads, with children aged eight to13 years. Both mothers and children were interviewed. Findings revealed that mothers and children share similarities in generating and evaluating emotion regulation strategies (Garber et al., 1991). The second study, encompassing children aged four to seven years who completed a delay task in a laboratory, found that children of childhood-onset depressed mothers less actively use emotion regulation strategies than those of never-depressed mothers (Silk, Shaw, Skuban, Oland & Kovacs, 2006). This finding indicates that depressed mothers who are poor in using emotion regulation strategies negatively impact on their children's ability in using emotion regulation strategies (Silk et al., 2006). The third study using questionnaires had 379 children aged nine to 19 years and their parents (Bariola et al., 2012). The finding suggests that the maternal use of suppression greatly links to children's use of this emotion regulation strategy (Bariola et al., 2012).

Taken together, all three studies across various periods of child development homogeneously indicate that emotion regulation strategies are mediated between parents and children. These studies are mainly conducted in *laboratories,* employing the methods of self-report or laboratory-based observations. Little is known regarding parents' and children's use of emotion regulation strategies in other settings. As pointed out by Silk et al. (2006), there is a great call for researching emotion regulation strategies in the naturalistic context. Among those studies, only one study focuses on early childhood. It is therefore significant to pay more attention to this age group.

The current study builds on but differs from previous research by: 1) examining naturalistic contexts and context-specific emotion regulation strategies in everyday family life; 2) featuring the perspectives of both parents and the children aged between three to six; 3) involving both fathers and mothers. The study highlights the importance of social contexts in examining parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies from a cultural-historical view. It brings about the rich and innovative understanding of children's development of emotion regulation strategies.

Cultural-historical understanding of the development of emotion regulation

The cultural-historical view of development foregrounds the *social environment* as the *source* rather than the factor of child development (Vygotsky, 1994, 1997). In order to elaborate on this idea, Vygotsky (1994) has introduced the concept of the interaction of ideal and real forms. He claims that:

> *The social environment is the source for the appearance of all specific human properties of the personality gradually acquired by the child or the source of social development of the child, which is concluded in the process of actual interaction of 'ideal' and present forms* (Vygotsky, 1998, p. 203).

This claim indicates that the social environment becomes the source of development through the presence of the *ideal form* and its *interactions* with the real form. The ideal form is the first dimension of the social environment that stimulates development. As Vygotsky (1994) explained, the ideal form is an advanced or developed form that will be achieved by children in the future at the end of their developmental process. In contrast, the real form represents the starting point of child development (Vygotsky, 1994). It is essential to have the ideal form in the environment because without such a form, only very little and slow development occurs (Vygotsky, 1994).

The second dimension of the social environment for development is the social interactions between the ideal and real forms. Those interactions lead to the transformation of children's intra-psychological functioning which signifies development (Vygotsky, 1997). However, according to Veresov (2010), only those social interactions with dramatic collisions or conflicts that are emotionally coloured can result in development. He emphasised the *form* of social interactions that leads to development, that is, an emotionally 'experienced collision, a contradiction between two people, a dramatic event, a drama between two individuals' (Veresov, 2010, p. 88). Take the example of lunchtime in the family home, where the children want to watch TV and refuse to eat their lunch. The parents keep asking them to eat and finally both parties get annoyed. In this case, the dramatic collision occurs between what children want and what parents require. The cultural-historical view of child development highlights the significant role of the social environment and its interactions with children in all aspects of development (Vygotsky, 1998). This brings insight into the current study of the development of emotion regulation.

Study design

This study aimed to examine the following specific questions:

- What are the emotion regulation strategies used by parents and children?
- In which kind of naturalistic contexts of everyday family life do those strategies occur?
- What is the relation between the emotion regulation strategies of parents (to regulate children's emotions) and children (to regulate their own or others' emotions)?

Participants

Four families in Australia with six focus children aged from three to six years participated in this study. These families have a similar family profile including the number of children and the level of socioeconomic status. This similar family profile is important in order to minimise factors that are not related to the focus of the study. Families were recruited through childcare centres and preschools. All children except two toddlers in four families were involved in the study. These focus children attended different early childhood programs either full time or part time, such as sessional playgroup, long day care, kindergarten, and pre-primary school. Ethical approval for this study was granted by the institutional ethics committee. Pseudonyms of participants are used in this article.

Procedure

Data of the study were collected through video observations and interviews over a period of six months.

Video observations

Video observation data (n = 48.25 hours) were collected by the author, a research assistant and families. A total of 23 visits were made to families at their family homes and outdoors or supermarkets. Each visit lasted about 1.5–4.5 hours. Two cameras were arranged to record children's everyday routines and activities including mealtimes, taking a bath, preparing for bed, getting up, transitions between the home and the preschool, as well as shopping and outings during weekends. One camera captured the whole situation from a distance and the other focused on a close study of the participants. In addition, parents became co-researchers and filmed observations of their daily family lives when the researcher was not present. This was deemed important due to the nature of the research when some sensitive moments could be gathered, such as filming everyday life practices including bath time. Ethical dimensions were always considered. For instance, before data collection, the researcher explained to participants the detailed information of the study and how their video images would be used. At the beginning of each visit, what situations would be filmed were discussed and agreed by participants. The researcher reminded the participants that they were welcome to stop filming anytime they wanted and took the initiative to switch off the camera in some sensitive moments.

Interviews

A total of 12.75 hours' interview data was collected in three different ways. First, there were informal interviews with parents after each video observation session. This type of interview aimed to collect further detailed information of observation data recorded earlier. After the collection of all video observations in each family, a semi-structured interview with each parent for about 30–45 minutes was arranged at their home. After that, in the same visit, a group interview with both parents and children in each family was conducted, lasting around 30–45 minutes. All the interviews were videotaped and simultaneously audio recorded as backups.

Analysis

A series of data on parent–child interactions in emotionally charged situations was first selected from the whole data set. This was then imported to the iMovie project and digitally edited into small video clips. After that, these small clips were analysed through the three levels of analysis (see Hedegaard & Fleer, 2008).

The first level of analysis was common sense interpretation that focused on how parents and children react to each other in a single emotionally charged situation. The second level, situated practice interpretation, analysed parent–child interactions across settings in four families. The third level, that is interpretation on a thematic level, was to find the patterns of emotion regulation strategies and contexts in relation to the research questions. The three levels of analysis were guided by the central concepts of the ideal and real form (Vygotsky, 1994) discussed earlier.

Findings and discussion

This section begins with the findings of five categories of contexts where parents and children use emotion regulation strategies, followed by parents' and children's context-specific strategies of emotion regulation. After that, the relation between parents' and children's strategies is compared and discussed. The section concludes with a model conceptualising emotion regulation strategies for five situations.

Contexts: Emotionally situated zones

It was noted that there were five types of emotionally charged everyday contexts. In order to distinguish them from artificially created situations in laboratories, these naturalistic contexts for emotion regulation were termed as *emotionally situated zones*. They include:

- Desire-eliminating: a situation where children are not allowed to do/get what they want.
- Joy-discontinuing: a situation where children are required to stop what they are enjoying.
- Dislike-taking: a situation where children are required to do what they do not like.
- Interest-vanishing: a situation where children lose interest in what they are doing.
- Problem-solving: a situation where children face difficulties/problems and have to work out a solution.

The first four zones found are new to the literature while the last zone is similar to frustrating situations noted in other studies (Day & Smith, 2013; Gerstein et al., 2011; Mirabile, Scaramella, Sohr-Preston & Robison, 2009; Trentacosta & Shaw, 2009). Frustrating situations such as the delay of gratifications are the context dominantly set up in laboratories in order to generate children's emotions for the study of emotion regulation strategies (see Stansbury & Sigman, 2000). Artificially creating those situations has an ethical limitation that only a certain level of intensity in negative emotions is allowed to ignite (Silk et al., 2006). In contrast, the present study conducted in everyday life captured a variety of emotionally situated zones where various levels of emotional intensity were allowed to occur. This is important because it resulted in the emergence of context-specific emotion regulation strategies in the present study that may differ from those used in laboratories. As stated by Silk et al. (2006), emotion regulation strategies used to cope with more intense emotional episodes might differ from those for the lower level of emotional intensity.

What is common in the underlying five zones is the dramatic collision between the child and the environment. For instance, in the zone of interest-vanishing, there is a conflict between what the child is interested in and what is available or required in the environment. As discussed earlier, the dramatic social interaction between two people is the source of child development (Veresov, 2010; Vygotsky, 1997). It is therefore essential to identify emotionally situated zones in daily life and to interpret them as an *opportunity* for child development.

These emotionally situated zones impact on how parents and children use emotion regulation strategies because the social influences the subject (Vygotsky, 1994). The following sections will report context-specific strategies found in the study.

Parents' strategies of emotion regulation

Results showed that there were 20 emotion regulation strategies used by parents in different emotionally situated zones. Nine of them shown in Table 1 repeat what is summarised by Holodynski (2009). The names and descriptions of those overlapped strategies in Holodynski's (2009) work were therefore adopted by this study (see Table 1). Although Table 1 builds on Holodynski's (2009) work, it offers more than his work by adding data examples of each strategy and the corresponding emotionally situated zones.

In Table 1, the strategy of distracting attention is alternatively named as attention deployment, attention-shifting, and redirecting attention in some literature (Holodynski et al., 2013; Mirabile et al., 2009). The strategy of reinterpreting is similar to cognitive reappraisal which is a commonly discussed emotion regulation strategy in psychological research (Gresham & Gullone, 2012; Gullone, Hughes, King & Tonge, 2010). However, this strategy was not found in the present study. Rather, what was found was some other context-specific strategies of emotion regulation. Table 2 demonstrates 11 new emotion regulation strategies that differ from those offered by Holodynski (2009).

In Table 2, the strategies of tempting and punishing require mental time travelling (for the definition, see Holodynski et al., 2013). The strategy of creating a worse option forms a condition for children to go through a cognitive process. That is, children have to cognitively compare two options and to choose the one they dislike the least. These findings shown in Table 2 are clearly from the perspective of parents. In the following section, emotion regulation strategies from the children's perspective will be presented.

Table 1. Parents' emotion regulation strategies: Expanding the work of Holodynski (2009)

	Strategy	Description	Examples from data	Emotionally situated zones
Behavioural strategies	Touch	Rocking, stroking, comforting mode of speech; body contact	The mother hugs Sue when she is crying because she could not hit the baseball.	Problem-solving
	Distracting attention	Shifting attention to another object (or an activity/event)	The father asks Sue to play with sponges when she refuses to take shower.	Dislike-taking
	Flight, withdrawal	Caregiver removes child from the situation	The mother suggests Otis to go to the hall when he gets grumpy in the dining room and promises to give him carrots later.	Desire-eliminating
Symbolic strategies	Comforting, consoling	Verbal consoling and comforting	'It is ok, Sue.' The father comforts Sue when she is crying because she failed to catch her brother.	Problem-solving
	Distracting attention	Talking about something else	The father intentionally gets Nick to talk about his play in the sandpit in order to distract him from washing hair.	Dislike-taking
	Reinterpreting	Reinterpreting the emotion episode, giving a plausible explanation	(It was not found in the study.)	
	Ranking motives in time hierarchy	Parents put off gratification of child's motive to later point in time	Dell wants to watch animations when the mother is preparing for dinner. The mother disagrees but allows him to do it after dinner.	Desire-eliminating
Antecedent strategies	Approach	Providing positive emotion episodes	When Otis is upset, the father starts to talk about the progress Otis made in the gymnasium that he feels proud of.	Problem-solving; Interest-vanishing
	Avoidance	Caregiver protects child from potentially negative emotion episodes	The father gives Nick warning that they will leave beach in two minutes in order to avoid Nick getting upset by suddenly stopping play.	Joy-discontinuing
	Discourse over the regulation of emotions	Caregiver talks to child about emotions (e.g. causes of emotions) and their regulation	The father asks Dell whether he feels shame crying in front of the guest and what he should do next time.	Joy-discontinuing

Children's strategies of emotion regulation

Emotion regulation strategies from the children's perspective are summarised in Table 3.

In Table 3, the last four strategies, including reasoning, generating alternative motives, displaying emotions, and describing, are new findings of the study. Although Holodynski (2009) has mentioned emotional displays, it is discussed as a milestone of children's emotional development rather than an emotion regulation strategy. The strategy of asking is alternatively labelled as 'information gathering' (p. 72) by Silk et al. (2006). In several laboratory-based studies (Gilliom et al., 2002; Silk et al., 2006), this strategy is considered as a method used by children to regulate their emotions in the scenarios of delayed gratifications such as food or gift delay. In those scenarios, children who ask adults to explain reasons for delay or use other strategies rather than passive waiting are considered to have better emotion regulation skills. However, those studies which have noticed children's use of this particular emotion regulation strategy have not yet explored its relation with parents' use of emotion regulation strategies. This relation will be discussed in the next section where a comparison between parents and children will be detailed.

Table 2. New context-specific emotion regulation strategies used by parents

Strategy	Description	Examples from data	Emotionally situated zones
Asking	Asking children why they want	The father asks Dell why he wants to see photos.	Desire-eliminating
Reasoning	Explaining reasons of requirements	The father requires Sara to wear sandals instead of thongs to the supermarket and explains to her that thongs are slippery.	Desire-eliminating
Displaying emotions	Intentionally using emotional displays to get children to follow requirements	The mother shows an angry face to Otis to stop him watching his sister brushing teeth and says, 'I've got angry'.	Joy-discontinuing
Using rules	Reminding children of everyday family rules or situational rules	'You know the rules'; 'We have a guest here (when children should not cry).'	Desire-eliminating; Dislike-taking
Describing	Verbally pointing out children's behaviours when they express emotions	'You are rolling on the floor.' 'You just cry, cry, and cry.'	Desire-eliminating; Dislike-taking
Instructing	Guiding children what to do	'Stop crying'; 'Don't get upset.'	Desire-eliminating; Problem-solving
Cooling	Ignoring, pausing, or leaving children alone to deal with emotions themselves	The father puts Sara on a camel sculpture and leaves her alone; The mother ignores Dell when he is grumpy.	Desire-eliminating; Dislike-taking
Encouraging	Stimulating children to do something	The father encourages Otis to try another five minutes to complete the Lego.	Problem-solving
Tempting	Offering children a later reward to get them meet the requirement	'Do you want a sticker later? (Eat properly now)'	Dislike-taking
Punishing	Cancelling what children like later if they don't follow parents' demand	'I will not sit next to you during bedtime (if you don't eat now).'	Dislike-taking; Desire-eliminating
Creating a worse option	Getting children to meet the current demand by offering another worse/more disliked option	'If you don't take it (a plate) to the kitchen, you have to sit and eat.'	Dislike-taking

Table 3. Children's emotion regulation strategies

Strategy	Description	Examples from data	Emotionally situated zones
Asking	Asking parents to explain the reasons for not meeting their needs	Dell asks the mother why he cannot use the computer now.	Desire-eliminating
Reasoning	Explaining reasons for a decision or an event in order to persuade others to change demands and emotions	Dell explains to her younger sister who is grumpy and asking the mother for ice-cream, 'this is for big children only. It is too cold, not good for your teeth'.	Desire-eliminating
Generating alternative motives	Generating an alternative motive after the original demand was not met	Sue requires the mother to read her a story when she gets upset because of not taking the role of octopus in the game.	Desire-eliminating
Displaying emotions	Intentionally showing observable emotional expressions in order to influence others	Dell pretends to cry and scream loudly for keeping lollies when the father does not allow him to eat them.	Joy-discontinuing
Describing	Describing their own emotion expressions when they are told to regulate emotions	'My tears are still running!'	Dislike-taking

Table 4. Emotion regulation strategies from parents' and children's perspectives

The parents' perspective	The children's perspective
Distracting attention	Generating alternative motives
Asking	Asking
Reasoning	Reasoning
Displaying emotions	Displaying emotions
Describing	Describing

Relation between parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies

A comparison of emotion regulation strategies presented in Tables 1–3 identified that parents' and children's emotion regulation strategies were largely similar (see Table 4).

In Table 4, specifically related emotion regulation strategies from parents' and children's perspectives are listed. Regarding the first strategy, when we take the parents' perspective, they try to distract the child. When we examine it from the children's perspective, they attempt to generate alternative motives. The essence of generating alternative motives is to move attention from one motive to another. This essence is identical with that of parents' strategy of distracting attention.

The other four children's strategies, asking, reasoning, displaying emotions and describing, are the same as parents' strategies

According to Vygotsky (1994), the ideal form 'exerts an influence on the very first steps in the child's development' (p. 348). In this study, parents' emotion regulation strategies are the ideal form which 'is already available in the environment from the very beginning' (Vygotsky, 1994, p. 348) of child development. At the start of development, children do not have those strategies shown in Table 4. This is the real form. Through their ongoing interactions with the ideal form in different emotionally situated zones, children obtain those strategies shown in Table 4 which are similar to the strategies parents use. When children are able to use these strategies, they have completed the development from the inter-mental to the intra-mental functioning. Therefore, children's emotion regulation strategies have the root in parents' emotion regulation strategies. This finding confirms what has been found in the three studies (Bariola et al., 2012; Garber et al., 1991; Silk et al., 2006) discussed previously that uncovered the transmission from parents' to children's strategies in regulating emotions.

Emotion regulation strategies in emotionally situated zones

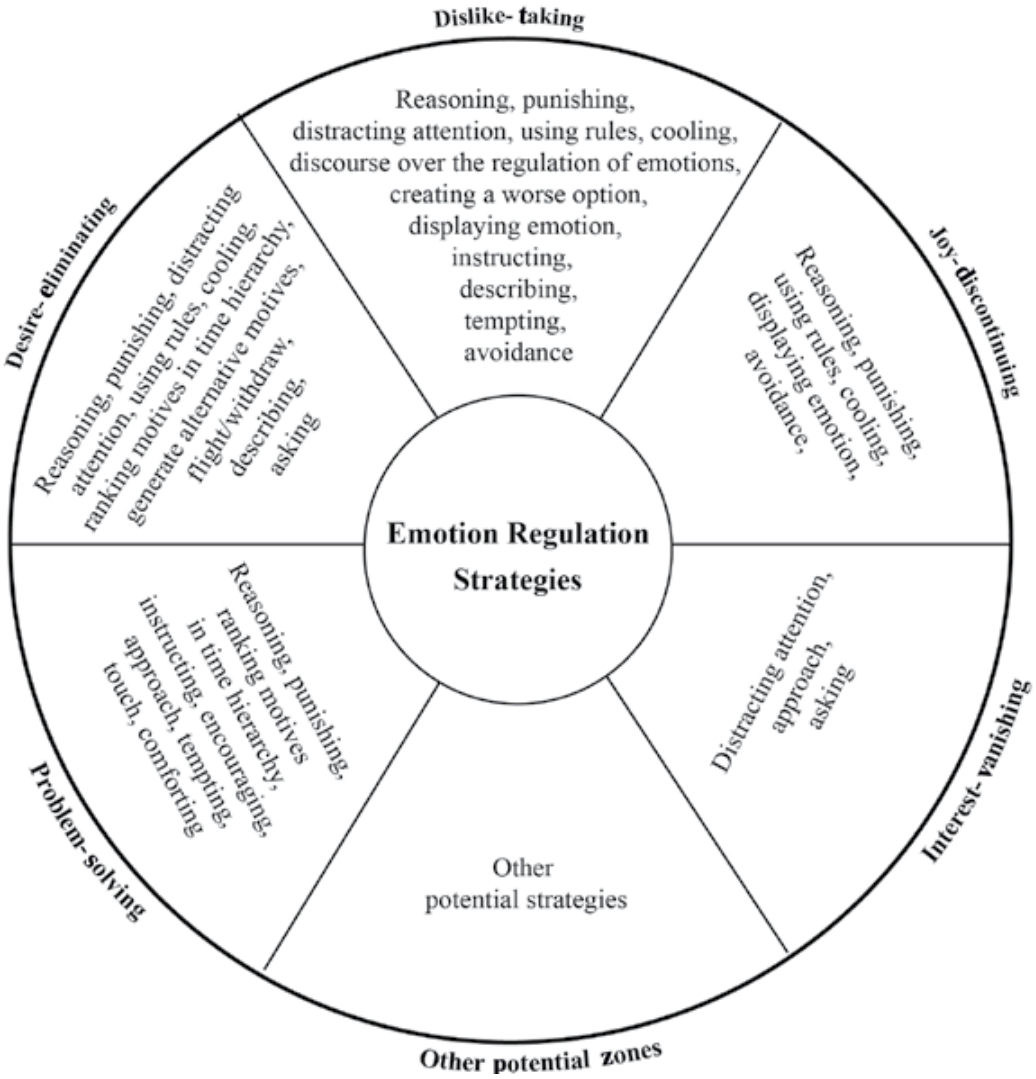
For serving the pedagogical practice of educators and parents in early childhood education, this section conceptualises the emotion regulation strategies used by parents and children that are listed in Tables 1–3 as well as five emotionally situated zones into a new model (see Figure 1). In the model, emotion regulation strategies are clustered into emotionally situated zones according to the contexts where those strategies are used. For example, in the zone of interest-vanishing, three emotion regulation strategies encompassing distracting attention, approach and asking drawn from Tables 1–3 are used in the particular context where children lose their interest in what they are doing.

The model in Figure 1 makes the emotion regulation strategies visible in specific contexts. It identifies the prevalence of strategies in relation to these contexts. That is, in particular contexts particular strategies are more prevalent. For instance, the strategies of reasoning and punishing are widely used in four zones, followed by distracting attention preferred in three zones. After that, using rules and cooling are popular in two zones. This finding is consistent with what was stated by Grolnick, Bridges and Connell (1996) that diverse contexts impact on the use of emotion regulation strategies.

This model only brings together the emotion regulation strategies and emotionally situated zones revealed in the study. In other family and cultural contexts, the zones may be broadened or narrowed. The strategies perhaps become more expanded or limited. Of importance is that the model offers a new way of thinking about emotion regulation by examining the strategies in the specific contexts of parent–child interactions. As argued by Vygotsky (1994), the social environment is the source of child development. This source in the current study is the *emotion regulation strategies* used by parents when they *interacted* with children in five *emotionally situated zones* in which *contradictions* between parents and children were embedded. This particular social environment resulted in children's acquisition of emotion regulation strategies.

The model provides parents and educators with a tool to identify diverse emotionally situated zones in everyday life and education. That is, to seize the critical moment of child development. In the model, emotion regulation strategies correspondingly laid out in zones are also useful for parents and educators to know how to regulate children's emotions in different contexts and to recognise their own and children's emotion regulation strategies.

Figure 1. Emotion regulation strategies in emotionally situated zones



Conclusion

This study examined emotion regulation strategies from both parents' and children's perspectives in the naturalistic contexts of everyday family life. Twenty parents' emotion regulation strategies, five children's emotion regulation strategies, and five emotionally situated zones were found. The data also revealed that children's emotion regulation strategies were similar to those of parents. It is argued that parents' use of emotion regulation strategies in emotionally situated zones is the *source* of children's acquisition of emotion regulation strategies. That is, in those zones characterised by contradictory parent–child interactions, parents' emotion regulation strategies as the ideal form create conditions for children's development of emotion regulation strategies.

Based on the cultural-historical perspective that highlights the importance of the social environment in child development (Vygotsky, 1994), findings of the study foregrounded the vital role of parents in children's development of emotion regulation strategies. Thus, it is wise for parents and educators to become *consciously aware* of their role as the ideal form of children's development of emotion regulation strategies. Second, parents and educators can employ the model (Figure 1) as a tool to identify their own and children's emotion regulation strategies and to build awareness on how emotion

regulation strategies are developed and maintained. Third, they can also use the tool to realise different emotionally situated zones and to positively interpret those dramatic zones as a nurturing opportunity for child development rather than a negative experience.

This study contributes to the understanding of how children's emotion regulation strategies are developed in everyday family life and the essential role of parents in this development. Findings of this study may not be generalised in other cultural contexts. Hence, future research on emotion regulation strategies conducted in different cultural backgrounds is needed to discover more context-specific emotion regulation strategies and emotionally situated zones.

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Chapter 7 Perezhivanie and Emotion Regulation

Background of Paper Four

In three previous papers (see Chapters 4-6), parents created conditions for children's development of emotion and emotion regulation via everyday play, re-signing children's emotion-related signs, and their use of emotion regulation strategies in parent-child interactions. In Paper four, I took a holistic view to examining parents' experiences in their interactions with children as a whole and how their experiences contribute to the development of children's emotion and emotion regulation.

I submitted Paper four to the *Early Child Development and Care* on the 19 August 2014. After 8 working days, the paper was accepted by the journal on the 1 September 2014. No revision was required.

Below is the information about the journal from its website.

> *Early Child Development and Care* is a multidisciplinary publication that serves psychologists, educators, psychiatrists, paediatricians, social workers and other professionals who deal with research, planning, education and care of infants and young children… All research articles in this journal have undergone rigorous peer review, based on initial editor screening and anonymized refereeing by at least two anonymous referees. (Source: *Early Child Development and Care* website).

The concept of perezhivanie, together with ZPD, the interactions between ideal and real forms, and an embedded concept of the social situation of development were used in the paper. Perezhivanie is a Russian word and roughly translated into English as lived emotional experiences. However, it is more than emotional experience (Gonzalez Rey, 2015). It is a complicated theoretical concept that is currently under debate and development in the cultural-historical arena. Gonzalez Rey (2015) lately claims that

perezhivanie is the concept of transition, that is, the transition of function from instrumental operation to subjective function. Veresov (2015) explained the concept of perezhivanie as a prism that refracts (i.e., transformation instead of reflection) the social world, as well as a unit of the unity of the environment and the individual. He also considers perezhivanie as a psychological phenomenon that is an activity and has contents (Veresov, 2015). Fleer (2015) introduced "the doubleness of feeling" in understanding perezhivanie, where children feel contradictory emotions in imaginary play. These scholars' latest work has greatly enriched the concept of perezhivanie and advanced my understanding of the concept after paper four was published.

This paper has implemented the concept of perezhivanie into the study of children's development of emotion and emotion regulation. Following the parent's perspective has made visible perezhivanie. Another manuscript on perezhivanie stressing the child's perspective is in preparation for an invited book chapter.

Paper Four

This section contains the full paper four in a format when it was published in the Journal.

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Parents' *perezhivanie* supports children's development of emotion regulation: a holistic view

Feiyan Chen*

Faculty of Education, Monash University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia

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Parents play an influential role in children's emotional development. Numerous quantitative studies have examined the correlations between a *single* dimension of parents' emotion socialisation practices (e.g. parental emotion expression or attitudes) and children's emotional development. However, little attention has been paid to *a holistic view* of parents' role in children's emotional development. Drawing upon a cultural-historical theory, this study takes a holistic perspective for examining how parents create the conditions for children's emotional development in everyday family life. Data ($n = 61$ hours of video observation and interviewing) collected from four families of preschool children in Australia suggest that parents' *perezhivanie* supports the development of children's emotion regulation. It is argued that *perezhivanie* must be conceptualised as a *collective unity* of affect, intellect, and act that reflects both the subject and the environment in researching children's emotional development. Practical suggestions for supporting the pedagogical practices of families and for framing professional training programmes are also provided.

Keywords: *perezhivanie;* emotion regulation; cultural-historical; young children; everyday family life; a holistic view

Introduction

Emotional development including the development of emotion regulation (Denham, 1998) is essential for young children's learning and general development (Davis & Levine, 2013). Much of the research has foregrounded the influential role of parents in children's emotional development (Bell & Wolfe, 2004; Denham, 1998; Lazow, 2003; McElwain, Halberstadt, & Volling, 2007). Numerous studies on parental emotion socialisation have found that parents' various ways of reacting to children's emotions, emotion expression, and emotion discussion with children have an influence on children's development of emotions (e.g. Epstein, 2009; Yagmurlu & Altan, 2010). Some other studies have explored the hidden dimensions of adults' behaviours (e.g. parents' beliefs and views) in their interactions with children (Hollingsworth & Winter, 2013; Papadopoulou et al., 2014) and how they link to emotion socialisation behaviours (Chan, 2012; Rosenthal & Gatt, 2010). All those studies reviewed mainly focus on the relations between a *single* dimension of parents (e.g. either their emotion expression or attitude towards children's emotional development) and children's emotion socialisation and development. Little attention has been directed to *a holistic view* that brings together diverse aspects of parents to examine their relations

with children's emotional development. Therefore, the present study aimed to take this view and to explore how parents experienced emotionally charged situations with children and created the conditions for children's emotional development. Based on a cultural-historical framework, the study offers a holistic and in-depth understanding of parents' role in children's emotional development.

This paper starts with an overview of empirical studies on parents' role in affecting children's emotional development, including their practices of emotion socialisation and their beliefs, attitudes, goals, and views on emotional development. This is followed by a theoretical consideration of *perezhivanie* and a review of cultural-historical literature on how *perezhivanie* is understood and used. The details of the research method and findings are then presented and discussed. It concludes with implications for family practices and teacher training programmes.

Emotion socialisation practices influence emotional development

A large number of studies have shown that parents' emotion socialisation practices affect children's emotional development (e.g. Cole, Dennis, Smith-Simon, & Cohen, 2009; Epstein, 2009; Yagmurlu & Altan, 2010). Emotion socialisation practices or behaviours are composed of parental reactions to children's emotion expression, parental discussion (or talk) with children about emotions, and parental expression of emotion (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998). Many studies have explored the relations between those components of parental emotion socialisation and diverse aspects of children's emotional development (e.g. emotion understanding and emotion regulation).

Some studies found that parents' emotion reactions impact on children's emotional development. For example, maternal responsiveness predicts children's competence of emotion regulation (Yagmurlu & Altan, 2010). Similarly, research conducted by Cole et al. (2009) suggests that emotionally supportive and structured self-regulation (i.e. two aspects of parental reactions) positively contributes to children's understanding and use of emotion regulation strategies, which results in the development of children's social and emotional competence. In contrast, maternal negative control (e.g. less autonomy granted to children) reduces children's emotion regulation strategies. Consistent with this study, Wenzlaff and Eisenberg (1998) found that parents suppressing children's expression of negative feelings (i.e. non-destructive and normal negative feelings) cause problems with children's development in emotions and social skills.

Several studies also indicate that there is a relation between emotion discussion and children's emotional development. Both Colwell and Hart (2006) and Hughes and Leekam (2004) argue that emotion discussion is conducive to children's understanding of their own and others' emotions. Specifically, maternal emotion framing (i.e. a dimension of parent–child emotion talk referring to parents' modification of their own and children's emotions by interpreting the information about emotion arousal) in a mild and positive way contributes to children's emotion understanding (Colwell & Hart, 2006). Another research by Epstein (2009) found that emotion discussion contributes to children's development of emotion regulation.

The studies discussed above have examined parental socialisation behaviours that are directly observable in relation to children's emotional development. There are some other studies exploring the hidden dimensions of parental practice such as their beliefs, attitudes, goals, and views, which will be discussed in the following section.

Hidden dimensions: beliefs, attitudes, goals, and views

Adults' beliefs, attitudes, goals, and views impact on adults' observable socialisation practices with children (Chan, 2012; Rosenthal & Gatt, 2010) and therefore are indirect factors mediating children's emotional development. Some studies have explored parents' and educators' beliefs, attitudes, goals, and views about children's social and emotional development and competences (Boyer, 2008, 2009; Chan, 2011, 2012; Hollingsworth & Winter, 2013; Newton & Thompson, 2010; Papadopoulou et al., 2014; Rosenthal & Gatt, 2010). These studies have advanced the understanding of adults' beliefs, goals, views, and attitudes of children's socio-emotional development, as well as their relation with adults' emotion socialisation practices.

In a pioneering study conducted by Chan (2012), the relation between maternal beliefs in emotion socialisation and maternal reactions to children's negative emotions was investigated in the Chinese context. A total of 189 Chinese mothers of children aged six to eight years were interviewed in groups by using structured questionnaires in local schools in Hong Kong. Findings showed that mothers' beliefs about emotion socialisation (i.e. Guan and Open Exposure) were positively linked to the emotion-supportive approach in their response to children's emotions. This study is one of only a few studies that examined emotion socialisation concerning maternal beliefs of emotion socialisation. Nevertheless, it did not explore how the beliefs and responses were related to children's emotional development.

The literature reviewed regarding the role of parents in children's emotional development has documented the relation between parents' emotion socialisation behaviours and children's emotional development. A few studies have also examined the links between socialisation behaviours and the hidden dimensions of parental behaviours. However, little is known about how parents' observable behaviours and hidden dimensions behind the behaviours are associated with children's emotional development. This gap indicates a need to take a holistic perspective in studying parents' role in children's emotional development. As a result of this research need, the current study was inspired by Vygotsky's (1993) concept of *perezhivanie* as a unity to examine parents' role in creating the conditions for children's emotional development in parent–child interactions in the emotionally charged situations. This notion will be elaborated in the following section.

A cultural-historical understanding of *perezhivanie*

As pointed out by Smagorinsky (2011), '*perezhivanie* thus far remains more a tantalizing notion than a concept with clear meaning' (p. 339). In the current study, the understanding of *perezhvianie* is twofold, as a Russian *notion* and as a theoretical *concept*. *Perezhivanie* is a Russian notion loosely translated as lived 'emotional experience' (p. 339) in English (Vygotsky, 1994). This term was firstly introduced into the cultural-historical theory by Vygotsky at the late stage of his career to emphasise 'the central role of affect in framing and interpreting human experience' (Smagorinsky, 2011, p. 336). Foregrounding affect in human experience does not mean intellect is ignored. This is reflected by the use of *perezhivanie* as a theoretical concept, that is, *perezhivanie* as a unity of affect and intellect. It is the first dimension of the understanding of *perezhivanie* as a theoretical concept. Its second dimension is a unity of the subject and the environment. Those two dimensions will be addressed below.

Unity of affect and intellect

In Vygotsky's work, *Perezhivanie* appeared 'as a new unity for the analysis of development, which carries out the integration of cognitive and affective into a new qualitative system that characterizes human development' (Gonzalez Rey, 2011, p. 49). Vygotsky (1994) explained that *perezhivanie* (or emotional experience) refers to how a subject 'becomes aware of, interprets and emotionally relates to a certain event' (p. 341). This explanation of *perezhivanie* highlights both the affective and intellective processes in the experience. Vygotsky (1993) argues that those processes are closely dependent on each other and represent an inseparable unity. This unity is fundamental in studying human psyche as a system rather than separate elements (Vygotsky, 1993). *Perezhvianie* is therefore a concept used by Vygotsky to represent the integral unity of affect and intellect (Gonzalez Rey, 2011). It is this cultural-historical understanding of *perezhivanie* that gave insight into the current study for examining parents' experiences in their interactions with young children as an undividable *unity* of affect and intellect, rather than the *single aspect* such as their behaviours or actions.

A central issue in the concept of *perezhivanie* as an inseparable unity of affect and intellect is the *relationship between affect and intellect*. This is important for understanding development (Vygotsky, 1993). The description of this relationship as an inseparable unity is too generic to clarify the issue. Vygotsky (1993) used the phrase 'a dual dependence' (p. 232) to further explain the *dialectical* nature of this relationship. That is, affect is dependent on intellect and vice versa. They are reciprocally related instead of a one-way linear influence from one to the other. Additionally, the relationship between affect and intellect is a *dynamic* process rather than something unchangeable (Vygotsky, 1993). As pointed out by Vygotsky (1993), this dynamic feature of the relationship is 'the very essence of the entire psychological development of a child' (p. 239).

However, the concept of *perezhivanie* is the unfinished work of Vygotsky and the relation between affect and intellect is yet largely not known or well understood (Mahn & John-Steiner, 2002; Smagorinsky, 2011). More attention to this concept is needed (Roth, 2008).

Unity of the subject and the environment

In addition to being a unity of affect and intellect, *perezhivanie* represents 'an indivisible unity of personal characteristics and situational characteristics' (Vygotsky, 1994, p. 342), that is, the unity of the subject and the environment. Vygotsky elaborated that

> An emotional experience [*perezhivanie*] is a unit where, on the one hand, in an indivisible state, the environment is represented, i.e. that which is being experienced – an emotional experience [*perezhivanie*] is always related to something which is found outside the person – and on the other hand, what is represented is how, myself, am experiencing this, i.e. all the personal characteristics and all the environmental characteristics are represented in an emotional experience [*perezhivanie*]. (1994, p. 342)

An individual's emotional experience is a fusion of both subjective and environmental characteristics.

According to Vygotsky (1994), the subject, the environment, and their relation are dynamic and their changes impact on the development of a subject. The environment is changeable and acts as the *source* of development by provoking various emotional

experiences in the subject (Vygotsky, 1994). However, the subject is not a still and passive receiver. Instead, his/her 'psychical organisation and action in the ongoing process of a living experience' (p. 69) decide how much the environment impacts on him/her (Gonzalez Rey, 2009). The subject and his/her relation with the environment also change (Vygotsky, 1994). Vygotsky (1994) further pointed out that 'if the relation is different the environment exerts its influence in different ways' (p. 346). The relation between the subject and the environment is the focal issue in *perezhivanie* and development (Vygotsky, 1994).

Cultural-historical studies on *perezhivanie* and child development

Empirical studies on *perezhvianie* in education are limited in number, which was also a gap pointed out by Quiñones and Fleer (2011). Of those studies published and reviewed, it is noted that they have examined *perezhivanie* by mainly focusing on the role of emotions (or emotional experiences) in other dimensions of child development rather than emotional development. For example, some studies have explored how emotions have contributed to children's *cognitive* learning and development, including literacy learning (Kim, 2011; Mahn & John-Steiner, 2002; Smagorinsky & Daigle, 2012), second-language acquisition (Maftoon & Sabah, 2012), and science learning (Adams & March, in press; Fleer, 2013a; Fleer & Quinones, 2013; Schmidt, 2012). Another study conducted by Brennan (2007) explored the role of teachers' emotional expressions (e.g. humour and tenderness) in young children's *social* development and argues that teachers' *parezhivanie* facilitates emotionally based relations with children and children's enculturation into group settings. There are also a few studies exploring *perezhivanie* in different contexts such as the role play of fairy tales (Fleer, 2013b) and everyday family life (Quinones, 2013) regarding children's general learning and development.

Some studies contribute to the development of methods to research *perezhivanie*. For example, Ferholt (2009, 2010) developed the synthetic–analytic method and Quiñones and Fleer (2011) created the methodological tool of Visual Vivencias to study *perehzivanie*. Roth's (2008) work also showed how the emotions of participants could be approached in the research of diverse phenomena. It has taken a case example of primary students' science learning activity to examine emotions through speech parameters (e.g. speech intensity, pitch level, pitch contour, and tempo, rather than the contents of speech) and gestures of participants.

Different from the above-mentioned studies, two recent studies (Adams, 2014; Fleer & Hammer, 2013) explored *perezhivanie* in relation to children's emotional development. Adams (2014) completed an empirical study involving seven teachers and five families with seven focus children aged between 3.9 and 7.9 years moving countries. The study was from the child's perspective and examined emotions experienced individually in the child and collectively in the family. *Perezhivanie* was understood as a unity of emotional experiences of the individual child and adults. Findings suggest the importance of everyday routines for helping to support the decrease of heightened emotions in children. In Fleer and Hammer's (2013) theoretical work, the concept of *perezhivanie* was understood as a unity of thinking and emotions and was made visible in the pedagogical context of fairy tales. It examined how fairy tales as a cultural device helped children become consciously aware of their emotions in group settings. This conscious awareness of emotions in fairy tales was considered as a 'cognitive orientation to emotions' (p. 132) that supports children's emotion

regulation (Fleer & Hammer, 2013). Although these two studies examined *perezhivane* and children's emotion regulation, they focused only on the child's perspective.

Overall, much of the cultural-historical research on *perezhivanie* takes a child's perspective for exploring the role of emotions in different aspects of child development instead of emotional development. Little is known about *perezhivanie* and children's emotional development from the perspective of parents. The current study seeks to fill the empirical and theoretical gaps identified above. It aimed to explore how parents create the conditions for children's emotional development by using the concept of *perezhivanie* as a unit of analysis of parents' interactions with children in emotionally charged situations in everyday family life.

Method

A qualitative case study of children's emotional development was conducted in Australian family homes. The methods of digital video observations and interviews, supplemented by field note taking, were used to collect data over a period of six months**.** Digital video observations capture 'the dialectical relations between participants, the social setting and the institutional practices' (Hedegaard & Fleer, 2008, p. 110), which was suitable for this study where parents' *interactions* with children were examined. Interviews provided in-depth information on non-observable features (such as parents' thinking about their reactions to children) and the understanding of the research topic (Johnson, 2002; Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003). Before data collection, the institutional ethics committee granted ethical approval for this study. Participants had given consent to the use the data generated in the study.

Participants

Four families, including the Clayton family, the Murrum family, the Waverley family, and the Westall family, were recruited through childcare centres and preschools in Australia. Each family had two children. Six of them (four boys and two girls) aged between three and six years were focus children in this study. These children attended different early childhood programmes, such as sessional playgroup, long day care, kindergarten, and pre-primary school. Their names used in this article are pseudonyms. Parents' information are summarised in Table 1.

Procedure

Digital video observations

A total of 48.25 hours of video observations were collected by the author and parents. Thirteen visits were made to the families, with each visit lasting about 1.5–4.5 hours. Parent–child interactions in the everyday family routines and activities, including mealtimes, bath times, preparing for bed, getting up, transitions between the home and the preschool, and shopping during weekends, were recorded by two cameras. One camera was used for capturing the whole situation from distance whilst the other aimed to closely study detailed information of participants, such as their facial expressions. In addition, the families acted as co-researchers. They collected video data for the study by filming everyday routines and activities when researchers were not with them.

Table 1. Parents' information.

Families	Parents	Career	Cultural origin
Clayton	Father 1	Priest	Caucasian Australian
	Mother 1	High-school teacher who was taking full-time home duties when she participated in the study	A second-generation Asian immigrant from Hong Kong
Murrum	Father 2	High-school teacher	A first-generation Caucasian immigrant from Europe
	Mother 2	Ph.D. student who was a high-school teacher	Caucasian Australian
Waverley	Father 3	Scientist	A first-generation Caucasian immigrant from Europe
	Mother 3	Counsellor in psychology	A first-generation Asian immigrant from Hong Kong
Westall	Father 4	Accountant	First-generation Asian immigrants from mainland China
	Mother 4	Administrative staff in a college	

Interviews

Interview data ($n = 12.75$) were collected in three different ways. First, informal interviews were conducted after *each* video observation session in order to gain further detailed and invisible information in relation to the specific observation recorded. Every parent was then interviewed (semi-structured) for about 30–45 minutes at their home after *all* video observations completed, followed by a group interview (around 30–45 minutes) with both parents and children in each family. Most of the interviews were videotaped, with very small number of them were audiotaped due to participants' special requirements.

Field notes

Field notes were taken (in the format of either audio files or a notebook) during or right after each visit when some information was not able to be recorded by videos. For example, there were interesting data before the video camera started. Field notes added important data to what was collected by video observations and interviews.

Data analysis

The data related to parent–child interactions in emotionally charged situations were selected from the overall data set. Those data were then imported to the iMovie project and were digitally edited into small video clips (the selected audio data were put into the same file of small video clips). After that, the three levels of analysis (Hedegaard & Fleer, 2008) were used to examine the data.

On the first level of analysis, that is, common sense interpretation, parent–child interactions in emotionally charged situations were understood and commented on in a *single* situation or activity. The second level is the situated practice interpretation. Those data analysed on the first level were now examined *across settings*. The cultural-historical concept of *perezhivanie* was used as a unit of analysis of parents' interactions with children. That is, affect and intellect were used as the basic set of categories to examine parent–child interactions.

Unit of analysis

Unit of analysis is a cultural-historical method of the analysis of a complex whole that is based on *units* rather than *elements* (Vygotsky, 1987). As elaborated by Vygotsky (1987), the unit 'designates a product of analysis that possesses *all the basic characteristics of the whole*' and 'is a vital and irreducible part of the whole' (p. 46). It reflected a holistic view on the study of parents' interactions with children and allowed the possibility of obtaining a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of parents' role in children's emotional development.

On the third level of analysis, that is, the interpretation on a thematic level, the research questions, the data materials, and theoretical concepts, including the zone of proximal development and the interaction between the ideal and real forms, interacted with each other in order to find patterns for answering the research questions. More categories emerged. The basic and emerged categories are summarised in Table 2.

The concept of the zone of proximal development refers to 'the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers' (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). According to Vygotsky (1994), the ideal form is a more advanced or developed form than the real form, which represents the current level of development of the child. The ideal form will be achieved by children in the future at the end of their developmental process (Vygotsky, 1994). Vygotsky (1994) also argued that it is essential to have the ideal form in the environment because without such a form, only very little and slow development occurs.

Detailed findings in relation to those categories will be presented and elaborated further in the following sections of findings and discussion.

Findings

This section presents findings of how parents experienced their interactions with children in emotionally charged situations and how they created the conditions for children's emotional development.

Intention and attitude in interactions

It was found that for all of parents their main intention in their reactions to children in emotionally charged situations was to solve problems and conflicts, and to get routines

Table 2. Categories.

Basic categories	Emerged categories	Examples from the data
Intellect	Awareness	Aware of emotional states
	Understanding	Understand showing emotions can make the situation worse
	Thinking	Think about how to calm children down
Affect	Attitude and intention	Dislike conflict and intend to avoid it
	Expectation	Expect to regulate emotions
	Emotional states	Angry
	Action	Emotional expressions and emotion regulation

going. For example, in the Murrum family, when children showed their negative emotions (e.g. anger), parents intentionally paid attention to daily routines in order to get through the conflicts and tried to avoid escalating the children's negative emotions. As described by Mother 2,

> Just keep in mind on the job, you know get your shoes on, do your teeth. It's not about I am angry. You know what I mean? None of that was the focus of the mood … The focus is doing the task. (Interview Kgi2)

Mother 1 had a similar view with Mother 2.

> I don't like conflicts. En, so I feel uncomfortable … So I need to resolve the conflict as best as I can in situation … this is more strategy rather than how I feel … I think it's normal, but I don't like it. (Interview Di28c)

This mother knew that having conflicts was normal but emotionally disliked it. Her feeling was repeated by Father 1 who also did not like conflicts because conflicts exhausted his energy and he did not want to see his children getting upset. Parents 3 and 4 also shared the same attitude.

As might be expected, we can see that parents did not like conflicts. It was this emotional attitude that drove parents to attend to solving conflicts and getting through daily routines.

Emotional states, thinking, awareness, and expectation

Parents reported that they often had 'mixed emotions' (i.e. different varieties of emotions emerge simultaneously or after one another) in the emotionally charged situations. For example, Father 1 felt upset and frustrated with his son who was upset with taking a bath.

> So to a degree it [his son gets upset] makes me upset or sad. But as an adult I know washing hair is no big deal … So you know my upset is not very deep because I know it's just wash your hair. Sometimes I feel other things. Sometimes I feel frustrated because I think Oh, just wash your hair. It's a quick job takes one minute, but for him maybe takes 5 minutes coz it's a fight, so mixture emotions. (Interview Di18)

Parents in the Waverley family described the change of their emotions from being angry to getting worried and frustrated when children were playing violently.

All parents reported that they were more or less aware of their own emotional states in the moment and expected themselves to regulate emotions and actions. For example, Father 1 described that

> I want to be aware of emotions … if I feel the anger just rising up, sometimes it does, and I am just like oh, that's lose control. I don't want to give into that emotion. I don't want to rule my actions. (Interview Di11)

Awareness, understanding, and reaction

Parents reported that their and their children's emotions impacted on each other. First, parents' emotions were influenced by children's emotions. As mentioned by Father 3, 'when they get angry, we get angry too'. Mother 3 also stated that if her son did not get

through his anger, she could get very angry. Additionally, parents noticed that the more they expressed negative emotions the more intense children's emotions became. As mentioned by Father 1, 'if I look very upset, he is getting more upset'. Parents therefore consciously covered their emotions in front of children most of times and attempted to 'be calm and in control'. As Mother 4 reported, when she showed her negative emotions in order to regulate her son's emotions, it made the situation worse. Later, she gradually learnt to hide her emotions in front of children. Mother 2 also explained that, 'showing that [parents' emotions] never helps the situation … [it] is very counter-productive … it's a conscious decision not to show my emotions'.

Those data revealed that parents became aware of and understood the relation between their emotional expression and children's emotional states which led to their conscious self-regulation of emotions. They knew that if they spontaneously released their emotions, children's emotions could become more intense and the conflicts would be more dramatic. Parents did not want this to happen because as presented earlier, they did not like conflicts and their intention was to avoid and solve conflicts. Therefore, they reacted to children calmly. This regulated *reaction* resulted from parents' *awareness* and *understanding* of children's emotions as learnt from historical parent–child interactions, as well as their *attitude* and *intention* in emotionally charged situations.

In addition to emotion self-regulation, parents used different strategies to support children's emotion regulation. For example, during dinner, Mother 1 tried to help her three-year-old son Nick to wait until the food cooled down after she took the hot food away from Nick.

Nick: I need it. (*He frowns and says it in a crying tone*.)
Mother: Have a drink. (*She gives him a bottle of water*.)
Nick: No. (*He pushes the bottle away*). I need it. (*Crying*)
Mother: Well, I don't want you to burn yourself. Look at all the steam coming off (*showing the steam to him*). Can you see the steam?
Nick: Steam. (*He looks at the steam, calms down and wipes his tears*.) (Observation D5)

In this vignette, Mother 1 used the strategies of giving an alternative and explaining the reasons of getting him to wait. As a result, she successfully supported Nick to regulate his emotions. Parents' supportive reactions to children's negative emotions are essential for children's emotion regulation.

Emotional states, thinking, and reactions

As reported above, parents' awareness and understanding of emotions, as well as their attitude and intention in the situation, helped the regulation of their own and their children's emotions. However, those were not the only factors influencing parent's reactions to their children. Their emotional state was found to be another decisive condition to their reactions. When parents felt relaxed and happy, they were more likely to regulate their own emotions, to think about children's emotional development, and to intentionally use different strategies to help children get through their emotions and solve conflicts. In contrast, when they were stressed and tense, their reactions to their children changed. They demonstrated less control of their negative emotions and were less likely to use strategies to support children's emotion regulation. As

was reported by Mother 3, 'even when you are [I am] aware, I might still say something that is angry'. She showed her emotions which caused children's more intense emotions. In some other cases, parents quickly met children's needs to avoid conflicts.

> On a good day, I would explain it to him and to be firm that's that. But on a bad day, if I am not going as well, and he is nagging me, maybe I will give it to him. Even though I originally didn't want to … en, just quick solution is giving it to him. That's easy. (Mother 1, Interview Di28c)

The above data are illustrative of the decisive role of parents' emotional states in their thinking and reactions to children.

Parents' thinking and acting in the moment

The findings also showed that in the moment of emotionally charged situations parents' thinking process involved their understanding of the child and the situation learnt from previous interactions, their thought of diverse strategies of emotion regulation, as well as their evaluation of the appropriateness of their own reactions and children's behaviours. For example, in the Clayton family, the child disliked washing his hair and cried intensely during bath time, the father reported his thinking that

> Here we go again. He has to have his hair washed. I know he won't like it. I will try to distract him, talking about something else. (Interview Di19)

> I know he doesn't want to get his hair washed, so I am trying to distract him and make him think about something else. So I am talking about something happened earlier in the day where he was in a sandpit. (Interview Di16)

The intention of the father was to stop his son crying and to get through the routine. This motived him to think about how to help him stop crying. Father 2 described what and how he evaluated in the reaction to children.

> I am trying to access where his limit is, whether he is going crack it, and gonna go over the edge, and the balance between what I think is appropriate, and a balance between maybe how I was brought up, what my parents did to me and I am trying to evaluate was that good or bad in the moment. (Interview Ki29)

This father also pointed out that his thinking process and reaction to the child occurred simultaneously: 'I have, don't give much pre-thought but in the moment … I am not standing back and evaluating this before I do it, you are in the act, in the moment, you just do it.' This perspective was also reported by some other parents.

Discussion

Parents' reactions create the zone of proximal development for emotion regulation

Findings revealed that in reacting to children parents regulated their own emotions intentionally and used various strategies to support children's emotion regulation. Their emotion self-regulation resulted in the calm emotional expression in front of children. This calmness is what Vygotsky (1994) called the 'ideal form' (p. 348) of emotion regulation. The presence of this ideal form and its interaction with children act as the source of development (Vygotsky, 1994). In other words, this ideal form creates the

conditions for children's development of emotion regulation. As elaborated by Vygotsky (1994),

> The child's higher psychological functions, his higher attributes which are specific to humans, originally manifest themselves as forms of the child's collective behaviour, as a form of co-operation with other people, and it is only afterwards that they become the internal individual functions of the child himself. (p. 349)

The data suggest that in social interaction between children and their parents in emotionally charged situations, where the parents' calmness is evident, children gradually develop the voluntary control of their emotions moving from the early forms of impulsive raw emotions.

Apart from emotion self-regulation, parents used a diverse range of strategies to support children's emotion regulation. For instance, Mother 1 used the strategies of reasoning and giving an alternative to help Nick calm down. In this situation, emotion regulation for children was not a *solo* task anymore but *collaboration* with parents. As suggested by Vygotsky (1987), 'in collaboration the child can always do more than he can independently' (p. 209). With the support from parents in the collaboration *today*, children will become able to regulate their emotions alone *tomorrow*.

Therefore, by the use of emotion regulation strategies, parents created the zone of proximal development for children's development of emotion self-regulation. Similar to Holzman's (2009) idea of the emotional zone of proximal development in social therapy, that is, 'the *group's* level of emotional development' (p. 35), this zone of children's development of emotion regulation is *collective*. In this zone, parents acted as an ideal form of children's emotion regulation.

Perezhivanie as the unity of affect, intellect, and act to support emotion regulation

As discussed above, parents' reactions including being calm and using regulation strategies created the conditions for children's development of emotion regulation. However, their reactions did not work alone for emotion regulation. Findings indicated that affect, intellect, and act were dialectically related (i.e. mutuality) and sometimes occurred simultaneously (i.e. simultaneity) to support emotion regulation. For example, reactions were conditioned by parents' intellectual factors (e.g. awareness) and affective experiences (e.g. emotional states). This finding is consistent with what was stated by both Roth (2008) and Vygotsky (1993), that affect drives action. In addition, parents' intellect influenced their affect and vice versa. As argued by Vygotsky (1987), intellect grounds in the affect. Taking thought as an example of the intellect,

> It [thought] is not born of other thoughts. Thought has its origins in the motivating sphere of consciousness, a sphere that includes our inclinations and needs, our interests and impulses, and our affect and emotion. The affective and volitional tendency stands behind thought. (Vygotsky, 1987, p. 282)

Affect drives intellect and act and vice versa.

The data also showed that affect was in intellect (e.g. awareness of anger) and thinking-accompanied-emotions was in action (e.g. talking to children when thinking about strategies of emotion regulation). Affect, intellect, and act are dialectically connected and undivided as a whole which is similar to what was suggested by Roth (2008),

that emotions are understood 'as being integral to action and cognition rather than as something that affects cognition from the outside' (p. 2).

Due to the nature of mutuality and simultaneity among affect, intellect, and act demonstrated in the data, the study argues that parents' affect, intellect, and act are an inseparable unity. This unity is *perezhivanie*. It is this unity, rather than the *act alone*, that supported the development of children's emotion regulation. Hence, *perezhivanie* as the unity of affect, intellect, and act created the conditions for children's development of emotion regulation.

Perezhivanie as a collective unity

As what was showed in the data, parents' *perezhivanie* was influenced by children's *perezhivanie* and vice versa. For example, when children got upset, it upset parents. When parents threw out their negative emotions, children's emotions became more intense. Parents' and children's *perezhivanie* interacted with and contributed to each other reciprocally and created the collective space. In this space, both parents' and children's *perezhivanie* were configuring. Configuration is a process that is 'simultaneously structured and structuring' (Gonzalez Rey, 1999, p. 269). Therefore, either parents' or children's *perezhivanie* does not belong to an individual. Rather, *perezhivanie* results from the interaction between the subject and the environment. As suggested by Vygotsky (1994), *perezhivanie* represents both the characteristics of the subject and the environment. It has the *collective nature* of the subject and the environment. Hence, it is argued that *perezhivanie* should be conceptualised as the *collective unity of affect, intellect, and act* (see Figure 1).

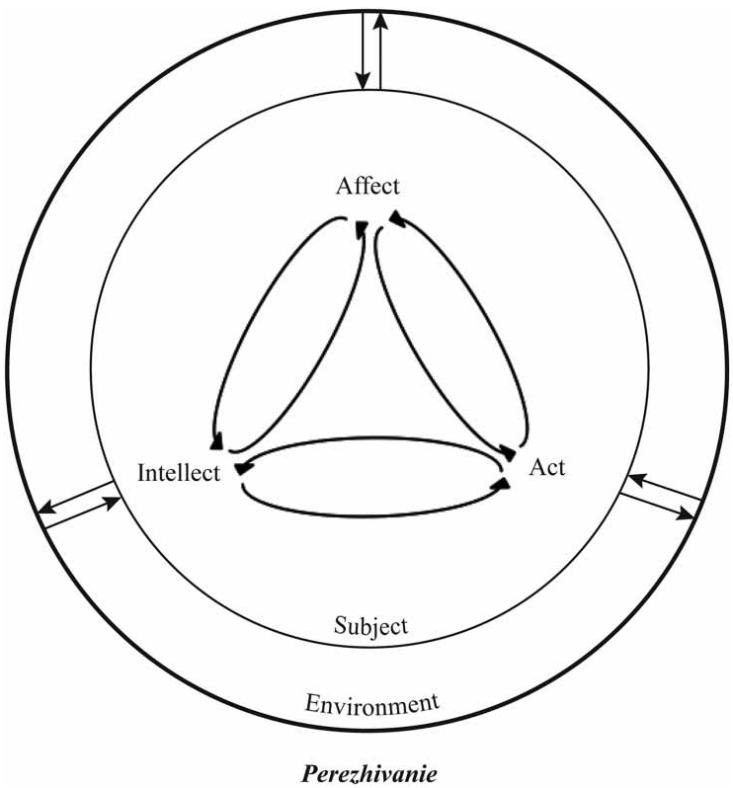

Figure 1. *Perezhivanie* as the collective unity of affect, intellect, and act.

In this model, the big circle signifies environment which can be a person. The small circle represents a subject or an individual where affect, intellect, and act are dialectically related and coexist as an inseparable unity. As showed in the data, the affect encompasses attitude, intention, expectation, and emotional states. The intellect comprises awareness, understanding, and thinking. The act refers to the visible process of verbally, facially, or bodily doing which is consciously or unconsciously driven by the psych (e.g. affect and intellect) and is directed towards a certain purpose. For example, in the vignette, Mother 1 explained to Nick why he had to wait for the food to cool down by saying 'I don't want you to burn yourself' and showed him the steam coming off the food. As reported by the mother, she aimed to calm Nick down because she did not like seeing her son getting upset. Here, saying and showing are acts which are driven by her affective attitude and target to calm down Nick.

The unity of affect, intellect, and act displayed in the small circle is configured in the relations between the subject and the environment. The unity therefore has the collective nature of the subject and the environment. This collective unity is *perezhivanie*, which is symbolised by the whole picture showed in Figure 1.

Conclusion

The present study aimed to examine how parents experienced emotionally charged situations with children and how they created the conditions for children's development of emotions. Findings revealed that parents' *perezhvianie* as a collective unity of affect, intellect, and act created the conditions for children's development of emotion regulation. *Perezhivanie* as a unity has the nature of *mutuality*, *simultaneity*, and *collectivity*. This finding not only confirms Vygotsky's (1993) idea of *perezhivanie* as an inseparable unity of affect and intellect as well as the unity of the subject and environment (1994), but also enriches the understanding of the concept of *perezhivanie* by adding act into this unity (see Figure 1). The study made the relations among affect, intellect, and act, as well as the relations between the subject and the environment, visible. It is argued that affect, intellect, and act need to be conceptualised and examined as an indivisible and collective whole in relation to the environment in studying the role of parents in children's development of emotion regulation. Without doing that, it is hard to gain a profound and holistic understanding of this role. This holistic view can be used by parents and educators in reflecting their own interactions with children.

The study suggests adults becoming more consciously aware of the significant role of their *perezhivanie* in supporting children's development of emotion regulation in their everyday lives. Additionally, in teacher training programmes, it is wise to advice teachers to take the *holistic view* to examine an individual's (e.g. a teacher, a parent, or a child) everyday experiences as a unity of affect, intellect, and act rather than actions only and to relate the unity to the environment as a collective whole. This is to gain the profound and comprehensive understanding of an individual. As suggested by Vygotsky (1987), 'a true and complex understanding of another's thought becomes possible only when we discover its real, affective-volitional basis' (p. 282). Similarly, to fully understand an individual, we need to examine their underlying intellectual and affective experiences simultaneously with his/her actions, as well as his/her connections with the environment.

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Notes on contributor

Feiyan Chen is a Ph.D. researcher in Early Childhood Education at Monash University, Australia. Her research interests focus on young children's learning and development, with special attention on perezhivanie, emotions, subjectivity, and culture.

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Chapter 8 Conclusion

Introduction

This last chapter brings all four finding chapters together and draws the study into a conclusion. It begins with a summary of findings and arguments from four papers, with a very brief overarching discussion, followed by a discussion on contributions, implementations, and limitations of the study, as well as suggestions for future research.

Summary of Findings and Arguments

Findings of the study, in responding to the main research question of how parent-child interactions create the conditions for children's development of emotion and emotion regulation in everyday family life, have been turned into four papers that were presented in Chapters 4-7. These findings are summarised in Table 8.1, with a presentation of arguments in papers.

Table 8.1

Summary of Findings and Arguments in Four Papers

Chapter 4/Paper one	Finding 1	*Everyday play*, introduced by parents as a maintainer, a reward, and a temptation, created an emotional ZPD that supports children's development of emotion and its regulation in parent-child interactions.
	Argument 1	Children's development of emotion regulation is collectively constructed rather than an individual practice.
Chapter 5/Paper two	Finding 2	Parents' *re-signing* of children's emotion-related signs supported the emergence of children's intrapersonal emotion regulation.
	Argument 2	It is crucial to foreground and better understand the cultural development of emotions and to conceptualise it as a reciprocal, dynamic, and ongoing process from inter- to intra-psychological functioning, where emotions and cognition cannot be separated.
Chapter 6/Paper three	Finding 3	Parents' *emotion regulation strategies*, acting as an ideal form, created conditions for children's acquisition of emotion regulation strategies.
	Argument 3	Parents' use of emotion regulation strategies in parent-child interactions in emotionally situated zones is the *source* of children's development in emotion regulation strategies.
Chapter 7/Paper four	Finding 4	Parents' perezhivanie, as a collective unity of affect, intellect, and act, created the conditions for children's development of emotion regulation. Their perezhivanie does not function alone but interacts with children's emotional experiences, which reflects its nature of mutuality and collectivity.
	Argument 4	Affect, intellect, and act need to be conceptualised and examined as an indivisible and collective whole in relation to the environment in studying the role of parents in children's development of emotion regulation.

In sum, the overarching finding is that play introduced by parents, parents' re-signing, their use of emotion regulation strategies, and their perezhivanie in everyday parent-child interactions in emotionally charged situations created the conditions for children's development of emotion regulation.

Of importance in this finding is to notice that parents on their own cannot create the conditions for child development. Instead, they need to be in the context of social *interactions* with children. As was reflected through the presentation of the theoretical concepts, including social situation of development, perezhivanie, and interactions between ideal and real forms (Vygotsky, 1994a, 1998), it is the social relation between the subject and the environment rather than an individual part acting as the source of development (Vygotsky, 1994a, 1997a).

Furthermore, the emotionally charged situation where social interactions take place is vital for children's emotional development. This is because emotionally charged situations contain dramatic collision or conflict that is the critical moment of development (see Chapters 2-3, Gonzalez Rey, 2008, 2012; Hedegaard, 2012a, Veresov, 2010a, 2010b; Vygotsky, 1997a). Emotionally charged situations are therefore the critical moment of emotional development in children.

The central argument of the study is that children's development of emotion and emotion regulation is collectively constructed in everyday social interactions rather than an individual practice as stated in much of the literature. The emphasis on everyday social interactions does not mean the neglect of the individual. Rather, in social interactions, when the social partner (e.g., parents) impacts on the child/individual, the child simultaneously influences the partner (see Chapter 7). S/He contributes to the collective construction of emotion and emotion regulation. The child also has the generative character of the psyche (Gonzalez Rey, 2007, 2011b). S/He decides whether or how much s/he is impacted by the environment and what new psychological

processes are created. Therefore, instead of having a one-sided conception of development from the external to the internal, it is essential to stress both the environment and the individual as an indivisible whole, which is reflected in the concepts of perezhivanie and the social situation of development (Vygotsky, 1994a; 1998) for understanding child development.

Contributions

Contributions of the study are categorised into three dimensions, namely, theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions.

Theoretical contribution. The study has further developed Vygotsky's unfinished work in the affective dimension of development (e.g., emotions and perezhivanie) by conceptualising children's development of emotions and emotion regulation in everyday family life. It also has applied Vygotsky's theorisation of cognitive development (mainly referring to his second period of work on an objectivistic and instrumental view) into the study of emotional development (see Chapter 5). For example, Vygotsky's (1997a) concept of drama (or dramatic collision) was central in exploring emotional development in the study.

Finally, the study began to integrate some of Vygotsky's contradictory ideas (i.e., an objectivistic/instrumental vs. a subjective orientation, see Gonzalez Rey, 2007, 2011) in researching emotional development. The conception of cultural development in emotions and emotion regulation has been understood as a process resulted from *both* sign mediation and subjective configuration that occur in social interactions, rather than stressing either of them. That is, social interactions including sign mediation create the conditions for children who have the generative character of the human psyche (see Gonzalez Rey, 2007, 2011b) to construct new mental productions. This understanding has also gone beyond Holodynski's (2013) interpretation of internalization emphasising

the important role of sign mediation and Gonzalez Rey's (2007) concept of subjective configuration highlighting the generative character of human psyche in explaining development, contributing to a holistic conceptualisation of cultural development in emotions and emotion regulation.

Methodological contribution. The study filled in the methodological gaps in the field of emotion and emotion regulation research. As identified in Chapter 2, laboratory-based quantitative research (e.g., correlational studies) on individual emotions dominates emotions research in early childhood. This study brought emotions research out of the laboratory into naturalistic settings where allow authentic and complex emotional episodes to emerge. The naturalistic research context maintained the genuineness and richness of the data, and, therefore added knowledge into the field that was hardly possible to generate in laboratories (see Chapter 6). It also used multiple methods including digital video observations, stimulated record interviews, photography, and field notes to capture parent-child interactions in supporting children's development of emotion and its regulation. By using these methods, the study made it possible to reveal details of the process of development (see Chapter 5) and different types of relations such as the relations between the child and the parent (see Chapters 4-7), which brings a holistic view to understanding children's development of emotions and its regulation.

Empirical contribution. The study contributes to the development of emerging cultural-historical literature on children's development of emotion and emotion regulation. It helps adults better understand how they can create the conditions in their everyday interactions with children for children's development of emotion and emotion regulation, contributing to the development of a whole child. It is beneficial to enhancing the quality of parenting skills. This study also made the process of emotional

development visible and contributed to a better understanding of the process rather than the product of children's cultural development of emotion and emotion regulation.

Implementations

Awareness. It is important for parents and educators to become more consciously aware of their pivotal role and their everyday interactions with children in supporting children's development of emotions and emotion regulation.

Re-interpretation. As discussed early, emotionally charged situations are critical moments of children's emotional development. However, in everyday practice, the critical moment is the time when most parents and teachers feel challenging or frustrated and dislike it. I suggest parents and teachers intentionally re-interpreting these situations as *opportunities* to contribute to children's emotional development.

Application. Parents and teachers need to intentionally and strategically apply everyday play (see Chapter 4), re-signing (see Chapter 5), and various emotion regulation strategies in different contexts (see Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6) for supporting children's emotional development, as well as taking a holistic view to reflect their daily interactions with children (see Chapter 7).

Teacher education programs. Teacher education programs (or professional development programs) should advise teachers to take a holistic view of understanding an individual (e.g. a teacher, a parent, or a child) and his/her everyday experiences (see Chapter 7). In order to maintain quality early childhood education, an understandable teacher needs to know not only individuals' observable behaviours but also their underlying intellectual and affective experiences to gain a whole picture of the individual, as well as his/her relations with particular contexts.

Social-emotional learning (SEL) programs. Findings of the study suggested the importance of *everyday social interactions* in children's emotional development. It is necessary for early childhood institutions and schools to consider moving the implementation of SEL programs from *classrooms* to children's *everyday lives.* This means to embed SEL in children's everyday routines rather than teaching social-emotional skills in classrooms. The latter does not guarantee children practising social-emotional skills after the class, resulting in the decrease of the effectiveness of SEL programs.

Limitations

Although the study has contributions to the field, it has limitations. First, findings of the study may not be generalised due to its sample size. Only a small number of European-Australian and Chinese-Australian participants in their Australian cultural context were involved in this study. Second, given the time constraint in a doctoral research, the data collection only lasted six months. This time frame is not long enough to allow sufficient developmental changes to occur in children's emotions and emotion regulation. Third, the way of data collection in the study that follows the flow of participants' everyday life cannot ensure an adequate amount of emotional episodes to be captured within a certain period. These limitations can be overcome by the suggestions provided in the next section.

Future Research Directions

Longitudinal studies. For a cultural-historical study that stresses the examination of the process of development, longitudinal studies across minimum two years are needed. Its long time frame allows researchers to capture adequate

developmental changes and to understanding emotional development thoroughly and profoundly. For instance, such studies may examine the role of signs in children's development of emotion regulation and how signs and subjectivity (Gonzalez Rey, 2009, 2012, 2014) interacts in supporting emotional development. In a broader context other than cultural-historical studies, Gross et al. (2006) suggested longitudinal investigations in middle childhood (6-12 years).

Multi-methods in naturalistic settings. Future emotions research could potentially enhanced by using multi-methods (with an emphasis on qualitative methods) in everyday naturalistic contexts rather than a single method used in laboratory settings. According to Lichtman (2014), many mixed methods studies are mainly oriented by a quantitative rather than a qualitative approach. It is important to keep a balance of both methods by paying increasing attention to qualitative methods. The quantitative aspect of the multi-methods approach needs to involve experiments in naturalistic instead of laboratory contexts. Different from traditional experiments in laboratories, these experiments should create the conditions for emotional experiences to occur without breaking the natural flow of children's everyday life. They need to maintain the authenticity and complexity, which overcomes the limitations of laboratory studies that are artificial and simplified, as well as having problems in eliciting emotions. They are also more likely to secure enough numbers of emotional episodes, which can avoid the data collection problem in the study mentioned earlier. Additionally, qualitative digital video observations and interviews are two of the central methods of the multi-methods approach. Further investigation in the multi-methods approach in emotions research is needed.

Diverse participants. Except for the cultural diversity in participants mentioned above, future emotions research involving different financial status, education levels of adults, and other socialisation agents such as teachers, peers, and

siblings is needed, particularly from a cultural-historical perspective. In the study conducted by Piotrowski et al. (2013), children from different economic backgrounds differ in their abilities of self-regulation. Financial status may also matter in emotions research. Participants in the current study were from families with medium or high incomes (i.e., above AUD $40,000). They are also well educated (i.e., holding a Bachelor degree or above). Future research needs to find out emotional development in low-income families, with a consideration of parents' education levels. Moreover, socialisation agents other than parents are needed in future studies.

Culture. Future studies need to bring culture into consideration by involving participants who are from various ethnic backgrounds and conducting studies in different cultural contexts. This is because diverse cultures impact on people's values, beliefs, understanding, and everyday interactions about emotional development. Similarly, many other scholars (see Cole, 2014; Gross et al., 2006; Holodynski, 2013) also pointed out the research direction focusing on culture-specific features of emotion and emotion regulation. Such studies can be cross-cultural studies comparing cultural variations influencing children's development of emotions and emotion regulation. Cole and Tan (2014) further suggested that it is not enough for these studies to focus on cultural similarities and differences but to elaborate "*how* and *why* culture has its influences" (p. 534) on emotion and its regulation. For a cultural-historical perspective, these studies may need to explain culture-specific features in the process of emotional development.

Conclusion

This final chapter has summarised all findings and arguments that were presented in four papers and drawn them together into an overarching finding and a

central argument. The contributions, implementation, and limitations of the study were discussed. Recommendations for future research were also provided.

This chapter is the end of the thesis but not the end of my investigation. My curiosity and passion in cultural-historical research on children's emotional development remain high. This thesis is only the start of my research journey. Much needs to be done in this promising field, and I am looking forward to the future.

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Appendix A: A Paper Related to the Literature Review

国際乳幼児教育研究 Vol.20.2012 pp. 51～58 International Journal of Early Childhood Education Vol.20.2012 pp.51～58 51

ヴィゴツキーの感情に対する予備調査

A preliminary exploration of Vygotsky's works on emotions

Feiyan Chen (Monash University, Australia)

SUMMARY

This article aims to investigate Vygotsky's works related to emotions. Three key concepts of social situation of development, *perezhivanie*, and emotions, as well as their relationships, are examined. Children's emotional development, as an ignored domain compared to cognitive development, has increasingly become under attention of contemporary scholars in early childhood education recently. Some scholars, such as Sainto (2011), emphasize the importance of emotional development in children and the balance between intellectual and emotional development. They call for nurturing a "whole child", who develops in the domains of physical health, social-emotion, cognition, language, and creativity. This holistic view of child development is reflected in Vygotsky's works rooted in his cultural-historical approach. Based on this perspective, Vygotsky has developed numerous units in studying the development of child such as *perezhivanie*.

Perezhivanie is a Russian word. It is simply translated and explained in English as "emotional experience". It was firstly introduced by Vygotsky in one of his last works, "The problem of the environment" (Gonzalez-Rey, 2009). Vygotsky uses this notion to represent a dynamic unit of affect and intellect.

Perezhivanie is also a unit that integrates the subject and the environment. Specifically, in studying child development, Vygotsky not only attempts to reveal subject's internal mechanism, but also emphasizes the effects of the environment on children's mental development. Vygotsky (1994) has demonstrated the complex relations between the subject and the environment. The environment exerts influence on the subject and the subject decides the effect of the environment (Vygotsky, 1994). In other words, the interrelations between the subject and the environment are dialectical instead of one-way influence.

The dialectical relation has been elaborated by Vygotsky (1994). The role of the environment is described as "the source of development" by Vygotsky (1994, p. 349). In the environment, there is an ideal form (e.g., adults) as opposed to the primary form (e.g., the child). Child develops through his or her interaction with the ideal form. Without this ideal form, child development becomes very limited. In understanding subject in *perezhivanie*, Vygotsky (1994) highlights the importance of subject's awareness, understanding, and inner attitude towards the environment. These facets of subjects condition the effect of environment on child development. Since these characteristics of the subject vary, the same environment might have diverse influence on different children. However, the in-depth exploration of the specific characteristics of the subject and its relationships to the effect of the environment need further effort.

These complicated associations between the subject and the environment is identified as a system, called "the social situation of development". In order to better understand the system, according to Bozhovich (2009), it is important to understand the nature of children's

emotional experience as a starting point. Specifically, it is to further decode this experience, revealing its essence and the radically underlying forces of mental development. In other words, studying the nature of *perezhivanie* is a starting point of understanding the social situation of development. *Perezhivanie* reflects the social situation of development.

Vygotsky (1994) also points out that *Perezhivanie* has its dynamic feature. That is, the child and his development, the environment, and the relationship between the child and the environment keep changing.

Emotions as a key aspect in *perezhivanie* is discussed in both Vygotsky's early work, The Psychology of Art, and later work Thinking and speech and Emotions and their development in childhood. Vygotsky has particularly tried to associate emotions with other mental processes (Gonzalez-Rey, 2008 & Vygotsky, 2004). His other specific points of view about emotions are discussed in this article. However, his thoughts on emotions in these works are still very primary and need further development. The discussion on his works is also very basic and need further exploration.

KEYWORDS

Emotions, perezhivanie, social situation of development, child development, wholeness

要約

本稿ではヴィゴツキーの感情に関する研究を探究する。社会性の発達に関する、perezhivanie（心的体験）、感情、そしてその関係について考える。子どもの感情の発達についての研究は、長年、知能の発達の研究に比べ遅れていたものの、近年、幼児教育研究者の中で注目を集めている。Sainto (2011)などの研究者は、感情と知能の発達のバランスが大切だと強調している。子どもの様々な発達面を全体的に捉えることが重要であると説いている。このように全人的に子どもの発達を捉えるという考え方は、ヴィゴツキーの文化歴史的アプローチからきている。ヴィゴツキーは、子どもの発達を研究していく上で、perezhivanie（心的体験）などに焦点を当てていた。Perezhivanie とはロシア語で、英語では「心的体験」と訳されている。これはヴィゴツキーの最後の著書「環境における問題」(Gonzalez-Rey, 2009)で初めて使われた言葉であるが、ヴィゴツキーはこれで感情と知能の関係を示そうとした。

Perezhivanie は人と環境を統合したものだと考えられる。子どもの発達を研究していく上で、ヴィゴツキーは子どもの内的変化を捕らえるだけではなく、環境が子どもの知的発達にどのような影響を与えるかという点に焦点を当てた。ヴィゴツキー（１９９４）は、環境は人に影響を与えるが、どのような影響が与えられるかは人が決定すると説いた。要するに、人と環境の関係は一方的ではなく、弁証法的に考えなければならないとしたのである。

ここでヴィゴツキーは、環境は、発達の糧であると説明した。環境の中には、理想的形（例、大人）があり、その反対に、初期段階の形（例：子ども）がいる。子どもは、大人という理想形と関わることで発達していく。このような関わりなしでは、子どもの発達は限られたものとなってしまう。perezhivanie（心的体験）という概念を用いることで、人の意識、理解、環境に対する態度などの重要性を強調した。即ち、人によって環境に対する感じ方が違うので、その影響もまた異なるということである。しかし、どのような人には、どのような環境が、どのような影響を与えるのかというところは、更なる研究が必要である。

このような人と環境の複雑な関係は、「発達のソーシャルシチュエーション」と呼ばれた。これをもっと理解していくには、Bozhovich (2009) 曰く、子どもの感情的経験への理解が必要である。子どもの経験をもっと理解していくことは、その知的発達への理解にも繋がる。即ち、

perezhivanie（心的体験）の理解が重要ということである。

ヴィゴツキー（１９９４）は、perezhivanie（心的体験）にはダイナミックな要素があるとしている。これは、子どもの発達とその環境、またその関係は時間と共に変化していくということである。

Perezhivanie（心的体験）という概念は、ヴィゴツキーの、「芸術心理学」「思考と援護」などの著書でも紹介されている。ヴィゴツキーは、感情を様々なメンタルプロセスに関係付けて考えた(Gonzalez-Rey, 2008 & Vygotsky, 2004)。　しかし、ヴィゴツキーの感情に関する考え方は、更なる研究を要する。

Introduction

While children's intellectual development has been constantly highlighted and emotional development is comparatively overlooked, many contemporary scholars worldwide such as Saito (2011) call for a balance and integration of intellectual and emotional development, aiming to achieving the eventual goal of early childhood education that is to nurture a "whole child" who develops in the domains of physical health, social-emotion, cognition, language, and creativity (Saito, 2011). This holistic perspective of child development can be chased back to Vygotsky's work. His theory has been named as non-classical psychology (Robbins, 2010; Veresov, 2006; & Kravtsov, 2010). One of the eminent features of non-classical psychology differing from classical psychology is its view of wholeness instead of separation (Kravtsov, 2010). In Vygotsky's work (1994), the concept of the dynamic unit of affect and intellect reflects his focus on both intellect and affect. However, his work on emotions (or affect) is an uncompleted and neglected area. This article aims to investigate Vygotsky's works related to emotions. Three key concepts of social situation of development, perezhivanie, and emotions, as well as their relationship will be examined. The first section will discuss the social situation of development, providing contextual information of perezhivanie and emotions, followed by the investigation of Vygotsky's works on perezhivanie and emotions. It is concluded with the clarification of relations among these concepts and future directions in studying emotions based on Vygotsky's cultural-historical framework.

Social situation of development

Vygotsky's study of children's mental development not only attempts to reveal subject's internal mechanism, but also emphasizes the essential role of the effects of the environment on children's mental development (Bozhovich, 2009). He asserts that both children themselves and their environment are important to the neoformations of a certain age (ibid.). In response to this understanding, a vital notion, the social situation of development, is introduced by Vygotsky in his last period of work (ibid.). This term integrates the "internal developmental processes" and "external conditions" (ibid., p. 66) into a whole which signifies the start of every developmental period (Vygotsky, 1998). In another words, social situation of development refers to a system of relations between the child and his/her social reality or surroundings (Vygotsky, 1998). These relations are characterized as "completely original, exclusive, single, unique...and specific" (p. 198). Vygotsky (1998) further depicts it that

> The social situation of development represents the initial moment for all dynamic changes that occur in development during the given period. It determines wholly and completely the forms and the path along which the child will acquire ever newer personality characteristics, drawing

> them from the social reality as from the basic source of development, the path along which the social becomes the individual (p. 198).

In studying the social situation of development, the effects of the environment on children's mental development are a key issue. In order to address this issue, understanding the nature of children's emotional experience is a starting point (Bozhovich, 2009). As Bozhovich (2009) states, it is necessary to further decode this experience, revealing its essence and the radically underlying forces of mental development.

Perezhivanie

The emotional experience is called perezhivanie in Russian (Vygotsky, 1994). Vygotsky uses it to study the social situation of development (Bozhovich, 2009). He first introduces this notion in one of his last work, "The problem of the environment" (after his work of sense) (Gonzalez-Rey, 2009). It represents a dynamic unit of affect and intellect (Gonzalez-Rey, 2011). The study of perezhivanie is to find out "how a child becomes aware of, interprets, (and) emotionally relates to a certain event" (Vygotsky, 1994, p. 341). Vygotsky (1994) also identifies it as a unit that embodies both the environment (i.e. what the child experiences) and the subject (i.e. how the child experiences). He further illustrates the origin of perezhivanie and its relationship with the subject.

> The emotional experience (perezhivanie) arising from any situation or from any aspect of his environment, determines what kind of influence this situation or this environment will have on the child (ibid., pp. 339-340).

In understanding the dimension of environment in perezhivanie, Vygotsky (1994) points out that different environment and events "elicit different emotional experience (perezhivanie) in the child" (ibid. p. 343). He also suggests "the dynamic and relative interpretation of environment" (p. 346). This dynamic refers to changes occurring in three elements of the child and his development, the environment, and the relationship between the child and the environment. He also describes the role of environment as "the source of development" (p. 349), meaning that the existence of ideal form in the environment and its interaction with the primary form result in the development (ibid.). He emphasizes the importance of the presence of the ideal form that only very little and slow development occurs without the ideal form (ibid.). This feature of child development (i. e., the coexistence and interaction of the rudimental form and the ideal form of development) is unique. It differs from other types of development (e.g. biological evolution and social structure) (ibid.).

In understanding the domain of subject in perezhivanie, Vygotsky (1994) asserts that the subject's awareness, understanding, and inner attitude towards the environment condition the effect of environment on child development. Different children are influenced differently by the same environment and event because of children's diverse characteristics (ibid.). These characteristics decide children's attitude to the environment (ibid.). However, it appears that he has not further elaborates how different subjective features condition children's distinguished attitude and what factors determine the awareness and understanding of the subject towards the environment. Therefore, there is a need for an in depth decoding of perezhivanie.

Vygotsky and other psychologists also discover an intense link between perezhivanie (or subjects' experiences including feelings, emotions, & affects) and children's needs (Bozhovich, 2009). Perezhivanie reveals whether the individuals' needs are met by the social surroundings (ibid.).

It means that perezhivanie reflects the relationship between subjects and their environment, as Bozhovich (2009) describes following:

> Emotional experience really does reflect how satisfied a subject is in relation to the surrounding social environment and thus fulfills an extremely important function: it "informs" people what their relationship to the environment is and correspondingly orients their behavior, impelling them to act in such a way as to minimize or eliminate any discord that may emerge (p. 74).

It appears that this discussion presents the relationship between perezhivanie and the social situation of development. That is, perezhivanie is a mirror of the social situation of development. As Vygotsky (1994) describes,

> "in an emotional experience (perezhivanie) we are always dealing with an invisible unity of personal characteristics and situational characteristics, that are represented in 'perezhivanie'" (p. 342).

Gonzalez-Rey (2009) points out that the concepts of perezhivanie and social situation of development (as well as sense) are closely related to Vygotsky's searching for unities of mental life. He considers the notions of perezhivanie and sense as a transitional point of Vygotsky's work since these concepts provide Vygotsky with essential insight into the new development of subjectivity, which will probably alter or upgrade traditions of the Soviet psychology, such as the human psyche as a reflection (ibid.).

Emotions

Emotions have been identified as one of the most unknown areas in psychology decades ago (Vygotsky, 1971). Nowadays, it appears that they are still marginalized in the Western interpretation of Vygotsky's work (Fakhrutdinova, 2010 & Gonzalez-Rey, 2009 & 2011). According to Gonzalez-Rey (2009), emotions and the dynamic unit of affect and intellect have been paid attention by Vygotsky in the first and last stages (but not the second stage, 1928-1931) of his work. In the concept of the dynamic unity of affect and intellect, he foregrounds the predominant role of emotions in the preschool ages that "if something does not touch the child emotionally at that stage, then it is not meaningful for the child, who is living, thinking, and comprehending life through emotions" (Kravtsov, 2010, p. 69).

Vygotsky's early work on emotions

The Psychology of Art, Vygotsky's thesis, is one of his early works on emotions. Feelings and emotions are studied as components of the psychology of art in this thesis (Vygotsky, 1971). However, Leontiev in the "introduction" of this book points out that Vygotsky frequently quotes other authors' work to state his own thoughts. In this book, Vygotsky defines emotions as "an expenditure of psychic force" (Vygotsky, 1971, p. 205). He also points out that emotions have different features. One of them is its indefiniteness (based on Titchener's work, 1901) (ibid.). However, Vygotsky comments that the explanation of its meaning is unsuccessful. Additionally, Vygotsky attempts to clarify the difference between aesthetic and real emotions. He agrees with Hennequin' s (1892) point of view that aesthetic emotions hardly evoke action immediately and entirely foreign to them while real emotions are different (Vygotsky, 1971). He further elaborates that "artistic feeling is the same as the other, but it is released by extremely intensified activity of the imagination" (P. 211). He also states that it is possible that mixed or even conflict emotions and feelings coexist.

Vygotsky (1971) discusses the relations between emotions and other psychological functions including creativity and imagination. He states that emotions and creativity are inseparable. Emotions are always involved in human creativity such as artistic creativity. Vygotsky

(1971) also uncovers that emotions have close connection with imagination. He assumes that it is perhaps able to consider "imagination as inhibited feeling" (p. 48). He also elaborates their association through emotion expression that imagination is one way of expressing emotions or feelings:

> We know that every emotion has a psychic expression in addition to a physical one. In other words, a feeling "is embodied, fixed in an idea, as is evidenced in cases of persecution mania," according to Ribot. Consequently, an emotion is expressed by the mimic, pantomimic, secretory, and somatic responses of our organism. It also requires some expression of our imagination. We find the best evidence for this view among the so-called objectless emotions. Pathological phobias, persistent fear, and so forth, are always associated with specific ideas, most of which are absolutely false and distort reality, but in so doing find their "psychic" expression. A patient who suffers from obsessive fear is emotionally sick, his fear is irrational; and so in order to rationalize it, he imagines that everyone is pursuing and persecuting him. For such a patient, the sequence of events is exactly the opposite of that of a normal person. For the latter, persecution is perceived first, then fear; for the sick man, it is first the fear, then the imagined persecution. Zenkovskii aptly called this phenomenon the "double expression of feelings." Most contemporary psychologists would agree with this view if it is assumed to mean that an emotion is serviced by imagination and expressed in a series of fantastic ideas, concepts, and images that represent its second expression. We might say that an emotion has a central effect in addition to a peripheral one, and that in this case we are discussing the former (Vygotsky, 1971, p. 209)

Furthermore, Vygotsky (1971) reveals a principle of emotion expression to clarify the relationship between the dominant and marginal expression of emotions.

> Psychologists of the part have pondered the relation between the central and peripheral expression of emotions, whether the external expression of feelings is enhanced or weakened by imagination...We feel that, with reference to emotional responses, all those general psychological laws established with respect to any simple sensory-motor response remain valid. It is an irrefutable fact that our reactions slow down and lose intensity as soon as the central element of the emotion becomes more complicated. We discover that, as the imagination (the central element of the emotional reaction) increase, its peripheral part loses intensity. ...The law can be formulated as follows: It is a single-pole energy outflow characterized by the fact that nervous energy is expended at one pole, either at the center or at the periphery, and increases in energy outflow at one pole lead to a decrease at the other (p. 210).

According to Bozhovich (2009), Vygotsky discovers that emotions have their origin in needs, he explains his understanding of emotions that are "the result of the organism's own assessment of its relationship with the environment" (p. 10) and they emerge at "critical and catastrophic moments of behaviour" (p. 10) when the organism and the environment lose balance (Vygotsky, 1926, as cited in Bozhovich, 2009). He considers emotions as an energetic stimulator that activates activity and its association with the environment (Bozhovich, 2009).

Vygotsky's later works on emotions

Vygotsky's later works are featured by his emphasis on emotions (Gonzalez- Rey, 2008). In his paper written in 1932, "On the question of psychology of the creative artist", he illustrates the affective-cognitive unity (Gonzalez-Rey, 2009).

It signifies his attention returning to the "generative capacity of emotions" (p. 67) which was first mentioned in his first period of work (ibid.). The same point of view is further emphasized in his another work, Thinking and Speech (published in the 1934, the last year of his life), that he integrates intellect and affect into an inseparable whole, an affective-cognitive unity, while traditional psychology separates those two psychological processes (Vygotsky, 2004). For example, he points out that infants' speech in their first year is "an emotional form of behaviour" (ibid., p. 110). He also depicts the close relationship between thought and emotions that

> Thought has its origins in the motivating sphere of consciousness, a sphere that includes our inclinations and needs, our interests and impulses, and our affect and emotion. The affective and volitional tendency stands behind thought (ibid., p. 282)

Another main work regarding emotions is his lecture, Emotions and their development in childhood (published slightly earlier than Thinking and Speech). In this work, Vygotsky (2004) discusses diverse existing theories about emotions and reveals that the emotions are gaining increasing attention in psychology that their status transfers from periphery to the center. He especially foregrounds the association between emotions and other mental processes (Gonzalez-Rey, 2008 & Vygotsky, 2004)..

Conclusion

Vygotsky studies child development from a holistic perspective, that is, through different unities instead of single element. He notes the importance of the social situation of development in child development and studies it via another unit of perezhivanie since perrezhivanie reflects the social situation of development. Emotions, as a subjective domain in perezhivanie, have been interested and studied by Vygotsky. However, Vygotsky's short life did not allow him to fully address issues of emotion and the unit of affect and intellect (Gonzalez-Rey, 2009). Contemporary scholars such as Gonzalez-Rey, Asmolov, and Bratus attempt to continue the study of his unfinished area (Gonzalez-Rey, 2008). Some of them also developed their own theories on emotions or emotion-related issues. The limitation of this article is its major focus on Vygotsky's works on emotions. Therefore, future studies need to add contemporary scholars' view on emotions and their comments on Vygotsky's works of emotions. It is also essential to apply these psychological theories into early childhood educational research and practice.

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Appendix B: Ethical Approval

MONASH University

Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)
Research Office

Human Ethics Certificate of Approval

Date:	**10 September 2012**
Project Number:	**CF12/1568 - 2012000847**
Project Title:	**The cultural development of emotions in young children: A cultural-historical study in multiethnic families**
Chief Investigator:	**Prof Marilyn Fleer**
Approved:	**From: 10 September 2012 To: 10 September 2017**

Terms of approval

1. The Chief investigator is responsible for ensuring that permission letters are obtained, if relevant, and a copy forwarded to MUHREC before any data collection can occur at the specified organisation. **Failure to provide permission letters to MUHREC before data collection commences is in breach of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research**.
2. Approval is only valid whilst you hold a position at Monash University.
3. It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure the project is conducted as approved by MUHREC.
4. You should notify MUHREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
5. The Explanatory Statement must be on Monash University letterhead and the Monash University complaints clause must contain your project number.
6. **Amendments to the approved project (including changes in personnel):** Requires the submission of a Request for Amendment form to MUHREC and must not begin without written approval from MUHREC. Substantial variations may require a new application.
7. **Future correspondence:** Please quote the project number and project title above in any further correspondence.
8. **Annual reports:** Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an Annual Report. This is determined by the date of your letter of approval.
9. **Final report:** A Final Report should be provided at the conclusion of the project. MUHREC should be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.
10. **Monitoring:** Projects may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by MUHREC at any time.
11. **Retention and storage of data:** The Chief Investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project for a minimum period of five years.

[redacted]

Professor Ben Canny
Chair, MUHREC

cc: Ms Feiyan Chen

Postal – Monash University, Vic 3800, Australia
Building 3E, Room 111, Clayton Campus, Wellington Road, Clayton
Telephone +61 3 9905 5490 Facsimile +61 3 9905 3831
Email muhrec@monash.edu www.monash.edu/research/ethics/human/index/html
ABN 12 377 614 012 CRICOS Provider #00008C

Appendix C: Explanatory Letter and Consent Forms

MONASH University
Education

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Date: Sept. 2012
University contact: Ms Feiyan Chen
Mobile: 0430 246 825
Email: Feiyan.chen@monash.edu
Project: The Cultural Development of Emotions in Young Children: A Cultural-Historical Study in Multiethnic Families
Project Number: CF12/1568 - 2012000847
Supervisor: Professor Marilyn Fleer

Dear Parents,

My name is Feiyan Chen. I am writing to you regarding a research project which contributes towards my PhD study, under the supervision of Marilyn Fleer, a professor in the Faculty of Education. The aim of this research is to explore how parents contribute to the cultural development of young children's emotions in everyday family life. Specifically, it is to find out how parents and young children interact in emotion-related situations; how these interactions are informed by parents' and children's cultural beliefs; and how parents' cultural beliefs relate to their strategies of fostering wellbeing in young children. The findings of the research may enrich the knowledge of young children's emotional development from a cultural-historical perspective and of the development of multiracial children in their multiethnic families.

I am seeking families from different cultural backgrounds who do not need the services of a translator to participate in my research. In the family, the child is their biological child aged between 3 to 6 years old.

Participation will involve:

- A series of up to 7 visits to your home at a time that suits you. I will be accompanied by a colleague on these visits. Each visit is likely to last between 1-2 hours. During these visits, we hope to observe your interactions with your child in the everyday family life (e.g., mealtimes & preparing for bed) through videotaping/filming and photographing because this will allow us to more rigorously analyse parent-child interaction in emotion-related situations. Videotaping/filming allows for direct capturing and replay of these important moments, that audio or field notes could not easily achieve.

Faculty of Education Peninsula Campus
PO Box 527 Frankston Vic 3199
McMahons Road, Frankston Vic 3199
Telephone +61 3 9904 4288 Facsimile +61 3 9904 4027
www.monash.edu.au
ABN 12 377 614 012 CRICOS provider number 00008C

- Interviews about cultural development of emotions. We hope to include a formal face-to-face interview of approximately 30 minutes for each parent at a place and time of your choice and convenience. We wish to also conduct informal interviews with the family following the video observations.

At the end of the research, you have the opportunity to view the photographic and video images of your family, so that if there are any images you would like me not to use then these images will be removed from the data set with your permission. At that time a corresponding consent form will be provided for you to sign for the use of photographic and video images that you approve. It is possible that some of the photographic images you have approved (not video) may be selected for publication in a journal article or a book for teachers and other professionals involved in education who are interested in research findings about young children's emotional development. It may also be possible for short video clips (e.g., of up to a minute) taken from the video material you have approved to be selected for sharing at conferences or to student teachers who are studying early childhood education. The showing of images will be in the form of video sequences, still photographs, descriptive reports and scholarly discussion limited to the field of early childhood education research or relevant debate among early childhood professionals who may be interested in research about young children's emotional development. No image will appear on a website.

Participation in this project is voluntary. You can withdraw at any time from the study without penalty or indicate at any stage if you prefer us to simply keep written notes rather than filming. You can withdraw consent at any point in the future, and have the right to do so, and the researcher will arrange for the removal of any material that could include your child as an identified participant in the recordings produced in the context of the study.

The video data and other photographic recordings will be stored by the university researcher in a secure place on the university's premises, for a period of ten years from the conclusion of the data gathering, with the proviso that access to this recorded data will only be provided in the context of scholarly presentations or university study. There will not be a provision for open public access to this recorded data and the researchers' use of this material will be for the sake of enhancing knowledge merely within the field of early childhood education. Only the student researcher and supervisor will have access to the data.

If you have any queries please contact either my supervisor by email at Marilyn.fleer@monash.edu or me on 0430246825 or by email at feiyan.chen@monash.edu. If you have any complaints regarding the conduct of this research, please contact the Human Ethics Committee and tell him or her that the number of the project is CF12/1568 - 2012000847. The contact details are:

Faculty of Education Peninsula Campus
PO Box 527 Frankston Vic 3199
McMahons Road, Frankston Vic 3199
Telephone +61 3 9904 4288 Facsimile +61 3 9904 4027
www.monash.edu.au
ABN 12 377 614 012 CRICOS provider number 00008C

Executive Officer, Human Research Ethics
Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)
Building 3e, Room 111
Monash Research Office
Monash University VIC 3800
Tel: +61 3 9905 2052 Fax: +61 3 9905 3831
Email: muhrec@monash.edu

If you agree to participate, please keep this letter for your records and complete and return the consent form to the box located at the entrance to the centre.

Thank you for your time and for considering involvement in this study of child development.

Yours sincerely,

Feiyan Chen
Sept. 2012

MONASH University
Education

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR FAMILIES

Project Number: CF12/1568 - 2012000847 The Cultural Development of Emotions in Young Children: A Cultural-Historical Study in Multiethnic Families

I clearly understand that the participation in this project is voluntary. I agree for my family to take part in the above named project. The project has been explained to me and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I have shared with my family.

I understand that in agreeing to take part in this project, that I am willing (please tick as relevant):

For my children to be
- ☐ Observed through video recording in everyday family life

For myself to be
- ☐ Observed through video recording during my interaction with children in everyday family life
- ☐ Interviewed both individually and with my family members

Please tick all those you consent to:

☐ I understand that the purpose of the project is to learn more about how parents contribute to the cultural development of young children's emotions in everyday family life. Specifically, it is to find out how parents and young children interact in emotion-related situations; how these interactions are informed by parents' and children's cultural beliefs; and how parents' cultural beliefs relate to their strategies of fostering wellbeing in young children.

☐ I understand that only the student researcher and supervisor will have access to the data.

I understand that the data will be used for different purposes. I give permission for it to be used in (please tick):
☐ a doctoral thesis
☐ a scholarly journal articles or book chapters
☐ conference presentations
☐ researcher's teaching practice at a university, specifically in undergraduate coursework programs regarding children's emotional development

☐ I also understand that by filming the interactions of parent-child that this will allow the researchers to more rigorously analyse culture-specific parent-child interaction in emotion-related situations.

☐ I further understand that the way in which the researcher will use selected video and photographic images will be limited to presentations and discussion with other interested parents, preschool teachers, academics or student teachers studying early childhood education who may benefit from the findings of the study in child emotional development.

I also understand (please tick) that:
☐ my family will be identifiable.

☐ images will be in the form of video sequences, still photographs, descriptive reports and scholarly discussion limited to the field of early childhood education or relevant debate among educational professionals who may be interested in new research about young children's emotional development.

☐ the video data and other photographic recordings will be stored by the university researchers in a secure place on the university's premises, for a period of ten years after the conclusion to the research, with the proviso that access to this recorded data will only be provided in the context of scholarly presentations or university study. There will not be a provision for open public access to this recorded data and I am providing consent only to the researchers' use of this material for the sake of enhancing knowledge within the field of early childhood education.

☐ if I should wish to withdraw consent at any point in the future, I have the right to do so, and that the researcher will arrange for a removal of any material that could include my child as an identified participant in the recordings produced in the context of the study.

☐ recorded video and other photographic data will **not** be published in an online context.

☐ the researcher will advise me by email to give me an opportunity to view any video or other photographic material of my child or family at the conclusion to the research. At this time I have the opportunity to view video or other photographic material which may be used by the researcher for public access i.e., with the understanding that "public access" will always mean scholarly or professional discussions in the field of early childhood education.

Please select 1 or 2 (please tick):

☐ 1. At the conclusion to the research I would like the researcher to arrange a time to view all the data of my child that could be selected for public access i.e., with the understanding that "public access" will always mean scholarly or professional discussions in the field of early childhood education
or
☐ 2. I do not wish to view the data of my child and family. However, I can change my mind and email the researcher requesting to view the images of my child at some stage in the future.

Children's names and date of birth (focus child & siblings):

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...……..……. ...……..…….

...……..……. ...……..…….

Parents' names and signatures:

...……..……. ...……..……..

...……..……. ...……..……..

Other family members' names and signatures:

...……..……. ...……..…….

...……..……. ...……..…….

Phone and/or email:

...……..……. ...……..…….

Date: ...……..……

MONASH University
Education

AT THE CONCLUSION TO THE STUDY: CONSENT FORM FOR VIDEOS AND IMAGES

Project Number: CF12/1568 - 2012000847 The Cultural Development of Emotions in Young Children: A Cultural-Historical Study in Multiethnic Families

I have viewed the videos and images for the use of following purposes:

☐To write a PhD thesis.

☐To publish papers, books, and chapters.

☐To orally present in academic conferences.

☐As teaching resources (e.g., resources of lectures and teachers' professional development programs).

I give permission for the videos and images to be used for the above-mentioned purposes.

Children's names and date of birth (focus child & siblings):

…….. ……

…….. ……

Parents' names and signatures:

…….. ……

Other family members' names and signatures:

…….. ……

…….. ……

Phone and/or email:

…….. ……

Date: ……