

University of Nevada, Reno

**Culture and the Perceived Reparability of Shame:  
The Role of Self-Construals**

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
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by

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## Abstract

Shame is typically associated with antisocial behaviors (withdrawal and aggression). However, recent research by Leach and Cidam (2015) has revealed that shame can also lead to reparative behaviors when the shameful situation is perceived as repairable. This finding has important implications for understanding the mechanisms that lead to unexplained cultural differences. Specifically, shame is associated with withdrawal behaviors in individualistic cultures, but with reparative behaviors in collectivistic cultures. This dissertation tests a model that integrates both lines of research to explain why these differences emerge. The model assumes that shame is perceived as repairable when reparation includes engaging in culturally learned behavior patterns (i.e., repairing the culturally-congruent self); especially when that aspect of self is shamed. Four studies test this hypothesis by randomly assigning individuals to experience (Study 1) or recall (Study 2 through 4) a shameful situation that targeted the independent or interdependent self. Across the four studies, participants were provided the option to repair the aspect of self that was shamed, the aspect of self that was congruent with their self-construal (self-direction) or to engage in non-repair. Findings showed that individuals were more likely to engage in a non-reparative task over a reparative one, and that those high in self-direction were more likely to repair the self than those low in self-direction. Further, cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame reflected conditions of incongruence, rather than congruence. In Study 1, those high in self-direction were more likely than those low in self-direction to repair the independent self when the interdependent self and to repair the interdependent self when the independent self was shamed. In Study 4, when the independent self was shamed, those high in self-direction

were most likely to select the non-reparative option compared to those low in self-direction. Conversely, those low in self-direction were most likely to repair the interdependent self. These results enhance our understanding of shame and underscore the importance that context plays in understanding the link between culture and the behavioral consequences of shame. Implications and future directions are discussed.

### **Dedication**

I dedicate my dissertation project to my family and my friends in the Interdisciplinary Social Psychology Ph.D. program for their unconditional love and support.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Shame is a complex emotion. Typically characterized as a negative experience, shame often produces antisocial tendencies like withdrawal, or externalizing behaviors (Sheikh & Janoff-Bulman, 2010b; Stuewig, et al. 2010; Tangney, Stuewig, & Martinez, 2014). In extreme, or chronic cases, shame can also lead to depression, anxiety, or suicide (Beck et al., 1990; Dearing, Stuewig, & Tangney, 2005). However, more recent research is beginning to show that shame can also lead to positive, prosocial tendencies, such as attempting to fix the situation, apologizing, or improving the self (de Hooge, Zeelenberg, & Breugelmans, 2010; Leach & Cidam, 2015).

For a time, researchers grappled with identifying which were the primary outcomes of shame. Many argued that the primary response to shame is withdrawal or antisocial behaviors to escape from the negative feeling (Bagozzi, Verbeke, & Gavino Jr., 2003; Karlsson & Sjöberg, 2009). Others posited that shame serves an appeasement function and, therefore, primarily motivates reparative or prosocial behaviors (de Hooge, et al., 2010, 2011). Recent meta-analytical findings have shown that neither type of behavior is essential to shame. Rather, the behavioral consequences of shame are determined by contextual cues such that shame is positively correlated with reparative intentions when there is an opportunity to repair the situation. When an individual perceives that he or she cannot repair the situation, shame is negatively correlated with reparative intentions (Leach & Cidam, 2015).

Though this finding was an important step toward understanding the nature of shame, it is not yet clear how perceived reparability relates to evidence regarding cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame. Cultural psychologists have shown

that, in general, shame tends to be associated with prosocial behaviors in collectivistic cultures and antisocial behaviors in individualistic cultures (Sheikh, 2014; Wong & Tsai, 2007). Sheikh (2014) argued that this cultural variability stems from differences in the valuation of shame. Since individuals from collectivistic cultures place a greater value on the experience of shame, given its social regulatory function, they are more likely to appreciate the role that shame plays in facilitating social cohesion. This, in turn, makes individuals more likely to engage in restorative behaviors after they experience shame (cf. Wong & Tsai, 2007). Yet, differences in the valuation of shame do not explain instances in which we see reversed patterns. In some cases, shame leads to antisocial tendencies in collectivistic societies and prosocial tendencies in individualistic societies (Furukawa, Tangney, & Higashibara, 2012; Sheikh, 2014).

Given the recent link between the behavioral consequences of shame and situational characteristics (Leach & Cidam, 2015), one may expect that cultural differences may actually reflect differences in the perceived reparability of shame. Integrating these lines of research could not only shed some light onto the mechanisms driving the general patterns we see regarding cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame, but it may also address the inconsistent patterns. Understanding the circumstances that lead individuals to engage in either antisocial or prosocial behaviors is critical in informing researchers and practitioners how to best turn the potentially destructive experience of shame into one of healing.

The goal of this dissertation is to test a model that integrates cross-cultural research with the current understandings of the perceived reparability of shame. In doing so, the model aims to better predict cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of

shame. I begin, in Chapters 1 through 3 by providing an overview of shame and outlining the conditions under which shame has been shown to lead to either positive or negative outcomes. Then, in Chapters 4 and 5, I summarize the existing hypotheses regarding cultural differences in shame and its consequences. Examining shame from a cultural standpoint also highlights the inconsistencies between cultural understandings of shame and the emerging findings regarding the role that context plays in producing different types of behaviors that the model, as discussed in Chapter 6, attempts to address.

Four studies, detailed in Chapters 7 through 12, test the assumption that differences in individuals' cultural background influence whether a given situation is perceived as repairable or not. It is expected that shame will lead to reparative behaviors when those behaviors reinforce a culturally congruent self-construal, since those behaviors should be perceived as easier to accomplish. Studies 1 and 2 test this hypothesis more directly by assigning participants from three cultural backgrounds (European American, Asian American, and Latino American) to a 2 (Shamed Self: independent vs. interdependent) by 2 (Repaired Self: independent vs. interdependent) between-subjects design. Those in the *repaired independent-self condition* will choose between the opportunity to engage in a task designed to improve their autonomy or to engage in a neutral task that does not involve the self. Those in the *repaired interdependent-self condition* will choose between the opportunity to engage in a task designed to improve their collaborating skills or in the neutral task. Study 1 examines the effects of state shame, or shame experienced in response to the current situation, in a college sample. However, the remaining studies examine the effects of recalled shame using online samples.

The last two studies dig into the nature of shame a bit further. Study 3 tested whether individuals are more motivated to repair the independent self or the interdependent self. This also explores whether individuals are more motivated to repair aspect of self that most closely defines them compared to the aspect of self that is shamed. Study 4 provides a more complete picture of the relationship between shame and repair by showing whether individuals are primarily motivated to avoid or engage in reparative tendencies. Together, these studies test a model aimed to better predict cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame. A discussion of the findings and their implications is provided in Chapter 13.

## Chapter 2: Defining Shame

Shame is an unpleasant self-conscious emotion. Like other self-conscious emotions (i.e., guilt, embarrassment, and pride), shame occurs in response to a self-evaluation that is based on whether one has behaved in accordance with social norms. Failure to live up to such norms leads to a negative self-evaluation, and thus, the experience of a negative self-conscious emotion (i.e., shame, guilt, embarrassment). Successfully living up to social norms leads to a positive self-evaluation, which results in the experience of a positive self-conscious emotion (i.e., pride; Lewis, 2008). It is posited that the feelings associated with these emotions, whether positive or negative, reinforce normative behaviors (Beer, Heerey, Keltner, Scabini, & Knight, 2003).

An unfavorable self-evaluation can elicit several negative self-conscious emotions; however, the nature of the situation determines which specific emotion is experienced. Failure to live up to conventions of morality can elicit either shame or guilt (or both; Scherer, 1997). Shame occurs when the negative evaluation following the immoral behavior is attributed to the global, or entire, self. Guilt occurs when the negative evaluation is attributed to the behavior. For example, shame stems from the evaluation, "I am bad," whereas guilt stems from the evaluation, "What I did was bad," (Keltner & Buswell, 1997; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996).

The experience of shame also differs from guilt in that it stems from a perception that the self is being negatively evaluated by real or imagined others (Tangney et al., 1996). In this way, shame is similar to embarrassment. However, shame differs from embarrassment in that it is associated with violating serious moral codes whereas embarrassment is typically linked to violating relatively minor social conventions

(Keltner & Buswell, 1997).

The relationship between shame and morality is also tied to one's social status. Abiding by social conventions and moral codes is one means to maintain social inclusion and one's placement within a group. By demonstrating an awareness of these rules and the willingness to abide by them, individuals demonstrate that they are trustworthy members of the in-group (Kemeny, Gruenewald, & Dickerson, 2004). Behaving immorally, in contrast, signals to others that one is not trustworthy. Engaging in such behavior invites others to look down upon one's self, which may diminish one's place in the social hierarchy. Important to note is that the experience of shame may only reflect a perceived blow to one's social standing given that it only requires the perception of, rather than actual, negative self-evaluation from others.

A study by Gruenewald, Kemeny, Aziz, and Fahey (2004) highlights this social nature of shame. Participants were assigned to either a social evaluation condition, whereby they experienced an acute threat to the social self by performing difficult tasks in front of a panel of evaluators, or a control condition. Those in the social evaluation condition had significantly higher post-performance stress, feelings of shame (but not guilt) and significantly lower self-esteem compared to those in the control condition. Additionally, they also exhibited higher rates of increase in both shame and salivary cortisol levels between the pre- and post-stress time points. These findings suggest that, whereas previous literature links both shame and guilt to a breach in moral code, shame primarily occurs when one's social self is threatened.

### **Functions**

Some theorists have argued that the capacity to experience shame (and other self-

conscious emotions) evolved as human ancestors became a social species and were required to respond to the challenges that arose with the emergence of a social hierarchy (Fessler, 2007; Tracy & Robbins, 2004). Like other social animals, humans have motivational systems related to dominance and cooperation. Fessler (2007) argues that, since the dominance system specifically enables an individual to navigate within a social hierarchy, the capacity to experience shame likely coevolved with this system.

Comparing emotion displays of shame and pride has provided some evidence in support of this notion. In displaying dominance or its opposite, appeasement, an individual can demonstrate that he or she is higher or lower in status, respectively. The emotional display associated with dominance is pride (puffed out chest and chin raised) whereas the emotional display associated with appeasement is shame (slouched and head down). As Shariff, Tracy, and Markusoff (2012) demonstrated, displays of these emotions can exert a greater influence on the perception of status than some contextual cues. The authors showed participants pictures of a shame-displaying captain of a football team or a pride-displaying water boy. In an implicit association task, participants' ratings of the male target's status based on his emotional display were compared to ratings based on his social role. They found that the emotional display (shame vs. pride) played a much stronger role in perceived status than the contextual cues (captain vs. water boy). When stronger contextual cues were examined (i.e., a businessman vs. a homeless man), the displayed emotion nullified the contextual information. In other words, a homeless man displaying pride was rated as the same status as a businessman displaying shame. These findings support the argument that shame is likely to have originated from the dominance system as a means to show one's status in the social hierarchy.

Fessler (2007) further hypothesized that how humans derive social status has changed as they came to develop more complicated social networks. Once socially arranged in a dominance hierarchy defined by physical prowess, humans are now also organized based on prestige. This newer prestige hierarchy ranks individuals on their socially valued knowledge and skills, which ultimately provides them with access to resources. Fessler argues that emotion systems that are sensitive to a loss of status still respond with shame regardless if it is in response to a shift in the dominance or prestige hierarchy. As mentioned, the violation of social norms signals to others that perhaps one is not competent enough to be of high standing. This negative self-evaluation reflects a perceived decrease in status in either the prestige or dominance hierarchy, which then elicits shame. With this shift in how status is obtained and lost, shame has come to serve an important social regulatory function that keeps individuals from stepping outside cultural norms and expectations.

### **Behavioral Consequences**

As a means of demonstrating one's awareness and acceptance of one's subordinate position, thus avoiding potential conflict, shame may motivate either reparative (Fessler, 2007; de Hooge et al., 2011; Leach & Cidam, 2015) or withdrawal behaviors (Fischer & Manstead, 2008; Kemeny et al., 2004; Stuewig, Tangney, Heigel, Harty, & McCloskey, 2010). In doing so, shame also serves to remedy how one may be perceived by others. Behaving immorally can threaten the perception that one is a good person, which elicits shame. To remedy the experience or the situation, individuals may be motivated to behave prosocially by apologizing, demonstrate that they are taking steps to avoid their error in the future, or remove themselves from the conflict entirely (de



Hooge et al., 2010; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996).

A series of studies by de Hooge, Breugelmans, and Zeelenberg (2008) showed that when shame was imagined, recalled, or experienced in the moment, participants were more likely to act prosocially toward a partner in a give-some dilemma game, in which prosociality was determined by the number of coins given to the partner versus kept for one's self. Additionally, when experiencing shame in real-time, participants were more likely to engage prosocially (by demonstrating a willingness to help or comfort an individual) with someone who they thought had experienced the shameful event than with someone who did not.

Another common finding is that guilt, and not shame, motivates reparative behaviors. Researchers have shown that, when controlling for guilt (as they often co-occur), shame was more likely to be associated with anti-social, or distancing behaviors like withdrawal, aggression, and externalizing blame (Furukawa, Tangney, & Higashibara, 2012). Stuewig, Tangney, Heigel, Harty, and McCloskey (2010) highlighted that both shame and guilt were positively correlated with empathetic concern and perspective taking; however, when examining the partial correlations, guilt but not shame remained associated with both outcomes. Leith and Baumeister (1998) demonstrated that, when asked to describe an intense personal conflict from the perspective of the other person, participants who were guilt-prone showed greater perspective change, when controlling for shame-proneness. Conversely, when controlling for guilt-proneness, those who were prone to shame showed no perspective change. Taken together, these findings underscore the importance of separating shame from guilt lest one incorrectly assumes that shame motivates reparative behaviors when they may in fact be due to guilt.

Though the tendency to withdraw and avoid additional scrutiny from others may serve an important appeasement function (Fessler, 1997), it can also result in maladaptive behaviors. For instance, Stuewig, Tangney, Heigel, Harty, and McCloskey (2010) showed that for college students and adolescents, shame-proneness was positively associated with externalizing blame, which further predicted verbal and physical aggression. They hypothesized that the externalization of blame may help individuals regulate the negative experience of shame by directing attention away from the self. Thus, as opposed to the previous perspective regarding the functionality of shame, it seems as though shame may motivate aggressive or avoidant behaviors (Furukawa, Tangney, & Higashibara, 2012; Lester, 1997; Stuewig et al., 2010).

Important to note is that studies linking shame to antisocial or dysfunctional behaviors overwhelmingly focus on chronic shame and shame-proneness (de Hooge et al., 2010; cf. Stuewig et al., 2010). Chronic shame refers to an enduring sense of shame that becomes internalized as a part of one's identity. Shame-proneness on the other hand refers to a propensity to experience state shame in response to a perceived social transgression (Tangney, Youman, & Stuewig, 2009). Both of these types of shame have consistently been associated with avoidant and aggressive behaviors as well as negative psychological health, such as depression and thoughts of suicide (Hastings, Northman, Tangney, 2000; Kim, Thibodeau, & Jorgensen, 2011; Stuewig et al., 2010). As a result, withdrawal behaviors have been considered negative or dysfunctional consequences of shame (de Hooge et al., 2010). Indeed, the inability to escape the experience of shame or a situation that evokes it may promote maladaptive responses to that emotion. However, withdrawal may be just as functional to the individual and the relationship (i.e.,

appeasement) as prosocial behaviors depending on the circumstances surrounding the shameful event. More recent research, which has focused on *state* shame, has overwhelmingly supported the view that shame serves an important social regulatory function. However, whether or not shame leads to reconciliatory or withdrawal behaviors is not so much a matter of the nature of shame as it is the characteristics of the context in which individuals find themselves.

### Chapter 3: The Perceived Reparability of Shame

Researchers studying *state* shame, or shame experienced in the moment, have provided strong evidence to suggest that shame often motivates reconciliatory behaviors (de Hooge et al., 2010; Leach & Cidam, 2015). However, this is highly dependent on context. That is, when individuals cannot repair the shameful experience, or when the opportunity to do so is too risky or impossible, the next best alternative is to withdraw from situations that may elicit further shame.

This current understanding began with the work of de Hooge and her colleagues. For instance, de Hooge et al. (2010) elicited shame by asking participants to either read a vignette (Studies 1, 3, 4), to recall a previous shameful event (Study 2), or to imagine themselves in a shameful scenario (Study 5). They showed that shame (and not guilt) was associated with both the motivation to restore the self and the motivation to protect the self. Shame was also more strongly related to the willingness to perform a subsequent performance task that was designed to test their general abilities. To investigate this further, de Hooge et al. (2011) manipulated perceived task difficulty (an ability task vs. an opinion task). Similar to before, those who recalled an experience in which they felt shame scored higher on restore motivation than protect motivation. Yet, those in the shame condition who were also led to believe that the subsequent task was difficult were less willing to restore than those who were lead to believe that the task was easy. The motivation to protect did not differ as a function of perceived task difficulty and, as a result, when the task was difficult, it outweighed the motivation to restore. These findings suggest that the motivation to restore decreases when the ability to do so seems too difficult. This, in turn, allows the motivation to protect the self to drive behavior. This

also indicates that these motivations, to restore and to protect, may be independent and perhaps competing motivations.

Recent meta-analytical findings by Leach and Cidam (2015) lend further support to the finding that restorative behaviors are tied to the perceived difficulty of repair. These authors examined 90 independent studies that enabled participants to take a constructive approach orientation after experiencing *state* shame and were interested in those characteristics that predicted whether shame would lead to positive or negative intentions and behaviors. Overall, the relationship between shame and a constructive approach orientation, defined as prosociality, cooperation, and self-improvement, was positive, but weak (*Hedges' bias corrected*  $g = 0.337$ ; p. 989). However, when examining seven theoretically driven moderators, reparability was the strongest predictor of constructive approach orientation (*adjusted*  $R^2 = .41$ ). Specifically, among studies that enabled participants to repair their failure, shame was positively associated with constructive approach orientation ( $g = 0.466$ ). But when participants were not able to repair their failure, shame was negatively associated with a constructive approach orientation ( $g = -0.338$ ).

Another important moderator was the type of constructive approach (*adjusted*  $R^2 = .16$ ). The authors identified three types: prosociality (i.e., helping, apologizing), cooperation (e.g., spending time with or working with another party), and self-improvement (e.g., engaging in task that would improve their knowledge of performance). Findings showed significant positive relationships between shame and constructive approach orientation when the type of approach was prosociality ( $g = 0.372$ ) and self-improvement ( $g = 0.487$ ); there was no relationship when the type of approach

was cooperation ( $g = -0.118$ ).<sup>1</sup>

### **Shame and the Self-Regulatory System**

Based on Self-Regulation Theory (SRT), Sheikh and Janoff-Bulman (2010a and 2010b) argued that the relationships between shame and reparative or withdrawal behaviors is governed by the two antagonistic regulatory systems: the behavioral activation system (BAS) and the behavioral inhibition system (BIS; see also Gray, 1981). The BAS is designed to promote behavioral tendencies that may expose the individual to positive stimuli, or desired end states. When the BAS is activated people become more sensitive to cues related to reward and non-punishment. The BIS is designed to inhibit behavioral tendencies that may expose the individual to aversive stimuli, or anti-goals. When the BIS is activated, people become more sensitive to cues related to punishment and non-reward (Carver & White, 1994; Gray, 1981). Although individuals may be more motivated by things that activate one system over the other (i.e., avoid anti-goals or approach desired goals), certain situations may also be more likely to activate one system than the other (e.g., see Schödl, Raz, & Kluger, 2018).

Sheikh and Janoff-Bulman (2010a) hypothesized that the BAS and BIS map onto morality regulation. Specifically, they propose that behaviors associated with approaching positive and desirable moral end-states are tied to the *prescriptive morality system*. Conversely, behaviors associated with avoiding negative and undesirable moral end-states are tied to the *proscriptive morality system*. In short, the prescriptive system is

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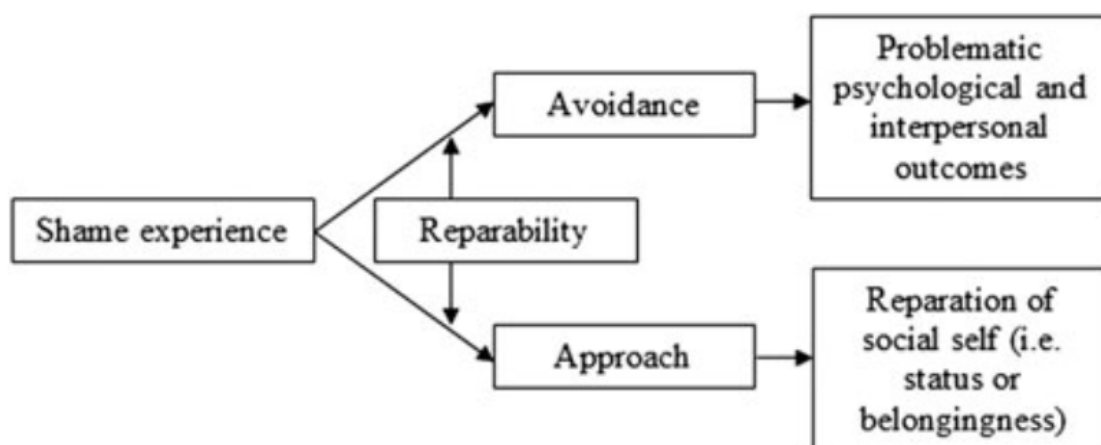
<sup>1</sup> The other significant moderators included the type of approach specificity (e.g. general support of cause vs. specific intention to donate; *adjusted R*<sup>2</sup> = .15), the causal agent of shame (i.e., failure of self, close other, or in-group; *adjusted R*<sup>2</sup> = .06), and the domain of shame (i.e., moral failure, performance failure, or social failure; *adjusted R*<sup>2</sup> = .05).

associated with behaviors that represent what one *should* do (e.g., help the homeless) and the proscriptive system is associated with behaviors that represent what one *should not* do (e.g., call someone names). Since the experience and anticipation of shame keeps individuals in line with social norms, therefore defining what individuals should not do, they argue that shame corresponds to the proscriptive morality system. Since the proscriptive morality system is a component of the BIS, shame is proposed to primarily motivate inhibitory behaviors such as avoidance. Thus, Sheikh and Janoff-Bulman (2010a) surmised that shame is associated with the behavioral inhibition system (BIS). However, when avoidance behaviors are not sufficient, the behavioral activation system (BAS) becomes activated to further avoid the perceived negative consequence.

In a series of studies Sheikh and Janoff-Bulman (2010b) generated evidence for their hypotheses. They showed that self-report measures of dispositional self-regulatory BAS orientation and guilt-proneness were positively related to one another whereas dispositional self-regulatory BIS orientation was positively related to shame-proneness. The authors further demonstrated that priming proscriptive morality by asking participants what they *should not do* to achieve a moral goal predicted greater state-shame compared to priming prescriptive morality (by asking participants what they *should do* to achieve a moral goal). Further, participants who read that a target character failed to abide by a proscriptive morality dilemma were more likely to indicate that he or she felt more shame than guilt. Those who read that the character failed to abide by a prescriptive morality dilemma indicated that he or she felt more guilt than shame. Though these systems seem to address antecedents to shame, others have speculated their role in the consequences to shame.

Although these findings linking shame to the BIS are compelling, they do not address the role that context, or perceptions of reparability, play in altering individuals' behavior. Cibich, Woodyatt, and Wenzel (2016) proposed a model that integrates both lines of research (see Figure 1). They argued that, when individuals have the opportunity to repair the shameful situation by repairing the cause, the consequences, or their social standing, shame will lead to approach tendencies and reparative behaviors. However, when individuals cannot engage in reparative behaviors, shame will lead to avoidance tendencies that may include problematic outcomes. Therefore, they do not assume that shame is solely tied to one regulatory system. Rather, they highlight that contextual cues play a primary role in determining which system becomes activated in response to shame.

Figure 1. Cibich et al., (2016) shame reparability model (Figure 1, p. 477).



Cibich et al. (2016) also outlined three potential situational factors that may influence the likelihood that shame is perceived as reparable. The first was the perception of stigma. The more likely the shameful experience will lead others to perceive them as unworthy or unacceptable, the less likely an individual will perceive the situation as



reparable. The second is the perception that the self is malleable. Since individuals who perceive the self as malleable are more likely to take responsibility for wrongdoings, and are more compassionate toward themselves, Cibich et al. (2016) argue that they will also be more willing to accept and admit failure. This, in turn, should be related to a greater willingness to repair a wrongdoing. The last is the perception of conflicting values. Repairing a situation that hurts other relationships or self-views because they do not align with group or personal values may make repair options less appealing.

In summary, evidence suggests that shame motivates both reparative and withdrawal behaviors. The key determinant in which type of behavior will follow a shameful experience is whether or not it is perceived to be reparable. But these findings have yet to address cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame. Given that shame is tied to social norms and morality, one might expect that the same shame-eliciting event may lead to different interpretations of reparability in different cultural groups. One way to determine this is to explore cultural differences in values and normative behaviors. Doing so may shed light on whether a similar situation may be perceived as more or less reparable across cultural contexts.

## Chapter 4: Culture

Culture refers to a dynamic system of beliefs, practices, and artifacts that serve to create and maintain a shared sense of reality (Caporael, 2007; Heine, 2008). Having a shared sense of reality enables individuals to coordinate their thoughts and patterns of behavior to better predict how another is likely to behave in a social interaction. These systems allow individuals who are likely come into contact with one another to communicate efficiently and navigate through their social environment. For example, cultural beliefs about emotion influence how they are expressed and communicated. In Western contexts, emotions are viewed as tools for self-expression. In these cultures, self-expression is highly valued and therefore, masking one's feelings is seen as denying or hiding one's true self. In Eastern contexts, where self-expression is seen as disruptive of social harmony, which is more highly regarded, emotions may be viewed as imposing one's own needs onto others (Yuki, Maddux, & Masuda, 2007). As such, members of Western cultures express their emotions more readily than members of Eastern cultures (Mai, Ge, Tao, Tang, Liu, & Luo, 2011; Yuki et al., 2007).

When two individuals from the same culture interact, they are more likely to share similar views of emotion and therefore enter a conversation with a shared meaning of emotion that facilitates communication. In Western societies, individuals will understand that their partner's emotional display demonstrates how they feel in the moment. During cross-cultural interactions, however, members of Western societies may be confused when the conversation does not meet their partner's emotional expression, which may result in miscommunication. Thus, one means of identifying a culture's shared sense of reality is by examining such culturally learned patterns of behavior.

Cultures differ systematically on a number of dimensions, including individualism, power distance, masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1980). One of the most widely studied cultural dimensions is individualism (see also Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). This dimension reflects early classifications of cultures as situated along a continuum ranging from individualistic to collectivistic.

On one end, individualistic cultures are characterized by a set of beliefs that place the individual at the center of experience. Cultures high on the individualism dimension (e.g., the United States), endorse personal advancement over group achievement, and value individual autonomy, uniqueness, and personal choice. Cultures low on this dimension, or collectivistic cultures (e.g., China), endorse the pursuit of group goals over personal ones. The values promoted in collectivistic cultures capture ideas associated with group cohesion, conformity, and inclusiveness (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta, 2004; Hofstede, 1980). Important to note is that, although the bipolar conceptualization provides a good definitional structure of some of the overarching differences across cultures, individualism-collectivism can vary along a several dimensions, including a vertical (hierarchical) - horizontal (egalitarian) dimension (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

### **Culture and Self**

One mechanism by which cultural values affect our psychological experience is through the development of the self-concept. Specifically, cultural values and norms outline ways in which an individual can become a valued member in society. Through socialization processes, individuals learn their cultural belief systems as they engage in behaviors that are either praised or criticized by others. Striving to be seen positively in

the eyes of others, norms and values become internalized into the self-concept (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). This results in systematic differences in the content of self-representations and patterns of behavior across cultural contexts.

In individualistic societies (Hofstede, 1980), members are more likely to adopt an independent self-construal. This sense of self is defined based on the individual's unique attributes (i.e., those characteristics that make them distinct from others). As a result, one's behaviors, thoughts, and status are contingent upon the needs and desires of the self. Conversely, members of collectivistic societies are more likely to adopt an interdependent self-construal, which is defined based on the individual's close relationships. Thus, one's behaviors, thoughts, and status are contingent upon the needs and desires of important others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

The self-concept has a tremendous influence on how individuals perceive and act upon their world. Emotionality, for instance, is indirectly influenced by culture via the self-construal. Kitayama, Mesquita, and Karasawa (2006) argued that culture renders certain emotions more or less accessible depending on how they are valued. The authors speculated that cultural differences in the valuation of certain emotions can be traced to whether the emotion affirms the culturally endorsed self-construal. Emotions that affirm the independent self are those that set the individual apart from others whereas emotions that affirm the interdependent self are those that bring people together. They demonstrated that individuals from collectivistic societies (i.e., Japan) were more likely to experience socially engaging emotions, such as sympathy and shame, whereas individuals from individualistic societies (i.e., United States) were more likely to experience socially disengaging emotions, such as pride and anger. They also reported

that Americans felt happier when they experienced positive disengaging emotions rather than positive engaging emotions, and the reverse was true for Japanese.

Notably, although culture plays an important role in shaping an individual's self-construal, individual experience is variable and thus, so is the development of self.

Within a given cultural context, individuals may be more or less independent or interdependent depending on their life experiences, gender, religion, or socioeconomic background (e.g. Cohen, 2009). Systematic cultural differences in selfhood emerge because in the aggregate, individual beliefs systems and patterns of behavior reflect those of the broader cultural milieu. Thus, members of individualistic societies are more likely to adopt values associated with individualism and are therefore more likely to define themselves independently from others. Conversely, members of collectivistic societies are more likely to adopt values associated with collectivism, and are therefore more likely to define the self as an interdependent entity (Triandis, 1995). Individual variation highlights that culture is not a deterministic force that molds all of its members equally. Within an individualistic society or a collectivistic society, individuals may differ in their definitions of self (Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Triandis, 1995).

### **New Insights into the Self-Construal**

There are multiple ways in which an individual can establish him or herself as an independent or interdependent entity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 2010). A recent study by Vignoles et al. (2016) compared multiple self-construal scales across a total of 3,551 participants from 16 nations answered 62 self-construal items. Their findings show that both independence and interdependence are multifaceted. Specifically, their results yielded a seven-dimension model of the self-construal. Given that they designed their

study to detect acquiescent responding (see Kimmelmeier & Saucier, 2014), the seven dimensions were bipolar and illustrate opposing ways of being independent or interdependent. These dimensions were: looking after one's self (self-reliance vs. dependence on others), experiencing the self (self-containment vs. connection to others), defining the self (differences vs. similarity), dealing with conflicting interests (self-interest vs. commitment to others), moving between contexts (consistency vs. variability), and decision-making (self-direction vs. receptiveness to influence). Although these seven dimensions were supported at both the individual and cultural levels of analyses, they did not cluster together into a higher-order dimension of independence vs. interdependence. This suggests that the common view of independence and interdependence as two coherent dimensions may be overly simplistic.

Vignoles et al. (2016) then tested how the seven dimensions varied across six world regions to determine whether members of individualistic cultures scored towards independence and whether members of collectivistic cultures scored toward interdependence. They found that Western samples scored high on difference, self-expression, and self-direction but also on commitment to others. Non-western samples were quite variable. Latin American samples scored high on self-interest and consistency. Eastern Asian samples scored high on similarity, harmony, and variability. Middle Eastern samples scored high on self-reliance, connectedness, and harmony. Eastern European samples scored high on commitment and self-reliance. Finally, Sub-Saharan African samples scored high on self-interest and self-containment.

In sum, these authors showed that cultural models of selfhood are neither distinctively independent nor interdependent. An independent self can be characterized as

defining one's self as separate from others, showcasing one's uniqueness, or being driven by one's personal goals rather than collective ones. Similarly, an interdependent self can be characterized as defining one's self as related to others, being agreeable, or being driven by collective goals rather than personal ones. These authors note that variations in cultural and religious values, as well as economic development can result in different models of selfhood, which may lead individuals to weigh the importance of the various dimensions of independence or interdependence differently. Given that the self is defined, in part, by broader cultural values, and that shame is tied to how well an individual adheres to cultural values, one may expect that the consequences of shame may vary across cultures as well.

## Chapter 5: Culture and Shame

Cross-cultural research has shown that cultures differ in the behavioral consequences of shame. Specifically, shame tends to be associated with prosocial behaviors in collectivistic cultures and with antisocial behaviors in individualistic cultures (Sheikh, 2014; Wong & Tsai, 2007). Bagozzi, Verbeke, and Gavino Jr. (2003), for instance, showed that when shamed, Filipino salespeople reported being more courteous and willing to engage in relationship building with customers. Dutch sales people on the other hand, were more likely to engage in protective actions, like avoiding small talk, and were less likely to report tailoring their approach to the situation. Though there are some exceptions to this pattern that will be discussed later, cultural psychologists have grappled with identifying the reasons why these differences exist.

Sheikh (2014) proposed that cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame stem from differences in the valuation of shame. Since individuals from collectivistic cultures place a greater value on the experience of shame, as its primary function is to regulate social behavior. As a result, members from collectivistic cultures view it as a less debilitating experience than individuals from individualistic cultures and are therefore more likely to engage in restorative behaviors (see also Wong & Tsai, 2007). Further, since the valuation of autonomy and individual expression has resulted in a cultural disregard of shame in individualistic societies (see Cohen, 2003 for a review), the resistance to accept its experience renders individuals unable to handle feelings of shame, which may have led to a negative conception of shame. This may ultimately contribute to findings linking shame to withdrawal or aggressive behaviors in individualistic cultural contexts.



Sheikh (2014) further suggested that the differential valuation of shame may influence whether it was associated with the BIS or BAS system. She posited that, since members of cultures that value shame are more likely to endorse the interdependent self, an individual's shameful experience is also likely to be perceived as shaming his or her significant others (i.e., *shamed other*). According to Sheikh, this likely activates the BAS system so that the individual may alleviate the shamed other and remedy the relationship. On the other hand, members of cultures that devalue shame are more likely to experience a sense of shame that reflects a *disapproving other* (Sheikh, 2014). That is, the disapproving other represents a type of shame that is experienced when the self is the sole proprietor of negative evaluations. This is likely to activate the BIS system so that the individual may remove him or herself, or redirect attention away from, any further negative evaluation. Therefore, cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame emerge because members of collectivistic cultures experience shame differently than members of individualistic cultures and that these different types of shame activate different self-regulatory systems.

More recent analyses of shame clearly indicate that shame can lead to prosocial and reparative behaviors in individualistic cultures (de Hooge et al., 2010; Leach & Cidam, 2015; see also Miller & Tangney, 1994). And other studies have shown that shame can lead to antisocial or withdrawal behaviors in collectivistic cultures. For instance, Kam and Bond (2008) revealed that for Chinese participants, shame following the loss of face led to avoidance behaviors and relationship deterioration.

According to Sheikh's (2014) cultural model of shame, mixed findings emerge because a cultural analysis must pay close attention to the response of interaction partners

of the individuals experiencing shame. In other words, though members of collectivistic cultures are more likely to experience shame in the form of a *shamed other*, they are also capable of experiencing shame in the form of a *disapproving other* (and vice versa for members of individualistic cultures). The extent to which different cultures experience different types of shame to greater or lesser extents remains to be tested.

When attempting to empirically test Sheikh's cultural model of shame, several limitations become apparent. The first, is that the *shamed other* and the *disapproving other* are reflective of one common underlying experience of shame. Yet, they are also described as two different types of shame. This begs the question as to whether their degree of overlap is sufficient to claim that they are both reflective of the same emotional experience. Before testing whether or not cultures experience shame differently it is important to consider whether or not both experiences truly reflect shame. When considering that a shared sense of shame, experienced as the *shamed other*, hurts another, one may argue that it likely elicits guilt as well as shame (Fessler, 2007; Giner-Sorolla, & Espinosa, 2011). Therefore, it is unclear whether prosocial tendencies uniquely reflect the shame experience or a combination of the co-occurrence of both shame and guilt; especially given that prosocial tendencies have been so tightly tied to guilt in the literature relative to shame (Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007). If the shamed other also captures feelings of guilt, then one cannot make the conclusion that the shamed other over and above guilt, produces prosocial behaviors.

The second assumption that Sheikh makes is that the *shamed other* is solely connected to the prosocial behaviors and the *disapproving other* is solely connected to antisocial behaviors. Yet, as Leach and Cidam (2015) showed, reparative behaviors can

also emerge when the situation offers the chance to improve the self. In other words, reparative behaviors do not always have to involve another person and may occur when only the self has been shamed. Additionally, it is unclear what is expected under circumstances that an individual experiencing the *shamed other* cannot help the affected other. Again, based on Leach and Cidam's (2015) findings, one might expect that when the shameful experience cannot be repaired, the individual may engage in withdrawal behaviors.

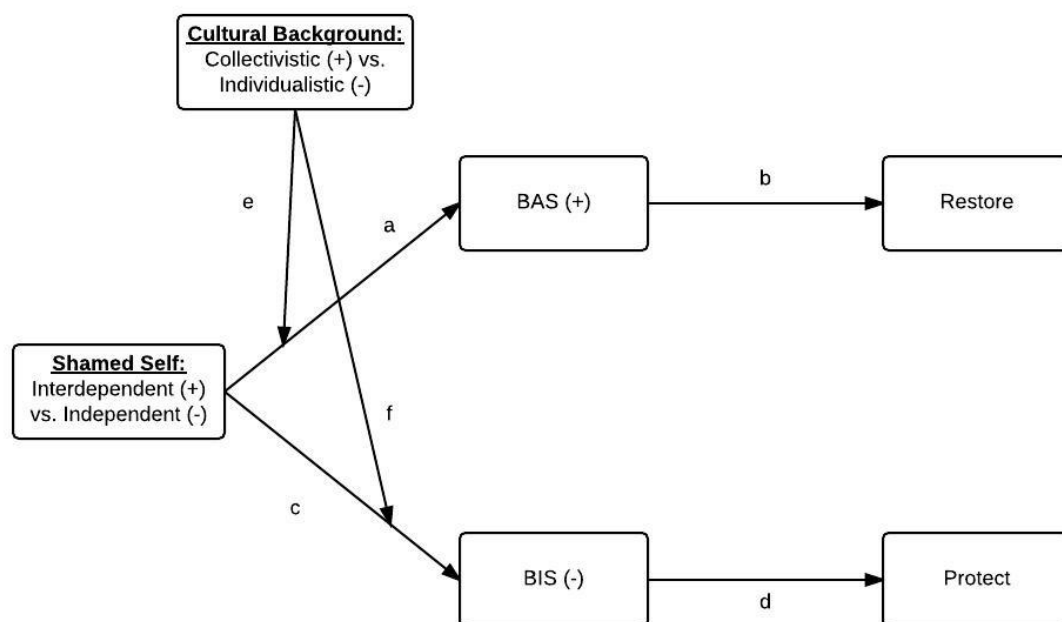
Arguably the more recent findings presented by Leach and Cidam (2015) address some of the shortcomings of Sheikh's cultural model. Rather than cultures experiencing two different types of shame that yield two different sets of behaviors, it seems more probable that cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame actually reflect differences in perceptions of reparability. As such, it may be that collectivistic cultures give rise to environments that are more likely to provide ready avenues for repair. In fact, research has shown that teachers in Taiwan use shaming as punishment for a students' wrongdoing in their classroom. Further, parents in Taiwan were more likely than parents in Chicago to endorse the use of such practices at school (Fung, 1999). However, in these collectivistic contexts, shaming as a disciplinary tool was also accompanied by highlighting avenues for future improvement. In individualistic societies, however, shame has become less salient over time and has increasingly become replaced with more individualistic emotions such as guilt (Cohen, 2003). Given that shame serves an important social regulatory function in collectivistic societies but is viewed as an infringement on one's ability to define the self, it may be that shame is perceived as more reparable in collectivistic societies than in individualistic societies.

But how do differences in perceived reparability account for the aforementioned mixed findings? Arguably, variation likely occurs when researchers fail to take into account that the same situational cues may be perceived as more or less reparable depending on an individual's cultural background. Though shame may be perceived as more repairable for members of collectivistic societies overall, some shame-eliciting events may in fact be perceived as more repairable for members of individualistic backgrounds than members of collectivistic backgrounds. Identifying the aspects of a situation that lead to reparative or withdrawal behaviors across contexts is a crucial step in uncovering the nature of shame and to better predict how individuals from different cultural contexts will respond to shame.

## Chapter 6: Culture and the Perceived Reparability of Shame

This dissertation proposes and tests a model that incorporates the role of culture in the perceived reparability of shame (see Figure 2). In doing so, it aims to address the cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame as well as the mixed patterns that have emerged. The model assumes that one means of examining the juxtaposition between culture and context with regard to the perceived reparability of shame is to incorporate the role of the self-construal.

*Figure 2. The proposed model: Incorporating the role of culture in the perceived reparability of shame.*



Since differences in the self-construal reflect how culture is involved in shaping patterns of behavior, it can be expected that engaging in behaviors that reinforce one's culturally-congruent self-construal come more naturally, and therefore are perceived as easier to carry out than behaviors that reinforce a culturally incongruent self-construal.

Therefore, the extent to which a shameful event is perceived as repairable is likely influenced by the types of behaviors the individual is required to engage in. For instance, members of cultures that endorse behaviors associated with independence (i.e., individualistic cultures) should perceive behaviors that reinforce their independent selves as easier to accomplish than behaviors that reinforce an interdependent self. Since repairing a shamed independent self is more likely to be perceived as repairable for members of individualistic societies, individuals should be more likely to engage in reparative behaviors. Thus, incorporating the role of the self-construal may provide one means for researchers to better predict when a shame-eliciting event will be perceived as repairable or not across cultural contexts.

Similar to Cibich et al. (2016), the present model predicts that the relationship between shame and reparative behaviors occurs via BAS activation (*paths a and b*) and the relationship between shame and withdrawal behaviors occurs via BIS activation (*paths c and d*). However, going beyond Cibich et al., the present model proposes that culture plays a large role as to whether a given event is perceived as repairable or not.

### **Shame and Restorative Behaviors**

The present model assumes that behaviors which reinforce a culturally-congruent self will be perceived as readily available and easier to accomplish than behaviors that reinforce a culturally incongruent sense of self. Consequently, the model predicts that when a culturally-congruent self is shamed, individuals will be more likely to engage in reparative behaviors than when a culturally incongruent self is shamed (*path e*). For instance, members of individualistic societies are likely to be more practiced in restoring an independent self; therefore, for members of individualistic societies, a shamed

independent self should motivate individuals to engage in behaviors that restore themselves as an independent entity. Likewise, since members of collectivistic societies should be more likely to be practiced at restoring an interdependent self, options to restore a shamed interdependent self should be perceived as being more available and should result in the motivation to engage in restorative behaviors.

A noteworthy alternative to these predictions is that asserting one's self as an independent entity may look like withdrawal behavior. For instance, a shamed independent self may shy away from cooperation, as it may further demonstrate a lack of independence. If cooperation was the only option available, the individual may seek to withdraw to avoid further shame. According to Leach and Cidam (2015), self-improvement is one type of reparative tendency that involves improving knowledge and future performance after a failure, and by doing so, enhances independence. Arguably, repairing a shamed independent self is likely to take the form of self-improvement rather than cooperation. Thus, self-improvement is likely to be associated with restorative motives when the independent self is shamed, whereas cooperation is likely to be associated with restorative motives when the interdependent self is shamed.

### **Shame and Protective Behaviors**

To restore a shamed self that is incongruent with one's cultural background, individuals must engage in patterns of behavior that they may be less familiar with. In these situations, avenues to restore a shamed self should be perceived as more difficult and should result in the motivation to restore rather than protect (*path f*). Since individuals from individualistic societies typically engage in behavior patterns that validate their independence, engaging in behaviors that restore a shamed interdependent

self may be less likely to be perceived as an available option. As such, one would expect that, when the interdependent self is shamed, members of individualistic societies should be more likely to engage in withdrawal behaviors. Similarly, because individuals from collectivistic societies are more practiced in validating their interdependence, they may be less practiced at affirming their individuality. When the independent self is shamed, members of collectivistic societies may be less likely to perceive the self as repairable, which should also result in withdrawal behaviors. By highlighting the congruency between culture and context, via the self-construal, the model provides testable hypotheses that address the commonly found cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame as well as the mixed findings.



## **Chapter 7: Hypotheses and Overview of Studies**

This dissertation outlines the results of four studies that were designed to test the proposed model to uncover the relationship between culture and the perceived reparability of shame. Specifically, the four studies reported here test the assumption that the congruency between one's cultural background and the shamed self leads to restorative behaviors; especially when the behaviors align with the shamed self. Although the model also makes predictions as to when shame will lead to withdrawal, as a first step in this line of research, these studies will test predictions regarding restorative behaviors.

### **Operationalization of Culture and Selves**

Culture is examined one of two ways: as between ethnic groups and as individual endorsement of the self-construal. In cultural psychological research, ethnicity often serves as a proxy for country of origin since family traditions and socialization processes are likely to reflect their cultural heritage (Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2001; Gaines et al., 1997; Komarraju & Cokley, 2008; Tyler et al., 2008). For instance, Spencer-Rodgers, Peng, Wang, and Hou (2004) illustrated this dynamic pertaining to the comparison of Americans of Asian or European origin (see Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, & Ybarra [2000] for similar findings concerning other groups). These authors examined the valence of individuals' open-ended self-descriptions to determine whether there were cultural differences in the ratio of positive-to-negative statements. They generally found that participants recruited from mainland China were more likely to use negative statements and less likely to use positive states compared to European American participants, with Asian American participants falling in between. In one of Spencer-Rodgers et al.'s studies, Asian Americans were as likely as Chinese participants to use positive and

negative statements with European Americans' use of those statements being significantly different from both groups. However, the extent to which this pattern emerged varied slightly across their four studies. In short, this research highlights that although the difference between Asian American participants and European American participants is much smaller than the difference between Chinese and European American participants, research relying on Asian Americans can still capture aspects of their broader cultural background. Important to note however, is that continued exposure to Western culture may render this assumption less accurate, as student groups have become more similar with regards to individualism and collectivism over time (cf. Vargas & Kimmelmeier, 2012; Kaplan & Kimmelmeier, 2017).

The four studies presented in this dissertation recruited Caucasian Americans, who are used to represent individualism, and Asian and Latino Americans, who are used to represent collectivism (cf. Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Kim & Cohen, 2010). There is evidence to suggest that the use of these ethnicities as proxies for these cultural dimensions is warranted. Coon and Kimmelmeier (2001) showed that Asian Americans but not Latino Americans scored higher on collectivism than European Americans (see also Oyserman et al., 2002). Conversely, European Americans scored higher on individualism than both groups (Coon & Kimmelmeier, 2001) or higher than Asian Americans (Oyserman et al., 2002).

Given that the endorsement of cultural values, and relatedly, the self-construal, can be quite variable within the same cultural context (as noted previously), culture has also been examined via individual endorsement. This dissertation focused on participant endorsement of the self-direction component of independence-interdependence (Vignoles

et al., 2016). The selection of this dimension was based on two considerations. First, the cross-national differences demonstrated by Vignoles et al. (2016) aligned with the aforementioned differences between ethnicities demonstrated in previous cultural psychological literature. Namely, individuals from Western contexts scored higher on the self-direction (vs. receptive to influence) than individuals from Latin America and Eastern Asia. This suggested that predictions regarding self-direction would align with previous literature regarding cultural differences in independence and interdependence. Second, recruitment of members of these groups was more feasible for the in-person study (Study 1) since the three largest student ethnic groups at the University of Nevada, Reno (2017) are Caucasian (non-Hispanic; 57.5%), Hispanic (19.2%), and Asian (7.6%; University of Nevada, Reno, 2017).

Operationalizing the shamed self and avenues to repair the self were based on this self-direction dimension. The *shamed independent self* was operationalized by asking participants to reflect on a time they experienced shame in response to their failure to make their own decision. The *shamed interdependent self* was operationalized by asking participants to reflect on a time they experienced shame in response to their failure to regard the needs and opinions of important others when making an important decision. They were then provided the opportunity to repair (either the shamed independent or interdependent self) the self, or to not repair the self. Since it was imperative that the neutral option matches the repair option in both perceived effort and reward, participants were asked if they were interested in completing an additional study that neither repaired the self or was not related to the shamed self.

## Testing the Model

Studies 1 and 2 test the hypotheses (below) directly. Both used a 2 (Culture: individualistic vs. collectivistic) by 2 (Shamed Self: independent vs. interdependent) by 2 (Repair: independent vs. interdependent) between-subjects design, in which participants were randomly assigned to either the shamed independent-self condition, or the shamed interdependent-self condition. At the end of the procedure they were offered two choices. One choice reflected an opportunity to repair the self. The other option reflected an activity where the shamed self is not involved in any discernible way. Therefore, in the repaired independent-self condition, participants were provided the opportunity to engage in an activity that repaired an independent self, or to an activity that did not. In the repaired interdependent-self condition, participants were provided the opportunity to engage in an activity that repaired an interdependent self, or the neutral task. Though Study 1 took place in a laboratory setting to examine the effects of state shame, or shame experienced in the moment, and Study 2 took place online. As such, Study 2 examined whether the patterns of Study 1 could be generalized when participants are asked to recall a personally shameful situation in which either their independent or interdependent self was shamed.

**Hypothesis 1.** *Individuals will select the repair option when it allows them to repair the aspect of self that is shamed.* It is expected that, across cultural contexts, individuals should be motivated to repair the aspect of self that is shamed. Thus, when the interdependent self is shamed, individuals should be more likely to select the repair option when it allows them to repair the interdependent self compared to the independent self (Hypothesis 1a). Likewise, when the independent self is shamed, individuals should

be motivated to select the repair option when it allows them to repair the independent self rather than the interdependent self (Hypothesis 1b).

**Hypothesis 2.** *Individuals will select the repair option when it provides them a means to repair their culturally congruent self-construal.* Regardless of which aspect of self is shamed, individuals should be more motivated to repair the culturally congruent self than the culturally incongruent self. That is, regardless of whether the independent or interdependent self is shamed, members from individualistic societies should be more motivated to repair the independent self than the interdependent self (Hypothesis 2a). Similarly, members from collectivistic societies should be more motivated to repair the interdependent self than the independent self when they experience shame (Hypothesis 2b).

Whereas Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 are distinct and might be confirmed or disconfirmed independently from one another, the second pair of hypotheses is predicated on the joint operation of the previous hypotheses. In this sense, Hypotheses 3 and 4 highlight the logical consequence of Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2.

**Hypothesis 3.** *Individuals will be particularly likely to select the repair option when it allows them to repair a shamed self that is congruent with their cultural background.* If individuals are expected to be more likely to engage in reparative behaviors when they can repair the shamed self (based on Hypothesis 1) and when they can repair their culturally congruent self-concept (based on Hypothesis 2), then one can expect individuals to be especially motivated to engage in reparative behaviors when doing so repairs a shamed aspect of self that is congruent with their cultural background.

In individualistic societies, a shamed independent self should motivate the individual to engage in repairing the self much more than a shamed interdependent self. Therefore, when the independent self is shamed and avenues to repair it are made available, members of individualistic societies should be more likely to engage in reparative behaviors than when the interdependent self is shamed (Hypothesis 3a). Likewise, in collectivistic societies, individuals should be motivated to repair a shamed interdependent self since it should be perceived as more readily repairable than a shamed independent self. When the interdependent self is shamed and avenues are made available to repair it, members of collectivistic societies should be more likely to engage in reparative behaviors than when the independent self is shamed (Hypothesis 3b).

**Hypothesis 4.** *Individuals will be particularly likely to select the non-reparative option when there are no opportunities to repair a shamed self that is congruent with their cultural background.* Above, Hypothesis 2 predicts that individuals will be more likely to engage in behaviors that repair their culturally congruent self-concept because such behaviors will be perceived as more likely to be successful in repairing the shamed self. Conversely, individuals should also be less likely to engage in behaviors that repair the culturally incongruent self-concept because such behaviors should be perceived as more difficult and therefore less likely to successfully repair the shamed self.

When the independent self is shamed but there are no avenues available to repair the independent self, members of individualistic societies should be less likely to engage in reparative behaviors than when there are opportunities to repair the independent self (Hypothesis 4a). Likewise, when the interdependent self is shamed but there are no avenues to repair the interdependent self, members of collectivistic societies should be

less likely to engage in reparative behaviors than when there are opportunities available to repair the interdependent self (Hypothesis 4b). Thus, when the shamed self is congruent with their cultural background, but the avenues to restore it do not address that same self-concept, individuals will be less likely to repair.

**Hypothesis 5.** *The association between shame and reparative behaviors will be mediated by activation of the BAS.* When the threatened self is congruent with the cultural context, individuals may perceive the shamed self as repairable, which should lead to reparative behaviors (de Hooge et al., 2010, 2011). It is expected that a threatened independent self for members of individualistic societies (Hypothesis 5a), and a threatened interdependent self for members of collectivistic societies (Hypothesis 5b), will activate the BAS system and result in reparative behaviors.

**Hypothesis 6.** *The association between shame and non-reparative behaviors will be mediated by activation of the BIS.* When the shamed self is incongruent with the culturally endorsed self, individuals may perceive reparation of the self as more difficult. According to de Hooge et al. (2010, 2011), this should lead to withdrawal behaviors. However, because the present studies do not provide participants with an option to withdraw, the link between the motivation to avoid approach behaviors (i.e., non-approach) and the BIS will be examined. Thus, it is expected that a threatened independent self for members of collectivistic societies and a threatened interdependent self for members of individualistic societies should activate the BIS system and result in non-reparative behaviors (Hypotheses 6a and 6b).

### **Exploring Alternative Explanations**

Study 3 and 4 attempted to uncover the relationship between shame and behavior

from a different lens. Since Study 1 and 2 do not require participants to choose between both types of repair, results will not show whether, if given the chance, individuals would actually prefer to repair the sense of self with which they identify most strongly. This limitation was addressed in Study 3 by providing participants both repair options, but not non-repair option.

Since none of the first three studies allowed for the examination of what would come most naturally to shamed individuals, Study 4 provided participants all three options. Therefore, participants in Study 4 had the option to not repair the self, to repair the independent self, and to repair the interdependent self.



## Chapter 8: Analysis Plan

Since all four studies rely on similar sequences of analyses, they are outlined here for brevity. All analyses were run using SPSS Version 25 (IBM Corp, 2017). Across all analyses, conditions and outcomes related to the independent self were coded as 0 and conditions related to the interdependent self were coded as 1.

### **Data Screening.**

Prior to testing the hypotheses, all continuous variables were examined for normality. If skewness indices were above  $|1.00|$  a transformation was applied to reduce the value to less than this cutoff. In the following analyses, multivariate outliers were removed if their Cook's Distance ( $D$ ) cutoff scores exceeded the critical value (Cook's  $D_{Cutoff} = 4 \div [n - k - 1]$  where  $n$  refers to the number of respondents in the analysis and  $k$  refers to the number of parameters; Cook, 1977; Hadi & Simonoff, 1993). If more than 5% of the data were identified as outliers, a more stringent cutoff value was applied so that less than that amount was removed from the analysis.

### **Manipulation Check.**

To determine if the shamed-self manipulation did indeed elicit shame as an independent or an interdependent entity, multinomial cumulative logit generalized linear models (GzLM) were run on each manipulation check item, separately, with the shamed self condition as the independent variable. The decision to use multinomial analyses was based on the fact that, across the four studies, the two manipulation check items were analyzed separately and the cumulative logit link function takes the ordinal measurement level of the Likert scale response format into account.

### **Testing Assumptions about Asian and Latino Cultural Backgrounds.**

Since this dissertation examines the influence of culture via ethnic background as well as the self-construal, participants from Asian, Latino, and Caucasian descent were asked to participate in this study. This decision was based on findings by Vignoles et al. (2016), who showed that members from Asian and Latino societies scored lower on the self-direction dimension than members from Western societies. As a preliminary step, participants' responses to the self-direction subscales were compared using a general linear model (GLM) to gauge whether these patterns held across the four studies.

### **Demographic Moderators.**

Three sets of analyses were used to determine whether any demographic characteristics should be included as covariates in subsequent analyses. The first two were GLMs examined whether participant demographic variables predicted both state shame and self-direction over and above participant culture (measured via group differences). The third was a binomial GzLM (or multinomial logistic regression in Stata for Study 4) which examined whether participant demographic variables predicted the outcome over and above participant culture.

### **Cultural Differences in the Experience of Shame**

Before testing the hypotheses, it was important to determine whether participants from different cultures were experiencing more or less shame depending on which shamed self condition they were in. To test this, a GLM model was run whether participant culture, the shamed self condition, and their interaction predicted state shame.

### **Testing the Hypotheses**

Two different sets of analyses were run to examine Hypotheses 1 through 4, and

Hypotheses 5 and 6. The first set examined the experimental effects on the outcome variable. The second set examined whether the effects occurred via BAS and BIS activation. Within each set, models were first run using participants' ethnic background as an indication of their culture. Then, analyses were rerun examining participant endorsement of self-direction as an indication of their culture.

**Hypotheses 1 through 4.** To test Hypotheses 1 through 4, binomial GzLMs (Studies 1 through 3) and multinomial logistic regressions (Study 4) were utilized, specifying participants' responses to the purported additional study as the outcome. The three-way interaction term was specified, in addition to all lower-order interactions and main effects, while controlling for state guilt and any other identified covariates in the previous set of analyses. Since SPSS does not produce multivariate outliers for multinomial logistic regressions (Study 4), separate binomial regressions were run and multivariate outliers were removed if their *Cook's D* cutoff scores exceed the critical value on two of the three binomial regressions (University of California, Los Angeles: Institute for Digital Research and Evaluation, n.d.).

**Hypotheses 5 and 6.** To test Hypotheses 5 and 6, a path-analytic approach was chosen by running two sets of analyses. The first was a regression model specifying the main effects and two-way interaction term between participant culture and the shamed self condition, including the identified covariates, predicting responses to self-regulatory variables that tap into BAS and BIS activation. The second was a binomial GzLM (or multinomial logistic regression in Study 4) which specified main effects of the shamed self condition, all self-regulatory variables (entered simultaneously), and the covariates.

## Chapter 9: Study 1

The purpose of Study 1 was to test whether participants were more likely to engage in reparative behaviors when those behaviors addressed the shamed self or the culturally-congruent self.

### Method

Participants from three ethnic backgrounds were randomly assigned to a 2 (Shamed Self: independent vs. interdependent) by 2 (Repaired Self: independent vs. interdependent) between-subjects design. To operationalize the shamed self, participants were told that the purpose of the study was to see whether the University of Nevada, Reno was doing a good job instilling important values (related to either independence or interdependence) that employers were looking for. After completing what they were told was an assessment of those values, the experimenter indicated that they scored very low. To operationalize the repaired self, at the end of the study participants were given the option to repair an independent self or to engage in a neutral task, or they were given the option to repair an interdependent self or engage in a neutral task. To protect against order effects, the repair option and neutral option were counter-balanced.

**Participants.** A total of 250 participants completed the study. Twelve participants had to be removed for correctly identifying that the study was aimed to assess their emotional response to the experimenter's feedback before the experimenter debriefed them on the purpose of the study. This resulted in a total sample size of 238, of which 24 were of Asian descent, 79 were of Latino descent, and 135 were of European descent. The average age was 21.25 ( $SD = 5.43$ ), 64.4% were female, 38.7% were freshmen, 13.9% were sophomores, 21.0% were juniors, 19.7% were seniors, and 6.7% were

graduate students or were classified as, “Graduate Special.”

Exploring the critical control variables, which were used as proxy measures to examine exposure to mainstream individualistic values, showed that Caucasian students were far less likely to speak another language than English at home (6.6%) and were more likely to be third (21.5%) or fourth generation students (62.2%). Conversely, Asian and Hispanic students were far more likely to speak another language than English at home (62.5% and 73.4%, respectively) and were more likely to not be born in the U.S. (33.3% and 17.7%, respectively) or be first-generation students (41.7% and 41.8%, respectively).

**Procedure.** Upon entering the lab, participants were asked to read and sign the informed consent sheet. Participants were then told that they would be completing three separate short studies within the hour. The first was purported to be an assessment to see whether or not the University of Nevada, Reno had done a good job instilling the kinds of values and skills that help its students be successful after they graduate. Participants were also informed that the primary investigator was particularly interested in that study since she was planning on sending a report to the university. They were told that the second and third studies were to be completed on the computer. The second study, participants learned, was designed to assess their emotions and their stress levels. Because of time limitation, they then choose one of two options as their third study.

Then the experimenter provided the participants with the “assessment.” This was a 49-item questionnaire that included the 38-item self-construal scale generated by Vignoles et al. (2016) and 11 filler items to promote face validity (e.g. “I find satisfaction in exceeding my previous performance even if I don’t outperform others”). After

completing the items, the experimenter told the participants, “As you probably know, grades tend to be imperfect predictors of success after you graduate.” Those in the *shamed independent-self condition* were told,

“Often, what employers are looking for is, when you get there, can you hit the ground running, you’re not overly reliant on your coworkers, and you’re your own, autonomous thinker, things like that.”

Alternatively, those in the *shamed interdependent-self condition* read,

“Often, what employers are looking for is, when you get there, are you going to get along with your coworkers, can you work in a team environment, things like that.”

Then the experimenter explained that she was going to “tally up” their score. During this time, the experimenter was instructed to look increasingly concerned as she was going through their responses. Subsequently, once she counted up their scores, acting a little surprised, she said, “One second, let me make sure I’m doing this right,” and reached for a binder that ostensibly had instructions for scoring their assessment. After “verifying” that she had in fact calculated correctly, the experimenter explained to all participants,

“So, I’m not sure what kinds of courses you have been enrolled in, but this score is *really* low – which is indicative of not having those skills that employers are looking for. We’re going to go ahead and move on to studies 2 and 3 but in the meantime, I will be entering this into the shared drive so the primary investigator might stop by – she’s really interested in talking to students who fall short of that mark.”

Two key aspects of this component were meant to elicit shame. The first was that the experimenter explained the participants’ results with a slight look of disgust and disappointment. Research has shown that shame is the corresponding emotion to another’s display of disgust toward one’s self (Giner-Sorolla & Espinosa, 2011). Second, the possibility of the primary investigator stopping by was meant to activate a sense that

others likely know of, and are shocked about, their low score.

All participants were then directed toward the latter part of the study in which they responded to a brief manipulation check, the State Shame and Guilt scale (SSGS; Marschall, Sanftner, & Tangney, 1994), and Carver and White's (1994) 7-item BIS and 13-item BAS scales. After completing these tasks, they were randomly assigned to one of two reparative conditions, which were inspired by de Hooge et al. (2010, Study 2). Participants were provided an opportunity to either repair a shamed self or to engage in an activity that did not include the shamed self. The outcome of interest is the likelihood that participants select the reparative option compared to the non-reparative option.

Those in the *repaired independent-self condition* were provided the opportunity to self-improve or to withdraw the self from further shame. Participants were told that,

“The experimenter is testing several new measures. However, with respect to the time limit of the study, we are only asking that you complete one of these measures. The first activity tests an **Individualized Self-Improvement Workshop**. This online program is designed to help students develop personal strengths and unique abilities that distinguish them from others. The goal is to develop students' individuality, enabling them to take control of their lives and make personally satisfying choices. The second activity is designed to test a **Visual Acuity Assessment**. This online program is designed to validate a measure that assesses the ability to process visual stimuli. The goal is to gauge attentional processes as they occur in everyday life, enabling researchers to design objects that people will notice given different cognitive states. Both tasks are expected to take the same amount of time (10 minutes). If you are interested in the first task please click, 'Self-Improvement Activity.' If you are interested in the second task, please click, 'Visual Acuity Assessment,' on your screen.”

Those assigned to the *repaired interdependent-self condition* were provided with the opportunity for cooperation or to withdraw the self from further shame. Participants were told that,

“The experimenter is testing several new measures. However, with respect to the time limit of the study, we are only asking that you complete one of these measures. The first activity tests a **Cooperative Learning Workshop**. This online program is designed to help students develop their interpersonal skills and promote lasting and satisfying relationships. The goal is to develop their capacity for collaboration, enabling them to contribute to a group and make choices that consider the needs of others. The second activity is designed to test a **Visual Acuity Assessment**. This online program is designed to validate a measure that assesses the ability to process visual stimuli. The goal is to gauge attentional processes as they occur in everyday life, enabling researchers to design objects that people will notice given different cognitive states. Both tasks are expected to take the same amount of time (10 minutes). If you are interested in the first task please click, ‘Cooperation Activity.’ If you are interested in the second task, please click, ‘Visual Acuity Assessment,’ on your screen.”

For each repair condition, responses were counter-balanced to protect against order effects. After indicating the task, they are interested in, participants were directed toward end of the survey, where they were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

### **Materials.**

***Self-Direction Subscale.*** A modified version of the 38-item self-construal scale generated by Vignoles et al. (2016) was used to tap into individuals’ self-construal. Items were anchored on a 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*) scale with 3 (*Neither Agree or Disagree*) as the mid-point. Since this dissertation focuses on shaming a shamed interdependent or independent self in terms of the self-direction subdimension of this scale, only those four items were used for analyses ( $\alpha = .62$ ; see Appendix A). An example item that assesses self-direction is, “I make decisions about my life on my own.” An example item that assess the receptiveness to influence is, “Other people have great influence over the choices I make.”

***Manipulation Check.*** As a manipulation check, participants were asked to rate two statements on a 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*) scale; with 3 (*Neither*



*Agree nor Disagree*) as the mid-point. They statements were, “I should be a more independent thinker,” and “I should be more collaborative” ( $r = .36$ ).

***BIS and BAS Activation.*** Participants’ disposition toward the BAS or BIS system was measured using Carver and White’s (1994) 13-item BAS and 7-item BIS scales (see Appendix B). Responses ranged from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*) with no neutral response. The BAS dimension is comprised of 3 sub-dimensions: Drive (“When I go after something I use a ‘no holds barred’ approach”;  $\alpha = .70$ ), Fun-Seeking (“I often act on the spur of the moment”;  $\alpha = .57$ ), and Reward (“When I see an opportunity for something I like I get excited right away”;  $\alpha = .66$ ). An example BIS item is “I worry about making mistakes” ( $\alpha = .76$ ).

***State Shame and Guilt.*** Participants were asked to complete the 15-item State Shame and Guilt scale (SSGS; Marschall, Sanftner, & Tangney, 1994), which asked participant to indicate how they felt “right at that moment”. To be consistent across all scales, items were anchored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Not feeling this way at all*) to 5 (*Feeling this way very strongly*), with 3 (*Somewhat feeling this way*) as the midpoint (see Appendix C). An example shame item is, “I feel humiliated, disgraced” ( $\alpha = .81$ ). An example guilt item is, “I feel bad about something I have done” ( $\alpha = .85$ ). An example pride item is, “I feel worthwhile, valuable” ( $\alpha = .82$ ). The use of this scale also allowed me to gauge the extent to which the manipulation elicited shame and not guilt.

## **Results**

Skewness indices revealed that the state shame and state guilt variables were both had highly skewed at 1.71 and 1.16, respectively. A natural log transformation was

applied to both variables thereby reducing the skewness values to an appropriate level (0.84 and 0.54, respectively).

**Manipulation Check.** Results showed that there were no differences in either item between shamed self conditions,  $ps > .64$ .

**Testing Assumptions about Asian and Latino Cultural Backgrounds.** There were no mean differences on the Self-Direction subscale across the three groups,  $F(2, 227) = 0.01, p = .99, \eta_p^2 < .001$  ( $M_{Asians} = 3.38, SE = 0.15; M_{Caucasians} = 3.36, SE = 0.05; M_{Latinos} = 3.43, SE = 0.07$ ). Given the small sample sizes of the Asian American and Latino American groups, their responses were aggregated to comprise the collectivistic cultural group (coded 1) and to compare against individualistic, Caucasian, participants (coded 0). A follow-up analysis showed that there was no difference in self-direction between the collectivistic cultural group ( $M = 3.37, SE = 0.07$ ) and the individualistic cultural group ( $M = 3.36, SE = 0.06$ ),  $F(1, 227) = 0.01, p = .93, \eta_p^2 < .001$  (see Appendix B for ethnic differences in the other Vignoles et al., 2016 subdimensions).

**Demographic Moderators.** The next step was to explore whether participant demographic variables predicted state-shame, self-direction, or the outcome over and above their cultural background. When exploring participant gender, year in school, and generation, findings showed that which year participants were in school was negatively associated state shame,  $F(1, 224) = 10.76, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .046$ .<sup>2</sup> That is, the older the participants were, the less likely they felt shame,  $b = -0.05, SE = 0.02$ .

Generation was associated with the outcome variable,  $\chi^2(5) = 11.33, p = .045$ .

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<sup>2</sup> Participant age was not included in the analysis because it was correlated with what year they were in school ( $r = .54$ ) and had a large number of missing data (27 missing cases).

First- ( $M = 0.36$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ), second- ( $M = 0.53$ ,  $SE = 0.12$ ), and third-generation ( $M = 0.45$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ) students were the least likely to select the repair option whereas those who were not born in the U.S. ( $M = 0.61$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ), fourth-generation ( $M = 0.66$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ), and participants who did not know which generation they were ( $M = 0.87$ ,  $SE = 0.12$ ) were the most likely to select the repair option. There were no significant relationships between the other demographic variables and state shame, self-direction, or the outcome, over and above cultural background,  $ps > .08$ . In light of this, participant generation (collapsing those who did not know their generation,  $n = 6$ , with those who were fourth-generation) and year in school were included as covariates in all following analysis.

**Cultural Differences in the Experience of Shame.** To examine whether there were any cultural differences in participants' self-reported experience of shame, a GLM was run specifying the main effects of participant culture, the Shamed Self Condition, and their two-way interaction, while controlling for generation and year in school. Results did not reveal any significant effect of state shame,  $ps > .40$ .

**Testing Hypotheses 1 through 4.** The outcome of interest was participants' selection of the purported additional study. Interest in the repair condition (either the "Self-Improvement Activity," or the "Cooperation Activity") was coded as 1, and interest in the non-repair option (the "Visual Acuity Assessment") was coded as 0. Overall, participants were about equally likely select the repair option as they were to select the non-repair option ( $M_{Grand} = 0.55$ ,  $SD = 0.50$ ).

Two sets of binomial GzLMs analyzed this outcome. The first specified a 2 (Culture: Individualistic vs. Collectivistic) x 2 (Shamed Self: Independent vs.

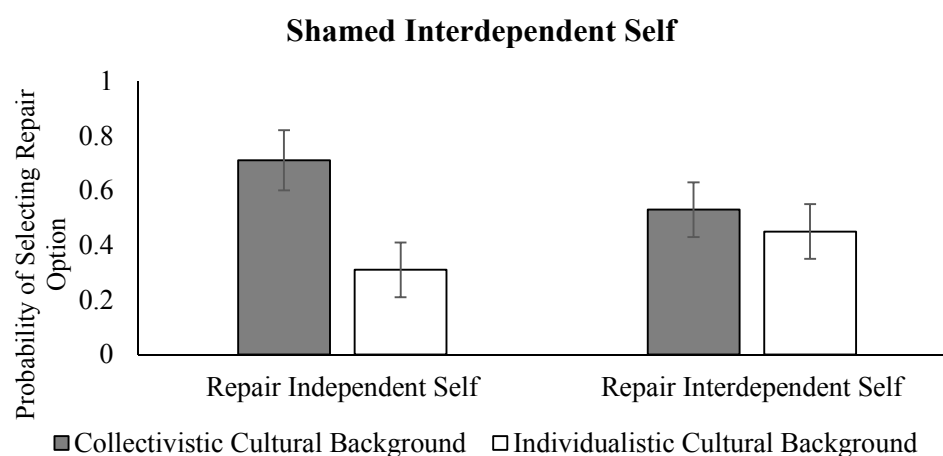
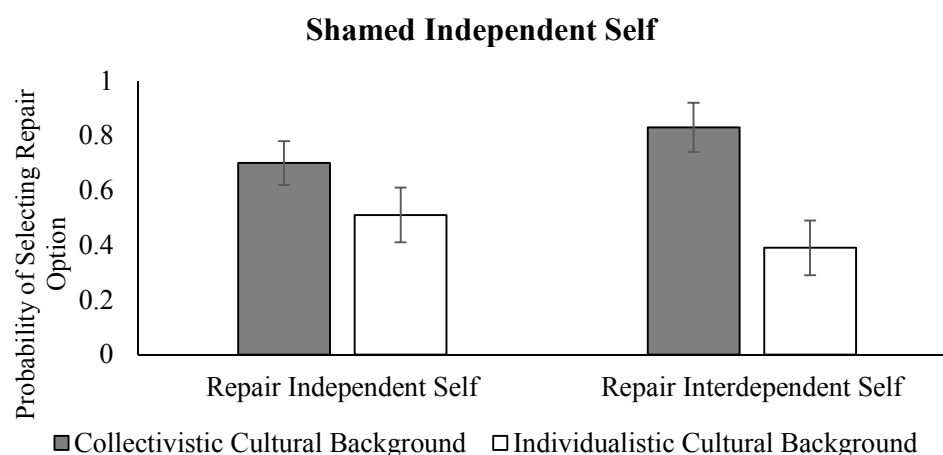
Interdependent) x 2 (Repaired Self: Independent vs. Interdependent) full-factorial design specified. The second analysis replaced the dichotomous culture variable with the continuous self-direction variable (mean-centered; see Appendix B to examine how results differed across other Vignoles et al., 2016 subdimensions). State guilt (transformed), and participant generation (categorical) were included as covariates in both analyses. Since there was no evidence that the order of the repair condition influenced participants' choice,  $ps > .28$ , I did not include it in the subsequent analyses.

**Cultural Background.** Results showed main effects of participant culture,  $\chi^2(1) = 7.88, p = .005$ . Estimated marginal means revealed that participants from individualistic backgrounds ( $M = 0.41, SE = 0.07$ ) were significantly less likely to repair the self than participants from collectivistic backgrounds ( $M = 0.71, SE = 0.06$ ),  $p = .003$ .

The three-way interaction also emerged,  $\chi^2(1) = 4.44, p = .035$  (see Figure 3). Differences primarily emerged when examining differences between cultural groups. When the *independent self* was shamed, participants from collectivistic backgrounds ( $M = 0.83, SE = 0.09$ ) were more likely than members of individualistic backgrounds ( $M = 0.39, SE = 0.10$ ) to choose the reparative option when it repaired the interdependent self,  $p = .002$ . There was no difference when the repair option repaired the independent self ( $M_{IND} = 0.51, SE = 0.08; M_{COL} = 0.70, SE = 0.10$ ),  $p = .15$ .

When the interdependent self was shamed, participants from collectivistic backgrounds ( $M = 0.71, SE = 0.11$ ) were more likely than members of individualistic backgrounds ( $M = 0.31, SE = 0.10$ ) to choose the reparative option when it repaired the independent self,  $p = .008$ . There was no difference when the repair option repaired the interdependent self ( $M_{IND} = 0.45, SE = 0.10; M_{COL} = 0.53, SE = 0.10$ ),  $p = .58$ .

Figure 3. Study 1: Three-way interaction between participant cultural background, Shamed Self Condition, and Repaired Self Condition.



From a different angle, these patterns also show that participants from collectivistic backgrounds were more likely to repair the independent self when the interdependent ( $M = 0.71$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ) was shamed, compared to the independent self ( $M = 0.53$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ),  $p = .020$ . However, participants from individualistic backgrounds were equally likely to repair the independent self no matter what aspect of self was shamed,  $ps > .10$ . In summary, findings suggest that members of collectivistic cultures are more likely to repair the self than members of individualistic cultures and this

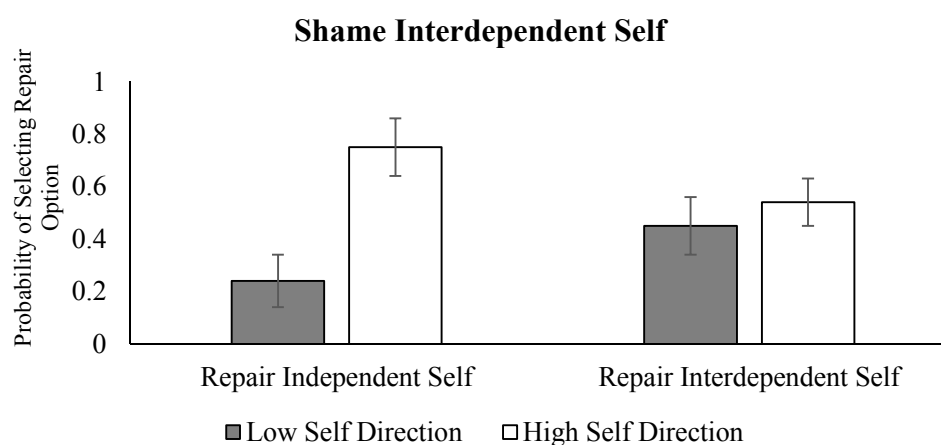
difference was most pronounced when the opportunity to repair the self was *incongruent* with the aspect of self that was shamed.

***Self-Direction.*** Subsequent analyses examined the extent to which these patterns held across participants' responses to the self-direction subscale (centered). Results showed a significant main effect self-direction,  $\chi^2(1) = 4.69$ ,  $b = 0.50$ ,  $SE = 0.24$ ,  $p = .030$ . Those who scored high in self-direction were more likely to select the repair option. A main effect of the shamed self condition emerged,  $\chi^2(1) = 4.06$ ,  $p = .044$ . Those in the shamed independent-self condition were more likely to select the repair option ( $M = 0.61$ ,  $SE = 0.05$ ) than those in the interdependent-self condition ( $M = 0.46$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ).

The three-way interaction also emerged,  $\chi^2(1) = 7.69$ ,  $p = .006$  (see Figure 4). When the *independent self* was shamed, participants high in self-direction (+1 *SD* below the mean) were slightly more likely than participants low in self-direction (-1 *SD* above the mean) to choose the reparative option when it repaired the *interdependent self* ( $M_{High} = 0.65$ ,  $SE = 0.11$  vs.  $M_{Low} = 0.42$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ),  $b = 1.05$ ,  $SE = 0.56$ ,  $p = .061$ . There was no difference when the repair option repaired the *independent self* ( $M_{High} = 0.54$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ;  $M_{Low} = 0.71$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ),  $b = -0.56$ ,  $SE = 0.39$ ,  $p = .15$ .

When the *interdependent self* was shamed, participants high in self-direction ( $M = 0.75$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ) were more likely than those low in self-direction ( $M = 0.24$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ) to choose the reparative option when it repaired the independent self,  $b = 1.35$ ,  $SE = 0.57$ ,  $p = .017$ . There was no difference when the repair option repaired the interdependent self ( $M_{High} = 0.54$ ,  $SE = 0.09$ ;  $M_{Low} = 0.45$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ),  $b = 0.28$ ,  $SE = 0.40$ ,  $p = .50$ .

Figure 4. Study 1: Three-way interaction between Self-Direction, Shamed Self Condition, and Repaired Self Condition.



**Testing Hypotheses 5 and 6.** A path analytic approach was used to determine whether the self-regulatory variables (BAS Drive, BAS Fun, BAS Reward, and BIS) mediated the relationship between the shamed self and the decision to repair the self or not. The first half of the model examined whether participant culture (identified by category and then by self-direction), controlling for participant generation and year in school, moderated the relationship between the shamed self condition and the four self-regulatory variables. The second half examined whether self-regulatory variables, entered

simultaneously, predicted the outcome variable, while controlling for the shamed self condition, participant generation, and state guilt (transformed). Multivariate outliers whose Cook's Distance ( $D$ ) cutoff scores exceed the critical value on three of the five sets of analyses were removed ( $ns = 4$  and  $1$  on the two analyses, respectively).

**Cultural Background.** Results showed a significant effect of participant culture,  $F(1, 224) = 5.03, p = .026, \eta_p^2 = .022$ , and the shamed self condition,  $F(1, 224) = 5.51, p = .020, \eta_p^2 = .024$ , on BAS Drive. Participants from individualistic backgrounds ( $M = 3.80, SE = 0.08$ ) scored higher on BAS Drive than participants from collectivistic cultural backgrounds ( $M = 3.54, SE = 0.07$ ). Additionally, those in the shamed independent-self condition ( $M = 3.58, SE = 0.06$ ) scored lower on BAS Drive than those in the shamed interdependent-self condition ( $M = 3.77, SE = 0.06$ ). The two-way interaction was not statistically significant,  $p = .20$ , and no other effects emerged with regard to the other self-regulatory variables,  $ps > .07$ .

None of the self-regulatory variables were related to the decision to repair the self,  $\chi^2(1) < 2.49, ps > .11$ .

**Self-Direction.** Results revealed that the Shamed Self Condition was significantly related to BAS Drive,  $F(1, 227) = 4.35, p = .038, \eta_p^2 = .019$ , and weakly related to BAS Fun,  $F(1, 227) = 3.81, p = .052, \eta_p^2 = .017$ . As before, those in the shamed independent-self condition ( $M = 3.58, SE = 0.06$ ) reported less BAS Drive than those in the shamed interdependent-self condition ( $M = 3.75, SE = 0.07$ ),  $p = .035$ . The opposite pattern emerged with BAS Fun such that, those in the shamed independent-self condition ( $M = 3.71, SE = 0.07$ ) reported greater BAS fun than those in the shamed interdependent-self condition ( $M = 3.54, SE = 0.07$ ),  $p = .052$ . Further, self-direction was negatively



associated with BAS Reward,  $F(1, 227) = 6.02, p = .015, \eta_p^2 = .026, b = -0.11, SE = .04$ . However, the two-way interaction did not predict any of the self-regulatory variables, all  $F_s(1, 227) < 0.57, ps > .44$ . Again, none of the self-regulatory variables were associated with participants' decision to repair or not repair the self,  $\chi^2_s(1) < 1.87, ps > .17$ .

### Discussion

The results of Study 1 clearly show that the relationship between an individual's cultural background and his or her response to shame is dependent upon contextual cues. Examining cultural differences via ethnic groups indicated that, when *interdependent* self was shamed, the members of collectivistic cultures were more likely to repair the independent self compared to members of individualistic cultures. There was no difference when individuals could repair the interdependent self. However, when the *independent* self was shamed, members of collectivistic cultures were more likely to repair the interdependent self compared to members of individualistic cultures. There was no difference when individuals could repair the independent self.

This pattern suggests that, when the opportunity for repair is congruent with the aspect of self that is shamed, members of individualistic cultures tend to be on the fence about choosing to repair or not; given that their mean responses center on or were below 0.50. Yet, when there is no congruence between the opportunity to repair and the aspect of self that is shamed, members of collectivistic cultures are more likely to repair the self whereas members of individualistic cultures tend to be slightly less likely to do so.

Examining culture via the endorsement of self-direction values produced a different pattern. When the *independent* self was shamed, those high in self-direction were more likely to repair the interdependent self compared to those who scored lower in

self-direction. There was no difference when individuals could repair the independent self. Yet, when the *interdependent* self was shamed, those high in self-direction were more likely to repair the independent self than those low in self-direction. There was no difference when individuals could repair the interdependent self.

These results raise some interesting questions. First, the two methods for assessing cultural background produce conflicting patterns, if one assumes that high (low) self-direction is reflective of one facet of individualism (collectivism; Vignoles et al., 2016). This apparently inconsistent pattern is only possible because no differences emerged with regard to self-direction across the three ethnic groups. Although previous research has shown that students' responses to self-reported self-construal have aligned with cross-cultural differences regarding independence and interdependence (e.g., Coon & Kimmelmeier, 2001; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002), it may not make sense to equate cultural differences in individualism-collectivism with high and low self-direction within this population. This is especially plausible if one considers that analyses of student samples have shown that differences between groups have diminished over time, especially on a measure of interdependence (Kaplan & Kimmelmeier, 2017).

Second, across both measures of culture, the choice to repair or not repair seems to reflect different processes depending on one's cultural background. In other words, instances in which we see the motivation to repair the self (greater than 50:50 chance) was observed among members of collectivistic cultures or those high in self-direction. Instances in which we see the motivation to avoid repairing the self (less than 50:50 chance) tended to occur among members of individualistic cultures or those low in self-direction. On the one hand, this is in line with cultural research that has shown that shame

tends to be associated with reparative cultures in collectivistic societies more so than in individualistic societies (Sheikh, 2014; Wong & Tsai, 2007). On the other hand, it is not clear why those low in self-direction were less likely to repair the self, since Vignoles et al. (2016) seem to link low (high) self-direction with one aspect of collectivism (individualism). Importantly, the circumstances in which we see these varying responses emerges when there is an incongruence between the shamed aspect of self and the opportunity to repair the self. Thus, whether or not shame prompts repair or not, appears to be more of a question of situational *incongruence* rather than congruence.

A key limitation to this study was the lack of evidence that the Shamed Self was manipulated effectively as the manipulation check did not approach statistical significance. The debriefing procedure did provide some anecdotal evidence that the reason behind this may have been due to both the way in which shame was induced and the population. Since participants were recruited via the university's online SONA system, they were required to participate in this study for partial fulfillment of course credit. Many students prefer to complete these studies online, from the comfort of their own home, and some seem rather apathetic when they have to come into the laboratory. This was evident when they seemed to have been going through the motions until the moment they learned how low they scored on the desired dimension. It was not until this point that many wanted to be reminded about the purpose of the "assessment." Therefore, they may not have picked up on which aspect of self was shamed. However, even though the manipulation check did not indicate that shaming one aspect of self over another was successful, it is unclear why the experimental conditions gave rise to different responses depending on the Shamed Self condition.

Another possibility was that participants became rather defensive. When I asked how they felt during the debriefing, many described a type of “spontaneous coping” strategy where they told themselves that they were OK and that, overall, they were feeling good. A few also let me know that measures like the one I used could never really identify the strengths of a person. Yet, when I revealed the true nature of the study, almost all participants were relieved and admitted that they were fooled.

Finally, designing the Shamed Self manipulation to be tied to future success seemed to be evoke more reactions from younger students than older students. Students with more work experience were less likely to “buy” that the skills were indicative of success whereas many younger students indicated that the results were probably true and they had a lot to learn. As the demographic analyses showed, the older the participants were (in terms of year in school), the less shame they felt.

Future research should explore these potential explanations in order to develop a method that targets a specific aspect of self within a college sample. What seems to be apparent, however, is that the aspect of self that is shamed should be meaningful to the population of interest and that researchers should be open to identifying how coping strategies operate within the context of their induction of shame.

## Chapter 10: Study 2

The goal of Study 2 was to determine the extent to which the patterns identified in Study 1 would replicate in an online sample. The recruitment of the online sample addressed two limitations in Study 1. Since college students tend to be more individualistic overall (Kaplan & Kimmelmeier, 2017), this second study explored whether or not the expected differences between Caucasians, Asians, and Latinos emerge in a slightly older, more diverse, non-student population. Additionally, since shame cannot be elicited in real time, participants in Study 2 were asked to recall a shameful experience. This approach also addressed the fact that the same situation may not be shameful for all individuals. Asking participants to recall a personally shameful experience helps ensure that all participants are experience some degree of shame.

### Method

Following the same design as Study 1, participants from the same three ethnic groups were randomly assigned to a 2 (Shamed Self: independent vs. interdependent) by 2 (Repaired Self: independent vs. interdependent) between-subjects design. To operationalize the shamed self, participants were asked to recall a time that they experienced shame because they failed to be independent or because they failed to be interdependent. Afterwards, participants were given the option to either (a) repair an independent self or to engage in a neutral task; or (b) they were given the option to repair an interdependent self or engage in a neutral task. To protect against order effects, within each Repaired Self Condition the repair option and neutral option were counter-balanced.

Participants were recruited from an online participant pool, Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), of individuals from across the United States. MTurk is a widely used

crowdsourcing marketplace that allows researchers to pay individuals with Internet access across the globe a small monetary fee in exchange for participation in research and marketing studies. Studies have shown that, although they have their own unique characteristics (i.e., about 30 years older, over educated, under employed and more liberal; DeSoto, 2016), MTurk workers tend to be diverse and more representative of U.S. population than the commonly used college samples (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). Participants received \$3.00 in exchange for their participation; all resided in the United States at the time of the study.

All aspects of the study were administered via the online survey program, Qualtrics (2017). Recruitment occurred in two stages. The first stage included a brief 6-question “qualification survey” that asked participants’ age, gender, ethnicity, income, generation in U.S., and primarily language spoken at home. Those who indicated they were Asian, Caucasian, or “Hispanic/Latino” were directed to the rest of the study. All others were informed that they did not qualify. Then participants were given the opportunity to participate in the main study.

**Data Cleaning.** Of the 476 individuals who qualified and began the main study, 90 were removed from the dataset because they did not respond to the central outcome variable (choice between repair and neutral option). One response was deleted because he or she did not answer any questions of the Vignoles (2016) self-direction scale, two were deleted because they indicated something other than male or female as their gender, and 1 response was removed because she indicated in a personal email that she could not think of a time she felt ashamed. Another seven participants were removed because they said that they were unable to describe a shameful event. The final sample size was 375.

**Participants.** Qualtrics enables the use of quotas to ensure researchers get a pre-defined number of participants given a particular response to a survey. This allowed for a relatively equal distribution of participants across the three ethnic categories. Of the 375 participants, 121 were of Asian American descent, 112 were of Latino American descent, and 142 were of European American descent. The average age was 34.75 ( $SD = 10.71$ ), 50.1% were female, 36.3% had a household income that was less than \$40,000, 42.0% had a household income that was between \$40,000 and \$79,999, and 21.9% had a household income that was \$80,000 or more.

Exploring the critical control variables showed that 48.3% of the participants spoke another language other than English at home when they were growing up. Participants were the most likely to be fourth-generation American. Specifically, 14.7% were not born in the U.S., 26.1% were first-generation, 14.9% were second-generation, 14.9% were third generation, 27.7% were fourth-generation or more, and 1.6% reported that they did not know.

Caucasian students were far less likely to speak another language than English at home (8.9%) and were more likely to be third (22.5%) or fourth generation (or more) in the U.S. (55.6%). Conversely, Asian and Hispanic students were far more likely to speak another language than English at home (71.1% and 71.4%, respectively) and were more likely to be first-generation in the U.S. (48.8% and 27.8%, respectively).

**Procedure.** Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to “...investigate the emotional experiences in the daily life of the average American.” To determine if they met the qualifications, they were asked to respond to the six aforementioned demographics questions. Only those who indicated that they were of

European American descent, Asian American descent, or Latino American descent were invited to continue with the study.

Upon agreeing to participate in the study, qualifying participants were asked to complete the 38-item self-construal scale generated by Vignoles et al. (2016). Afterwards, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: the shamed-independent-self condition or the shamed interdependent-self condition. As in Study 1, this task was inspired by de Hooge et al. (2010, Study 2), who had participants describe a personal experience in which they felt very ashamed. For both conditions, participants were given this brief definition of shame, “Shame is an emotion that we experience when we have done something wrong or foolish, and we feel that others look down on us as a result. The experience of shame makes us feel small, worthless, inadequate, and deeply embarrassed.” Those in the *shamed independent-self condition* then read,

“Often, we feel shame if we have shown to others that we do not know what we are doing, or when others had more control over our decision than we do. An example is when people go along with others without really knowing what they get themselves into, and because they didn’t speak up, wind up engaging in behaviors that they are not proud of.”

Participants were then asked to describe a time that they felt ashamed because they let other people have more control over their personal decision than they did. Participants were required to write a minimum of 50 characters before they were able to advance.

Alternatively, those in the *shamed interdependent-self condition* read,

“Often, we feel shame if we have shown to others that we do not know what we are doing, or when we engage in selfish behaviors that don’t consider the needs and opinions of those who are important to us. An example is when people make a decision without considering someone else’s needs, and because of this decision, the other person suffers a disadvantage.”

Participants were instructed to describe, with a minimum of 50 characters, a time that



they felt ashamed because they preferred to do what you wanted without considering the needs and opinions of important others. After writing their responses, participants were asked to indicate how bad their experience made them feel about themselves when they thought about it.

All participants were then directed to a brief manipulation check, the State Shame and Guilt scale (SSGS; Marschall et al., 1994), and Carver and White's (1994) 7-item BIS and 13-item BAS scales. After completing these tasks, they were randomly assigned to one of the two reparative conditions.

Those in the *repaired independent-self condition* were provided the opportunity to self-improve or to withdraw the self from further shame. Participants were told that,

“The experimenter is testing several new measures. However, with respect to the time limit of the study, we are only asking that you complete one of these measures. The first activity tests an **Individualized Self-Improvement Workshop**. This online program is designed to help individuals to develop personal strengths and unique abilities that distinguish them from others. The goal is to develop their individuality, enabling them to take control of their lives and make personally satisfying choices. The second activity is designed to test a **Visual Acuity Assessment**. This online program is designed to validate a measure that assesses the ability to process visual stimuli. The goal is to gauge attentional processes as they occur in everyday life, enabling researchers to design objects that people will notice given different cognitive states. Both tasks are expected to take the same amount of time (10 minutes). If you are interested in the first task please click, ‘Self-Improvement Activity.’ If you are interested in the second task, please click, ‘Visual Acuity Assessment,’ on your screen.”

Those assigned to the *repaired interdependent-self condition* were provided with the opportunity for cooperation or to withdraw the self from further shame. Participants were told that,

“The experimenter is testing several new measures. However, with respect to the time limit of the study, we are only asking that you complete one of these measures. The first activity tests a **Cooperative Learning Workshop**. This

online program is designed to help individuals develop their interpersonal skills and promote lasting and satisfying relationships. The goal is to develop their capacity for collaboration, enabling them to contribute to a group and make choices that consider the needs of others. The second activity is designed to test a **Visual Acuity Assessment**. This online program is designed to validate a measure that assesses the ability to process visual stimuli. The goal is to gauge attentional processes as they occur in everyday life, enabling researchers to design objects that people will notice given different cognitive states. Both tasks are expected to take the same amount of time (10 minutes). If you are interested in the first task please click, 'Cooperation Activity.' If you are interested in the second task, please click, 'Visual Acuity Assessment,' on your screen."

For each repair condition, responses were counter-balanced to protect against order effects. After indicating the task in which they are interested, participants were directed toward end of the survey, where they were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

**Materials.** As in Study 1, participants completed the 38-item Vignoles et al. (2016; self-direction subscale  $\alpha = .72$ ), Carver and White's (1994) 13-item BAS and 7-item BIS scales ( $\alpha$ 's ranged from .73 to .84 across the self-regulatory subscales), Marschall et al.'s (1994) State Shame and Guilt scale ( $\alpha$ 's ranged from .90 to .93).

For Study 2, an item was added after they described their shameful experience to tap into the diversity of responses, "How bad does that experience make you feel about yourself when you think about it?" ( $M = 3.70$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ). Further, the manipulation check items were reworded to, "I feel ashamed that I am not a more independent thinker," and "I feel ashamed that I am not more collaborative" ( $r = .23$ ).

## Results

None of the continuous variables had a Skewness index greater than  $|1|$ ; therefore, no transformations were applied.

**Manipulation Check.** Results showed that those in the shamed independent-self

condition were significantly more likely to feel ashamed that they were not more independent thinkers,  $b = 1.17$ ,  $SE = 0.20$ ,  $\chi^2(1) = 36.87$ ,  $p < .001$ , than those in the shamed interdependent-self condition. Further, those in the shamed interdependent-self condition were significantly more likely to say that they felt ashamed that they were not more collaborative,  $b = -0.67$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ,  $\chi^2(1) = 12.89$ ,  $p < .001$ , than those in the shamed independent-self condition.

### **Testing Assumptions about Asian and Latino Cultural Backgrounds.**

Significant mean differences on the Self-Direction subscale emerged across the three groups,  $F(2, 353) = 4.47$ ,  $p = .012$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .025$ . Pairwise comparisons of marginal means showed that Caucasian ( $M = 3.57$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ) participants scored significantly higher on self-direction than Asians ( $M = 3.38$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ),  $p = .035$ , and Latinos ( $M = 3.31$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ),  $p = .005$ , who did not differ from each other,  $p = .45$ . Given this pattern, the Asian and Latino participants were collapsed into an overall collectivistic cultural group (coded as 1) to compare against Caucasian participants (i.e., individualistic cultural group; coded as 0). Follow-up analysis confirmed that those categorized as individualistic scored higher on self-direction ( $M = 3.57$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ) than those categorized as collectivistic ( $M = 3.35$ ,  $SE = 0.05$ ),  $F(1, 356) = 8.38$ ,  $p = .004$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .023$ .

**Demographic Moderators.** As before, I examined whether participant demographics (generation, gender, age, income, and entered simultaneously) predicted state shame, self-direction, and the outcome variable over and above participant culture. I also included how bad the participants felt about their experience. Results showed that income,  $F(1, 361) = 11.39$ ,  $b = -0.08$ ,  $SE = 0.03$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .031$ ; age,  $F(1, 361) = 7.92$ ,  $b = -0.02$ ,  $SE = 0.01$ ,  $p = .005$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .021$ , and the negativity of the experience,  $F(1,$

361) = 57.80,  $b = 0.42$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .138$ , were all associated with state shame. None of the other demographic variables were associated with state shame,  $ps > .23$ , and none were associated with self-direction,  $ps > .17$ .

The only demographic variable associated with the outcome was gender,  $\chi^2(1) = 8.46$ ,  $b = 0.67$ ,  $SE = 0.23$ ,  $p = .004$ ; all other  $ps > .10$ . Specifically, women were more likely to choose the repair option than men. In light of these patterns, all four variables, in addition to state guilt and participant generation, were used as covariates in the subsequent analyses. As before, participants who did not know what generation they were ( $n = 6$ ) were collapsed with those who were fourth-generation American.

### **Cultural Differences in the Experience of Shame**

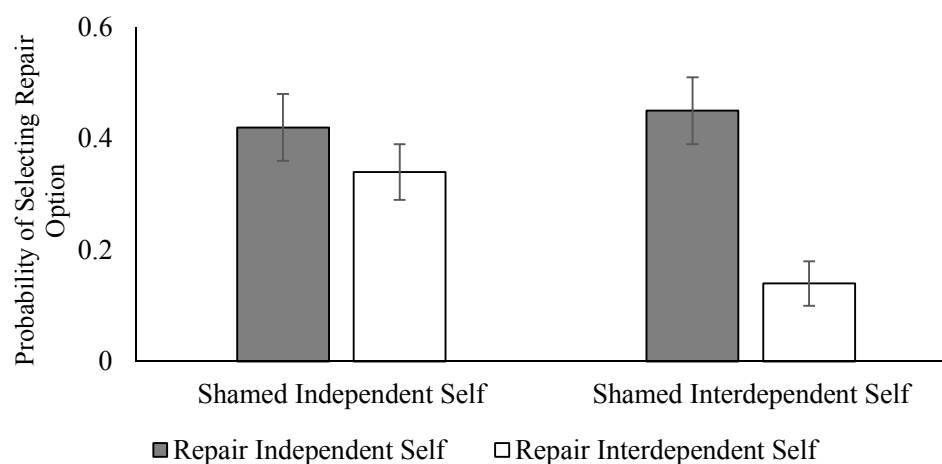
Before testing any hypotheses, it was important to determine whether participants from different cultures experienced more or less shame, or reported more or less distress about the experience depending on which Shamed Self condition they were in. To test this, a GLM model examined whether participant culture, the Shamed Self condition, and their interaction predicted state shame and participants' reports of how bad the experience made them feel while controlling for generation, age, gender, income. Findings showed that neither main effects nor the interaction were significant,  $F_s < 2.76$ ,  $ps > .09$ .

**Testing Hypotheses 1 through 4.** Unlike Study 1, participants were not on the fence about whether to repair the self or not. Overall, they were more likely to select the non-repair option over the repair option ( $M_{Grand} = 0.37$ ,  $SD = 0.48$ ).

**Cultural Background.** Results showed a significant main effect of the Repaired Self condition,  $\chi^2(1) = 12.20$ ,  $p < .001$ , but not the Shamed Self condition,  $\chi^2(1) = 3.36$ ,  $p = .067$ . Participants were significantly more likely to choose the repair option when the

independent self ( $M = 0.43$ ,  $SE = 0.04$ ) was shamed compared to the interdependent self ( $M = 0.23$ ,  $SE = 0.04$ ).

Figure 5. Study 2: Two-way interaction between the Shamed Self Condition, and Repaired Self Condition.



This main effect was qualified by a two-way interaction,  $\chi^2(1) = 5.71$ ,  $p = .017$  (see Figure 5). When the independent self was shamed, participants were equally likely to choose the independent self repair option ( $M = 0.42$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ) or the interdependent self repair option ( $M = 0.34$ ,  $SE = 0.05$ ),  $p = .37$ , both relative to the neutral (non-repair) option. However, as in Study 1, when the interdependent self was shamed, participants were significantly more likely to choose the independent self repair option ( $M = 0.45$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ), than the interdependent self repair option ( $M = 0.14$ ,  $SE = 0.04$ ),  $p < .001$ . Unlike Study 1, this pattern did not vary as a function of participant cultural background,  $\chi^2(1) = 0.12$ ,  $p = .73$ .

**Self-Direction.** Results showed significant main effects for Repaired Self

condition,  $\chi^2(1) = 16.99, p < .001$ , and a marginal two-way shame condition by repair condition interaction,  $\chi^2(1) = 3.39, p = .066$ , that yielded similar patterns as mentioned previously. However, the three-way interaction was not statistically significant,  $\chi^2(1) = 0.57, p = .45$ . No other experimental effects were significant,  $ps > .09$ .

**Testing Hypotheses 5 and 6.** As in Study 1, results did not reveal any significant effect of culture, the Shamed Self condition, nor the two-way interaction on any of the self-regulatory variables,  $ps > .07$ . However, unlike Study 1, BAS Reward was negatively related to the outcome,  $\chi^2(1) = 4.57, b = -0.47, SE = 0.22, p = .033$ . Those high in BAS Reward were less likely to repair the self than those low in BAS Reward.

**Self-Direction.** Examining the self-regulatory variables revealed a significant interaction between self-direction and the Shamed Self condition on BIS,  $F(1, 356) = 4.60, p = .033$ ; all other  $ps > .13$ . Examining the simple slopes showed that those high and low in self-direction did not differ in BIS depending on which aspect of self was shamed,  $ps > .13$ . However, estimated marginal means showed that those who scored high in self-direction (+1 *SD*), scored slightly lower on BIS when the independent self was shamed ( $M = 3.34, SE = 0.09$ ) compared to when the interdependent self was shamed ( $M = 3.55, SE = 0.08$ ),  $p = .088$ . There was no difference between the Shamed Self conditions ( $M_{IND} = 3.52, SE = 0.08$ ;  $M_{INT} = 3.37, SE = 0.08$ ) among those who were low in self-direction (-1 *SD*),  $p = .19$ . Again, higher BAS Reward was related to a lower likelihood of selecting the repair option, over the non-repair option, at trend level,  $\chi^2(1) = 2.93, b = -0.38, SE = 0.22, p = .087$ .

## Discussion

Study 2 sought to replicate Study 1 using a more diverse online sample that was

asked to recall a shameful experience. Findings revealed a different pattern than Study 1, as participants were equally likely to repair the self when the independent self was involved. Counter to the hypotheses, participants avoided repairing the interdependent self when the interdependent self was shamed. Further, participant responses to Study 1 were dependent, in part, on their cultural background. This was not the case in Study 2, as this pattern occurred for all participants, regardless of cultural background.

The avoidance of repairing the interdependent self also runs counter to Cibich et al. (2016), who hypothesized that acceptance by others, via cooperation, opens up the possibility of repair. One possible reason participants responded this way may be that individuals view a cooperation task as especially threatening after recalling a time when they have failed, or hurt, another person. Though it was thought that this task would be perceived as providing an opportunity to gain social acceptance and reestablish themselves in the eyes of others, it may hit too close to home for participants when the shameful situation involves another. This is likely not needed when the independent self is shamed because it does not carry the same stigma that a shamed interdependent self might.

Another reason for this pattern may relate to the fact that this shameful state was recalled rather than experienced in the moment. For instance, state shame may cause participants to be more sensitive to environmental cues that can remedy that immediate experience. However, given that an individual is not directly under scrutiny when shame is recalled, individuals may not feel the same sense of urgency to fix the situation. Comparing the means presented in Figure 4 to those presented in Figure 5 illustrates this pattern. In Study 1 (Figure 4), participants were more variable in their decisions to repair

the self and more likely to do so overall (means ranged from approximately .24 to .75) than participants in Study 2 (.14 to .45). Therefore, Study 1 participants seemed to be more sensitive to contextual cues (given the variability in responses) and more motivated to repair the self (given the higher probabilities) relative to Study 2.

Alternatively, asking participants to recall a shameful experience may be especially painful, given its personal relevance and availability for recall. This is supported by de Hooge, Breugelmans, and Zeelenberg (2008) who showed that, although similar patterns of prosocial behavior emerged in response to recalled versus situationally-induced shamed, participants reported higher levels of shame when it was recalled ( $M = 8.49$ ,  $SD = 1.45$ ,  $p = .937$ ) than when it was experienced in the moment ( $M = 6.90$ ,  $SD = 1.66$ ,  $p = .939$ ). Comparing overall levels of shame between Study 1 and 2 revealed the same pattern: participants in Study 2 reported higher levels of shame when it was recalled ( $M = 2.23$ ,  $SD = 1.15$ ) than participants in Study 1, who experienced it in the moment ( $M = 1.49$ ,  $SD = 0.60$ ), across-study comparison Welch's  $t(319) = 9.17$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, not only does state shame seem to motivate different types of behaviors, it also seems to be less painful in an experimental setting than when it is recalled from a personal situation. This difference may also translate to the differences in the overall tendency to repair or not; with higher levels of shame being associated with a lower likelihood to repair.

Both Study 1 and Study 2 have shown that participants are not more likely to repair the self under conditions of congruency. Instead, Study 1 showed that participants seemed to be more reactive to conditions of incongruence whereas Study 2 showed that participants were less likely to repair when the opportunity for repair was congruent with



the shamed interdependent self. Both studies also show that participants tended to prefer the non-reparative option overall, which is consistent with the notion that shame may actually be more closely associated with withdrawal than reparative behaviors.

Another interesting finding was that there was some evidence that participant culture influenced participants' report BIS activation when the incongruent self was shamed. Specifically, participants high in self-direction (low in receptiveness to others' influence) scored highest on BIS when the interdependent self was shamed relative to the independent self. However, BIS activation was not related to participants' decision to repair the self or not. Therefore, the implications of this finding are not yet apparent and warrant future investigation.

### Chapter 11: Study 3

Studies 1 and 2 presented each participant with only one repair option and one non-repair option. As such, it is not clear whether, if given the chance, participants are more motivated to repair the independent self or the interdependent self. Using the same shame induction strategy as Study 2, Study 3 addresses this question by providing participants with both repair options at the same time (without the possibility of non-repair). In doing so, it also tests the relative importance of the shamed self or the culturally congruent self when selecting between the two reparative options.

#### Method

Study 3 followed the same design as Study 2 except that participants were provided with the opportunity to engage in either repair option and were not provided with the opportunity to engage in a neutral task. In other words, participants of Study 3 were presented with a forced-choice between the two different repair options, of which only one was previously presented to participants of Study 1 and 2. The order of repair options was counter-balanced.

**Participants.** Study 3 included an online sample recruited via “Qualtrics Panels.” Similar to MTurk, Qualtrics recruit’s participants to complete online studies in exchange for monetary compensation. However, Qualtrics charges \$5.00 per participant to perform all of the recruitment efforts given the researcher’s qualifications. For Study 3, Qualtrics recruited 80 Asians, 80 Latinos and 80 Caucasian participants, each of whom provided an account of a shameful experience. One Asian participant was removed for completing the study in an unrealistically short time (2.07 minutes); his/her inclusion would have likely distorted the validity of the present findings (cf. Maniaci & Rogge, 2014). The average

age of the remaining 239 participants was 48.70 ( $SD = 15.44$ ) and 51.9% were female. In terms of income, 16.3% had a household income that was less than \$40,000, 31.5% had a household income that was between \$40,000 and \$79,999, and 52.3% had a household income that was \$80,000 or more.

Exploring other cultural variables showed that, again, Caucasian participants were more likely to be fourth-generation American (50.0%) compared to Asian (3.8% and 29.1%, respectively) and Latino (13.8% and 36.3%, respectively) participants. Asian participants (50.6%) were more likely to not have been born in the U.S. compared to Latino (23.8%) or Caucasian (7.5%) ones whereas Latino participants (27.5%) were more likely to be second-generation American than Asians (12.7%) and Caucasians (13.8%). Both Asian (70.9%) and Latinos (63.8%) were more likely to have spoken another language than English when they were growing up (17.5%).

**Procedure.** Participants completed the self-construal scale generated by Vignoles et al. (2016) (self-direction  $\alpha = .64$ ), Carver and White's (1994) 13-item BAS and 7-item BIS scales ( $\alpha$ 's across the four subscales ranged from .63 to .78), Marschall et al. Tangney's (1994) State Shame and Guilt scale ( $\alpha$ 's ranging from .85 to .91), reported how negativity the experience make them feel about themselves when they thought about it ( $M = 3.46$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ), and completed the manipulation check items ( $r = .47$ ).

## Results

Because the distribution of the state shame variable was highly skewed (skew = 1.21), a natural log transformation reduced the skewness index value to 0.56.

**Manipulation Check.** Those in the shamed independent-self condition were significantly more likely to feel ashamed that they were not more independent thinkers,  $b$

= 0.73,  $SE = 0.23$ ,  $\chi^2(1) = 9.71$ ,  $p = .002$ , than those in the shamed interdependent-self condition. However, participants in the shamed interdependent-self condition were equally likely to say that they felt ashamed that they were not more collaborative,  $b = 0.25$ ,  $SE = 0.23$ ,  $\chi^2(1) = 1.17$ ,  $p = .28$ , as those in the shamed independent-self condition.

**Testing Assumptions about Asian and Latino Cultural Backgrounds.** There were no significant differences on the Self-Direction subscale across the three groups,  $F(2, 225) = 0.29$ ,  $p = .75$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .003$ . Mean estimates indicated that Asians ( $M = 3.35$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ) scored slightly lower on self-direction than Latinos ( $M = 3.41$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ) and Caucasians ( $M = 3.42$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ). Since there were no differences between groups, and because there were enough participants within each group to examine separately, the following analyses were examined as a function of participants' self-reported ethnicity rather than being collapsed into a dichotomous culture variable.

**Demographic Moderators.** As before, we examined whether participant demographics (gender, age, and income entered simultaneously) and their level of distress in thinking about the event predicted state shame (transformed), self-direction, and the outcome variable. Results showed that age,  $F(1, 227) = 10.97$ ,  $b = -0.01$ ,  $SE = 0.002$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .046$ , and income,  $F(1, 227) = 4.49$ ,  $b = -0.03$ ,  $SE = 0.01$ ,  $p = .035$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .019$ , were negatively related to state shame, but reported distress was positively associated with state shame,  $F(1, 227) = 13.49$ ,  $b = 0.10$ ,  $SE = 0.03$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .056$ . Age was also related to self-direction,  $F(1, 227) = 4.58$ ,  $b = 0.01$ ,  $SE = 0.003$ ,  $p = .033$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .020$ . Similar to Study 2, gender predicted choice of the repair option,  $\chi^2(1) = 4.82$ ,  $b = 0.66$ ,  $SE = 0.30$ ,  $p = .028$ , such that women (men) were more likely to repair the

independent (interdependent) self than the interdependent (independent) self; all other effects did not reach statistical significance,  $ps > .08$ . In light of these findings, participant gender, age, income, and reported distress of the experience (in addition to state guilt) were used as covariates when testing the hypotheses.

### **Cultural Differences in the Experience of Shame**

Examining whether participant ethnicity, the Shamed Self condition, and their interaction predicted state shame and participants' reports of how bad the experience made them feel. Findings showed that neither main effects nor the interaction were significant,  $F_s < 2.04$ ,  $ps > .15$ .

**Testing Hypotheses 1 through 4.** Since the outcome variable was coded as 0 (repair the independent self) and 1 (repair the interdependent self), probabilities close to 0.50 indicate no preference to repair one aspect of self over the other. Overall, participants were most likely to repair the independent self compared to the interdependent self ( $M_{Grand} = 0.33$ ,  $SD = 0.47$ ).

**Cultural Background.** Results did not show any effect associated with the Shamed Self condition,  $\chi^2(1) = 1.03$ ,  $p = .31$ , participant ethnicity,  $\chi^2(2) = 0.97$ ,  $p = .62$ , or their interaction,  $\chi^2(2) = 1.51$ ,  $p = .47$ . In short, participants were equally likely to choose the option designed to repair the independent self as they were to choose the option designed to repair the interdependent self.

**Self-Direction.** When examining culture via self-direction (centered) findings only showed a significant effect of self-direction,  $\chi^2(1) = 4.94$ ,  $p = .026$ ,  $b = 0.54$ ,  $SE = 0.23$ . Estimated means illustrated that those high in self-direction ( $M = 0.37$ ,  $SE = 0.05$ ) were more likely to repair the interdependent self than those low in self-direction ( $M =$

0.23,  $SE = 0.04$ ).

**Testing Hypotheses 5 and 6.** There was a significant effect of the Shamed Self condition on BAS Fun,  $F(1, 220) = 4.33, p = .039, \eta_p^2 = .019$ . Participants who recalled a shamed interdependent self ( $M = 3.36, SE = 0.06$ ) scored higher on BAS Fun than those who recalled a shamed independent self ( $M = 3.17, SE = 0.06$ ). Though marginal,  $F(1, 220) = 3.41, p = .066$ , a similar pattern emerged for BAS Reward. Participant ethnicity and the two-way interaction were not predictive of the self-regulatory variables,  $F_s < 1.65, p_s > .19$ . None of the self-regulatory variables were associated with the choice of repair option,  $\chi^2_s < 2.23, p_s > .13$ .

**Self-Direction.** Examining participant endorsement of self-direction revealed a similar pattern as above except the effect of the Shamed Self condition on BAS Fun was marginal,  $F(1, 223) = 3.04, p = .083$ . Further, BIS was marginally related to the outcome,  $\chi^2(1) = 3.18, p = .075, b = -0.52, SE = 0.29$ . Those higher in BIS was related to a lower likelihood of repairing the interdependent self.

### Discussion

The goal of Study 3 was to address the possibility that participants may be especially likely to repair one aspect of self over another. Though Study 1 and 2 provide direct tests of the hypotheses, they only allowed participants to select one specific repair option or the neutral option. By providing participants with both repair options, Study 3 shows whether the experience of shame motivates individuals to repair an independent self or an interdependent self, and whether this motivation is primarily driven by the Shamed Self, the culturally-congruent self, or both.

In general, participants were more likely to repair the independent self and this

preference did not differ across the two Shamed Self conditions and participants' ethnic background. However, when examining participant culture via their endorsement of self-direction, it seemed that those low in self-direction were especially likely to repair the independent self, whereas those high in self-direction were less inclined to do so. Again, patterns run counter to the expectation that participants would be more likely to repair the aspect of self that is congruent with the shamed self or the culturally congruent self.

Thus far, the three studies show that participants tend to be more inclined to repair the independent self over the interdependent self. Though this does vary, to some extent, as a function of contextual cues, the fact that participants seem to gravitate toward options that either do not involve the self, or do not include engaging with others implies that shame motivates withdrawal tendencies over reparative ones. Study 4 addresses this possibility more directly.

## Chapter 12: Study 4

The first three studies have yet to show how participants would respond when provided all three options. Study 1 and 2 demonstrated that participants were more likely to select a non-repair option, followed by repairing the independent self, though this varied by cultural background in Study 1. Study 3 indicated that participants were more likely to repair the independent self, though this was less so for those who were high in self-direction. However, none have shown whether shame primarily motivates reparative or non-reparative behaviors. To establish a complete picture of the relationship between shame and repair, Study 4 addressed this question by providing participants with both repair options as well as the non-repair option.

### Method

Study 4 followed the same design as Study 2 and 3 except that participants were provided with the opportunity to engage in both repair options as well as the neutral (non-repair) task. All options were presented in counter-balanced order. Similar to Study 2, Study 4 recruited an online sample from MTurk.

**Data Cleaning.** Of the 343 individuals who began the study online, 7 were removed from the dataset because they did not provide a shameful situation, 1 was removed for completing the survey in over 5 hours, and 9 were removed for completing the survey in under 5 minutes. The final data file consisted of 326 responses.

**Participants.** Of those responses, 108 were Asian, 133 were Caucasian, and 85 were Latino. The average age of participants was 35.22 ( $SD = 10.42$ ), 59.8% were female, 34.1% had a household income that was less than \$40,000, 40.4% had a household income that was between \$40,000 and \$79,999, and 25.5% had a household



income that was \$80,000 or more.

Similar to the previous studies, Caucasians were most likely to have spoken English language at home (85.7%) and be fourth-generation American (66.9%). Asians and Latinos were most likely to have spoken another language other than English at home (76.9% and 69.4%, respectively). Relatedly, Asians were most likely to not have been born in the U.S. (43.5%) whereas Latinos were most likely to be first-generation American (34.1%).

**Procedure.** Again, participants completed the 38-item self-construal scale generated by Vignoles et al. (2016) (self-direction  $\alpha = .71$ ), Carver and White's (1994) 13-item BAS and 7-item BIS scales ( $\alpha$ 's across the four subscales ranged from .74 to .85), Marschall et al.'s (1994) State Shame and Guilt scale ( $\alpha$ 's ranged from .88 to .91), reported the negativity of the experience make you feel about yourself when you think about it?" ( $M = 3.62$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ), and completed the manipulation check items ( $r = .24$ ).

## Results

State shame was skewed at 1.01; therefore, a natural log transformation was used to reduce the skewness to 0.36.

**Manipulation Check.** Participants in the shamed independent-self condition were significantly more likely to feel ashamed that they were not more independent thinkers,  $b = 0.95$ ,  $SE = 0.20$ ,  $\chi^2(1) = 21.93$ ,  $p < .001$ , than those in the shamed interdependent-self condition. Further, those in the shamed interdependent-self condition were more likely to say that they felt ashamed that they were not more collaborative,  $b = -0.50$ ,  $SE = 0.20$ ,  $\chi^2(1) = 6.32$ ,  $p = .012$ , as those in the shamed independent-self condition.

**Testing Assumptions about Asian and Latino Cultural Backgrounds.** Mean

differences on the Self-Direction subscale were marginally significant across the three groups,  $F(2, 313) = 2.55, p = .080, \eta_p^2 = .016$ . Pairwise comparisons showed that Caucasian participants ( $M = 3.52, SE = 0.06$ ) scored significantly higher on self-direction than Asian participants ( $M = 3.31, SE = 0.07$ ),  $p = .031$ , but not Latino participants ( $M = 3.49, SE = 0.08$ ),  $p = .79$ . Asian and Hispanic participants did not differ in self-direction,  $p = .11$ .

Given the small sample size of Asian participants, Asian and Latino participants were collapsed into one collectivistic cultural group to be compared against Caucasian participants (i.e., individualistic cultural group). However, there was no difference in self-direction between the collectivistic cultural group ( $M = 3.39, SE = 0.05$ ) and the individualistic cultural group ( $M = 3.52, SE = 0.06$ ),  $F(1, 313) = 2.47, p = .12, \eta_p^2 = .008$ .

**Demographic Moderators.** Using a similar approach as Study 2 and 3 to examine whether participant demographics influenced results over and above participant culture, results showed that income was negatively associated with self-direction,  $F(1, 314) = 14.30, b = -0.07, SE = 0.02, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .044$ , and age was positively associated with self-direction,  $F(1, 314) = 6.89, b = 0.01, SE = 0.004, p = .009$ . Further, income,  $F(1, 314) = 4.91, b = -0.03, SE = 0.01, p = .027$ ; age,  $F(1, 314) = 10.43, b = -0.01, SE = 0.002, p = .001$ , and the negativity of the experience,  $F(1, 314) = 41.02, b = 0.15, SE = 0.02, p < .001$ , were associated with state shame (transformed). These patterns indicate that both income and age were inversely related to state shame whereas the negativity of the experience was positively related. None of the demographic variables influenced the outcome over and above participant culture,  $ps > .30$ . Given these findings, participant income, age, and reported negativity of the experience were included as control variables

in addition to state guilt.

### **Cultural Differences in the Experience of Shame**

Examining whether participant ethnicity, the Shamed Self condition, and their interaction predicted state shame and participants' reports of how bad the experience made them feel while controlling for age and income. Findings showed that neither main effects nor the interaction were significant,  $F_s < 1.97$ ,  $p_s > .16$ .

**Testing Hypotheses 1 through 4.** Examining how participants responded to the outcome variable, on average, showed that participants were most likely to select the neutral task (49.5%), followed by the self-improvement activity (36.9%), then the cooperation activity (13.5%). To test Hypotheses 1 through 4, a generalized multinomial regression analysis with a logit link function was ran specifying the same effects as Study 3. Coefficients can be interpreted as the difference in choosing between two tasks. By default, SPSS specified the reference group of the outcome variable as the non-repair option. Therefore, the first set of coefficients represent participants' preference between 1) repairing the independent self compared to the non-repair task, and 2) repairing the interdependent self compared to the non-repair task. Subsequently, I specified repairing the interdependent self as the reference category to capture the preference between repairing the independent self compared to the interdependent self. These analyses show whether or not the preference between one task over another differs across participants' cultural background as a function of which aspect of self was shamed.

**Cultural Background.** Results of the multinomial analysis did not reveal any effect of participant cultural background,  $\chi^2(2) = 0.97$ ,  $p = .62$ , the Shamed Self condition,  $\chi^2(2) = 1.13$ ,  $p = .57$ , or their interaction,  $\chi^2(2) = 0.52$ ,  $p = .77$ , on which of the

three options participants chose.

***Self-Direction.*** Replacing the categorical cultural variable with participants' endorsement of self-direction revealed a different pattern. Results showed a significant main effect of self-direction,  $\chi^2(2) = 7.48, p = .024$ , as well as a significant two-way interaction effect between the self-direction and the Shamed Self condition,  $\chi^2(2) = 6.67, p = .036$ ; though, the main effect of the Shamed Self condition was not significant,  $\chi^2(2) = 2.20, p = .33$ .

Examining the main effect of self-direction did not reveal any significant simple slopes across the multinomial contrasts. The aforementioned effect may have reflected differences in the magnitude of the slopes. The preference to select the non-repair task over repairing the independent self,  $b = -0.29, SE = 0.17, p = .088$ , and repairing the interdependent self,  $b = -0.23, SE = 0.27, p = .40$ , tended to be smaller among those lower in self-direction than those high in self-direction.

Exploring the two-way interaction showed that, when the independent self was shamed, the difference between selecting the non-repair task over repairing the interdependent self was smaller for those lower self-direction,  $b = -0.90, SE = 0.36, p = .013$ . The difference in preference between repairing the independent self (choose the self-improvement task) and choosing the non-repair task,  $b = -0.40, SE = 0.24, p = .097$ , as well as repairing the interdependent self,  $b = 0.50, SE = 0.36, p = .162$ , did not vary across self-direction endorsement.

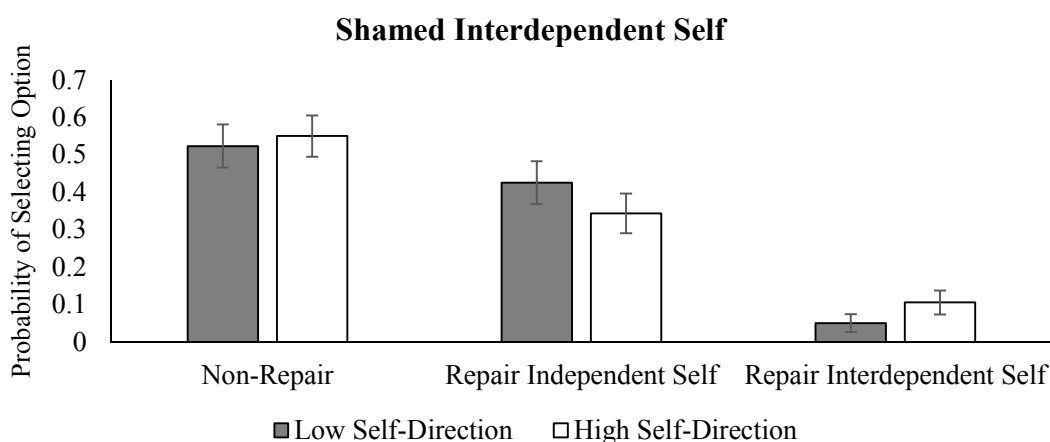
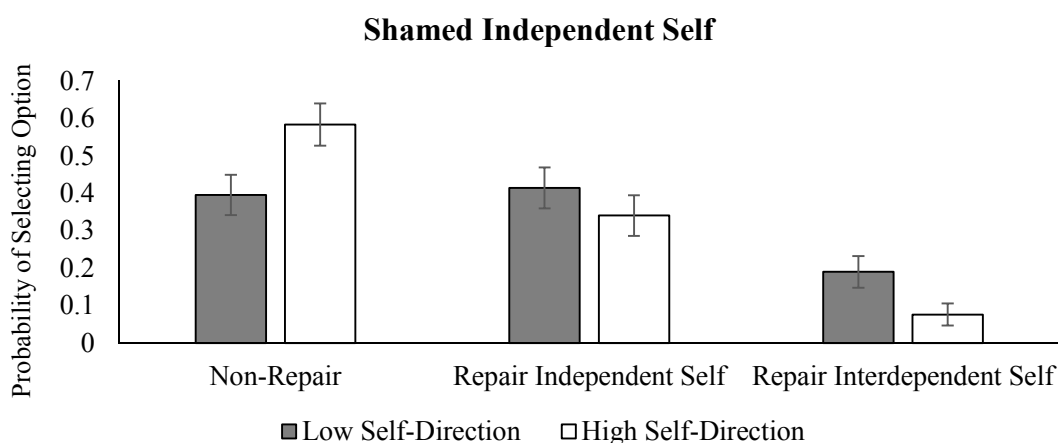
When the interdependent self was shamed, the differences in the choices to select all three tasks did not vary across self-direction,  $ps > .13$ .

To explore these effects from a different angle, I generated the marginal means

and 95% confidence intervals using Stata 15 (StataCorp, 2017), which corresponded to the probability that participants in each shamed self condition and at high (+1 *SD* above the mean) and low (-1 *SD* below the mean) endorsements of self-direction selected each outcome (see Figure 6 for plotted means and standard errors). Doing so indicated that, when the independent self was shamed, participants high in self-direction,  $M = 0.58$ ,  $CI_{95\%} (0.47, 0.69)$ , were more likely to select the non-repair option than those low in self-direction,  $M = 0.40$ ,  $CI_{95\%} (0.29, 0.50)$ . Conversely, those high in self-direction,  $M = 0.08$ ,  $CI_{95\%} (0.02, 0.13)$ , were somewhat less likely to repair the interdependent self than those low in self-direction,  $M = 0.19$ ,  $CI_{95\%} (0.11, 0.28)$ ; though confidence intervals had slightly overlapping values. There was no difference in the decision to repair the independent self across ratings of self-direction. Further, when the interdependent self was shamed, the extent to which participants decided to select each option did not vary across self-direction.

**Testing Hypotheses 5 and 6.** Results revealed no effect of culture, the Shamed Self condition, or the two-way interaction on any of the self-regulatory variables,  $ps > .19$ . However, BAS Fun was predictive of the outcome,  $\chi^2(2) = 6.55$ ,  $p = .038$ . In comparison to the non-repair option, participants high in BAS Fun were significantly less likely to choose to repair the independent self,  $b = -0.43$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ,  $p = .025$ , and marginally less likely to repair the interdependent self,  $b = -0.54$ ,  $SE = 0.30$ ,  $p = .075$ . There was no difference in the decision to repair the independent self or the interdependent self as a function of BAS Fun,  $b = 0.11$ ,  $SE = 0.30$ ,  $p = .73$ .

Figure 6. Study 4. The average probabilities of selecting each of the three options by high (+1 SD) and low (-1 SD) endorsement of Self-Direction, and the Shamed Self condition.



**Self-Direction.** Self-direction endorsement was positively associated with BAS Drive,  $F(1, 301) = 11.21, p = .001, b = 0.22, SE = 0.06$ , BAS Fun,  $F(1, 301) = 4.77, p = .030, b = 0.12, SE = 0.06$ , BAS Reward,  $F(1, 301) = 5.06, p = .025, b = 0.16, SE = 0.04$ , and negatively related to BIS,  $F(1, 301) = 8.55, b = -0.21, SE = 0.06, p = .004$ . Further, the participant ratings of BAS Fun, marginally differed between the Shamed Self conditions,  $F(1, 301) = 3.78, p = .053$ . Those in the shamed interdependent-self condition

( $M = 3.32$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ) scored higher on BAS Fun than those in the independent-self condition ( $M = 3.15$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ). The two-way interaction was not significant for any self-regulatory variables,  $ps > .23$ .

Given that this set of analyses identified different outliers than the analyses pertaining to culture-as-ethnicity, there was no relationship between BAS Fun and the outcome variable,  $\chi^2(2) = 4.71$ ,  $p = .095$ . However, the contrast between the selection of the non-repair option and the option to repair the independent self was statistically significant and in the same direction as before,  $b = -0.38$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ,  $p = .046$ . None of the other self-regulatory variables were associated with participants' choice of task,  $ps > .45$ .

### Discussion

When participants were provided all three options, they were much more likely to choose the non-repair option, followed by repairing the independent self, and then the interdependent self. This pattern closely aligns with patterns presented in the previous studies. Similar to Study 1 and 2, participants are more motivated select the non-repair option. Consistent with Study 3, participants were more likely to repair the independent self compared to the interdependent self. Taken together it seems that in general, shame motivates individuals to disengage, or perhaps withdraw, from the situation. This is apparent given that participants tended to avoid repair, and when they did select a repair option, were more likely to choose a solo task, which did not include others.

This pattern varied as a function of self-direction. When the independent self was shamed, those high in self-direction (low in receptiveness to others' influence) were more likely to select the non-repair task relative to repairing the interdependent self. There was

no difference in the preference to select the non-repair option over repairing the independent self. When the interdependent self was shamed, there was no difference in the preference to choose one task over another across participant cultural background. Just as in Study 1, participants seemed to avoid repairing the aspect of self that was shamed. However, unlike Study 1, this only occurred when the independent self was shamed.

These findings can be attributed, in part, to activation of the BAS Fun. That is, those high in self-direction and those whose interdependent self was shamed scored higher in BAS, which was associated with a preference for non-repair relative to repairing the independent self. Therefore, it seems that BAS Fun, rather than BIS, motivated avoidance of the tasks designed to repair the aspects of self.



## Chapter 13: General Discussion

The purpose of this dissertation was to test a model that integrates research on cultural differences in the behavioral consequences of shame and the perceived reparability of shame. The model assumes that culture influences the likelihood that a given shameful situation is perceived as repairable. Since individuals were expected to view behaviors that reinforce their culturally-congruent self-construal as easier to carry out, given that they are likely to come more naturally, than behaviors that reinforce a culturally incongruent self-construal, it was expected that reparative behaviors would be particularly likely if the aspect of self that is shamed aligned with their culturally-congruent self-construal (see Leach & Cidam, 2015). Four studies tested this assumption and showed that, overall, participants were more likely to *avoid* repairing the self and that for some participants, this was more pronounced when the opportunity to repair the self did not align with the aspect of self that was shamed.

### Overview of Major Findings

The first two studies examined the model directly by requiring participants to select either one repair option or a non-repair option. Study 1 relied on a student sample in order to assess the influence of shame in real-time. Results showed that culture played a role in how individuals respond to shame but that this influence depended upon what aspect of self was shamed, and what aspect of self was available for repair.

When culture was examined via ethnic background, participants with collectivistic backgrounds were more likely to repair the self than participants with individualistic cultural backgrounds. This pattern is in line with previous literature on culture and shame (Sheikh, 2014; Wong & Tsai, 2007). The difference was most

prominent when participants could repair the aspect of self that was *not* shamed. That is, when the *independent* self was shamed, members of collectivistic cultural backgrounds were more likely than members of individualistic cultural backgrounds to repair the *interdependent* self. Conversely, when the *interdependent* self was shamed, members of collectivistic cultural backgrounds were more likely than members of individualistic cultural backgrounds to repair the *independent* self. Members of both groups were equally likely to repair the self when the shamed self and repaired self were congruent. Further, members of collectivistic cultures were less likely to repair the interdependent self when the interdependent self was shamed compared to when the independent self was shamed. Taken together, this pattern suggests that members of individualistic backgrounds may be avoidant of repairing the aspect of self that was not shamed whereas members of collectivistic backgrounds may be avoidant of repairing the aspect of self that was shamed when it aligns with their culturally-congruent self-construal.

Exploring culture in terms of endorsement of a self-directive self-construal showed the opposite pattern. Those who scored higher on self-direction (lower on receptiveness to others' influence) were more likely to repair the self than those who scored lower on self-direction. Again, this difference primarily occurred when participants could repair the aspect of self that was not shamed. Specifically, when the *independent* self was shamed, those high in self-direction were more likely than those low in self-direction to repair the *interdependent* self. When the *interdependent* self was shamed, those high in self-direction were more likely than those low in self-direction to repair the *independent* self. Therefore, Study 1 shows that when examining culture via ethnic background, more individualistic individuals tended to avoid repairing the aspect

of self that was not shamed whereas examining culture as endorsement of self-direction showed that this was true among those low in self-direction.

Study 2 relied on the same paradigm as Study 1 except that an online sample was recruited in order to determine the generalizability of the results to a broader sample, and to recalled shame. Unlike Study 1, there was no evidence that participant culture influenced their decisions to repair or not repair the self. Instead, what was found was that regardless of cultural background, individuals were the least likely to repair the interdependent self when the interdependent self was shamed. Again, patterns seem to counter the hypothesis that congruency would enhance perceived reparability; though, the same pattern did not emerge when the independent self was shamed. In fact, participants were equally likely to repair the self whenever the independent self was involved (shamed or available for repair).

The reason for the discrepant findings between Studies 1 and 2 is not immediately clear. It could be that remembering a time in which one failed to demonstrate one's interdependence may be especially painful. When one revisits the shameful experience, and remembers the feeling of being scrutinized by others, the idea of cooperating with others may be especially threatening. Repairing one's self as an independent entity may be one way to reaffirm one's self without feeling vulnerable or opening up the potential for further rejection. According to Cibich et al. (2016), repairing a damaged social image may seem daunting, and the opportunity to establish meaningful relationships with others may make shame appear to be perceived as repairable. Yet, the prospect of interacting with others may have the opposite effect to the extent that any stigma is perceived to be tied to the shameful situation.

Another possible reason that findings from Study 2 differ from those of Study 1 is that recalled shame may operate differently than shame experienced in the moment. Whereas those recalling a shameful experience have likely had time to cope and move past the event, those experiencing state shame may be more responsive to the immediate opportunities for repair. This may explain why responses were more sensitive to contextual cues in Study 1 compared to Study 2.

Although Study 1 and 2 tested the model directly, by pitting one repair option against a non-repair option, they did not provide any evidence as to which type of repair option individuals would prefer if given both choices. Study 3 addressed this limitation by providing participants with both repair options absent of any non-repair option. This that culture, measured via the endorsement of self-direction, was related to how individuals responded to recalled shame. Again, contrary to hypotheses, participants high in self-direction were more likely to repair the interdependent self versus the independent self; vice versa, those low in self-direction were less likely to repair the interdependent self. This effect did not vary as a function of which aspect of self was shamed.

Study 4 provided participants with all three options to gain a sense of which type of response option was more typical to the experience of shame. Similar to Study 1 and 2, participants were most likely to select the non-repair option. Similar to Study 3, they were least likely to repair the interdependent self, with repair of the independent self falling in between. Participant culture did qualify this effect. When the independent self was shamed, those low in self-direction were more likely to repair the interdependent self relative to the non-repair option. This effect ran counter the patterns presented in Study 1 with regard to culture-as-self-direction but mirror the Study 1 results regarding culture-

as-ethnicity. This may reflect the ethnic differences that emerged in the self-direction variable for Study 4 but not in Study 1, as it indicates that those low in self-direction (which corresponds to high interdependence) were more drawn to repairing the self that was not shamed and were more likely to avoid repairing the self that was consistent with their self-construal. Taken together, the four studies do not lend support for the assumption that the congruence between the shamed self, the repaired self, or the culturally congruent self lead to reparative behaviors. Instead, they show that an incongruence between the shamed self and the repaired self produced avoidance of repair, especially among participants from collectivistic backgrounds (Study 1) and who are low in self-direction (Study 4).

**Self-Regulatory Effects.** The model also made assumptions about the mechanisms driving the decision to repair or not repair the self. It was hypothesized that the association between shame and reparative behaviors would be mediated by activation of the BAS. Conversely, it was expected that the association between shame and non-reparative behaviors would be mediated by activation of the BIS. No support for these hypotheses emerged. Across all four studies, there was no consistent effect of the shamed self condition or participant culture on any one self-regulatory variable. Although participant responses to BAS Fun was affected by the shamed self condition in Study 1 and 4, they went in opposite directions.

Further, the self-regulatory variables were very rarely associated with participants' responses to the outcome. In Study 2, BAS Reward was associated with a lower likelihood to repair the self—counter to expectations; and in Study 3, BIS was related to a lower likelihood of repairing the interdependent self. In short, there is limited

evidence that that participants' self-reported self-regulation influenced their behavior.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

This dissertation is not without its limitations. Exploring the nature of these limitations not only illuminates gaps in our understanding of shame and its consequences but also highlights important methodological considerations in how researchers assess culture.

**Effectiveness of the Shamed-Self Manipulation.** One limitation was that only two of the four studies (Study 2 and 4) provided unambiguous evidence that the shame induction manipulation was effective (via the manipulation checks). Based on these results, one could argue that only the findings reported in those two studies hold any merit. However, even though in Study 1 there was no self-report evidence that the shame-induction manipulation worked, there was clear evidence that participants' responses differed as a function of which aspect of self was shamed. This could mean that the Shamed Self manipulation affected something other than what was intended (i.e., shaming that aspect of self); however, examining participants' responses to the manipulation during debriefing (Study 1) or by reading their recalled experiences (Study 2 through 4) indicated that the results of the manipulation checks likely reflected differences in population characteristics across the four studies. Whereas Study 2 and 4 relied on the same population (MTurk workers), Study 1 recruited a younger sample (college student) and Study 3 relied on a more affluent population ("Qualtrics Panels"). Arguably, the participants in Study 1 and 3 may not have been invested in the procedure.

As mentioned previously, the student sample in Study 1 seemed to have responded defensively to the shame induction aspect of the procedure. A similar response

emerged from the “Qualtrics Panels” participants (Study 3). As a part of their service, Qualtrics allows researchers to “return” observations that suggest that the respondent is not providing quality data. As I checked the data quality, I found that approximately 30% of participants indicated that they did not want to describe a time they felt ashamed, that they should not have to describe that they felt ashamed, or that they have never felt ashamed. After reviewing two rounds of data collection, which yielded similar percentages of non-compliance, I specified a 50-character minimum for responses to be included in the dataset.

These efforts made clear that the quality of data from “Qualtrics Panels” differed from the quality of data from MTurk. Whereas Qualtrics Panel data resulted in about 30% of the aforementioned responses, only a handful of MTurk workers responded similarly. This may have reflected the fact that MTurk workers are paid based on the quality of their responses whereas workers on “Qualtrics Panels” are paid regardless of how much effort they invest in the completion of a survey task. Taken together, it seems that the lack of evidence regarding the efficacy of the Shamed Self manipulation for Study 1 and 3 was likely due to participants’ reaction to the study. However, students’ reactions seemed to reflect their defensiveness to the procedure, whereas “Qualtrics Panels” workers’ reactions seemed to have stemmed from their lack of investment.

Differences regarding the effectiveness of the Shamed Self manipulation may also stem from demographic differences between the two samples. For instance, “Qualtrics Panels” tended to report higher income levels than MTurk workers. Research suggests that higher income, or middle class, individuals tend to be more independent than lower income, or working class, individuals who tend to be more interdependent (Grossman &

Varnum, 2011; Stephens, Townsend, Markus, & Phillips, 2012). As such, they may be more motivated with withdraw or engage in non-repair than MTurk workers. Presenting this population with only two repair options may have diminished the probability of detecting an effect of the Shamed Self manipulation. Given how differently participants from Study 3 responded to the procedure, it seems as though findings from this study are potentially questionable. Future research is needed to document differences between “Qualtrics Panels” and MTurk workers in order to understand these findings further.

One could also argue that the lack of evidence regarding the Shamed Self manipulation is compounded by the fact that participants, overall, reported low levels of state-shame. This is surprising given that previous research (de Hooge et al., 2010) has shown that participants reported fairly high levels of shame (all above the midpoint on their 0 to 10 scale) in response to a similar recalled-shame procedure. However, closer examination reveals important methodological differences. For instance, de Hooge et al. (2010) asked participants to rate how ashamed they felt after describing a personally shameful event. It is reasonable to expect participants to self-report that they feel shame after they have been asked to describe a time that they felt very ashamed. By contrast, in this dissertation, shame was assessed by participants responding to a series of questions regarding their current psychological state, but they were not asked explicitly to label their feelings as shame. Therefore, it may be that, overall, participants felt ashamed when they remember the event, but they may not have felt the experience intensely enough as to report that in that moment they wanted to sink to the floor, felt powerless, etc. (see Appendix D). A true test of this assumption would be to include a control condition in which participants did not experience any type of shame. However, given that this



dissertation focused on differences in the aspect of self that was shamed, it did not include a control condition. A natural next step to this line of research would be to explore the impact of recalled versus state shame manipulations on individuals' psychological and physiological reactions.

**Incongruent Patterns Between the Assessments of Culture.** Another limitation of these studies was the inconsistent patterns between the two assessments of cultural background. For example, Study 1 showed cultural differences in the expected direction when culture was examined as a function of ethnic background; yet, the opposite patterns emerged when examining culture as a function of participant endorsement of self-direction. The reason for these diverging patterns is not clear. One possible explanation is that Americans (especially the college students of Study 1) may have been more self-directive and less receptive to influence in general, which may not translate to the same group differences in self-direction that were observed by Vignoles et al. (2016).

To follow up, I reexamined my hypotheses by replacing the cultural background variable with participants' self-reported language use while they were growing up at home--a variable which taps acculturation into the mainstream culture (see Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough, & Escobar, 1987). In other words, rather than comparing participants from individualistic and collectivistic cultural backgrounds, I compared participants who grew up speaking another language at home to participants who did not. Study 2 and 3 suggested that participants who spoke another language other than English at home when they were growing up were more likely to repair the self (especially when they could repair the independent self; Study 2) but were more likely to repair the interdependent self in relation to the independent self (Study 3). Thus, assessing culture

via language yielded similar patterns as assessing culture via ethnicity.

Another possibility is that, even if the group differences do align with the results presented by Vignoles et al., the behavioral consequences associated with independence and interdependence documented in previous research may not translate to the same types of behavioral differences associated with reception to influence and self-direction.

Whereas collectivism and interdependence may be tied to repairing the self, as was expected, low self-direction (high receptive to influence) may not be. Those high in self-direction (low receptive to influence) may actually be tied to repairing the self because people high in self-direction are more likely take the initiative.

The ethnic differences in Study 1 may also stem from possible experimenter effects. Members of one culture may respond differently to a shameful situation when is experienced in front of a member of another culture. In fact, the cultural psychological literature has also linked the finding that members of collectivistic cultures are more likely to engage in reparative behaviors with their concern with saving “face,” or social reputation (Bagozzi, Verbeke, Gavino, 2003; Sheikh, 2014). Thus, it would be plausible to assume that Asian or Hispanic participants would be more sensitive to the presence of the interaction partner when experiencing shame. Yet, de Hooge et al. (2008) showed that prosocials, or those with a natural tendency to act prosocially, did not differ in their response to shame depending on if another person witnessed their shameful situation. However, proselfs, or those with a natural tendency to act more selfishly, were more likely to behave prosocially when another person witnessed their shameful situation. Given that members of collectivistic cultures tend to be more prosocial than members of individualistic cultures (Luria, Cnaan, & Boehm, 2015), we would have anticipated

members of individualistic cultures to be more sensitive to the presence of another person than members of collectivistic cultures.

One could also argue that another possible experimenter effect that may have given rise to the ethnic differences is the race of the experimenter. Research on stereotype threat has shown that the race of an experimenter can have an effect on how individuals react to the outcome of interest. According to stereotype threat theory, members of a stereotyped group tend to underperform on tasks when they are concerned that doing so would validate the stereotype (see Steele & Aronson, 1995). For instance, Black students tend to underperform on achievement tests when they are concerned that their score on the test would confirm others' stereotype that they are not as smart as members of majority groups. Consistent with the notion of possible experimenter effects, Marx and Goff (2005) showed that the presence of a Black experimenter buffered against the effect of stereotype threat, such that Black participants did not show the same decreases in performance that were present when the experimenter was Caucasian.

With regard to Study 1, non-Caucasian participants may have reacted to the fact that the experimenter was Caucasian. However, one would expect this to have cued a more individualistic mindset given that members of multiple cultures can engage in what is called "frame-switching." Frame-switching refers to the tendency for individuals who have been exposed to different cultures to draw on different cultural mindsets and behavioral rules, depending on contextual cues (e.g., Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martinez, Potter, & Pennebaker, 2006; see Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000). The presence of a Caucasian experimenter (especially considering that the materials are in English; see Kimmelmeier & Cheng, 2004), may have caused Asian and

Latino participants to draw on their understanding of the social expectations of individualistic culture, which may have facilitated behavior in line with individualistic norms. Given that Asian and Latino participants responded consistently with expectations, if there was an influence of the experimenter's race that facilitated frame-switching then one would anticipate that findings would have been more pronounced if the study recruited participants from East Asia or Latin America. To test this, a crucial step would be to examine whether these findings were more or less pronounced under conditions that cue the values and expectations of individuals' own cultural background.

**Null Self-Regulatory Findings.** A third limitation is that, across the four experiments, there was no evidence that BAS or BIS activation was associated with the decision to repair or not repair the self after a shameful experience. This may be due to the fact that the scales used to assess the self-regulatory variables were originally designed to tap into trait BAS and BIS activation. Although these scales have been successfully used in experimental contexts (see Schmeichel, Harmon-Jones, Harmon-Jones, 2010), the manipulations in the present studies may not have been strong enough to affect participants' responses to the items. Perhaps future research could examine hypotheses 5 and 6 using alternative assessments of BAS and BIS.

### **Implications**

The findings reported in this dissertation have important methodological and theoretical implications regarding current understandings of the nature of shame, and how its experience translates to behavior across cultures.

**Assumptions about Reparability.** These studies clearly show that the primary response was to avoid repair, followed by repairing one's self independently, as

participants were much less comfortable repairing the shameful situation when it included cooperating with others. This is consistent with Sheikh and Janoff-Bulman (2010a, 2010b), who argued that shame is associated with proscriptive morality regulation and avoidance tendencies, rather than motivating behaviors to right the wrong. Findings of this dissertation showed that shame primarily motivated behaviors associated with *non-repair*; potentially so that they could escape the negative feeling.

The fact that individuals gravitated more toward non-repair than they did toward the reparative options also counters Leach and Cidam's (2015) meta-analytic findings that shame leads to repair when the option to repair is available. This highlights an implicit assumption in Leach & Cidam (2015) that reparability implies not only the opportunity and ability to repair, but also the motivation on the part of the individual to do so. Findings of this dissertation clearly indicated that the opportunity to repair *by itself* may not have much of an impact on the decision to engage in reparative behaviors. It must be assumed that individuals facing the opportunity to repair must be motivated to do so, which does not seem to have been the case in many of the experimental conditions in this dissertation. For instance, in Study 4 all participants had the opportunity to engage in one of two repair options; yet, the majority chose to select the non-repair option. Thus, more work is needed to identify the *motivational* link between shame and behavior in order to lead individuals to engage in reparative behaviors after they experience shame.

An alternative explanation may be that congruency actually translates to perceived value. When an aspect of self is shamed, participants may perceive that they no longer contain something of value. To compensate, they may react defensively by avoiding circumstances that target that aspect of self and engaging in behaviors that

reinforce another valued aspect of self.

This hypothesis is supported by tenets of self-affirmation theory (Cohen & Sherman, 2014; Sherman & Cohen, 2006). According to this theory, individuals are motivated to maintain their self-view as worthwhile (though, not necessarily excellent) and competent. A threat to this self-view is psychologically threatening. Self-affirmations can serve as a defense against an imminent threat to one's self-view by reminding individuals that they embody things they value. Yet, the timing of self-affirmations is key. Once individuals engage in defensive rationalization to a perceived threat, self-affirmation no longer buffers against the effects of psychological threat because individuals are no longer receptive to the information that could help them improve. In fact, addressing the domain of failure may actually enhance perceptions of threat rather than reduce it. Therefore, in order to be effective, self-affirmations must occur before an individual becomes defensive (Cohen & Garcia, 2008; Critcher, Dunning, & Armor, 2010).

This explains why participants were the least likely to select repair option when it was congruent with the shamed self and, in certain circumstances, with the culturally-congruent self. When an aspect of self is shamed, individuals may be engaging in defensive rationalization to protect themselves against psychological threat (as was apparent in Study 1). Since this prevents individuals from seeking to improve the self, individuals may not be open to the prospect of repairing that aspect of self. Instead, they may be seeking other ways to repair the self that is incongruent with the aspect of self that was shamed. If so, it may be more advantageous to engage in self-affirmation strategies prior to a potentially shameful experience, rather than engaging in behaviors

that reaffirm the self after such an experience. One way to test this hypothesis would be to examine whether individuals are more likely to repair the aspect of self that is shamed when they can self-affirm prior to the shameful situation.

Another possibility for why participants did not engage in self-congruent (or affirming) behaviors is because doing so would actually *disaffirm* their sense of self. For instance, if individuals define themselves as an independent entity, then needing to engage in behaviors that reinforce that very sense of self may actually signal that they have failed at being independent. In other words, participants might avoid behaviors that align with their self-construal because doing so would be inherently threatening. Although it is intuitively plausible that having to affirm an important aspect of one's self-concept actually threatens that self-concept, at the present time this account is speculative.

**The Context of Shame.** These studies also have important methodological implications regarding the study of shame and how it relates to behaviors across contexts. As mentioned above, not all participants in Study 1 responded to the Shamed Self manipulation in a similar manner. Older students did not have the same reaction to their low score on the supposed indicator of success because they had more work experience and knew that they were able to be successful. These age differences in the effectiveness of the shame induction underscore the fact that shame is experienced in response to a perceived threat to one's social status. Yet, for an individual to perceive this threat, he or she must think that the characteristic under threat is desirable and as a result, has to care whether or not he or she is ranked high or low. In other words, shaming an individual's self-view as a good student is only effective to the extent that they wish themselves to be

perceived as a good student. Therefore, researchers attempting to shame a specific aspect of self may find that an experimental “one-size-fits-all” approach is less likely to be effective as a recalled shameful experience, since participants must have some level of identification with the domain under threat.

Not only did these age effects shed light on the utility of an experimental shame manipulation, they also imply that there may be an important developmental aspect to the behaviors investigated in the present line of research. As individuals get older, they become better able at coping with and managing negative life experiences and emotions (e.g. Hamarat, Thompson, Zabucky, Steele, Matheny, & Aysan, 2001). With regard to shame, the reason that older individuals may be less affected by shameful situations could be their self-concept is crystalized, or fixed, compared to older individuals (McCrae & Costa, 1982). Thus, older adults may feel less affected by threats to their sense of self. Patterns within in this dissertation support this notions, as older participants reported less feelings of shame after the Shamed Self manipulation than younger participants. Further exploring how age moderates the patterns presented here could provide valuable insight into how younger individuals could better cope with a shameful experience.

**The Intensity of Shame.** Another methodological implication is in regard to the type of shame being studied. As was noted in the discussion of Study 2, participants tended report greater levels of shame when it was recalled (Study 2) than when it was experienced in the moment (Study 1). However, participants in Study 2 were less variable in their reactions to shame than those in Study 1, suggesting that the motivation to repair the self (or not) might be determined by either the immediacy or the intensity of the shameful event (or both). One might assume that shame is experienced more intensely



immediately following the shameful event. Although participants' self-reports of their feelings of shame did not align with this assumption, as mentioned, debriefing participants in Study 1 indicated that they may have been more affected to the manipulation than they were willing to let on. In line with self-affirmation theory (Cohen & Sherman, 2014; Sherman & Cohen, 2006), individuals may be more hesitant to repair the self when shame is the most intense as they seek to avoid further psychological threat. Yet, as the experience becomes less painful over time, they may become more open to repairing that aspect of self that was shamed. A potentially rich area for future research could be to examine whether there is a curvilinear effect of time on individuals' responses to shame.

**Withdrawal and Other Behavioral Consequences of Shame.** The present studies did not address if and how shame is directly associated with the motivation to withdraw. A consistent finding in the literature is that shame is also related to externalizing and withdrawal behaviors (Sheikh & Janoff-Bulman, 2010b; Stuewig, et al. 2010; Tangney, Stuewig, & Martinez, 2014). However, the options provided in the four studies did not allow participants to completely withdraw or to distance the self through externalizing blame. Thus, the findings can only speak to the decision to avoid repair. Although, the present results do suggest that individuals might be more likely to withdraw than engage in reparative behaviors, it is not clear whether this translates to being more likely to externalize blame relative to repairing the self. Researchers interested in obtaining a more comprehensive view of shame and the conditions that lead to reparative behavior may benefit from exploring shame in a more naturalistic setting, to see how individuals respond to shame when they have many different options.

## Conclusions

Understanding the circumstances that will lead to a healthy reaction to shame is important in many fields. Developing a model that addresses the *behavioral* consequences of shame is an important step in providing researchers and practitioners with an understanding of how to ameliorate some of the negative effects of shame. Understanding resiliency to shame may help promote thoughts geared toward reparation, or malleability, of self. When working with a wide range of individuals, therapists and social workers may benefit from learning to identify which aspect of self is perceived as being shamed so that they may work to highlight how that may be perceived as reparable.

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## Appendix A

### Vignoles et al. (2016) New Self-Construal Scale: Items and Scoring

#### *Difference versus similarity*

1. You like being different from other people.
2. You see yourself as unique and different from others.
3. You like it when people notice you in a group.
4. \*Being different from others makes you feel uncomfortable.
5. \*You try to avoid being noticeably different from others.
6. \*Being praised in front of others makes you feel uncomfortable.

#### *Self-containment versus connection to others*

1. Your happiness is unrelated to the happiness of your family.
2. When you talk about yourself, you don't say very much about your family.
3. If someone insults a friend, you rarely feel insulted yourself.
4. \*If someone in your family is sad, you feel the sadness as if it were your own.
5. \*When someone in your family achieves something, you feel proud as if you had achieved something yourself.
6. \*Your happiness depends on the happiness of your friends.

#### *Self-direction versus receptiveness to influence*

1. You prefer to do what you want without letting your family influence you.
2. You make decisions about your life on your own.
3. \*You always ask your family for advice before making a decision.
4. \*Other people have great influence over the choices you make.

#### *Self-reliance versus dependence on others*

1. You prefer to rely completely on yourself rather than depend on others.
2. \*You try to avoid being reliant on others.
3. \*You prefer to ask other people for help rather than rely only on yourself.
4. \*You feel uncomfortable in situations where you have to rely only on yourself.

#### *Consistency versus variability*

1. You behave in the same way even when you are with different groups of people.
2. You always see yourself in the same way even when you are with different people.
3. You behave the same way at home and in public.
4. \*You act very differently at home compared to how you act in public.
5. \*You see yourself differently in different social environments.
6. \*You behave differently when you are with different groups of people.

*Self-expression versus harmony*

1. You prefer to say what you are thinking, even if it is inappropriate for the situation.
2. You show your inner feelings even if it disturbs the harmony in your family.
3. You are comfortable expressing disagreement with friends.
4. \*You try to adapt to people around you, even if it means hiding your inner feelings.
5. \*You feel uncomfortable when you express disagreement with members of your family.
6. \*You try to maintain harmony among the people around you.

*Self-interest versus commitment to others*

1. You value personal achievements more than good relations with the people close to you.
2. Your own success is very important to you, even if it disrupts your friendships.
3. You follow your personal goals even if they are very different from the goals of your family.
4. \*You value good relations with the people close to you more than your personal achievements. -
5. \*You always put your family first, even if it means giving up your personal goals.
6. \*You are more concerned with your friends' happiness than your own success.

\*Scales coded so that higher numbers indicate a more independent (vs. interdependent) self-view.

## Appendix B

Comparing Results across the Seven Vignoles et al. (2016) Self-Construal Subdimensions

**Table B.1. Ethnic differences in the Subdimensions by Study.**

	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3		Study 4	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
<b>Self-Direction</b>								
Asian	3.38 <sup>a</sup>	0.14	3.38 <sup>a</sup>	0.07	3.35 <sup>a</sup>	0.07	3.31 <sup>a</sup>	0.07
Caucasian	3.38 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	3.57 <sup>b</sup>	0.06	3.42 <sup>a</sup>	0.07	3.52 <sup>b</sup>	0.06
Hispanic	3.32 <sup>a</sup>	0.08	3.31 <sup>a</sup>	0.07	3.41 <sup>a</sup>	0.07	3.49 <sup>ab</sup>	0.08
<b>Difference</b>								
Asian	3.83 <sup>a</sup>	0.14	3.41 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	3.25 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	3.57 <sup>a</sup>	0.06
Caucasian	3.77 <sup>ab</sup>	0.04	3.51 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	3.31 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	3.50 <sup>a</sup>	0.05
Hispanic	3.95 <sup>ac</sup>	0.06	3.51 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	3.31 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	3.62 <sup>a</sup>	0.06
<b>Containment</b>								
Asian	2.61 <sup>a</sup>	0.13	2.49 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.55 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.49 <sup>a</sup>	0.06
Caucasian	2.47 <sup>a</sup>	0.05	2.65 <sup>b</sup>	0.05	2.58 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.45 <sup>ab</sup>	0.05
Hispanic	2.44 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.44 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.54 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.66 <sup>ac</sup>	0.07
<b>Self-Reliance</b>								
Asian	3.92 <sup>a</sup>	0.16	3.66 <sup>a</sup>	0.07	3.65 <sup>a</sup>	0.08	3.76 <sup>a</sup>	0.07
Caucasian	3.74 <sup>a</sup>	0.05	3.92 <sup>b</sup>	0.06	3.85 <sup>a</sup>	0.08	3.89 <sup>ab</sup>	0.06
Hispanic	3.82 <sup>a</sup>	0.07	3.70 <sup>a</sup>	0.07	3.67 <sup>a</sup>	0.08	4.01 <sup>b</sup>	0.08

(continued)

**Table B.1 Continued**

<b>Consistency</b>								
Asian	2.84 <sup>a</sup>	0.19	3.43 <sup>a</sup>	0.09	3.06 <sup>a</sup>	0.09	3.05 <sup>a</sup>	0.09
Caucasian	3.24 <sup>a</sup>	0.07	3.76 <sup>b</sup>	0.08	3.39 <sup>b</sup>	0.08	3.73 <sup>b</sup>	0.08
Hispanic	3.08 <sup>a</sup>	0.10	3.42 <sup>a</sup>	0.09	3.30 <sup>b</sup>	0.09	3.35 <sup>c</sup>	0.1
<b>Self-Expression</b>								
Asian	2.66 <sup>a</sup>	0.12	2.85 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.73 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.74 <sup>a</sup>	0.06
Caucasian	2.98 <sup>b</sup>	0.04	3.09 <sup>b</sup>	0.05	2.79 <sup>ab</sup>	0.06	3.03 <sup>b</sup>	0.05
Hispanic	2.97 <sup>b</sup>	0.06	2.98 <sup>ab</sup>	0.06	2.93 <sup>b</sup>	0.06	2.98 <sup>b</sup>	0.07
<b>Self-Interest</b>								
Asian	3.18 <sup>a</sup>	0.12	3.03 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.95 <sup>a</sup>	0.05	3.04 <sup>a</sup>	0.06
Caucasian	3.07 <sup>ab</sup>	0.04	2.97 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.83 <sup>a</sup>	0.05	2.88 <sup>b</sup>	0.06
Hispanic	3.28 <sup>ac</sup>	0.06	3.01 <sup>a</sup>	0.06	2.92 <sup>a</sup>	0.05	3.01 <sup>ab</sup>	0.07

Note: Within subdimensions and studies, means with the different superscript letters are statistically different from one another at  $p < .05$ .

**Table B.2. Comparing Hypotheses 1 through 4 Results across The Other Vignoles et al. (2016) Subdimensions**

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3	Study 4
<b>Self-Direction (SD)</b>				
Shamed Self	$\chi^2(1) = 4.02, p = .045$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.74, p = .098$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.23, p = .136$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.20, p = .332$
Repaired Self	$\chi^2(1) = 0.06, p = .812$	$\chi^2(1) = 16.99, p < .001$		
SD	$\chi^2(1) = 4.36, p = .037$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.09, p = .149$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.94, p = .026$	$\chi^2(2) = 7.48, p = .024$
Shame*SD	$\chi^2(1) = 1.23, p = .268$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.54, p = .464$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.51, p = .219$	$\chi^2(2) = 6.67, p = .036$
Shame*Repair	$\chi^2(1) = 0.36, p = .548$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.39, p = .066$		
Repair*SD	$\chi^2(1) = 0.28, p = .595$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.50, p = .479$		
Shame*Repair*SD	$\chi^2(1) = 7.59, p = .006$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.57, p = .449$		
<b>Difference (Diff.)</b>				
Shamed Self	$\chi^2(1) = 2.21, p = .137$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.22, p = .073$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.62, p = .106$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.71, p = .256$
Repaired Self	$\chi^2(1) = 0.23, p = .630$	$\chi^2(1) = 14.23, p < .001$		
Diff.	$\chi^2(1) = 0.14, p = .713$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.04, p = .844$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.26, p = .262$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.67, p = .435$
Shame*Diff.	$\chi^2(1) = 1.16, p = .281$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.004, p = .948$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.62, p = .032$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.32, p = .314$
Shame*Repair	$\chi^2(1) = 1.25, p = .265$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.23, p = .040$		
Repair*Diff.	$\chi^2(1) = 0.01, p = .910$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.61, p = .106$		
Shame*Repair*Diff.	$\chi^2(1) = 0.04, p = .843$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.15, p = .142$		
<b>Containment (Contain)</b>				
Shamed Self	$\chi^2(1) = 0.96, p = .327$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.84, p = .050$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.16, p = .281$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.32, p = .313$
Repaired Self	$\chi^2(1) = 0.62, p = .432$	$\chi^2(1) = 14.18, p < .001$		
Contain	$\chi^2(1) = 0.22, p = .641$	$\chi^2(1) = 8.22, p = .004$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.59, p = .444$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.07, p = .355$
Shame*Contain	$\chi^2(1) = 1.48, p = .224$	$\chi^2(1) = 8.29, p = .004$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.35, p = .067$	$\chi^2(2) = 3.10, p = .212$
Shame*Repair	$\chi^2(1) = 0.28, p = .598$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.79, p = .052$		
Repair*Contain	$\chi^2(1) = 1.46, p = .227$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.72, p = .397$		
Shame*Repair*Contain	$\chi^2(1) = 0.53, p = .468$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.55, p = .033$		

(continued)

**Table B.2. Continued**

<b>Self-Reliance (SR)</b>				
Shamed Self	$\chi^2(1) = 2.16, p = .142$	$\chi^2(1) = 6.37, p = .012$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.17, p = .280$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.80, p = .246$
Repaired Self	$\chi^2(1) = 0.28, p = .597$	$\chi^2(1) = 18.41, p < .001$		
SR	$\chi^2(1) = 0.67, p = .413$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.09, p = .148$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.21, p = .650$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.40, p = .498$
Shame*SR	$\chi^2(1) = 2.70, p = .100$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.01, p = .936$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.04, p = .835$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.15, p = .563$
Shame*Repair	$\chi^2(1) = 1.40, p = .236$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.37, p = .012$		
Repair*SR	$\chi^2(1) = 4.07, p = .044$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.35, p = .556$		
Shame*Repair*SR	$\chi^2(1) = 0.004, p = .953$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.45, p = .118$		
<b>Consistency (Consist.)</b>				
Shamed Self	$\chi^2(1) = 1.89, p = .170$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.49, p = .062$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.68, p = .195$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.06, p = .589$
Repaired Self	$\chi^2(1) = 0.19, p = .660$	$\chi^2(1) = 14.72, p < .001$		
Consist.	$\chi^2(1) = 0.04, p = .839$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.65, p = .104$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.04, p = .307$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.41, p = .495$
Shame*Consist.	$\chi^2(1) = 1.64, p = .200$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.06, p = .814$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.95, p = .163$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.38, p = .503$
Shame*Repair	$\chi^2(1) = 0.45, p = .501$	$\chi^2(1) = 5.79, p = .016$		
Repair*Consist.	$\chi^2(1) = 0.93, p = .336$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.04, p = .844$		
Shame*Repair*Consist.	$\chi^2(1) = 0.17, p = .676$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.10, p = .295$		
<b>Self-Expression (SE)</b>				
Shamed Self	$\chi^2(1) = 2.59, p = .107$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.14, p = .076$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.87, p = .171$	$\chi^2(2) = 0.80, p = .671$
Repaired Self	$\chi^2(1) = 0.33, p = .563$	$\chi^2(1) = 15.02, p < .001$		
SE	$\chi^2(1) = 0.05, p = .823$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.37, p = .066$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.10, p = .753$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.44, p = .295$
Shame*SE	$\chi^2(1) = 0.75, p = .386$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.51, p = .477$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.59, p = .207$	$\chi^2(2) = 4.78, p = .092$
Shame*Repair	$\chi^2(1) = 0.25, p = .618$	$\chi^2(1) = 5.54, p = .019$		
Repair*SE	$\chi^2(1) = 1.52, p = .217$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.10, p = .756$		
Shame*Repair*SE	$\chi^2(1) < 0.001, p = .998$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.10, p = .043$		

(continued)



**Table B.2. Continued**

<b>Self-Interest (SI)</b>				
Shamed Self	$\chi^2(1) = 1.70, p = .192$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.97, p = .026$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.29, p = .130$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.97, p = .373$
Repaired Self	$\chi^2(1) = 0.17, p = .681$	$\chi^2(1) = 15.51, p < .001$		
SI	$\chi^2(1) = 0.56, p = .456$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.43, p = .119$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.01, p = .316$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.02, p = .364$
Shame*SI	$\chi^2(1) = 0.01, p = .939$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.60, p = .440$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.12, p = .725$	$\chi^2(2) = 3.05, p = .218$
Shame*Repair	$\chi^2(1) = 0.51, p = .475$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.51, p = .475$		
Repair*SI	$\chi^2(1) = 0.16, p = .693$	$\chi^2(1) = 4.68, p = .031$		
Shame*Repair*SI	$\chi^2(1) = 0.22, p = .639$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.28, p = .259$		

Note: Control variables not listed.

## Appendix C

### Carver and White's (1994) Behavioral Inhibition and Behavioral Activation Scales: Items and Scoring.

1. A person's family is the most important thing in life.
2. Even if something bad is about to happen to me, I rarely experience fear or nervousness.
3. I go out of my way to get things I want.
4. When I'm doing well at something I love to keep at it.
5. I'm always willing to try something new if I think it will be fun.
6. How I dress is important to me.
7. When I get something I want, I feel excited and energized.
8. Criticism or scolding hurts me quite a bit.
9. When I want something I usually go all-out to get it.
10. I will often do things for no other reason than that they might be fun.
11. It's hard for me to find the time to do things such as get a haircut.
12. If I see a chance to get something I want I move on it right away.
13. I feel pretty worried or upset when I think or know somebody is angry at me.
14. When I see an opportunity for something I like I get excited right away.
15. I often act on the spur of the moment.
16. If I think something unpleasant is going to happen I usually get pretty "worked up."
17. I often wonder why people act the way they do.
18. When good things happen to me, it affects me strongly.
19. I feel worried when I think I have done poorly at something important.
20. I crave excitement and new sensations.
21. When I go after something I use a "no holds barred" approach.
22. I have very few fears compared to my friends.
23. It would excite me to win a contest.
24. I worry about making mistakes.

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Retrieved from <http://www.psy.miami.edu/faculty/ccarver/sclBISBAS.html>

#### Item Scoring:

Items 2 and 22 are reverse-scored.

Fillers: 1, 6, 11, 17

BAS Drive: 3, 9, 12, 21

BAS Fun Seeking: 5, 10, 15, 20

BAS Reward Responsiveness: 4, 7, 14, 18, 23

BIS: 2, 8, 13, 16, 19, 22, 24

**Appendix D**Marschall, Sanftner, & Tangney (1994) State Shame and Guilt Scale (SSGS):  
Items and Scoring

1. I feel good about myself.
  2. I want to sink into the floor and disappear.
  3. I feel remorse, regret.
  4. I feel worthwhile, valuable.
  5. I feel small.
  6. I feel tension about something I have done.
  7. I feel capable, useful.
  8. I feel like I am a bad person.
  9. I cannot stop thinking about something bad I have done.
  10. I feel proud.
  11. I feel humiliated, disgraced.
  12. I feel like apologizing, confessing.
  13. I feel pleased about something I have done.
  14. I feel worthless, powerless.
  15. I feel bad about something I have done.
- 

Item Scoring:

Shame: 2, 5, 8, 11

Guilt: 3, 6, 9, 12, 15

Pride: 1, 4, 7, 10, 13