SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCE AND EXPRESSION

OF SHAME AND GUILT: THE ROLE OF AGE, GENDER, CONTEXT,

PARENTING AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

ŞULE PALA SAĞLAM

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2016

SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCE AND EXPRESSION

OF SHAME AND GUILT: THE ROLE OF AGE, GENDER, CONTEXT,

PARENTING AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Psychological Sciences

by

Şule Pala Sağlam

Boğaziçi University

2016

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Şule Pala Sağlam, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;

- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature...

Date .... 29. 08. 2016................

ABSTRACT

School-Aged Children's Experience and Expression of Shame and Guilt:

The Role of Age, Gender, Context, Parenting and Socioeconomic Status

The current study tested the unique and interactive role of child age, sex, socioeconomic status (SES), interaction context (parent/peer) and family factors on school-aged children's experience and expression of shame and guilt. Their explanations for expressing or hiding these emotions were also explored. We recruited 144 middle-school children and their mothers for this study. Mothers completed a family demographics form and the mother form of parenting behaviors (EMBU) scale. Children participated in a semi-structured interview and completed the child form of EMBU.

Analyses revealed that younger children reported higher shame experience. They also reported more shame expression towards their parents than their older counterparts. Age did not affect children's overall guilt experience and expression, but guilt expression increased with age in low SES. Additionally, girls reported a more intense guilt experience. The role of SES was detected for shame experience only such that children from low SES families reported more intense shame experience. Gender by SES interaction effect revealed that boys in low SES experience more intense shame and guilt compared to boys in high SES. The role of context revealed more shame expression and more intense guilt experience in the presence of their parents than their peers. Warmth was a significant parenting behavior in predicting shame and guilt experience and shame expression. Additionally, overprotection was found to be positively related to shame experience and expression. Avoiding embarrassment and maintaining self-esteem, avoiding punishment, and receiving interpersonal support were the most

frequent reasons for hiding shame and guilt, and expressing both shame and guilt, respectively.

ÖZET

Okul Çağındaki Çocukların Utanma ve Suçluluk Duygusu Deneyimi ve İfadesi:

Yaş, Cinsiyet, Bağlam, Ebeveynlik Stilleri ve Sosyoekonomik Statünün Rolü

Bu çalışmanın amacı yaş, cinsiyet, sosyoekonomik statü gibi demografik özelliklerin, duygunun ifade edildiği bağlamın ve annelerin ebeveynlik stillerinin çocukların utanma ve suçluluk duygusu deneyimleme ve ifade etme yoğunluğuna olan etkisini ve onların bu duygularını ifade etme ya da saklama kararlarının altında yatan motivasyonlarını incelemektir. Bu çalışmaya 144 ortaokul öğrencisi ve anneleri dahil edilmiştir. Çalışmamıza katılan çocukların anneleri, ailelerinin demografik özelliklerini belirlemek amacıyla bir demografik bilgi formu ve uyguladıkları ebeveynlik stillerinin belirlenmesi amacıyla EMBU ebeveyn formu doldurmuştur. Çocuklar ise yarı yapılandırılmış mülakata katılmış ve EMBU çocuk formunu doldurmuşlardır.

Yapılan analizlere göre, çocukların yaşları arttıkça, utanma duygusu deneyimleme yoğunluklarının ve ailelerine karşı utanma duygusu ifade etme yoğunluklarının azaldığı görülmüştür. Yaş değişimi suçluluk duygusu deneyimleme ve ifade etme yoğunluğunu etkilemezken; artan yaş ile, düşük SES'de suçluluk duygusu ifade etme yoğunluğunda artış gözlenmiştir. Bu bulgulara ek olarak, kız çocuklarında suçluluk duygusu deneyimleme yoğunluğu erkek çocuklara kıyasla daha fazla gözlenmiştir. Düşük SES'deki çocukların yüksek SES'dekilere göre daha fazla utanma duygusu deneyimledikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Düşük SES'deki erkeklerin yüksek SES'dekilere göre daha yoğun utanma ve suçluluk duygusu hissettiği bulunmuştur.

Duygunun ifade edildiği bağlamın rolü de incelenmiş ve çocukların, ailelerinin bulunduğu ortamda daha fazla utanma duygusu ifade ettikleri ve aileye yönelik olan senaryolarda daha yoğun suçluluk duygusu deneyimledikleri bulunmuştur. Duygusal sıcaklık alt boyutunun, çocukların utanma duygusu deneyimleme ve ifade etme yoğunluğu ve suçluluk duygusu deneyimleme yoğunluğu üzerinde yordayıcı bir rolünün olduğu bulunmuştur. Bununla beraber, aşırı koruma alt boyutu ise utanma duygusu deneyimleme ve ifade etme yoğunluğu ile olumlu yönde ilişkili bulunmuştur. Tüm bunlara ek olarak, çocukların duygu ifade etme veya gizleme kararlarının altında yatan nedenler de araştırılmıştır. Utançtan kaçınma ve özgüveni koruma en sık ifade edilen utanma duygusu saklama nedeni olurken, azarlanmaktan kaçınmak en sık gösterilen suçluluk duygusu saklama nedeni ve kişilerarası olumlu destek almak ise hem utanma hem de suçluluk duygusu ifadesi için en sık gösterilen neden olmuştur.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to convey my heartfelt gratitude and sincere appreciation to all people who have helped and inspired me. This thesis would not have been possible without those supports from many people. The first and foremost among those people is my advisor, Assoc. Prof. Feyza Çorapçı, who gave countless hours to make this thesis a reality. Assistance, encouragement, guidance and the tremendous support she provided throughout my thesis have been very much appreciated. I also would like to thank to my thesis committee members, Assist. Prof. Gaye Soley and Assist. Prof. Ayfer Dost-Gözkan. Your careful attendance to my research and your suggestions were very helpful for finalizing my research. My defense was less stressful with your positive attitude. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Sibel Kazak-Berument. Since my undergraduate years, she has always been a source of inspiration to me in the area of developmental psychology.

I would like to thank my future colleague, Naziye Güneş Acar for her great friendship, encouragement, compassionate attitude and valuble advices. I am also very thankful to my colleagues in Psychology Department, Dilay Zeynep Karadöller Astarlıoğlu, Sinem Üner Yanılmaz, Aslı Aktan Erciyes, Sibel Bilge Kançal, Bilge Göz, Merve Mutafoğlu, Erdem Ozan Meral, Selma Hekim, Burcu Kaya Kızılöz for their support and friendship. Very special thanks also go to Derya Gökçe Karanfil, Gamze Er Vargün and Yasemin Oruçlular Kahya, even if they are away, they are indeed always right beside me with their voice that energized me on the other side of the line.

To Ömer..

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to Lewis (2010), shame and guilt are self-conscious emotions that require self and event related evaluation. The experiences that give rise to self-conscious emotions give us feedback about how we are perceived by others, how we define ourselves in the presence of other people and how we think about other people's ideas about ourselves. Therefore, self-conscious emotions are not only about self-relevant issues but also about a person's internal encounter with perceived thoughts of other people (Tangney & Dearing, 2004).

The overall goal of the current study is to explore whether demographic and family factors contribute to school-age children's experience and expression of shame and guilt as well as their explanations for expressing or hiding these emotions. Among the demographic factors, children's age, gender, their families' socioeconomic status (SES) were examined. Additionally, caregiving quality, particularly emotional warmth (e.g., acceptance and affection displays), control attempts (e.g., over involved, domineering and directing attempts), rejection (e.g., hostility or punitiveness) and comparison (e.g., parental preference of another child) were investigated as family-related factors in predicting children's shame and guilt experience and expression decisions.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REWIEV

2.1 Self-conscious emotions

Shame, guilt, and pride are considered social emotions since these emotions are experienced internally, but at the same time they emerge primarily in the actual or imagined presence of interaction partners (Tangney & Salovey, 1999; Tangney & Tracy, 2012). Social emotions are also called "self-conscious" emotions because a sense of self-development, understanding of standards, rules and goals, as well as self-evaluation should be accomplished in order to experience these emotions (Lewis, 1991). More precisely, internal observation, self-relevant thoughts, feelings and intentions transform the primary emotions like anger and sadness into more complex self-conscious emotions (Fischer & Tangney, 1995; Tangney & Tracy, 2012). In sum, these internal actions necessitate that children should be cognitively mature enough to have a stable self-presentation, and they need to evaluate their own self-presentation (Lewis, 2011). Among the self-conscious emotions, shame and guilt were of particular interest to this study. Each of these self-conscious emotions were reviewed briefly with respect to elicitors, the emotional experience and action tendencies associated with these emotions.

2.2 Shame

Cognitions and beliefs about the self are critical for shame experience (Lewis, 2010). Perceived devaluation of self, feeling of imperfection about one's core self, receiving criticism from others, being ridiculed, making a social blunder, or threats of love withdrawal have been identified as important antecedents of shame (Elison, 2005;

Ferguson, Stegge, & Damhuis, 1991; Gilbert, 1997). Charles Cooley (1998) describes this emotion as "looking-glass self" meaning that the way we think how other people judge us shapes the way we think about ourselves.

Violation of standards or failure of reaching expected standards can also result in shame experience (Fessler, 1999; Haidt, 2003; Harter & Whitesell, 1989). For instance, a widespread source of shaming in school age children is academic failure (Henriksson, 2008; Turner, Husman, & Schallert, 2002). Even if the failure is not a real one, standards of parents and their evaluations of children's behaviors and performance according to those specified standards may act to convert a success experience to failure. If a parent has very high standards for success, the child may feel despair if he/she cannot reach the specified standards (Lewis, 2010).

Research suggests that adults' attributions that contribute to shame generally involve internal attributions (Vliet, 2009). For instance, shame prone people make internal, global, stable and controllable (e.g., low effort), but also uncontrollable (e.g., low ability) attributions for their failure (Tracy & Robins, 2006). This means that they devalue their entire sense of self rather than focusing on a specific behavior, whereas guilt prone people make internal, specific, unstable and particularly controllable attributions (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Tracy & Robins, 2006). When looking at people who recovered from shame, qualitative analysis indicates that they succeed to fill the gap between their self-ideals and current self-concept by improving their self-concept and acquiring more accurate self-ideals (Vliet, 2009). Additionally, they give up self-blame and the thought that they do have any control over the shame-induced experiences. Instead they focus on agency to change these experiences and begin to focus on the future instead of the past (Vliet, 2009).

When experiencing shame, research suggests that a person's body becomes like slouch posture and they tend to turn their gaze for the intentions of conciliation, they feel a stressful impulse to withdraw immediately after the shame-eliciting event (Keltner & Harker, 1998). Shame has been described as painful and self-denigrating experience (Lewis, 2010). Elison (2003) argues that the emotion of pain signals a physical problem in one's body, while shame implies social pain related to one's self-worth (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003).

In terms of action tendencies, Erikson (1950) called shame as "visual shame" because people intensely try to fade away from other people's eyes (as cited in Lewis, 2010). In other words, they desire to escape and avoid the shame-eliciting situation (Gilbert, 1998; Lewis, 2010; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996). The function of these avoidant behaviors can be an implicit desire to prevent the audience from seeing their felt inferiority or decrease the probability of further humiliation (Elison, 2005). When experienced at an adaptive level, shame also functions to motivate individuals to reach for the valued standards of conduct (Ferguson et al. 1991).

2.3 Guilt

Research suggests that guilt when experienced at adaptive levels may facilitate prosocial and corrective behaviors, particularly after a wrong doing (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994; Breugelmans, & Poortinga, 2006; Haidt, 2003; Rebega, Apostol, Benga, & Miclea, 2013). In other words, instead of focusing on the whole self, the wrong action itself is the focus of people who experience guilt (Lewis, 1993, 2010).

Additionally, guilt may act as a buffer against later antisocial, risky and criminal behaviors (Stuewig & Tangney, 2007; Stuewing et al., 2015). Olthof's (2012) data added that a guilt component that prevents children from antisocial behaviors is also present in shame, which in turn prevents antisocial behaviors. Conversely, according to Stuewing et al. (2015), shame-prone behaviors in childhood predict later risky behaviors such as illegal drug usage. However, when prosocial behaviors were examined in relation to guilt and shame, only guilt was found to be positively related (Olthof, 2012). On the other hand, besides the motivational characteristics of guilt such as specificity and corrigibility, guilt can turn into a maladaptive emotion if one experience shame from the event inducing guilt (Lewis, 2010).

Available studies indicate that norm violations are the main antecedent of guilt. Additionally, moral transgressions like dishonesty toward a peer or family member, revealing a secret, mistakenly harming another person or his/her belongings are the relational antecedents of guilt experience (Ferguson, Stegge, & Damhuis, 1991; Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Jones, Kugler, & Adams, 1995). Especially if the person being damaged is in close relationship with the perpetrator and if the action damages their relationship, the intensity of the guilt experienced by the perpetrator is elevated. Research also indicates that properly socialized adults feel themselves guilty even if they hurt an unfamiliar person (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994).

In their seminal review on the literature on shame and guilt, Tangney and Dearing (2004) have concluded that people go through a less painful process in guilt experience compared to shame since people do not focus on the global self devaluation. Instead, they are more concerned about the action itself that created transgression. In other words, although both shame and guilt are negatively valenced

moral emotions, the experience of guilt is related to the action or behavior, whereas the experience of shame is related to the whole self (Niedenthal, Tangney, & Gavanski, 1994; Tangney & Dearing, 2004).

The amount of distress, different antecedents and experiences also result in dissimilar action tendencies (Ferguson, Stegge, & Damhuis, 1991). Fergusson and colleagues (Ferguson, Stegge, & Damhuis, 1991; Ferguson, Stegge, Miller, & Olsen, 1999) argue that individuals who experience guilt often concentrate on their wrongdoing, feel responsible for the action, worry about the results for other people, have an inclination to approach the victim, and have an inner force to aid the victim or recover the relationship. As a result, in response to guilt, when experienced at adaptive levels, people often take an active role to overcome and rectify the actions via self-punishment, self-discipline, or by engaging in corrective actions due to remorse (Ferguson, Stegge, & Damhuis, 1991; Ferguson, Stegge, Miller, & Olsen, 1999; Zahn-Waxler & Kochanska, 1990).

2.4 Developmental changes in shame and guilt experience and expression in children

Unlike basic emotions, self conscious emotions necessitate both cognitive skills like perspective taking and socialization experiences (Lewis, 2010). Studies examining shame and guilt development indicated that children by the age of three years experience and express the signs of shame and guilt through action tendencies (Lewis, 1992; Stipek, Recchia, McClintic, & Lewis, 1992).

In a longitudinal study conducted over five years, Kochanska, Gross, Lin and Nichols (2002) carried out a set of observational tasks and questionnaires with a sample of infants and their mothers. In the initial phase of the study, mothers

completed a questionnaire related to their children's self and moral development when their children were 18 months and later when their children were 56 months old. The observational procedure of the study let children think that they have broken a valuable object or committed a mishap. According to the results of this study, even 22 month-old children gave guilt reactions such as gaze aversion, heightened tension after a wrong-doing. Furthermore, 18-month-old children who have more indicators of self-development displayed more guilt behaviors, which in turn were positively associated with moral-self which measured via puppet conversations about declaration of guilt, request for forgiveness, compensation, obedience with rules, and empathy at 56 months.

Nonverbal display of shame and guilt suggests that children around the age of 3 years have acquired multiple representations and could distinguish and combine them, and evaluate their own actions against standards (Harter, & Whitesell, 1989; Lewis, 2010). For instance, in addition to unhappiness and remorse, shame integrates anger toward the self (Harter, & Whitesell, 1989). On the other hand, although many children aged 4 to 5 years cannot give an obvious description of shame and guilt and they (children younger than 7 years) cannot give an obvious distinction between shame and guilt, they can assign the valence of the emotion as good or bad, and they focus on the fear of parental punishment in response to their committed transgression (Harter, & Whitesell, 1989).

Children aged 6-7 years explain these emotions as their parents' experiences resulted from children's own actions instead of a self experience (Harter, & Whitesell, 1989). At around age 8, children begin to report shame as their own experience stemming from their actions (Harter, & Whitesell, 1989). Hence,

according to Harter and Whitesell (1989) children aged 7 to 11 years old can both understand these emotions and easily report the grounds resulting in shame.

Fergusson and his colleagues (1991) indicated that among children between the ages 7 and 12, children with age up to 9 begin to concentrate on the visibility of shame and guilt (although guilt is a less visible emotion) in order to maintain the guilt or shame eliciting event undetected and not to admit. On the other hand, older children (10-12 years old) in this age group focus especially on the others' reactions towards the shameful event instead of the guilt-eliciting event and focus on inner experiences and internal affectivity stemming from the event. Therefore, 10-12 years old children report shame (especially shame resulted from social blunders) as more visible by other people when compared to guilt (resulted from moral transgressions) (Fergusson et al., 1991). They also report the way that they display shame feelings with their avoidance and guilt feelings with approach tendencies. They were more likely to approach to the victim in response to guilty feeling than shame feeling. For instance, Bafunno and Camodeca (2013) found that as the age of preschool children increases, their guilt expressions such as repair and declaration of guilt also increases. Okur and Corapci (2015) also indicated a developmental increase among 3rd -5th graders in terms of shame expression. Therefore, in addition to developmental increase in children's shame and guilt understanding, studies suggested that there is also developmental increase in children's shame and guilt expression.

As suggested by all the above studies, shame and guilt experience as well as expression appear at preschool ages and increase in later years. The enhancement in the level of experience and expression arises from attributions of mental states and contemplation about shame and guilt experiences (Harris, 2010). Additionally, as stated in the preceding section, shame prone people make internal, global, stable and

controllable (e.g., low efforts) but also uncontrollable (e.g., low ability) attributions for failure (Tracy & Robins, 2006). On the other hand, guilt prone people make internal, specific, unstable and particularly controllable attributions (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Tracy & Robins, 2006). However, research also suggests that instead of seeing "low ability" as an uncontrollable factor, children before the age of ten assume all the internal causes (e. g., *low ability, low effort*) as controllable. Hence, research suggests that the more elaborative thinking about shame and guilt experience and expression, and the more accurate differentiation of shame and guilt occurs after the age of ten (Fergusson et al., 1991; Harris, 2010).

Finally, there is also developmental change in children's understanding of parental behaviors, which in turn affects their shame and guilt experience and expressions. Helwig, To, Wang, Liu, and Yang (2014) conducted a study which examines 7 – 14 years old children's perceptions and rationales about parental control behaviors (e.g., induction, love withdrawal, social comparison shame, shared shame) after committing a moral transgression. Results of this study showed that by the age of ten, children begin to make critical reasoning about shame and guilt inducing control behaviors and realize the detrimental effects of such parenting behaviors. Additionally, as the age of children increases, their negative evaluation of parental psychological control also increases (Helwig, To, Wang, Liu, & Yang, 2014).

As a result of these mentioned studies on children's shame and guilt understanding and display, and children's evaluations of parenting behaviors, the focus sample group of the current study was children whose ages vary between 11 and 13.

2.5 Gender in relation to shame and guilt experience and expression

Generally, gender differences in emotion experience and expression is found to be very small; however, when some contextual factors like age and culture are taken into consideration and specific emotions were examined precisely, this difference becomes more pronounced (Brody & Hall, 2010; Lewis, 2010). In the case of shame and guilt, several researchers indicated that girls experience these emotions more often than boys (Belsky, Domitrovich and Crnic 1997; Else-Quest, Higgins, Allison, & Morton, 2012; Feiring, Taska, & Lewis, 2002; Ferguson & Eyre, 2000; Furukawa, Tangney, & Higashibara, 2012; Harvey, Gore, Frank, & Batres, 1997; Rosemary, Arbeau, Lall, & Jaeger, 2010; Walter & Burnaford, 2006). One recent meta-analytic study divided internalizing emotions (e.g. sadness, anxiety, shame) and found that almost all internalizing emotions are experienced and expressed more by girls, but shame has shown the largest gender difference among other internalizing emotions, with girls displaying more shame than boys (Chaplin & Aldo, 2013).

By using the biopsychosocial model, which takes into consideration biological, psychological and social factors to better understand psychological phenomena, Chaplin (2015) reviewed studies by Halpern (2013) and concluded that there are biological differences between boys and girls in terms of different levels of prenatal androgen exposure and sex hormone release in utero that act to affect infants' brain development. Goddings and colleagues (2012) also conducted an fMRI study to reveal the effect of pubertal hormones on social emotion processing in adolescent females aged 11 – 13 years. Results indicated that increased levels of pubertal hormones like androgens and estrogens affects the activity in the anterior temporal cortex of the brain during social emotion tasks, which include guilt and embarrassment scenarios.

According to Chaplin (2015) a biological difference in emotion expression for boys and girls become accelerated via the integration of socialization factors to the biological factors. Specifically, Chaplin (2015) argues that a biologically-grounded difference between boys and girls in terms of emotion experience and expression expands as they are exposed to socialization practices that encourage gender-role specific behaviors. That is, in most cultures, girls are expected to express positive emotions and primarily those negative social emotions like sadness, shame and guilt. For example, some emotions like happiness, sadness, shame, and guilt are referred as women's emotions; on the other hand, emotions like anger and pride are referred as man's emotions (Hess et al., 2000).

Another psychological process that may lead to gender differences in shame and guilt is the different attributional styles of boys and girls (Rose & Rudolph, 2006; Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992). Boys tend to make external attributions about their failure, whereas girls tend to make more global attributions (Dweck & Leggett, 2000).

2.6 Psychological and societal factors on shame and guilt experience and expression

The biopsychosocial model for emotion experience and expression not only involves biological components but also early childhood experiences, parenting, and the sociocultural context of the family. Morris et al. (2007) also suggested a tripartite model to portray how children learn to express and regulate their emotions. According to this model, family impacts children's emotion expression and regulation through modeling, parenting practices and emotional climate which are embedded in the sociocultural context.

Among these factors parenting, socioeconomic status and context in which emotion eliciting event has occurred constitute the focus of this study. Initially, issues related with parenting were explained in detail as a psychological factor and finally socioeconomic status and context were displayed as social factors that may predict shame and guilt experience and expression.

2.6.1 Parenting in Relation to Shame and Guilt Experience and Expression

Caregivers' parenting style and their specific socialization behaviors have an impact on children's socioemotional development in general and on their emotional experiences and expression in particular (Denham, Bassett, & Wyatt, 2007).

2.6.1.1 Authoritarian style and punitive behaviors

In Mills's (2003) longitudinal study, 3-year-old girls' of parents who implement authoritarian parenting style display more shame at 5 years. Additionally, it is indicated that there is a bidirectional effect between parenting styles and shame (Mills, 2003). Parents who recognize their three years old children's anger are more likely to describe their parenting style as authoritarian after 2 years. However, if parents perceive that their children have shame reactions in addition to anger, then their level of authoritarian parenting style has decreased. Hastings, Zahn-Waxler, Robinson, Usher, and Bridges (2000) also conducted a longitudinal study with a sample of 5-year-old children and their parents. Results showed that 5-year-old children, whose parents displayed an authoritarian parenting style, showed less guilt, empathy and concern for others two years later. On the other hand, Parisette-Sparks, Bufferd and Klein (2015) conducted a longitudinal study with three-year-old children in order to reveal the predictive relationship of mothers' and fathers' parenting styles,

parental psychopathology and their marital satisfaction on children's shame and guilt expression three years later. Children's shame and guilt expression was observed during a laboratory task when children were six years old. Verbal, facial and bodily shame and guilt displays were recorded. Results showed that mothers' and fathers' authoritative and authoritarian styles measured when children were 3 years old did not predict their shame and guilt expression in the laboratory setting three years later. However, fathers' permissive parenting style, which is characterized by absence of boundaries and structure in parent-child relationship, predicted higher shame and guilt expression.

When guilt expression was examined as one of the antecedents of conscience in middle childhood, maternal reports and mother-child interactions were examined in toddlerhood with 6 years longitudinal study (Kochanska, 1991). A parenting style that is low in power-assertion and coercive discipline when children were 1,5-3,5 years old were found to be related to high levels of guilt in children aged 8-10 (Kochanska, 1991; Kochanska, Gross, Lin & Nichols, 2002; Kochanska & Aksan, 2006).

Punitive, minimizing and derogatory reactions of parents rather than inductive reactions also act to induce shame to children (Breen, Daniels, & Tomlinson, 2015; Feiring, Taska, & Lewis, 1996; Jones, Eisenberg, Fabes, & MacKinnon, 2002; Keyes et al., 2015; Lewis, 1995; Lunkenheimer, Shields, & Cortina, 2007). Bennett, Sullivan, and Lewis (2005) propose a model that points to the role of child maltreatment (neglect and physical abuse) on their shame proneness. This model suggests that shame has a meditational role between child maltreatment and anger. Bennett and his colleagues found that only physical abuse which is measured via physical abuse records in Child Protective Service documents was

positively associated with 3-7 years old children's shame behaviors during a self-evaluative success and failure task.

There is also evidence from a longitudinal study that harsh parenting in childhood period predicts later shame-proneness in adolescent years via a mediating effect of parental rejection (Stuewig, & McCloskey, 2005). Data collection period of this research was completed at three time points during 8 years. Data related to childhood family risk predictors like harsh parenting collected at time 1 when children's average age was 9 (in 1991), both parenting measures and shame and guilt measures were collected at time 2 (in 1997), and data related to late adolescent outcomes were collected at time 3 (in 1999). One important finding of this study points to the importance of parental warmth. Specifically, if parents provide warmth after 6 years of these harsh parenting experiences, then children were rated as more guilt prone.

Finally, Pulakos (1996) indicated that there is a relationship between family environment in childhood and later shame experiences in adulthood. That is, people who live in dysfunctional families in their childhood and people who report less cohesiveness and expressiveness in their family have higher shame scores in the adulthood period. Parisette-Sparks and colleagues (2015) also found that higher marital dissatisfaction measured when children were 3 years old predicted their shame and guilt expression at 6 years of age.

2.6.1.2 Authoritative style and positive parenting practices
Positive parenting practices like parental warmth, support and especially paternal care seem to enhance the emotion of guilt and diminish shame (Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997). Additionally, the quality of parent-child bond is found to be associated with

child expectations of the manner of their parents' shaming reaction in response to their misbehavior.

Kochanska, Forman, Aksan and Dunbar (2005) set out a longitudinal study. Results revealed that the guilt component of conscience was related to high early mutually responsive orientation experiences of mothers. In other words, mothers who responded to their children with harmonious exchange and positivity when the children were in infancy period (9- 22 months) were more likely to have children (at 33 months) who enjoy interaction with the mother and who are in compliance with their mothers. These children, in turn, displayed significantly more guilt following transgression behavior when they were 45 months old. The authors have argued that reciprocal responsiveness between parents and children initiate the internalization of parental rules, standards and goals by children. Since, in the face of parents' caring and responsive behaviors, children do not perceive parents' desire as an external coercion; instead, they internalize parents' wishes and want to help them cooperatively (Kochanska, 1997). Additionally, Stuewing and McClosy's (2005) longitudinal study indicated that parental warmth was associated with 15-year-old children's guilt proneness. Matos, Gouveia, and Duarte (2015) conducted a retrospective study with undergraduate students. Results showed that undergraduates' childhood memories including parental acceptance, safeness and warmth have a moderator role between shame memory and depression. If people mentioned their shame memories as their main personality characteristic and at the same time they mentioned warmth and closeness in the family when they are children, then their depression scores diminish.

There is much less research with mixed results with respect to the role of parental warmth on children's shame experience and expression. For example, one

study (Walter & Burnaford, 2006) found that girls' intimacy with their siblings and boys' intimacy with their fathers were negatively associated with shame. But, Gao and collegous (Gao, Tang, Qian, Zhang, & Wang, 2008) indicated that as the relationship with the person who witnessed the shame-eliciting event gets closer, the intensity of the shame experienced also escalated.

2.6.1.3 Rules, standards and evaluations of parents

Socialization pattern of families determines the way children judge themselves, which in turn maybe shame-inducing (Chan, Bowes, & Wyver, 2009). Initially, standards, rules and goals of the families set a stage for the children because they base their standards according to their parents' standards. Different levels of standards and different reactions to success or failure are one of the sources of individual differences in shame. For instance, a widespread source of shaming in school age children is academic failure (Henriksson, 2008; Turner, Husman, & Schallert, 2002).

Alessandri and Lewis (1993) set out a correlational study to examine the relationship between parental evaluations and children's shame expression. Results showed that the more negative feedback children received from the parents, the more shame expression they displayed. Moreover, Kelley, Brownell and Campell (2000) set out a longitudinal study with 2-year-old children and their mothers in order to examine the relationship between mothers' evaluative feedback and control behaviors, and children's later mastery motivation, shame, and pride. Results of this study showed that if mothers used a critical and negative attitude toward their children during the difficult task, then these children displayed more shame and avoidance behavior when they tried to accomplish the difficult task one year later.

These studies suggest that negative attitude and feedback have a power of shaping child's self-evaluation and shame.

2.6.1.4 Parental control

Available studies on parental control show significant relations between parenting behavior and children's emotional expression (Berlin & Cassidy, 2003). Parental control is commonly accepted to have two components: behavioral control and psychological control (Barber, 1996; Smetana & Daddis, 2002).

Researchers have defined behavioral control as monitoring children's behaviors, being aware of their experiences and enforcing acceptable rules and regulations to their behaviors without restraining children's autonomy (Barber, 1996). Behavioral control has been associated with children's positive self-perception, school success and having prosocial friends and negatively associated with behavior problems, both with Western and Turkish samples (Barber, 1996; Kındap, Sayıl, & Kumru, 2008; Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007). There is a lack of research examining specifically the relation between behavioral control on children's shame and guilt experiences. However, the definition of behavioral control corresponds to authoritative parenting style. Therefore, research examining the relation between authoritative parenting and shame and guilt can be also relevant with behavioral control.

Psychological control, on the other hand, is an implicit way to regulate children's opinions, expressions and emotions by restraining child's autonomy and firmly monitoring children's thoughts and behaviors (Barber, 1996). Additionally, parents want to see their own desires and expectations as their children's desires so they try to infuse their own thoughts into children. Such manipulative and invasive

parenting acts to interfere with children's psychological and emotional development (Barber, 1996; Schafer, 1959). Indeed, psychological control has been shown to have detrimental effects on the development of children's emotion regulation (Cui, Morris, Criss, Houltberg, & Silk, 2014; Frazer & Fite, 2015; Mandara & Pikes, 2008). For instance, high frequency and intensity of intrusiveness is one example of psychological control that prevents children from experiencing the consequences of any failure or misbehavior (Belsky, Domitrovich, & Crnic, 1997).

Research conducted with Turkish samples found that Turkish girls whose ages vary between 11-18 perceived high behavioral control compared to boys, whereas, boys perceived high psychological control (Kındap, Sayıl & Kumru, 2008; Sayıl & Kındap, 2010; Sayıl et. al., 2012; Yaban, Sayıl, & Kındap-Tepe, 2014). To date, parental psychological and behavioral control has been related to school-age children's adjustment outcomes similar to research with Western samples. For example, results consistently showed that perceived behavioral control positively related to perceived school success, positive peer relations and self-esteem (Kındap, Sayıl, & Kumru, 2008; Kındap-Tepe & Sayıl, 2012; Yaban, Sayıl, & Kındap-Tepe, 2014). On the other hand, psychological control was found to be negatively related to self-esteem and perceived school success but positively related to aggressiveness, relational aggression, having deviant peers and loneliness. However, the relationship between parental control and Turkish children's shame and guilt experience as well as expression has not been addressed in the literature to date.

In Western literature, Belsky and his colleagues set out an observational study with parents and their firstborn sons in toddlerhood period. Data were collected longitudinally and two sessions of parent-child interactions both at home for parenting measures and at laboratory for emotion measures were observed. Three

components of parenting, which are intrusiveness, detachment and cognitive

stimulation, were observed naturalistically for 15 minutes. Results of this study

showed that intrusive mothers and fathers decrease their children's shame displays.

Belsky and his colleagues argued that an intrusive parental behavior teaches the child

to make more external attribution in the task failure situation because this type of

parenting behavior enforces children to comply with parental goals. However, when

children fail, parents do not permit to make any internal attributions in order to

prevent their child from reacting shame (Belsky, Domitrovich, & Crnic, 1997). It can

be concluded that children whose parents are intrusive may try to hide their shame

reactions, even if they experience it, in order to reach their parents' goals and

expectations. Therefore, although children hide their shame reactions, intrusive

parents likely to have shame prone children since they create feeling of inadequacy

in children.

Shame and guilt induction, negative affect toward the child, child ignorance

and love withdrawal in order to make the child's behavior compatible with the

parents' behavior are among other psychological control behaviors (Barber, 1996).

Assor and colleagues (Assor, Vansteenkiste, & Kaplan, 2009) claim that a child's

noncompliance with parental request, if followed by parental devaluation,

derogation, and love withdrawal, may induce shame and guilt in children. Indeed,

love withdrawal was found to be negatively linked with children's self-worth

(Helwig, To, Wang, Liu, & Yang, 2014). Additionally, parents induce guilt by

focusing on negligible wrong doings and by criticizing them (Donatelli, Bybee, &

Buka, 2007).

According to Abell and Gesac (1997), young adults whose parents adopted

inductive control (providing oral explanations, reasoning, and empathy to child

wrong doings) in their childhood years are more guilt prone; however, young adults whose parents adopted affective control (parental disregard, expression of dissatisfaction, love withdrawal) display more shame.

Helwing et al. (2014) made an in-depth research that investigates children's thoughts about parental discipline and psychological control strategies. Children whose ages vary between 7 and 14 increasingly prefer induction and reasoning strategy over shaming and love withdrawal. They think that neither shaming nor love withdrawal create any internalized control over the misbehavior. Additionally, Hoffman (1983) argued that induction method as a parental discipline elevates the level of guilt in children instead of shame.

2.6.2 Socioeconomic Status in Relation to Shame and Guilt Experience and Expression

Gilbert (1989) stated that people live in social environments, but the system includes social ranks such that some people are in the higher status, whereas others are in a subordinate position. With these specified positions, people generate "mentalities," in other words, they form cognitive schemas and behave accordingly (Gilbert, 1989). "Threat" and "inferiority" are the key terms for the social rank theory (Gilbert, 2000). When people perceive "threat" or "inferiority," defensive submissive strategies like shame, social anxiety and depression emerge. However, guilt is not related to inferiority and submissiveness (Gilbert, 2000).

Walker et al. (2013) conducted a qualitative and extensive research with adults and children in seven countries (rural Uganda and India; urban China; Pakistan; South Korea and United Kingdom; and small town and urban Norway) to examine shame stemming from factors such as low SES, failure, weakness and

inability to reach the societal prospects. Results indicated that in all these areas poverty was related to shame and shame-related reactions. For instance, even if children in Uganda saw their parents' exceeding efforts to meet the societal standards, they are often angry about their poverty, despise and blame their parents for the poverty, and eventually they deeply experienced shame. Interviews in this study indicated that parents' inability to meet the demands of children and children's despair related to their perceived lower rank among other children are the main sources of parents' shame experience in these societies. People in Britain, Uganda, India and Pakistan reported that they do not want to face other people's humiliation and contempt, hence, they identified withdrawal as a common reaction. This study suggests that children from lower SES families may be more prone to experience and express shame. The available literature on SES difference with respect to children's emotion experience and expression was reviewed briefly below.

In a study by Okur and Corapci (2015), Turkish children's both basic and self-conscious negative emotion expressions were examined in relation to SES, gender and context. This study used four vignettes depicting unfairness, unfulfilled expectations, public exposure of one's failure and happiness to elicit anger, disappointment, shame, sadness and guilt in third and fifth grader children. The results of the study indicated that, compared to low SES Turkish children, middle-high SES Turkish children were more inclined to express their felt anger and sadness. On the other hand, although no SES differentiation was found in the expressions of shame and guilt, a gender difference in shame expressions was found in low SES such that girls reported to express more shame than boys. However, there was no gender difference among middle-high SES children's shame expressions. This study has also shown that girls expected more interpersonal support in response

21

to their expression of shame than boys, and middle-high SES children expected more interpersonal support in the expression of guilt than low SES children.

Raval, Martini and Raval (2007) compared two different areas (old city and suburban region) in India in terms of children's emotion expression (anger, sadness, physical pain) to reveal Indian children's thoughts about the social acceptability of their emotion expression. In this study, the suburban region represented a higher SES region, whereas the old city represented a lower SES region. Results indicated that children who live in old city hold the thought that people are less tolerant for the expression of negative emotions. Thus, these children reported more self-control for restricting their felt emotion when compared to children in the suburban area of India (Raval et al., 2007).

Socioeconomic status or social rank in relation to emotions was also examined with children from two different cultures, called Brahman and Tamang, from Nepal (Cole, Bruschi and Tamang, 2002). Although all of these cultures give importance to group harmony and respect for authority, compared to Tamang people, Brahmans are in a higher position in the Hindu caste system, which distinguishes culture according to their social distance and status. Results of this study showed that Tamang children endorse more shame than Brahman children in response to shame-eliciting events. Similarly, Cole, Tamang and Shrestha (2006) found that because of their high caste position, Brahman culture values distant and serious parent-child relationship, which in turn encourage autonomy and differentiation. Hence, parents in this high cast see the expression of anger as a way to dominate and compete, and they were observed to react to their child's anger with positive attention to reinforce the expression of this emotion. In the case of shame, they were observed to ignore their children's shame display. On the other hand, in Tamang culture anger is seen as

a threat to the maintenance of the social harmony, and Tamang parents were observed to respond to child's anger with soothing (Cole et al., 2006). Close relationships with children in Tamang culture also led them to respond to child's shame with nurturance, teaching and positive attention to shame display.

Such socioeconomic status differences in emotion expression can be rooted in differentially adopted values and locally differentiated sociocultural contexts (Morris et al., 2007). Autonomy and relatedness are the preferred values of individualistic and collectivistic cultures, respectively (Fischer, Manstead, & Rodriguez Mosquera, 1999; Mesquita, 2001). And these different cultural characteristics create different perceptions for emotion experience and expression. For instance, people in the collectivistic cultures see shame not as an extreme negative experience since they give particular importance to the function of shame that contributes to a sense of morality (Scherer & Wallbott, 1994; Fung, 1999; Fischer, Manstead, & Rodriguez Mosquera, 1999). Additionally, collectivistic cultures appreciate the interrelatedness and regard shame experiences as an aid for admitting weaknesses and enable them to overcome the shortcomings (Trommsdorff, 2009). This view is particularly pronounced in parts of Asia, Africa, and South and Central America. The shame experience is seen a way of as a self-improvement and self-regulation opportunity (Sheikh, 2014; Fung, 1999). Likewise, Zhang (2015) stated that traditional thoughts in specific cultures shape people's emotion experiences. For example, in Chinese culture, which is also collectivistic, Confucianism is prevalent social and moral thought. According to Confucianism, self-perfectionism is the main struggle for life. Hence, shame experience is seen as a competence to focus on inner world in order to rectify the inappropriate behaviors or thoughts to be humane person (Zhang, 2015).

The dynamic and changeable nature of social relationships in each specific culture results in different meanings, psychological representations, practices and expressions of emotions (Mesquita & Boiger, 2014). In this regard, Kağıtçıbaşı (2013) proposed that with global urbanization and immigration, individuals make an "integrative synthesis" by embracing both collectivistic and relatedness values. In other words, autonomy and relatedness as basic human needs can coexist and their balanced combination is adaptive (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2003, 2012, 2013).

In other words, with the family change theory, Kağıtçıbaşı (2007) challenged the assumption that socioeconomic development results in alteration shift from an interdependent self to the independent self. She argues that middle-class, educated individuals in economically developing collectivistic societies are more likely to reach a balanced self model, which is autonomous-related self since they do not want to give up the embedded familial ties while increasing their autonomy in changing contemporary urban life. It is assumed that related selves may be the predominant self model in the low SES groups, whereas an autonomous-related self model is assumed to be prevalent among the high statuses groups. Therefore, in the current study, children from different SES families are predicted to represent different self models, which in turn would shape children's emotion experience and expression. In other words, although relatedness is valued similarly in both high and low SES in Turkey, what differentiates each SES group is the autonomy values. Hence, if autonomy and independence, besides relatedness, is valued in the high SES, self expression in this SES group can be encouraged, which in turn increase high SES children's emotion expression when compared to low SES children.

2.6.3 Parent vs. peer context in relation to shame and guilt expression

In emotion expression literature, children's decision to express or conceal their feelings varies by audience and type of the emotion felt. For instance, Raval, Martini and Raval (2007) indicated that children aged 5-9 years express their anger more to their peers than their mothers. On the other hand, they express their physical pain and sadness more to their mothers than their fathers. However, von Salisch (2001) stated that expression of emotions in peer context can be risky for children, especially preadolescents considering the possibility of being ridiculed. In line with this view, when anger, sadness and pain considered, Zeman and Garber (1996) found that 1st, 3rd and 5th graders try to control their emotion expression less in the presence of their mothers and father than their peers.

Whether the shame or guilt eliciting event has occurred in the context of parents vs. peers was studied by Bafunno and Camodeca (2013) as an important influence on the level of emotion experience and deciding whether or not they express shame and guilt. Results showed that preschool children express shame and guilt more in the presence of adults than peers. Bafunno and Camodeca (2013) argued that the presence of an adult, as an authority figure, in the shame or guilt eliciting events is an additional shame and guilt eliciting factor for children. Therefore, an increase in the feeling induce also an increase in emotion expression. In addition, familiarity with the audience is also found to be an important factor in experiencing emotion (Fersson, Stegge, & Damhuis, 1991). Children reported that they feel ashamed more in the presence of an unfamiliar person than a familiar one. On the other hand, Okur and Corapci (2015) did not find any difference across parent and peer contexts in 3rd and 5th graders' shame and guilt expression.

2.7 The present study

This study investigated the role of age, gender, parenting and SES on children's experience and expression of self-conscious emotions, particularly shame and guilt. The following hypotheses were investigated:

Hypothesis 1: Age differences in children's emotion experience and expression.

In light of previous findings regarding the role of age on shame and guilt experience and expression (e.g., Bafunno & Camodeca, 2013; Okur & Corapci, 2015), it was expected that as the age of children increases, their shame and guilt experience and expression would also increase.

Hypothesis 2: Gender differences in children's emotion experience and expression.

In light of previous studies (e.g., Chaplin & Aldo, 2013; Chaplin & Aldo, 2015; Else-Quest, Higgins, Allison, & Morton, 2012; Furukawa, Tangney, & Higashibara, 2012), we expected that girls would be more likely to report the experience and expression of shame and guilt compared to boys. Specifically, the largest gender difference was expected in the experience and expression of shame.

Hypothesis 3: Socioeconomic status and its relation to children's emotion experience and expression.

Considering the social rank theory (Gilbert, 1989, 2000) and research by Walkers (2013), we expected that children living in disadvantaged families would be more likely to experience and express shame. Although Gilbert (2000) stated that guilt is not associated with inferiority and submissiveness, there is little available research on this topic. Therefore, we left the role of the SES on guilt experience and expression as an exploratory hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: Parent vs. peer context in relation to children's emotion expression. It was expected that children would display shame and guilt more in the presence of their parents than peers.

Hypothesis 5: Gender by SES interaction effects:

Based on previous literature, an interaction effect between gender and SES in the prediction of shame and guilt expression was also of primary focus in the current study. Based on limited previous research (Okur & Çorapçı, 2015), it was expected that girls in low SES families would report more shame expression than boys. No gender difference was expected among children from middle-high SES families.

Hypothesis 6: Parenting behaviors and its relation to children's emotion experience and expression.

Based on previous research (e.g., Hastings, Zahn-Waxler, Robinson, Usher, & Bridges, 2000; Mills, 2003; Stuewig, & McCloskey, 2005), it was expected that children who perceive their parents as less rejecting would experience and express less shame and more guilt compared to children who perceive their parents as rejecting. Similarly, it was expected that children who perceive their parents' behavior as derogative (i.e., parents compare their children with others) would be more likely to experience and express shame and less likely to experience and express guilt.

Secondly, according to research on emotional warmth (e.g., Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997), it was expected that children who perceive their parents' behavior as more emotionally warm would experience and express more guilt. Given the mixed

results, we examined the link between warmth and children's shame experience as an exploratory hypothesis in the current study.

Thirdly, because of a lack of existing literature about overprotection and parental control, and the possibility that overprotection could have different meaning in Turkish culture; we examined whether children's experience and expression of shame and guilt would change as a function of mothers' overprotective behaviors as an exploratory hypothesis in the current study.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

3.1 Participants

Participants were 144 children in the 5th, 6th and 7th grades (aged 11 and 13) from

secondary schools in Istanbul and their mothers. In total, three secondary schools

(i.e., one public secondary schools, two private secondary schools) were included

into the study. Convenience sampling was used to recruit the participants. Maternal

education level served as a proxy to classify children into the SES groups. Those

children whose mothers had at least high school degree were grouped into the high

SES group, and those with mothers who had less than high school degree were

placed into the low SES group. Child and family characteristics based on the SES

group are given in Table 1.

As presented in Table 1, almost similar number of boys and girls were

recruited from low SES (41 girls, 30 boys) and high SES (34 girls, 38 boys). In the

high SES group, 79.4% of children attended private school, while only 21.7% of

children in low SES attended private school, mostly with a scholarship, $\chi2$ (1,

N=143) = 45.88, p <.01. Mean age of mothers was 39.19 (SD=5.11), and mean age

of fathers was 41.69 (SD=5.63). Mean age of the fathers (M=42.34, SD=5.56) and

mothers (M=39.36, SD=5.59) of children from low SES did not differ from the mean

age of fathers (M=43.05, SD=5.73) and mothers (M=39.01, SD=4.61) of children

from their counterparts in the high SES group, t (127) = -.71, p = .47 and t (134) =

.39, p = .69. In the low SES group, 27.4 % of the fathers had at least high school

degree, while 77.9 % of the fathers in the high SES group had at least high school

degree, $\chi2$ (9, N=139) = 56.39, p<.01. Ninety per cent of the fathers of low SES

children were blue-collar workers such as building worker, whereas 73.6% of the fathers of high SES children had professional carreers, $\chi2$ (1, N=138) = 64.79, $p <$ .01. Income level of the families differed significantly by SES, $\chi2$ (5, N=141) = 37.45, $p<.01$.

Table 1. Child and Family Characteristics by SES

Child and Family Characteristics	SES					
	Low SES (n= 71)			High SES (n= 72)		
Gender (male)	42.3 %			52.8 %		
School Type (private)	21.7 %			79.4 % **		
Grade	5th Grade	6th Grade	7th Grade	5th Grade	6th Grade	7th Grade
	26.8 % (n=19)	32.4 % (n=23)	40.8 % (n=29)	34.7 % (n=25)	38.9 % (n=28)	26.4 % (n=19)
Number of siblings	2.55 (1.70)			.91 (.72)**		
Maternal age (years)	39.36 (5.59)			39.01 (4.61)		
Paternal age (years)	42.34 (5.56)			43.05 (5.73)		
Paternal education (% with at least high school degree)	27.4 %			77.9 % **		
Income (% with at least 3000 TL)	30.4 %			78 % **		
Paternal occupation (% professional or managerial)	9.9 %			73.6 % **		

Note 1. Maternal education was used as a determinant for SES groups. Mothers who have at least high school degree were placed into the high SES group and those with less than high school degree were placed into the low SES group. Values represent means and standard deviations (in parentheses), unless otherwise indicated.
Note 2. Tests of statistical significance of the differences between the low and high SES groups are based on independent samples t-test or Chi-square test. ** $p < .01$.

3.2 Measures

3.2.1 Family Demographic Information Form

Mothers were required to complete a demographic form in order to give information about child's age, gender, parents' income and education level, the number of household people, and the number of siblings (see Appendix A).

3.2.2 Parental Rearing Behaviors

The Egna Minnen av Barndoms Uppfostran-My memories of Upbringing (EMBU) was used to assess child rearing behaviors. The EMBU was originally developed by Perris et al. (1980) for the assessment of adults' perception of their parents' child rearing behaviors. The original scale went through an adaptation. Currently, there is an adult version that measures caregivers' perception of their own child rearing behaviors (Castro, Toro, Arrindell, Van Der Ende & Puig, 1990). The child version of the EMBU was developed by Castro, Toro, Van Der Ende, & Arrindell, (1993) to assess children's perception of their parents' child rearing behavior. Additionally, a short form of EMBU (s-EMBU) was created with three subscales (Emotional Warmth (6 items), Rejection (7 items), and (Over) Protection (9 items) for use with adolescents in cross-cultural research (Arrindell, Sanavio, Aguilar, Sica, Hatzichristou, Eisemann & Ende, 1999).

The Turkish versions of both the child and parent forms of s-EMBU, which were adapted by Sümer and colleagues (2007) were used in this study. The child form of s-EMBU has 27 items in total and four subscales: Emotional Warmth (9 items), Overprotection (6 items), Rejection (7 items) and Comparison (5 items). Children were asked to complete the items of this questionnaire on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = *No, never* to 4 = *Yes, always*). For the child version, the internal consistency reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) ranged from .49 to .69 for these subscales (Sümer, Selçuk, & Günaydın, 2006). In the present study the Cronbach alpha coefficients for the child form of EMBU Warmth, Rejection, Overprotection, and Comparison were .84, .65,.85, .49, and .81, respectively. (see Appendix B).

The parent form of s-EMBU has 29 items in total and four subscales: Emotional Warmth (9 items), Overprotection (7 items), Rejection (8 items) and Comparison (5 items). Mothers were asked to complete the items of this questionnaire on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *Never* to 6 = *Always*). For the parent version, the internal consistency reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) ranged from .75 to .82 (Sümer, Selçuk, & Günaydın, 2006). In the current study, alpha coefficients for the parent form of EMBU were.72 for the Warmth subscale, .73 for the Rejection subscale, .79 for the Overprotection subscale, and .70 for the Comparison subscale (see Appendix C).

3.2.4 Measure of Children's Reactions to Emotion Eliciting Situations

Children's emotional reactions were measured via a semi-structured interview. Twelve scenarios were presented to children. Four scenarios per emotion (i.e., happiness, shame and guilt) were constructed based on previous literature and a pilot study prior to the main study. Three scenarios (two shame and one happiness eliciting) were translated from Cole et al.'s (2002) study. One guilt eliciting scenario was adapted from the TOSCA-C developed by Tangney, Wagner, Burggraf, Gramzow and Fletcher (1990). One happiness scenario was adapted from Saarni's (1979) disappointing gift scenario, and seven scenarios (two shame, three guilt and one happiness eliciting) were constructed based on the pilot study that was conducted with 29 children (7 girls, 7 boys from 5th grade and 8 girls, 7 boys from 6th grade from both low and high SES families). In the pilot study, participants were asked in which situations children of similar ages to them would feel happy, ashamed or guilty with their parents and peers (see Appendix H). The replies of children were

carefully examined to find common themes and construct culturally-relevant scenarios for Turksih children.

Of these 12 scenarios, six of them presented parents of the protagonist child as the audience figure and six of them presented children's peers as the audience figure (see Appendix D). Peer and parent scenarios were presented separately. There were two scenarios of shame and two scenarios of guilt as well as two scenarios of happiness in peer scenarios and in parent scenarios. Within the peer and parent scenarios, the order of the scenarios was counterbalanced by using a Latin square design. In order to resolve possible negative emotional impact of shame and guilt scenarios on children, scenarios eliciting happiness were presented after the shame or guilt scenarios.

All scenarios were created as the third person scenarios. At the end of each scenario, the target emotion was labeled. Prior to reading out loud each scenario, the experimenter asked children to imagine themselves to be the protagonist. Following each scenario, children were required to reply five or six questions related to their emotional reactions to these situations presented. The questions were as follows:

Question 1) "How much would you feel the [target emotion] of the protagonist if you were in the protagonist's place?". Children were required to answer this question on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Not at all,* 2= *Slightly,* 3= *Moderately,* 4= *Very*, 5 = *Extremely*). Children who respond that they would not feel the target emotion were asked; 1.A) "How would you feel in this situation?" Child's open-ended reply was recorded.

Question 2) "Do you want your parents/peers to know that you feel the [target emotion]?" Children were expected to answer on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = *Definitely no,* 2= *Probably no,* 3= *Probably yes,* 4= *Definitely yes*). Children who

don't prefer their interaction partners to know about their emotions were asked to complete the following sentence to inquire their reason for hiding their emotion: "*You do not want to make your parent/peers aware of your feeling because………*".

Those children, who prefer their interaction partners to know about their emotions, were asked to complete the following sentence to inquire their anticipated consequence of emotion expression: "*You want to make your parent/peers aware of your feeling because………*".

Finally, children were asked whether or not they would feel any other emotion aside from shame or guilt in response to each of these scenarios (*"Aside from shame/guilt, what emotion(s) do you feel the most?"*) (see Appendix E).

3.3 Procedure

Following the permissions from the Istanbul Provincial Directorate for National Education, school administrations and parents were informed about the study through consent forms. Children whose parents gave consent to participate were interviewed individually for about 30 minutes (See Appendix F). These interviews were conducted in a separate, silent meeting room or in a classroom at school. Before the interview, child assent form (See Appendix G) was read by the researcher, and the researcher answered any questions children may have related to the procedure. In the initial phase of the interview, researcher read out loud each of the twelve scenarios (See Appendix D).

As with other studies in the literature, scenarios eliciting shame and guilt were presented consecutively with happiness scenarios in order to diminish children's possible negative affect. After each scenario, comprehension check questions were asked in order to determine whether or not children have grasped the

scenario (See Appendix D). In cases where children could not answer the questions, researcher repeated the scenario or clarified the questions that the child could not respond. Following the comprehension check questions, participants were asked five or six interview questions per scenario (See Appendix E).

Children's replies to all interview questions were transcribed verbatim for later coding. As a final phase of the interview, the child form of the s-EMBU (See Appendix B) was completed by the children in order to assess how they perceived their mothers' parenting behaviors.

In order to obtain data on children's family demographics, mothers' parenting behaviors and the nature of mother-child relationship; mothers of participating children were asked to complete two questionnaires: (1) a demographic information form (See Appendix A) and (2) the mother form of s-EMBU (See Appendix C). These questionnaires were delivered to mothers through the child in an enclosed envelope.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1 Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for the variables from the child interview as well as child and mother ratings of parenting behaviors are presented in Table 2 and Table 3, respectively.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for the Variables from Child Interview

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Shame Experience Intensity (overall)	144	3.81	.90	1	5
Shame Experience Intensity- Parent	144	3.82	.90	1	5
Shame Experience Intensity- Peer	144	3.80	1.10	1	5
Shame Expression (overall)	143	2.53	.75	1	4
Shame Expression- Parent	140	2.83	.77	1	4
Shame Expression- Peer	140	2.26	.94	1	4
Guilt Experience Intensity (overall)	144	4.43	.58	1	5
Guilt Experience Intensity- Parent	144	4.52	.63	1	5
Guilt Experience Intensity- Peer	144	4.33	.67	1	5
Guilt Expression (overall)	144	3.42	.56	1	4
Guilt Expression- Parent	143	3.43	.64	1	4
Guilt Expression- Peer	144	3.42	.68	1	4

Table 3. Child and Mother Ratings of Parenting

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Warmth- Child Report	144	3.37	.52	1.67	4
Rejection- Child Report	144	1.40	.36	1	2.88
Overprotection- Child Report	144	2.52	.71	1	4
Comparison- Child Report	144	1.75	.67	1	4
Warmth- Mother Report	140	5.35	.57	3	6
Rejection- Mother Report	140	1.76	.70	1	4.38
Overprotection- Mother Report	140	3.61	1.17	1.29	6
Comparison- Mother Report	140	2.36	.98	1	5.25

Note . Parenting scores in each subscale were created by averaging the items related to pareting behavior.

4.2 Age differences in children's emotion experience and expression

In order to determine differences in age groups, one-way ANOVAs were conducted with age as the independent variable with three levels (5th graders, 6th graders, 7th graders).

There was a significant effect of age on children's shame experience, $F(2, 141) = 4.43$, $p = .01$. Post hoc comparisons revealed that children in 5th grade ($M = 4.13$; $SD = .77$) experienced significantly more intense shame than children in 7th ($M = 3.59$; $SD = .91$) grade. However, children in 6th grade ($M = 3.75$; $SD = .93$) did not differ from 5th and 7th grades. When analyzed separately for parent and peer scenarios, the age effect on shame experience was statistically significant in parent scenarios, $F(2, 141) = 4.54$, $p = .01$. Post hoc comparisons revealed that children in 5th grade ($M = 4.12$; $SD = .80$) experienced significantly more intense shame than children in 7th ($M = 3.57$; $SD = .89$) grade. Nevertheless, 6th graders ($M = 3.80$; $SD = .93$) did not differ from 5th and 7th grades. The effect was marginal in peer scenarios, $F(2, 141) = 2.98$, $p = .05$.

There was no age effect on shame and guilt expression as well as guilt intensity (all ps $> .05$). Nevertheless, when peer and parent scenarios were analyzed separately, there was a significant effect of age on the shame expression in parent scenarios, $F(2, 141) = 3.55$, $p = .03$. Post hoc comparisons revealed that children in 7th grade ($M = 2.59$; $SD = .89$) expressed their shame marginally less than children in 5th grade ($M = 2.93$; $SD = .82$) and significantly less than 6th grade ($M = 2.98$; $SD = .71$). However, children in 5th grade did not differ from 6th grade.

4.3 Gender differences in children's emotion experience and expression

To examine the gender effect on shame and guilt experience and expression, a series of independent sample t-tests were carried out. We found that girls experienced more intense guilt ($M = 4.54$; $SD =.47$) compared to boys ($M = 4.30$; $SD =.65$), $t (142) = 2.43$, $p= .01$. Similarly, when we looked at peer and parent context separately, girls reported marginally more intense guilt experience ($M = 4.43$; $SD =.65$) compared to boys ($M = 4.23$; $SD =.68$) in the peer context, $t (142) = 1.79$, $p= .075$, and significantly more intense guilt experience ($M = 4.64$; $SD =.48$) compared to boys ($M = 4.38$; $SD =.73$) in the parent context, $t (142) = 2.50$, $p= .014$.

Gender effect was not significant for the experience and expression of shame and for the expression of guilt when analyzed across the parent and peer scenarios and when analyzed separately (all ps> .05).

4.4 SES in relation to children's emotion experience and expression

In order to examine the role of SES on shame and guilt experience and expression, independent sample t-test analyses were conducted. These analyses revealed that children in low SES families ($M = 4.06$; $SD = .79$) experienced higher levels of shame compared to children in high SES families ($M = 3.59$; $SD = .92$), $t (141) = 3.27$, $p= .001$. The effect of SES on shame expression was not significant, $t (140) =.69$, $p= .49$. In addition, the effect of SES was not significant on guilt experience intensity, $t (141) = 1.56$, $p= .120$ and on guilt expression, $t (141) = .65$, $p= .51$.

When analyzed separately for parent and peer scenarios, the SES effect on shame experience intensity was statistically significant in parent, $t (141) = 2.30$, $p= .02$ and peer scenarios, $t (141) = 3.36$, $p= .001$. Children in low SES families ($M = 4.00$; $SD = .85$) experienced more intense shame compared to children in high SES

families (M = 3.66; SD = .91) in parent scenarios. Additionally, children in low SES families (M = 4.11; SD = .93) experienced more intense shame compared to children in high SES families (M = 3.52; SD = 1.17) in peer scenarios. The effect of SES on shame expression towards parents, t (141) = 1.23, p= .21 and peers, t (141) =.54, p= .58 were not statistically significant.

When analyzed separately for parent and peer scenarios, the SES effect on guilt experience intensity was significant in peer scenarios, t (141) = 2.29, p= .02 such that children in low SES families experienced more intense guilt (M = 4.46; SD = .54) compared to children in high SES families (M = 4.20; SD = .77).

4.5 Parent vs. Peer context in relation to children's emotion experience and expression

To examine context differences in children's of shame and guilt experience and expression, a series of paired samples t-tests were carried out. Results indicated that children experienced more intense guilt in the presence of their parents (M = 4.52; SD =.63) than their peers (M = 4.33; SD =.67), and this difference was statistically significant, t (143) = -3.64, p = .001. However, the same analysis was non-significant for the shame experience in peers versus parent context, t (143) = -.18, p = .85.

With regard to expression, the results indicated that children displayed shame more in the presence of their parents (M = 2.85; SD = .94) than their peers (M = 2.25; SD = .76). This difference was statistically significant, t (136) = -8.27, p= .001. The difference in guilt expression between peer and parent contexts did not reveal any significant results, t (142) = -.11, p = .91.

4.6 The additive and interactive effects of SES and gender on emotion experience and expression

We conducted a total of six 2 (gender) x 3 (age) x 2 (SES) ANOVAs to examine the main and interactive effects of gender and SES. We also examined all other potential two-way and three-way interactions.

4.6.1 Emotion Experience Intensity

4.6.1.1 Shame experience intensity

Given that there was no parent vs peer context effect on shame intensity, the overall shame experience intensity score (i.e., averaged across parent and peer scenarios) was the outcome variable.

The interaction between gender and SES revealed a marginal effect on shame experience intensity, $F (1, 137) = 3.09$, $p = .08$, $\eta^2 = .02$. As can be seen in Table 4, this effect indicated that boys in low SES ($M = 4.18$; $SD = .67$) reported more intense shame experience compared to boys in high SES ($M = 3.45$; $SD = .88$). However, girls did not differ in terms of shame experience intensity across SES groups.

The main effect of SES was significant, $F (1, 131) = 14.85$, $p = .00$, $\eta^2 = .10$, and the main effect of age was significant, $F (2, 137) = 4.98$, $p = .00$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Controlling for all the other variables, children in low SES reported higher intensity of shame ($M = 4.06$; $SD = .79$) compared to children in high SES ($M = 3.59$; $SD = .92$). Additionally, children in 5th grade reported more intense feeling of shame ($M = 4.13$; $SD = .77$) compared to children in 6th ($M = 3.75$; $SD = .93$) and 7th grade ($M = 3.62$; $SD = .90$). However, children in 6th grade and 7th grade did not differ in shame intensity. There was no main effect of gender on shame experience intensity.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics for the Shame Experience Intensity

Age Groups	Low SES		High SES		
	Male M(SD)	Female M(SD)	Male M(SD)	Female M(SD)	
5th Grade	4.27(.42)	4.35(.56)	3.95(.85)	4.05(1.05)	4.13(.77)
6th Grade	4.12(.81)	4.13(.80)	3.04(.74)	3.72(.98)	3.75(.93)
7th Grade	4.15(.76)	3.66(.98)	3.13(.73)	3.46(.79)	3.62(.90)
	4.18(.67)	3.98(.87)	3.45(.88)	3.75(.95)	
	4.06(.79)		3.59(.92)		

4.6.1.2 Guilt experience intensity

Given that there was a parent vs peer context effect on children's guilt experience intensity, these intensity scores for parent and peer scenarios were analyzed separately.

In parent scenarios, there was a significant interaction effect of gender and SES, $F(1, 131) = 7.94$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .05$ and a significant interaction effect of age and SES, $F(2, 131) = 3.82$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .05$. The gender by SES interaction effect suggested that boys in low SES families ($M = 4.55$; $SD = .56$) reported more intense guilt compared to boys in high SES families ($M = 4.25$; $SD = .84$). However, girls did not differ across SES groups.

With respect to the age by SES interaction effect, among high SES families, children in 5th grade ($M = 4.72$; $SD = .56$) experienced more intense guilt in parent scenarios than children in 7th grade ($M = 4.21$; $SD = .91$). However, children in 6th grade ($M = 4.50$; $SD = .74$) did not differ in terms of guilt experience intensity from 5th and 7th grades. In low SES families, there was no statistically significant age difference.

In parent scenarios, there was only one significant gender main effect (F (1, 131) = 7.93, p = .006, η^2 = .05), with girls reporting significantly more guilt after controlling all other variables (see Table 5).

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for the Guilt Experience Intensity in Parent Scenarios

Age Groups	Low SES		High SES		
	Male M(SD)	Female M(SD)	Male M(SD)	Female M(SD)	
5th Grade	4.27(.83)	4.55(.64)	4.62(.38)	4.88(.22)	4.59(.56)
6th Grade	4.85(.24)	4.57(.49)	4.04(.93)	4.79(.39)	4.58(.62)
7th Grade	4.15(.76)	4.50(.54)	3.90(1.06)	4.62(.44)	4.38(.69)
	4.55(.56)	4.53(.54)	4.25(.84)	4.77(.37)	
	4.54(.54)		4.50(.71)		

Guilt experience intensity in peer scenarios also revealed a marginal interaction effect of gender and SES (F (1, 137) = 3.49, p = .06, η^2 = .02). As can be seen Table 6, boys in low SES (M = 4.48; SD = .46) reported more intense guilt experience compared to boys in high SES (M = 4.02; SD = .77). However, girls in high and low SES families did not differ in their guilt intensity.

There was also a significant main effect of SES (F (1, 137) = 6.38, p = .013, η^2 = .04) and a marginal effect of gender (F (1, 137) = 3.097, p = .091, η^2 = .022). After controlling for all other variables, children in low SES families reported feeling more intense feeling of guilt in peer scenarios (M = 4.46; SD = .54) than children in high SES families (M = 4.20; SD = .77). Girls feel higher intensity of guilt (M = 4.43; SD = .65) compared to boys (M = 4.22; SD = .69) in peer scenarios.

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics for the Guilt Experience Intensity in Peer Scenarios

Age Groups	Low SES		High SES		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
5th Grade	4.33(.61)	4.65(.33)	4.31(.54)	4.50(.66)	4.43(.54)
6th Grade	4.65(.41)	4.23(.75)	3.86(.71)	4.47(.59)	4.31(.67)
7th Grade	4.45(.35)	4.50(.56)	3.77(1.03)	4.18(1.03)	4.27(.78)
	4.48(.46)	4.45(.60)	4.02(.77)	4.41(.72)	
	4.46(.54)		4.20(.77)		

4.6.2 Emotion Expression

4.6.2.1 Shame expression

Given that there was a parent vs peer context effect on shame expression, scores for parent and peer scenarios were analyzed separately.

When the outcome variable was shame expression in parent scenarios, there was no statistically significant interaction effect. The analyses revealed only a significant age effect, $F (2, 127) = 3.70, p = .027, \eta^2 = .05$, indicating that children in 7th grade ($M = 2.60$; $SD = .75$) reported less shame expression towards parents compared to children in 5th ($M = 2.93$; $SD = .82$) and 6th grades ($M = 2.98$; $SD = .71$). However, children in 5th grade did not differ from children 6th grade in terms of shame expression towards parents.

When the outcome variable was shame expression in peer scenarios, there was no statistically significant interaction and main effects.

4.6.2.2 Guilt Expression

Given that there was no parent vs peer context effect on guilt expression intensity, the overall guilt expression intensity score (i.e., averaged across parent and peer scenarios) was the outcome variable.

The ANOVA results revealed that there was a statistically significant SES by age interaction effect, F (1, 131) = 4.04, p = .02, η^2 = .05. In low SES families, 5th grade children (M = 3.14; SD = .74) expressed less guilt compared to 6th grade (M = 3.61; SD = .36) and 7th grade children (M = 3.52; SD = .41). But 6th and 7th grade children in low SES families did not differ in terms of guilt expression. In high SES families, there was no age effect. There was no other statistically significant interaction or main effect (see Table 7).

Table 7. Descriptive Statistics for the Guilt Expression

Age Groups	Low SES	High SES
5th Grade	3.15(.74)	3.43(.51)
6th Grade	3.54(.43)	3.26(.71)
7th Grade	3.46(.51)	3.16(.85)

4.7 Interrelations between parenting behavior and children's emotion experience and expression

Pearson's product correlation coefficients were computed between child emotion variables and parenting behaviors, for both mother report and child report. These results are presented in Table 8, and 9, respectively.

Table 8. Correlations Between Parenting Behaviors as Perceived by Mothers and Child Emotion Experience as well as Expression

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Warmth	-															
2. Rejection	-.35**	-														
3. Overprotection	.09	.17*	-													
4. Comparison	-.29**	.50**	.28**	-												
5. Overall Shame Experience Intensity	-.02	.36	.28**	.08	-											
6. Shame Experience Intensity- Parent	-.09	.04	.15	.09	.87**	-										
7. Shame Expersience Intensity- Peer	.03	.02	.33**	.05	.91**	.60**	-									
8. Overall Shame Expression	-.00	.10	.09	.07	.39**	.36**	.33**	-								
9. Shame Expression- Parent	-.02	.07	.12	.08	.37**	.36**	.30**	.84**	-							
10. Shame Expression- Peer	-.01	.13	.07	.08	.30**	.26**	.27**	.90**	.52**	-						
11. Overall Guilt Experience Intensity	.11	-.09	.03	-.10	.41**	.29**	.43**	.28**	.23**	.26**	-					
12. Guilt Experience Intensity- Parent	.15	-.15	.00	-.09	.31**	.18*	.35**	.22**	.18*	.20*	.87**	-				
13. Guilt Experience Intensity- Peer	.04	-.01	.05	-.08	.42**	.33**	.41**	.28**	.24**	.25**	.89**	.57**	-			
14. Overall Guilt Expression	.06	-.07	-.03	-.03	.29**	.22**	.28**	.32**	.28**	.27**	.48**	.45**	.41**	-		
15. Guilt Expression- Parent	.02	-.11	.02	-.02	.10*	.13	.20*	.24**	.23**	.18*	.48**	.49**	.34**	.81**	-	
16. Guilt Expression- Peer	.07	-.00	-.06	-.02	.29**	.24**	.27**	.30**	.24**	.28**	.36**	.29**	.36**	.85**	.89**	-

Note: *p < .05,   **p < .01

45

Table 9. Correlations Between Parenting Behaviors as Perceived by the Child and Child Emotion Experience as well as Expression

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Warmth	-															
2. Rejection	-.53**	-														
3. Overprotection	.15	-.04	-													
4. Comparison	-.23**	.42**	.19*	-												
5. Overall Shame Experience Intensity	.27**	-.14	.25**	.07	-											
6. Shame Experience Intensity- Parent	.25**	-.07	.21*	.15	.87**	-										
7. Shame Experience Intensity- Peer	.24**	-.18*	.24**	-.05	.91**	.60**	-									
8. Overall Shame Expression	.16*	.00	.06	-.00	.39**	.36**	.33**	-								
9. Shame Expression- Parent	.10	-.02	.18*	.11	.37**	.36**	.30**	.84**	-							
10. Shame Expression- Peer	.13	.03	-.01	-.09	.30**	.26**	.27**	.90**	.52**	-						
11. Overall Guilt Experience Intensity	.30**	.03	.14	.04	.41**	.29**	.43**	.28**	.23**	.26**	-					
12. Guilt Experience Intensity- Parent	.34**	-.02	.12	-.04	.31**	.18*	.35**	.22**	.18*	.20*	.87**	-				
13. Guilt Experience Intensity- Peer	.19*	.08	.13	.10	.42**	.33**	.41**	.28**	.24**	.25**	.89**	.57**	-			
14. Overall Guilt Expression	.24**	-.10	.05	.04	.29**	.22**	.28**	.32**	.28**	.27**	.48**	.45**	.41**	-		
15. Guilt Expression- Parent	.25**	-.16	.09	.01	.19**	.13	.20*	.24**	.23**	.18*	.48**	.49**	.34**	.81**	-	
16. Guilt Expression- Peer	.15	-.02	.00	.06	.29**	.24**	.27**	.30**	.24**	.28**	.36**	.29**	.36**	.85**	.38**	-

Note: *p < .05,   **p < .01

The correlations between mother ratings of overprotection and overall shame experience intensity ($r = .28$, $p < .01$) and shame experience intensity in the peer context ($r = .33$, $p < .01$) were significant and in the positive direction. Similarly, children's perception of parental overprotection was also significantly and positively related to the overall shame experience intensity ($r = .25$, $p < .01$), and shame experience intensity in the peer context ($r = .24$, $p < .01$) as well as in the parent context ($r = .21$, $p < .01$). Given that SES was related to both overprotection and shame experience intensity, SES was partialled out in all these correlation analyses. The relations between these variables remained significant even after controlling for SES. Children's perception of overprotection was also significantly and positively related to their shame expression, but in the parent context only ($r = .18$, $p < .05$).

Children's perception of parental warmth was related significantly and positively to their overall guilt experience intensity ($r = .30$, $p < .05$) and their guilt experience in the peer ($r = .19$, $p < .05$) as well as in the parent context ($r = .34$, $p < .05$). In addition, children's perception of parental warmth was positively and significantly related to their overall shame expression ($r = .16$, $p < .05$), their overall guilt expression ($r = .24$, $p < .01$) and guilt expression in the parent context ($r = .25$, $p < .01$). Finally, children's perception of parental rejection was related significantly and negatively to shame experience intensity in peer context ($r = -.18$, $p < .05$).

Correlations between child and mother reports of parenting behaviors were also statistically significant and in the positive direction. Children's perception of parental warmth was positively and significantly related to mothers' perception of warmth ($r = .31$, $p < .01$). Children's perception of parental rejection was positively and significantly related to mothers' perception of rejection ($r = .38$, $p < .01$). Children's perception of overprotection was positively and significantly related to

mothers' perception of overprotection ($r = .39$, $p < .01$). Children's perception of comparison was positively and significantly related to mothers' perception of comparison ($r = .48$, $p < .01$) (see Table 10). Hence, mother and child ratings were averaged to obtain composite parenting behaviors.

Table 10. Correlations Between Parenting Behaviors as Perceived by the Child and Mothers

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Warmth- Child	-							
2. Rejection- Child	-.53**	-						
3. Overprotection- Child	.16	-.05	-					
4. Comparison- Child	-.23**	.43**	.19*	-				
5. Warmth- Mother	.31**	-.19*	.03	-.24**	-			
6. Rejection- Mother	-.43**	.38**	-.06	.30**	-.36**	-		
7. Overprotection- Mother	-.04	-.07	.39**	.02	.09	.18*	-	
8. Comparison- Mother	-.20*	-.14	.13	.48**	-.30**	.51**	.29**	-

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01

Of all the demographic variables, averaged mother and child perception of parental warmth was significantly and negatively related to children' age ($r = -.22$, $p < .01$). Additionally, averaged mother and child perception of parental overprotection was significantly and negatively related to SES ($r = -.44$, $p < .01$) (see Table 11).

Table 11. Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Averaged Mother and Child
Perception of Parenting Behaviors

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Age	-						
2. Gender	-.07	-					
3. SES	-.14	.10	-				
4. Warmth	-.22**	.11	.04	-			
5. Rejection	.08	-.11	-.02	-.48**	-		
6. Overprotection	-.10	-.02	-.44**	.14	.06	-	
7. Comparison	.04	-.08	-.07	-.29**	.47**	.24**	-

Note: *p < .05,   **p < .01

4.7.1 Parenting behaviors in relation to children's emotion experience and expression.

A total of four hierarchical regression analyses were conducted separately for each dependent variable to examine the role of parenting behaviors while controlling for the relevant demographic variables that were related to the outcome variable at hand. In the first step, the demographic variable(s) were entered followed by the averaged mother and child perception of parenting behaviors (warmth, rejection, overprotection and comparison) in the second step.

4.7.1.1 Regression analyses: Shame experience intensity

In the first regression analysis, shame experience intensity score (i.e., averaged across parent and peer scenarios) was the outcome variable. As shown in Table 12, the model accounted for 21% of the variance in children's shame experience, $F(6, 136) = 5.92$, $p < .01$. Among parenting behaviors, warmth was a significant predictor

($\beta = .19$, $p < .05$), and overprotection marginally predicted overall shame intensity ($\beta = .15$, $p = .08$) after controlling for age and SES.

Table 12. Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Prediction of Shame Experience Intensity from Parental Rearing Behaviors

Predictors	R	R^2	DF	F	p	B	SE	β	p
1.	.37	.14	2	11.48	.00				
Age						-.29	.08	-.26	.00
SES						-.54	.14	-.30	.00
2.	.45	.21	4	5.92	.00				
Age						-.23	.08	-.21	.00
SES						-.40	.15	-.22	.01
Warmth						.36	.17	.19	.03
Rejection						.05	.18	.02	.79
Overprotection						.17	.10	.15	.08
Comparison						.12	.11	.10	.26

ΔR^2 in Step 2 = .07, ΔF (4, 136) = 2.84, $p = .03$

4.7.1.2 Regression analyses: Shame expression

In the second regression analysis, shame expression score (averaged across parent and peer scenarios) was the outcome variable. The model accounted for 7% of the variance in children's shame expression, $F (5, 138) = 2.38$, $p < .05$. As shown in Table 13, in step 2, among the parental rearing behaviors, warmth was the only significant predictor ($\beta = .20$, $p < .05$) of children's overall shame expression after controlling for age.

Table 13.　Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Prediction of Shame Expression from Parental Rearing Behaviors

Predictors	R	R 2	DF	F	p	B	SE	β	p
1.	.15	.02	1	3.41	.06				
Age						-.15	.08	-.15	.06
2.	.28	.07	4	2.38	.04				
Age						-.11	.08	-.11	.18
Warmth						.35	.16	.20	.03
Rejection						.14	.18	.07	.45
Overprotection						.06	.09	.06	.47
Comparison						.15	.11	.13	.16

ΔR^2 in Step 2 = .06, ΔF (4, 138) = 2.10, p = .08

4.7.1.3 Regression analyses: Guilt experience intensity

In the third regression analysis, guilt experience intensity score (averaged across parent and peer scenarios) was the outcome variable. The model with all predictors accounted for 9% of the variance in children's guilt experience intensity, F (5, 138) = 2.72, $p < .05$. As shown in Table 14, among parenting behavior variables in step 2, warmth was the only significant predictor ($\beta = .20$, $p < .05$) of overall guilt experience intensity after controlling for gender.

Table 14. Hierarchical Regression Analyses for the Prediction of Guilt Experience Intensity from Parental Rearing Behaviors

Predictors	R	R^2	DF	F	p	B	SE	β	p
1.	.20	.04	1	6.06	.01				
Gender						-.23	.09	-.20	.01
2.	.30	.09	5	2.72	.02				
Gender						-.26	.09	-.22	.00
Warmth						.25	.11	.20	.03
Rejection						.03	.13	.02	.77
Overprotection						.03	.06	.05	.54
Comparison						-.03	.07	-.04	.65

ΔR^2 in Step 2 = .05, ΔF (4, 138) = 1.85, p = .12

4.7.1.4 Regression analyses: Guilt expression

In the fourth regression analysis, guilt expression score (averaged across parent and peer scenarios) was the outcome variable. The model with all predictors was not significant, F (4, 139) = 1.76, p = .14.

4.8 Children's reactions to emotion eliciting scenarios

The third question in the interview required children to complete a sentence as to why they would express or hide their emotion. Children's open-ended responses were classified according to the coding categories used in previous studies (Raval, Martini & Raval, 2007; Zeman & Shipman, 1996). Further coding categories were also added or explanations in the already existing category were expanded based on children's responses in the current study. See Appendix I.

4.8.1 Children's reasons to express or hide their feelings of shame

Those children, who preferred that their social partners should know about their shame completed the following sentence for their anticipated consequence of emotion expression: "*You want to make your parent/peers aware of your feeling because………*" As can be seen in Table 15, receiving positive interpersonal support was the most frequently cited anticipated consequence in both parent (32.4%) and peer (38.6%) scenarios. Some of the examples are presented below:

"I would definitely want my parent to be aware of my shame so that they could motivate and support me. They could understand my feelings and grasp my characteristics. We are a family and this event will remain in the family."

"I would definitely want my peers to be aware of my shame so that they could understand me. When the same situation happens to them, I would not laugh, I would help them and I would not want them to experience such emotion."

The next most frequently anticipated consequence was protecting the self to avoid scolding, teasing, derogatory acts or negative interpersonal consequences. In response to parent scenarios, 31.4% of the children endorsed this anticipated consequence and in response to the peer scenarios, 37.5% of the children endorsed this anticipated consequence.Some of the examples are presented below:

"I would want my parent aware of my shame because if they know, they would not angry with me, they would not ride me about this event and they would not ask lots of questions".

"If my peers were aware of my shame, they would stop laughing and they would apologize for humiliation."

Table 15. Percentages of Children Reporting their Anticipated Shame Expression Consequences

Consequences of Expression	Parent %	Peer %
To Receive Positive Interpersonal Support	32,4	38.6
To Receive Positive Instrumental Support	6.6	5.9
To Prevent Future Occurrence	24.3	11
Protecting the Self	31.4	37.5
Personal Relief Through Emotion Communication	0	0
Moral/Normative Justification	5.3	6.3
Expression Uncontrollable	0	0.7

Note. Percentages of the anticipated consequences for shame expression presented in the table were calculated by taking the averages of the percentages in each shame eliciting scenario in parent context and shame eliciting scenario in peer context.

Those children who preferred their social partners not to know about their shame completed the following sentence: "*You do not want to make your parent/peers aware of your feeling because………*" to specify their reason for hiding their shame. Of all the hiding reasons, avoiding embarrassment and maintaining self-esteem was the most frequent response both in parent and peer scenarios. However, this reason was more frequently endorsed in response to peer scenarios (93.4%) compared to parent scenarios (55.2%) (see Table 16). Some of the examples are presented below:

"I do not want make my parent aware of my shame because their realization would make me further embarrassed."

"If my peers know my shame, they would make fun of me, even they gossip about this event and eventually almost all the children in the school ridicule."

Table 16. Percentages of Children Reporting their Reasons for Hiding in Shame Scenarios

Reasons for Hiding	Parent %	Peer %
To Avoid Scolding	20.7	0
To Avoid Embarrassment and Maintain Self-esteem	55.2	93.4
Prosocial Reasons	17.5	6
Normative Justification	2.8	0
Minimizing the Significance of Event	3.8	0.6

Note. Percentages of the reasons for hiding the emotion of shame presented in the table were calculated by taking the averages of the percentages in each shame eliciting scenario in parent context and shame eliciting scenario in peer context.

Additionally, in response to each shame-eliciting scenario, children were asked if they would feel another emotion in the same situation. Children reported sadness (parent: 52%, peer: 60.1%) and anger (parent: 26.2%, peer: 27.1%) as the most predominantly evoked emotions other than shame.

4.8.2 Children's reasons to express or hide their feelings of guilt

Those children who preferred their social partners to know about their guilt also completed the sentence, "*You want to make your parent/peers aware of your feeling because………*" to specify their anticipated consequence of emotion expression. Of all the anticipated guilt expression consequences, the most commonly declared reason was to receive positive interpersonal support in both parent and peer scenarios. Children specified this reason more in the presence of their peers (76.8%) than their parents (40.3%). Some of the examples are presented below:

"I would want my parent aware of my guilt because I want them to know that I was stuck in a difficult situation so I told a lie unwillingly."

"I would want my peer aware of my guilt because if she knows, she could understand my unintentionality, in this way she could peace with me and our friendship become stronger."

For the parent scenarios, the next most frequently endorsed reason was moral/normative justification (27.7%) and protecting the self (21.2%). For peer scenarios, the percentage of children who endorsed protecting the self as an anticipated consequence was 14.8 % (see Table 17). Some of the examples are presented below:

"I would want my parent aware of my guilt because I can tell the truth when my mother scolded my brother. Lying is a bad thing. My brother would not bear the consequences of my mistake, this is not fair. I want my mother to get angry with me, this ensure the justice. I think that we behave in a good way to our siblings."

"I do not want my mother to scold me and compare me with other children."

"If I displayed my guilt, my friends spread a gossip about me and they told everyone that she is a whisperer. Everyone would develop a negative attitude towards me."

Table 17. Percentages of Children Reporting their Anticipated Guilt Expression Consequences

Consequences of Expression	Parent %	Peer %
To Receive Positive Interpersonal Support	76.8	40.3
To Receive Positive Instrumental Support	0.7	3.2
To Prevent Future Occurrence	1.3	3.3
Protecting the Self	14.8	21.2
Personal Relief Through Emotion Communication	0.9	4
Moral/Normative Justification	5.1	27.7
Expression Uncontrollable	0.3	0.3

Note. Percentages of the anticipated consequences for guilt expression presented in the table were calculated by taking the averages of the percentages in each guilt eliciting scenario in parent context and guilt eliciting scenario in peer context.

Those children, who preferred to hide their guilt in parent context, stated that avoiding to get scolded (71.7%) as the most frequent reason. On the other hand, when the audience figure was their peers, children commonly stated prosocial reasons (36.6%) and avoiding embarrassment and maintain self-esteem (34.8%) as the most frequent reasons to hide guilt (see Table 18). Some of the examples are presented below:

"If my parent realizes my feeling of guilt, my parents would become annoyed."

"If my peers notice my feeling of guilt, they would also sorrow. I do not want them to sadden."

"If my feeling of guilt was noticed, my friends thought I was a weak and untrustable person. Thus, in order to feel good, I would not express my guilt."

Table 18. Percentages of Children Reporting their Reasons for Hiding in Guilt Scenarios

Reasons for Hiding	Parent %	Peer %
To Avoid Scolding	71.7	15.3
To Avoid Embarrassment and Maintain Self-esteem	7.5	34.8
Prosocial Reasons	20.8	36.6
Normative Justification	0	0
Minimizing the Significance of Event	0	13.3

Note. Percentages of the reasons for hiding the emotion of guilt presented in the table were calculated by taking the averages of the percentages in each guilt eliciting scenario in parent context and guilt eliciting scenario in peer context.

In response to guilt scenarios, in the presence of parents and peers, the most frequently stated additional emotions felt by children were sadness (55.2% and 62.9%, respectively) and shame (16.6% and 15.7%, respectively) (see Table 19).

Table 19. Percentages of Children ReportingAdditional Emotions with Respect to Shame and Guilt Scenarios

	Emotions	Parent %	Peer %
Shame Scenarios			
	Sadness	52	60.1
	Anger	26.2	23.4
	Guilt	5	2.6
	Fear	6.3	2.6
Guilt Scenarios			
	Sadness	55.2	62.9
	Shame	16.6	15.7
	Anger	2.4	0
	Fear	7.7	5.3
	Regret	7.7	6.7
	Anxiety	2.3	3
	Resentment	0	0.9
	Anger at oneself	6.6	4.9

Note. Percentages of the additional emotions presented in the table were calculated by taking the averages of the percentages in each shame and guilt eliciting scenario in parent context, and shame and guilt eliciting scenario in peer context.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Age on shame and guilt experience and expression

Unlike basic emotions, development of self-conscious emotions requires to acquire complex cognitive skills (Muris & Meesters, 2013). Self-awareness, internalization of moral and normative values taught by society and theory of mind are three indispensable factors in the development of self-conscious emotions (Lewis, 2000). By the age of three years, children experience and express the signs of shame and guilt through only action tendencies (Lewis, 1992; Stipek, Recchia, McClintic, & Lewis, 1992). Children between the ages of four and seven can assign the valence of the self-conscious emotions as good or bad, while around the age of eight, they begin to report shame as their own experience resulting from their actions (Harter, & Whitesell, 1989). After the age of ten, children think more elaboratively about shame and guilt experience and expression, and make more accurate differentiation of shame and guilt (Fergusson et al., 1991; Harris, 2010). For our age range (11-13), whether children's experience intensity and expression change by age was among the major research questions of the current study.

We found a significant effect of age on children's overall shame experience intensity and in parent and peer scenarios. Based on previous research (e.g. Bafunno & Camodeca, 2013; Okur & Corapci, 2015), we expected a developmental increase in the experience and expression of shame and guilt. However, we found that 5th graders reported more intense shame experience than 7th graders, with 6th graders being in an intermediate position. In the case of shame expression, 5th and 6th graders

did not differ; yet children from 5th and 6th grade reported more shame expression compared to children from 7th grade.

In the case of guilt, age differences were qualified by SES. Among low SES children, there was no age difference in guilt experience. Yet, among high SES children, 5th graders reported more intense guilt experience than 7th graders, with 6th graders in an intermediate position, similar to shame experience. An age by SES interaction was also detected for guilt expression such that age differences were not found for children from high SES families; however, there was an age effect for children from low SES families: 5th graders reported less guilt expression than 6th and 7th graders.

Except for the SES by age interaction for guilt expression, age-related findings were largely contrary to what we expected. A possible explanation for these contradictory results might be explained by the diffential characteristic of the age periods in the current study. The samples of previous studies consisted of younger children compared to the children in the current study. Children's maturational changes are followed by an individuation process which in turn diminishes parent-child closeness especially late in preadolescence period (Collins & Laursen, 2004). In line with this idea, our study also indicated that as the age of children increased, parental warmth decreased. Additionally, parents are not willing to reestablish their relationship from hierarchical to more egalitarian, which may decrease the closeness of parent-child relationship (Collins & Laursen, 2004). Therefore, children might avoid expressing their shame because of the diminished closeness and their desire to maintain their self-esteem in the eyes of their parents. Nevertheless, this explanation does not mean that children in this age period have fully warm relationship with all

their peers which in turn their expression becomes accelerated. But possibly their expression towards their best friend might increase with their maturational process.

Another possible explanation may be that as the age of children increase, their utilization of emotion concealment methods might also increase. Our qualitative data supported this possible explanation such that in response to one of the shame scenarios, 7th graders (53.1%) presented "to avoid embarresment and maintain self esteem" as a reason for hiding of shame more than 5th and 6th graders. Therefore, the expression or concealment decision is a conscious decision children gave. And as the child age increased, it seems like that they consciously desire to hide their felt emotion for self-protective reasons.

Although age did not have an effect on guilt expression in the high SES group; 5th graders in low SES express less guilt compared to 6th and 7th graders. Similarly, 7th graders express more guilt towards their parents compared to 5th graders in low SES families. Therefore, our result for guilt expression in low SES is in line with our predictions and those of Okur and Corapci's (2015) and Bafunno and Camodeca's (2013) studies indicating a developmental increase in guilt expression like repair and declaration of guilt. According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2007), within culture discrepancies stemming from social changes shape the socialization practices of families. Lower segments of the society incline to maintain their collectivistic values, whereas higher segments begin to adopt individualistic values while keeping traditional relational practices. Therefore, intracultural differences arising from SES discrepancy create differential family dynamics and values. Importance of obedience and proper conduct is more valued in low SES Turkish families than high SES families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007) and these expectations are likely to result in parenting

behaviors among low SES parents to socialize children to display guilt in response to transgressions.

Thus, it seems like that children's understanding of shame and guilt improves with age as documented in previous work (Harris, 2010), but not necessarily their experience or their expression intensity. The expression decision of shame is a conscious process, and as children's age increases, children appear to hide this emotion for self-protective reasons.

5. 2 Gender and SES effects on shame and guilt experience and expression

Substantial amount of prior studies have noted that experience and expression of almost all internalizing emotions, including shame and guilt, are higher among girls than boys (e.g. Belsky, Domitrovich and Crnic 1997; Else-Quest, Higgins, Allison, & Morton, 2012; Chaplin & Aldo, 2013; Feiring, Taska, & Lewis, 2002; Ferguson & Eyre, 2000; Furukawa, Tangney, & Higashibara, 2012; Rosemary, Arbeau, Lall, & Jaeger, 2010; Walter & Burnaford, 2006). Our prediction was also in line with these studies, but it was partially confirmed by our data. Contrary to our expections, gender did not have any effect on children's shame experience intensity and expression as well as guilt expression. A possible explanation for this result might be due to their age period, namely preadolescent years, fluctuations occur in their emotionality which in turn increase their emotion experience and expression, regardless of their gender. For instance, Burnett, Bird, Moll, Frith and Blakemore (2009) indicated an increased activation in lateral part of the medial prefrontal cortex of adolescents (10-18 years old) compared to adults during the emotions of shame and guilt. Therefore, similar trend in shame experience intensity and expression as

well as guilt expression across gender groups can be explained by the dissimilar characteristics of their age period.

The only gender effect was detected for guilt experience. Specifically, girls reported more intense guilt experience than boys. This finding was further qualified by a gender by SES interaction for guilt experience. Boys from low SES families reported more guilt experience than boys from high SES families. Girls did not differ across SES groups. We also detected a gender by SES interaction for shame experience. The nature of this interaction revealed that boys in low SES reported more intense shame experience than boys in high SES. However, girls' intensity of shame experience did not vary across low and high SES.

We interpreted these findings drawing on the ideas of Fischer and Manstead (2000), who suggested that in individualistic societies boys tend to minimize emotions in order not to lose their social status and the social ranks in the society. Accordingly, different "mentalities" are generated in different SES groups according to the different life experiences and opportunities (Gilbert, 2000). Therefore, adopted values and sociocultural contexts associated with SES differences can be seen in emotion experience and expression (Morris et al., 2007). In the present study, we took these arguments as a basis. Previous research also shows that children from higher SES families reported less shame compared to children from lower SES families (Cole, Bruschi, & Tamang, 2002; Walker et. al, 2013). Furthermore, Kağıtçıbaşı's (2007) theory of selves suggest that Turkish children in educated, upper-middle class families acquire an autonomous-related self, which embraces the values of both individualism (i.e., autonomy, self-esteem) and collectivism (i.e., attention to group needs, relatedness to significant others). On the other hand, Turkish children from lower SES families acquire a related self, that primarily draws

on maintaining social reconciliation and status roles in hierarchical relations. If we think of higher SES children representing a more individualistic segment of the Turkish society, then high SES Turkish boys' less intense shame and guilt experience compared to their lower SES counterparts makes sense, considering the gender-typed roles of males as instrumental in Turkish families (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). In other words, if shame experience or expression may be seen as a weakness (Fessler, 2004), it makes sense that boys from high SES families were more willing to report lower shame and guilt experience intensity, especially if upper-middle class Turkish families socialize their children as socially dominant (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Low SES boys may be more socialized to have collectivist characteristics such that they are socialized to value societal responsibilities, harmonious interactions rather than individual responsibilities (Bedford & Hwang, 2003; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). These collectivist charactertistics may result in in low SES boys' more intense guilt and shame experience compared to boys in high SES families.

While shame is an indication of weakness for boys especially in high SES (Fessler, 2004), in most cultures emotions like sadness, shame and guilt are seen as women's emotions (Hess et al., 2000). Therefore, in both low and high SES, or in both related and autonomous-related SES groups in Turkey, girls are socialized according to the gender roles in similar ways (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Turkish parents see shame and guilt experience and expression compatible with their daughters' gender role expectations. As a result, consistent with our prediction and Okur & Corapci's (2015) findings, being in low SES or in high SES did not create any difference for girls in terms of shame and guilt intensity.

Finally, lack of SES differences in guilt expression suggests that children across social classes express a level of adaptive guilt, which facilitates prosocial,

corrective and repairing behaviors (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994; Breugelmans, & Poortinga, 2006; Haidt, 2003; Rebega, Apostol, Benga, & Miclea, 2013). This suggests that regardless of the SES difference, children could grasp cognitive, affective and behavioral aspects of moral development effectively. In other words, internalization of social norms, understanding of morality and related emotions, and learning from other situations and behaving prosocially do not related to social classes but related to moral internalization (Schepers, 2016).

5. 3 Context on shame and guilt experience and expression

One of the aims of the present study was to identify whether being in a parent context or in a peer context changes children's emotion expression decisions. By taking already existing studies as a basis (e.g. Bafunno & Camodeca, 2013), we predicted that children would experience and express their shame and guilt more in the presence of parents than peers. Our prediction was partially confirmed by our data indicating that children experienced guilt more and expressed their shame more in the presence of parents than peers. However, their guilt expression did not change across different contexts.

Our data revealed the variation of guilt experience intensity by audience figures. Children experienced more intense guilt in the parent context than in the peer context. This result may be explained by the fact that families, as a primary interaction group for an individual, provide a foundation for development of morality, conscience and guilt. Children learn to behave in a morally appropriate way initially in their families (Abell & Gesac, 1997). Therefore, in response to a guilt-eliciting event, children could feel themselves more responsible to repair the relationship with their parents than their peers. Additionally, in both related and

autonomous-related social classes, harmony and respect for authority is valued (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007), thus in response to a moral transgression; children would feel more intense feeling guilt towards a person who is high in the family hierarcy. Similarly, Bafunno and Camodeca (2013) argued that the presence of an authority figure in the context of guilt eliciting event can elevate children's experience intensity of guilt. This idea is also consistent with our finding.

Von Salisch's (2001) justification for shame expression is consistent with our finding. Specifically, she argues that expressing shame in preadolescent years of childhood is not considered a viable choice given the potential risk of being teased by peers when acknowledging one's own failures or shortcomings. Our qualitative data also indicated the prominence of this factor. Children reported that they would hide their shame in the peer context and stated "to avoid embarrassment and maintain self-esteem" in a very high rate (93.4%) as a reason for hiding shame.

Finally, the similar level of guilt expression in both parent and peer context was in line with Okur and Corapci's (2015) study. This suggests that unlike shame expression, adaptive nature of guilt makes it more acceptable to express this emotion in both parent and peer contexts. Children also anticipate support and understanding as well as they want to show their unintentionality in response to guilt eliciting scenarios regardless of the interaction partner. For instance, in our data, children stated "to receive interpersonal support" as a motive for guilt expression in both parent and peer contexts.

5. 4 Contributions of parenting behaviors in predicting shame and guilt experience and expression

One of the goals of this study was to reveal the contributions of family factors, parental rejection, comparison, warmth, and overprotection, in predicting children's shame and guilt experience and expression. Initially, based on Mills' (2003) and Stuewig and McCloskey's (2005) studies, it was predicted that children who perceive their parents as more rejecting would experience more intense feeling of shame and express more shame. For guilt, a reverse pattern was expected based on previous studies (e.g.,Hastings et. al. (2000). Based on previous studies (e.g., Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997), it was predicted that children who perceive their mothers as more emotionally warm would experience less intense shame, express less shame and experience more intense guilt, and express more guilt.

Consistent with our expectations, our results indicated that children who perceived their mothers as more emotionally warm experienced more intense guilt and also expressed more guilt. This result is consistent with those of Choi and Jo (2011) and Lutwak and Ferrari (1997), who suggested that the more children perceive parental warmth and support, the more they experience guilt. By taking already existing studies as a basis (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Tracy & Robins, 2006), suggesting that guilt prone people evaluate their actions with internal, specific, unstable and controllable attributions, our result implies that positive and affectionate relations with mother provide more action-related attributions instead of self-related attributions.

These results related to guilt experience and expression are also consistent with those of Kochanska's longitudinal study (1991) which found lack of coercive discipline between mother and infant to predict high levels of guilt when children

become 8-10 years old. Similarly, reciprocal responsiveness and warmth in first two years were related to more guilt later on (Kochanska, Forman, Aksan, & Dunbar, 2005). Therefore, parental warmth and mutual responsivenss even in first years of life is critical for guilt, one of the most prominent components of conscience. Our results also seem to be consistent with Hoffman's theory (Hoffman, 1963; 1971), which stated that the internalization of morality and conscience is possible with warm, inductive and encouraging parenting. Therefore, our results along with the literature mentioned mean that quality of early interaction between parent and child, and its continuation through the childhood shape development of guilt, conscience and morality.

Additionally, we can infer that in an affectionate family environment, children also learn from their parents' warm and repairing actions since in response to guilt eliciting scenarios, among all the expression methods, they mostly prefer to show their guilt by apologizing and approaching (39% in family context, 25.3% in peer context), which is an attempt to compensate and repair the action.

The current study found that as the level of parental warmth increased, shame experience intensity also increased. Although a negative relationship between warmth and shame experience was documented in the literature (Lutwak & Ferrari, 1997), our contradictory result may be explained with Dost and Yağmurlu's (2008) framework provides conceptualization of shame in collectivist cultures. They concluded that the maladaptive and destructive nature of shame in the existing literature fall short in explaining the shame pehonomenon in all cultures. In other words, in the collectivistic societies the shame is not related to destructiveness, instead shame is a social experiece which can be seen as a sign of susceptibility and truthfulness (e.g. in Spanish culture) (Fischer, Manstead, & Mosquera, 1999). Like

Spanish culture, Chinese and Japanese cultures also see the experience of shame as a moral concern considering the feelings of other people (Bedford & Hwang, 2003). Additionally, expression of sadnesss is a way of expressing shame which is commonly seen as a shareable emotion (White, 1997). Therefore, in Turkish culture parental warmth might increase the experience of shame since children were socialized according to collectivistic values as such in Spanish, Chinese and Japanese culture. Additionally, White's statement also can be supported by our qualitative results indicating sadness was the most frequently cited emotion besides shame in response to shame scenarios in both parent and peer context. Therefore, Dost and Yağmurlu's (2008) conclusion related to the conceptualization of shame in collectivistic cultures was supported with our data.

We explored whether parental overprotection was related to shame and guilt experience as well as expression. Our study indicated that overprotection predicted (both from mother's and child's perception) shame experience in a positive direction, but it had no contribution to predict guilt experience or expression. Our study is one of initial studies to show the role of overprotection on shame even after controlling for age and SES as well as maternal warmth.

According to Parker (1983) overprotection involves mothers' highly and anxiously controlling and supervising behaviors. The reason behind the overprotective behaviors is commonly the child's probability to encounter with a risky situation (Thomasgard, & Metz, 1999). Consistent with the definition of overprotection, overprotection subscale used in our study mainly examined mothers' controlling behaviors by rating the statements such as "my mother did not allow me to move away from neighborhood while playing" and " while my child play in the street, I call after my child more than all the other mothers." Children who are

69

exposed to these overprotective behaviors receive a negative message imposing a sense of inadequacy and they may feel that they are not good enough to protect themselves which in turn may act to increase their experience of shame (Alessandri & Lewis, 1993; Belsky, Domitrovich, & Crnic, 1997). Additionally, as can be seen in the example items of the overprotection subscale, mothers' overprotective behaviors in front of children's peers could also be another source of their shame experience, and it could even increase the intensity of this emotion.

Additionally, overprotection was found to be negatively related to the family SES in the current study. As the family SES level increased, caregivers' overprotective attitudes towards their children decreased. This result is consistent with Sayıl and her colleagues's (2012) previous data obtained in Turkey. These researchers have also found that less educated Turkish mothers exerted more psychological control than their more educated counterparts (as cited in Sayıl & Kındap-Tepe, 2012). Additionally, a possible explanation for this result might be that mothers in low SES perceive their neighboorhoods more risky than mothers in high SES (O'Neil, Parke, & McDowell, 2001). Thus, they acts in more overprotective way to help their children cope with the potential dangers in their neighborhoods.

5. 5 The function of emotion expression and reasons for hiding shame and guilt

Children's open-ended responses revealing the functions of their emotion expression has indicated that receiving positive interpersonal support from both parents and peers is the most prominent function in both shame and guilt expression. This result is in agreement with Okur and Corapci's (2015) findings, which showed that expectancy of interpersonal support is common for all the emotion types (i.e., anger, dissappointment, sadness, shame, guilt). Therefore, seeking support and mutual

70

understanding as well as expressing the unintentionality of the fault in order to preserve the quality of the relatonship are important for both parent and peer contexts. These reults further support the relatedness component of Kağıtçıbaşı's theory of selves (2007), which is common for both low and middle-high SES families in Turkey, indicating the importance of cohesive and harmonious relationsips.

Avoiding embarresment and maintaing self-esteem was the most frequent reason for hiding shame mainly peer context. In accord with the nature of shame, children want to minimize the possibility of being teased by hiding the shame expression even if they felt intensly. This result also supported Okur and Corapci's (2015) finding indicating that children mainly conceal the feeling of shame for self-protective reasons.

Among the guilt concealment reasons, avoiding to get scolded is the most prominently declared reason in the parent context; on the other hand, prosocial reasons and avoiding embarrsement and maintaing self esteem were almost equally declared by children who decide to hide their guilt in the peer context. These results are also consistent with collectivistic values. For instance, our results indicated that children in our culture internalize the hierarchical structure in families, thus by hiding their guilt, they try to stay away from the the possiblity of being scolded by this authority figure in the family. Similarly, in peer context, children want to keep their peers' emotion intact by concealing their felt emotion. Therefore, our culture's collectivistic beliefs valuing relational concerns shape children's emotion expression.

5. 6 Limitations, strengths and suggestions for future studies

Even though the current study is among the initial studies in the limited literature related to self-conscious emotions, it has a number of limitations. Initially, the child interview was composed of twelve scenarios in total and children spared time for the interview for almost one lecture hour. It may be desirable in future research to split the interview in two sessions to minimize child fatigue.

The other limitation of the present study is the reliance on mother and child ratings to obtain information about parenting behavior. This methodology can be subject to social desirability. Therefore, data related to mothers' parenting practices might be also collected qualitatively through home observations in future research.

Finally, this study is limited by the lack of clear disintegration of mother and father as well as best friend and peer in parent and peer scenarios, respectively. It may be desirable in future research to separate them in order to attain more comprehensive conclusions.

Despite the limitations mentioned above, the current study has several strengths. First of all, studies related to self-conscious emotions are very limited in the literature. Secondly, our large sample size (n=144) was another strength that increased the statistical power in data analyses. There are also several prominent strengths related to the scenarios used in the present study. In addition to available scenarios in the literature, some additional scenarios were generated through a pilot study performed with 29 children. Therefore, we used scenarios which were culturally appropriate. Furthermore, using more than one scenario for each emotion (four scenarios for shame, guilt, and happiness) and also using more than one scenario for each context to increase the reliability in children's responses (i.e., two scenarios for shame in the parent context, two scenarios for shame in the peer

context, two scenarios for guilt in the parent context, two scenarios for guilt in the peer context) were among the strong points of the study. Thirdly, all scenarios were created as the third person scenarios so that children would feel comfortable with the thought that every person can feel these emotions like the character in the scenarios.

Finally, although we specified the emotion that was aimed to be elicited at the end of each scenario, we also asked children if they would feel differently in the same scenario and when children have declared that they would not feel shame or guilt in response to the event in the scenario. This method revealed that children also endorsed sadness as the most prominent emotion given that the scenarios involved negative events. Although children may feel shame and guilt, they sometimes fail to mention these self-conscious emotions, but they have an inclination to mention basic emotions like sadness. By using this method we eliminated this problem in the present study.

There are also procedural strengths in the present study. In order to learn children's reasons for emotion expression or concealment, we asked them open-ended questions instead of using a forced-choice answer format. This is important since we did not restrict them with choices. Children's open-ended responses were later coded, and some responses even entailed more than one coding category that specified their reasons for emotion expression or concealment for each scenario.As a result, we conducted a comprehensive assessment and coding for the qualitative phase of the current study.

Another procedural strength of the study is that beside verbal explanation of the emotion experience intensity question, researchers asked children to visualize their emotion intensity using a card with increasingly widening circles to keep child's interest and ease of understanding. Furthermore, child's emotion expression

decisions were not asked in a dichotomous scale. In the present study we asked children to rate their level of expression or concealment decision with four point of likert scale (1 = *Definitely no,* 2= *Probably no,* 3= *Probably yes,* 4= *Definitely yes*). This is important since children may want to show or hide the emotion but its intensity may differ from person to person.

Finally, we collected parenting behavior data from two informants separately (mother and child). The ratings from both informants were significantly and positively related to each other. Given this degree of agreement across mother and child reports, we averaged and used the combined ratings in our analyses for more reliable measures of parenting.

In conclusion, the main goal of the current study was to determine the unique and interactive role of age, gender and SES, interaction context on children's shame and guilt experience and expression. Going beyon previous studies, we also examined the role of parenting behaviors as predictors of children's self-conscious emotion experience and expression in a sample of preadolescent Turkish children. Finally, we explored the function of children's emotion expression and reasons for their emotion concealment. In this sample of preadolescent Turkish children, we found that older children reported less shame experience and expression. Although children may acquire better understanding of shame and guilt with age as documented in previous studies (Fergusson et al., 1991), their self-report about the experience or expression of these emotions may not follow the same pattern. In line with the socialization practicies in different segments of our culture, girls reported more intense guilt experience, and boys in low SES experience more intense shame and guilt compared to boys in high SES. The results of this research showed that gender difference are qualified with societal and cultural factorsAnother noteworthy

finding to emerge from this study was that children chose to express more shame and experience more intense guilt towards their parents than peers. These differences reveal children's perceived risk of being teased compatible with children's age period and their internalization of collectivistic values of our culture such as respect for authority and valuing social harmony. Among the parenting behaviors, warmth and overprotection are the most prominent one's that seem to shape children's emotion experience and expression.

MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

1. The code number on the envelope: _____
2. The date you completed the questionaire: Day____ Month_____ Year_____
3. Child's date of birth: Day____ Month_____ Year_____
4. Child's gender (please mark): Erkek___ Kız___ 5. Child's number of siblings:

	MOTHER	FATHER
Date of birth	____/____/____ Day Month Year	____/____/____ Day Month Year
Job	-----------------------------	-----------------------------
Working Status	1. No ☐ 2. Full-time (40 hours per week) ☐ 3. Part-time (less than40 hours per week) ☐	1. No ☐ 2. Full-time (40 hours per week) ☐ 3. Part-time (less than40 hours per week) ☐
Marital Status	1- Married ☐ 2- Single, Divorced ☐ 3- Remarried ☐ 4- Widowed ☐	1. Married ☐ 2. Single, Divorced ☐ 3. Remarried ☐ 4. Widowed ☐
Education	(Please circle the appropriate option) 1. Primary school leave 2. Primary school graduate 3. Secondary school leave 4. Secondaryschool gradute 5. High school leave 6. High school graduate 7. Vocational-school graduate 8. University leave 9. University graduate 10. Post graduate degree (MA or PhD)	(Please circle the appropriate option) 1. Primary school leave 2. Primary school graduate 3. Secondary school leave 4. Secondaryschool graduate 5. High school leave 6. High school graduate 7. Vocational-school graduate 8. University leave 9. University graduate 10. Post graduate degree (MA or PhD)
The total income of the family (Monthly)	1. Less than 1000 TL ☐ 2. 1000 - 3000 TL ☐ 3. 3001 - 5000 TL ☐ 4. 5001 - 7000 TL ☐ 5. 7001 – 10000 TL ☐ 6. More than 10000 TL ☐	

ANNE DEMOGRAFIK BILGI FORMU

1. Zarfın üzerinde bulunan kod numarası: _____

2. Anketi doldurduğunuz tarih: Gün_____   Ay_____   Yıl_____

3. Çocuğun doğum tarihi: Gün_____   Ay_____   Yıl_____

4. Çocuğun cinsiyeti (lütfen işaretleyiniz): Erkek___   Kız___   5. Çocuğunuzun kardeş sayısı:

	ANNE	BABA
Doğum Tarihi	___/___/_____ Gün Ay Yıl	___/___/_____ Gün Ay Yıl
Mesleği	-----------------------------	-----------------------------
Çalışma Durumu	1. Hayır ☐ 2. Tam-zamanlı ☐ (haftada 40 saat) 3. Yarı-zamanlı ☐ (haftada 40 saatten az)	1. Hayır ☐ 2. Tam-zamanlı ☐ (haftada 40 saat) 3. Yarı-zamanlı ☐ (haftada 40 saatten az)
Medeni Hali	1- Evli ☐ 2- Bekar, Boşanmış ☐ 3- Yeniden Evlenmiş ☐ 4- Dul ☐	1. Evli ☐ 2. Bekar, Boşanmış ☐ 3. Yeniden Evlenmiş ☐ 4. Dul ☐
Eğitim	(Lütfen uygun olan seçeneği daire içine alınız) 1. İlkokul terk 2. İlkokul mezunu 3. Ortaokul terk 4. Ortaokul mezunu 5. Lise terk 6. Lise mezunu 7. Yüksekokul mezunu 8. Üniversite terk 9. Üniversite mezunu 10. Uzmanlık derecesi (master ya da doktora)	(Lütfen uygun olan seçeneği daire içine alınız) 1. İlkokul terk 2. İlkokul mezunu 3. Ortaokul terk 4. Ortaokul mezunu 5. Lise terk 6. Lise mezunu 7. Yüksek okul mezunu 8. Üniversite terk 9. Üniversite mezunu 10. Uzmanlık derecesi (master ya da doktora)
Ailenin toplam geliri (Aylık)	1. 1000 TL'nin altında ☐ 2. 1000 - 3000 TL ☐ 3. 3001 - 5000 TL ☐ 4. 5001 - 7000 TL ☐ 5. 7001 – 10000 TL ☐ 6. 10000 TL'nin üzerinde ☐	

CHILD FORM OF S-EMBU

Below are a number of questions concerning some behaviors mothers do. By thinking your mother behaviors, please answer all the questions below. Answering these questions may not be so easy because mothers may not always behave in a same manner. Therefore, we want you to give your answers by grasping the questions well and using one of the four alternatives.

Please put a cross to the alternative which is the most suitable for you by taking your mother's behavior asked in the question into consideration. If your mother does not behave in this manner, you can mark "no"; if your mother sometimes behaves in this manner, you can mark "yes, sometimes"; if your mother often behaves in this manner, you can mark "yes, often"; and finally if your mother always behaves in this manner, you can mark "yes, always".

1. Do your mother understand your unhappiness without letting her know?	
○ No ○ Yes, sometimes ○ Yes, often ○ Yes, always	

2. If things are not going right for you, does your mother try to comfort you?	
○ No ○ Yes, sometimes ○ Yes, often ○ Yes, always	

3. When your mother is angry with you, does your mother also sorrow?	
○ No ○ Yes, sometimes ○ Yes, often ○ Yes, always	

4. Do you think that your mother is trying to make growing up a happy time for you (for instance, sending you to camps or relatives, giving you good books)?	
○ No ○ Yes, sometimes ○ Yes, often ○ Yes, always	

5. Does your mother reward you (for instance, by saying "well done!", giving you a gift, kissing and hugging you)?	
○ No ○ Yes, sometimes ○ Yes, often ○ Yes, always	

6. If you do something really well, does your mother seem to be very proud of you?	
○ No ○ Yes, sometimes ○ Yes, often ○ Yes, always	

7. Does your mother behave towards you warmly and affectionately?	
○ No ○ Yes, sometimes ○ Yes, often ○ Yes, always	

8. Does your mother show you her love to you?	
○ No ○ Yes, sometimes ○ Yes, often ○ Yes, always	

9. When you do bad thigs, does your mother wonder the cause before getting angry?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

10. Does your mother punish you more than you deserve?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

11. Does your mother punish you sternly even for minor things?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

12. Does your mother behave angry towards you without telling any reason?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

13. Does your mother blame you for everything?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

14. If you have sisters or brothers, does your mother love them more than you?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

15. When you do a bad thing, does your mother make it obvious by sulking? And consequently, do you feel guilty about this?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

16. Does your mother tell you bad words in presence of others?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

17. Does your mother compare you with your friends in the matter of your lessons?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

18. Does your mother wonder more about how you are better or worse than your friends, rather than your grade?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

19. In the matter of your lessons, does your mother compare you with your sisters/brothers or your relatives' children?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

20. Does your mother show other children to you as a role model?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

21. Does your mother force you to be the best among your friends?

    ○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○Yes, always

22. When you are playing, is your mother the one most warning (for instance, by saying "do not climb a tree or wall")?

○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○ Yes, always

23. Due to fear that you may be in trouble, are you not allowed by your mother to do things that your friends do?

○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○ Yes, always

24. Does your mother allow you to play away your home?

○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○ Yes, always

25. When you are playing in the street, is the most calling mother yours?

○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○ Yes, always

26. Does your mother overclothe you in fear that you may feel cold?

○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○ Yes, always

27. Do you want that your mother would be less worried about your acts?

○ No   ○ Yes, sometimes   ○ Yes, often   ○ Yes, always

TURKISH VERSION OF CHILD FORM OF S-EMBU

Annem Nasıl Biri?

Aşağıda sana annelerin yaptığı bazı davranışları sorular şeklinde sorduk. Annenin sana olan davranışlarını düşünerek aşağıdaki soruları cevaplandır. Bu sorulara cevap vermek çok kolay olmayabilir; çünkü anneler her zaman aynı şekilde davranmayabilirler. O yüzden senden cevabını, soruyu iyice anlayarak ve dört seçenekten birini kullanarak vermeni istiyoruz.

Annenin soruda sorulan davranışını dikkate alarak, lütfen sana uyan en doğru seçeneğe çarpı işareti koy. Eğer sorudaki davranışı annen hiç yapmıyorsa "Hayır" seçeneğini; ara sıra ya da bazen yapıyorsa "Evet, bazen" seçeneğini; çoğu zaman yapıyorsa "Evet, çoğu zaman" seçeneğini; her zaman yapıyorsa "Evet, her zaman" seçeneğini işaretle.

1. Annen üzüntülü olduğunu sen söylemeden anlar mı?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

2. Kötü bir şey olduğunda annen seni rahatlatmaya çalışır mı?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

3. Annen sana kızdığında kendisi de üzülür mü?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

4. Annen, senin zamanının eğlenceli geçmesine çalışır mı (örnek: tatile, akrabalara göndererek, sana güzel kitaplar alarak)?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

5. Annen seni ödüllendirir mi (örnek: aferin diyerek, hediye alarak, öperek, sarılarak)?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

6. Bir işi başardığında annen seninle gurur duyar mı?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

7. Annen sana sıcak ve sevecen davranır mı?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

8. Annen sana sevgisini gösterir mi?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

9. Annen kötü bir şey yaptığında kızmadan önce nedenini sorar mı?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

10. Annen sana hak ettiğinden daha fazla ceza verir mi?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

11. Annen küçük şeyler için bile seni sert bir şekilde cezalandırır mı?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

12. Annen nedenini söylemeden sana kızgın davranır mı?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

13. Annen her şeyde seni suçlar mı?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

14. Eğer kardeşin, ağabeyin/ablan varsa, annen onları senden daha çok sever mi?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

15. Kötü bir şey yaptığında, annen surat asarak bunu belli eder mi? Sen de kendini bu yüzden suçlu hisseder misin?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

16. Annen sana herkesin içinde kötü sözler söyler mi?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

17. Annen derslerin konusunda seni arkadaşlarınla karşılaştırır mı?
○ Hayır ○ Evet, bazen ○ Evet, çoğu zaman ○ Evet, her zaman

18. Annen aldığın nottan çok arkadaşlarına göre ne kadar iyi ya da kötü olduğunu merak eder mi?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

19. Annen derslerin konusunda seni kardeşin, ağabeyin/ablan veya akraba çocuklarıyla karşılaştırır mı?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

20. Annen başka çocukları sana örnek gösterir mi?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

21. Annen arkadaşların içinde en iyi olman için seni zorlar mı?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

22. Oynarken tehlikeler konusunda en çok uyaran senin annen mi (örnek: ağaca, duvara tırmanmamanı söyleyerek)?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

23. Annenin, başına bir şey gelecek korkusuyla arkadaşlarının yaptığı bazı şeyleri yapmana izin vermediği olur mu?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

24. Annen evin uzağında oynamana izin verir mi?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

25. Sokakta oynarken en çok senin annen mi çağırır?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

26. Annen üşüyebilirsin korkusuyla çok kalın giydirir mi?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

27. Annenin yaptıkların konusunda daha az endişelenmesini ister miydin?

○ Hayır   ○ Evet, bazen   ○ Evet, çoğu zaman   ○ Evet, her zaman

APPENDIX C

MOTHER FORM OF S-EMBU

Below are a number of statements concerning situations and feelings parents experience together with their children. We request from you to answer the statements by thinking the relationship between you and your child who brought this scale. Please answer all the statements. Please circle the alternative (alternatives vary between 1 and 6) the most applicable to your behaviors.
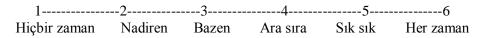
1----------------2--------------3--------------4--------------5--------------6
Never   Rarely   Sometimes   Often   Usually   Always

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Usually	Always
1. I understand my child's distress even if he/she does not let me know.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Rather than the result my child gets, I wonder more about the extent to which he/she does well or worse in comparison with his/her friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. When my child succeeds what he/she started, I am very proud of him/her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. In the fear that my child may be in trouble, I do not allow my child to do things that his/her friends do.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. I punish my child sternly even for minor things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. When I scold my child, I also sorrow.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. When my child does bad things, I try to understand the cause of it before getting angry.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. I am too worried about my child's acts.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. When my child does a bad thing, I make it obvious by sulking so that my child feels guilty.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. With my acts, I make my child feel ashamed from himself/herself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. I force my child to be the best among his/her friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. It happened that I gave my child more punishment than he/she deserved.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. If things are not going right for my child, I try to comfort and encourage him/her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. When my child is playing, I warn him/her more than other mothers due to fear that he/she may get into trouble (for instance, by saying "do not climb a tree or wall").	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. When my child playing in the street, I call him/her more than other mothers.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. I treat my child as the scapegoat of the family (the person who can be blamed for everything).	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Usually	Always
17. I am trying to make growing up a happy and informative time for my child (for instance, sending him/her to summer camps, courses or relatives, or giving him/her good books).	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. I compare my child with his/her friends in the matter of his/her lessons.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. I overclothe my child for the fear that he/she may feel cold.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. I appreciate or reward my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. I criticize my child, and tell him/her that how he/she is lazy and useless when there are others around.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. I like my other children more than I like him/her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. My anxiety that something might happen to my child is exaggerated.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Warmth and tenderness exist between me and my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. I do not allow my child to move away from neighborhood while playing.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. I show with words and gestures that I like him/her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. I show other children to my child as a role model.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. It happened that I was angry or unhappy about my child without telling him/her why.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. In the matter of my child's lessons, I compare him/her with his/her sisters/brothers or our relatives' children.	1	2	3	4	5	6

TURKISH VERSION OF MOTHER FORM OF S-EMBU

Aşağıda ebeveynlerin çocuklarıyla yaşayabilecekleri durumlara ve duygulara ilişkin ifadeler verilmiştir. Sizden ANKETİ GETİREN ÇOCUĞUNUZLA olan ilişkinizi düşünerek bu ifadelerin sizin için ne derece geçerli olduğunu cevaplandırmanız istenmektedir. Lütfen hiçbir soruyu boş bırakmayınız. Cevaplarınızı 1 ile 6 arasında bir seçim yaparak ve seçtiğiniz rakamı yuvarlak içine alarak belirtiniz.

1----------------2--------------3--------------4--------------5--------------6
Hiçbir zaman   Nadiren   Bazen   Ara sıra   Sık sık   Her zaman

	Hiçbir zaman	Nadiren	Bazen	Ara sıra	Sık sık	Her zaman
1. Çocuğumun sıkıntılı olduğunu o söylemeden anlarım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Çocuğumun aldığı sonuçtan çok arkadaşlarına göre nerede olduğunu merak ederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Başladığı bir işi başardığında çocuğumla gurur duyarım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Başına bir şey gelecek korkusuyla başka çocukların yaptığı bazı şeyleri yapmasına izin vermem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Küçük şeyler için bile çocuğumu sert bir şekilde cezalandırırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Çocuğuma kızdığımda kendim de üzülürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Kötü bir şey yaptığında hemen kızmaz, nedenini anlamaya çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Çocuğumun ne yapıp ettiği konusunda çok endişelenirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Kötü bir şey yaptığında bunu surat asarak veya başka bir yolla öyle belli ederim ki çocuğum kendisini gerçekten suçlu hisseder.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Yaptıklarımla çocuğuma kendisinden utanması gerektiğini hissettiririm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Arkadaşlarının içinde en iyisi olması için çocuğumu zorlarım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Çocuğuma hak ettiğinden daha fazla ceza verdiğim olur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. İşleri kötü gittiğinde, onu rahatlatmaya ve yüreklendirmeye çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Oynarken başına bir şey gelir korkusuyla çocuğumu diğer annelerden daha çok uyarırım (ağaca, duvara tırmanmamasını söylemek gibi).	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Sokakta oynarken çocuğumu diğer annelerin çocuklarını çağırdıklarından daha çok çağırırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Çocuğuma ailenin günah keçisi (her konuda suçlanacak insan) muamelesi yaparım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Zamanının keyif verici ve öğretici geçmesine çalışırım (tatile, akrabalara, kursa göndermek, ona güzel kitaplar almak gibi davranışlarla).	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Çocuğumu dersleri konusunda arkadaşlarıyla karşılaştırırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Çocuğumu üşüyeceği endişesiyle çok kalın giydiririm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Çocuğumu takdir eder ya da ödüllendiririm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. Çocuğumu herkesin içinde eleştirir, tembel ve işe yaramaz olduğunu söylerim.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Hiçbir zaman	Nadiren	Bazen	Ara sıra	Sık sık	Her zaman
22. Kardeş(ler)ini (ondan küçük ya da büyük) ondan daha çok severim.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. Çocuğumun başına bir şey gelebileceği yolundaki bazı endişelerim abartılıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Çocuğumla aramda sıcaklık ve sevecenlik var.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. Oynarken evin yakınından ayrılmasına hiç izin vermem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. Sözlerim ve hareketlerimle çocuğuma onu sevdiğimi gösteririm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. Başka çocukları çocuğuma örnek gösteririm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. Nedenini söylemeden çocuğuma kızgın ya da ters davrandığım olur.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. Dersleri konusunda kardeş(ler)i veya akraba çocuklarıyla karşılaştırırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6

CHILD INTERVIEW SCENARIOS

AND COMPREHENSION CHECK QUESTIONS

<small>SHAME ELICITING SCENARIOS</small>

1. Emre/Zeynep is playing with friends in the schoolyard. Suddenly, everyone is going to see something by shouting and running. Emre/Zeynep run after them but then fall down and get mud all over you. Friends and everyone there laugh at him/her. Emre/Zeynep feels ashamed.

(While Emre/Zeynep run after his/her friends, what was happening?/ How does his/her friends give a reaction?/ How Emre/Zeynep feels himself/herself?)

2. Emre/Zeynep is daydreaming during the lesson about an issue that is not related to lesson. At that moment his/her teacher asks him/her a question. However, he/she does not even hear the question. He/she regain consciousness with his/her friends laughing and he/she cannot give any answer to his/her teacher's question. Emre/Zeynep feels ashamed in this situation.

(When teacher asks him/her a question, what was happening?/ How does his/her friends give a reaction?/ How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

3. Emre/Zeynep's teacher put a very large red X on a page of his/her schoolwork. After coming back home from the school, while Emre/Zeynep and his parent are talking, Emre/Zeynep's mother takes his/her notebook, sees that big red X the teacher made. Emre/Zeynep's mother says "How could you have done this badly, didn't you try?". His/her parent is looking at him/her, they compare him/her with other children and say "You should be like them". Emre/Zeynep feels ashamed.

(When Emre/Zeynep's parent saw the very large red X in his/her notebook, how did they give a reaction?/ How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

4. Emre/ Zeynep diarise his/her feelings and thoughts about his/her friend. While he/she places the diary with his/her other books in his/her bookcase's top shelf, all the books fall all around. His/her mother and father who are in the room at that moment begin to pick the books up in order to help their child. Both of them see the writings in the diary. Emre/Zeynep feels ashamed because the things he/she wants to stay precious showed up.

(While Emre/Zeynep places the diary with his/her other books in his/her bookcase's top shelf, what was happening?/ How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

GUILT ELICITING SCENARIOS

1. While playing during physical education lesson in the school, Emre/Zeynep throws a ball and it hits his/her friend's head. His/her friend holds his/her head and says "my head hurt a lot". Emre/Zeynep feels guilty towards his/her friend.

(While playing during physical education lesson, what was happening? / How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

2. Emre/Zeynep's close friend, Ali/Aslı, shares a secret he/she hides from everyone. After a while, their other friends come. While they are talking, accidentally Emre /Zeynep let the secret out, he/she by oneself says "How could I do that?" and Emre/Zeynep feels guilty towards his/her close friend.

(When their other friends come to Emre/Zeynep and his/her close friend, what was happening? / How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

3. While Emre/Zeynep's mother is preparing food in kitchen, Emre/Zeynep and his/her younger brother/sister play ball in the lounge. Emre/Zeynep throws the ball strongly and his/her mother's vase she loves and values much is broken. His/her mother heard the noise and come to lounge. However, she supposes that Emre/Zeynep's younger brother/sister broke the vase. She says to Emre/Zeynep "You wait for us in the kitchen" and she send Emre/Zeynep out the room. After that, mother scolds her younger child. Emre/Zeynep hear his/her younger brother/sister's crying and he/she feels guilty.

(What are Emre/Zeynep doing with his/her younger brother/sister in the lounge?/ How Emre/Zeynep's mother gave a reaction when she come to the lounge?/ How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

4. Emre/Zeynep visits his/her aunt; he/she spends a good day with his/her cousins. His/her aunt gives a packet in order to deliver it to his/her mother. However, Emre/Zeynep loses this packet on the way to home. When he/she comes to the home, Emre/Zeynep's mother asks whether Emre/Zeynep bring the packet the aunt gave. Emre/Zeynep says that his/her aunt did not give any packet to him/her. After a while, phone rings, Emre/Zeynep hear the talk between his/her mother and aunt. After the phone conversation, Emre/Zeynep's mother wonderingly says "your aunt had given the packet to you". Emre/Zeynep's lie exposes and he/she feels guilty.

(What does Emre/Zeynep take from his/her aunt?/ What is happening on the way home?/ When he/she comes to the home, what does he/she say?/ How does the situation reveal?/ How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

HAPPINESS ELICITING SCENARIOS

1. It is a sunny day. Emre/Zeynep are sitting outside with his/her friends. He/she is talking and laughing. He/she wants to play ball and when he/she says this, his/her friends play ball together and they have lots of fun. Emre/Zeynep feels happy himself/herself.

(What is Emre/Zeynep doing outside?/ How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

2. Emre/Zeynep and his/her classmates go on a trip arranged by the school. They see lots of beautiful place, spend a good time; and they are talking and playing many games during the trip. Emre/Zeynep feels happy himself/herself.

(How does Emre/Zeynep spend time in the trip?/ How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

3. Emre/Zeynep sees a toy in a store that he/she likes much and he/she says this to his/her parent. After two days, when his/her birthday come, his/her parents give their gifts and he/she excitingly opens the gift. When the gift is opened, he/she sees that his/her parent bought the toy he/she liked. Emre/Zeynep feels happy.

(What does Emre/Zeynep see in the store?/ What does his/her parent give to him/her as a birthday gift? / How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

4. In a summer day, Emre/Zeynep's mother says "I have a surprise for you. After eating dinner, I am going to take you to a place you love much." After the dinner, they prepare and Emre/Zeynep's mother takes him/her to an amusement park. They have lots of fun and Emre/Zeynep feels happy.

(What is the surprise of Emre/Zeynep's mother?/ How Emre/Zeynep feels?)

MÜLAKAT HIKAYELERI VE KAVRAMA KONTROL SORULARI

UTANMA DUYGUSU UYANDIRAN HIKAYELER

1. Emre/Zeynep okul bahçesinde arkadaşlarıyla oyun oynuyor. Birden herkes aynı yöne doğru koşarak ve bağırarak bir şeye bakmaya gidiyor. Emre/Zeynep de onların ardından gidiyor fakat birdenbire yere düşüyor ve her yeri çamur oluyor. Arkadaşları ve oradaki herkes ona gülüyor. Emre/Zeynep utanmış hissediyor.

(Emre/Zeynep arkadaşlarının peşinden giderken ne oluyor?/ Arkadaşları nasıl tepki veriyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

2. Emre/Zeynep sınıfta ders esnasında dersle ilgili olmayan başka konularla ilgili hayale dalıyor. O anda öğretmeni ona bir soru soruyor. Fakat Emre/Zeynep soruyu duymuyor bile. Sınıftaki arkadaşlarının gülüşme sesleriyle kendine geliyor ve öğretmenine hiçbir cevap veremiyor. Emre/Zeynep bu durumda utanıyor.

(Öğretmen Emre/Zeynep'(y)e soru sorduğunda ne oluyor?/ Arkadaşları nasıl bir tepki veriyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

3. Emre/Zeynep 'in öğretmeni ödevinin bir sayfasına kırmızı kalemle kocaman bir çarpı koymuş. Akşam okuldan eve geldiğinde Emre/Zeynep, anne ve babası ile birlikte sohbet ederken, Emre/Zeynep'in annesi defterini alıyor ve öğretmeninin defterine koyduğu o büyük kırmızı çarpıyı görüyor. Annesi Emre/Zeynep'e "Bu ödevi bu kadar kötü nasıl yapabildin, hiç uğraşmadın mı?" diyor. Bunun üzerine annesiyle babası Emre/Zeynep 'e bakıyor ve onu diğer çocuklarla kıyaslayıp onlar gibi olmalısın diyor. Emre/Zeynep utanmış hissediyor.

(Emre/Zeynep'(n)in anne ve babası defterindeki çarpıyı görünce nasıl bir tepki veriyordu?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

4. Emre/ Zeynep, o sabah günlüğüne bir arkadaşına dair hissettiği duygu ve düşüncelerini yazar. Daha sonra günlüğünü diğer kitapları ile birlikte kütüphanesinin üst rafına yerleştirirken elindekilerin hepsi birden yere düşer ve yere dağılır. O sırada odada olan annesiyle babası Emre/Zeynep'(y)e yardım etmek için yere saçılan kitapları toplamaya başlarlar. İkisi de yere düşüp açılan günlük defterinde yazılanları görürüler. Emre/Zeynep özel kalmasını istediği şeyler ortaya çıktığı için utanır.

(Emre/Zeynep günlüğünü kütüphanesine yerleştirirken ne oluyordu?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

SUÇLULUK DUYGUSU UYANDIRAN HİKAYELER

1. Okulda beden eğitimi dersinde top oynarken Emre/Zeynep'(n)in attığı top sınıftan bir arkadaşının kafasına isabet ediyor. Arkadaşı kafasını tutup çok acıdığını söylüyor. Emre/Zeynep arkadaşına karşı kendini suçlu hissediyor.

(Beden eğitimi dersinde top oynarken ne oluyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

2. Emre/Zeynep'(n)in yakın arkadaşı Ali/Aslı kimseye söylemediği bir sırrını onunla paylaşıyor. Bir süre sonra yanlarına başka arkadaşları daha geliyor. Hep birlikte sohbet ederlerken Emre /Zeynep arkadaşının sırrını yanlışlıkla ağzından kaçırıyor, kendi kendine "Ah bunu nasıl yapabildim" diyor ve kendini suçlu hissediyor.

(Emre/Zeynep ve yakın arkadaşının yanına diğer arkadaşları geldiğinde ne oluyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

3. Annesi mutfakta yemek hazırlarken, Emre/Zeynep ve küçük kardeşi ile salonda top oynuyorlar. Emre/Zeynep topa biraz hızlı vuruyor ve annesinin çok değer verip sevdiği vazosu kırılıyor. Gürültüyü duyan anne salona geliyor. Vazoyu Emre/Zeynep'(n)in küçük kardeşi kırdı zannediyor. Emre/Zeynep'(y)e dönüp "sen bizi mutfakta bekle" diyor ve onu salondan dışarı yolluyor. Emre/Zeynep'(y)i dışarı yolladıktan sonra küçük oğlunu/kızını azarlamaya başlıyor. Emre/Zeynep dışarıdan küçük kardeşinin ağladığını duyuyor ve kendini suçlu hissediyor.

(Emre/Zeynep küçük kardeşi ile salonda ne yapıyor?/ Gürültüyü duyan anne salona geldiğinde nasıl bir tepki veriyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

4. Emre/Zeynep teyzesini ziyaret eder, orda kuzenleriyle güzel bir gün geçirir. Teyzesi, Emre/Zeynep'e annesine ulaştırması için bir paket verir. Ancak Emre/Zeynep bu paketi yolda kaybeder. Eve döndüğünde annesi Emre/Zeynep'ten paketi getirip getirmediğini sorar. Emre/Zeynep, teyzesinin bu paketi ona hiç vermediğini söyler. Bir süre sonra telefon çalar, Emre/Zeynep annesinin teyzesiyle konuştuğunu duyar. Annesi telefonu kapadıktan sonra Emre/Zeynep'e seslenir ve "teyzen sana paketi vermiş ama" der, şaşkınlıkla. Yalanı ortaya çıkan Emre/Zeynep kendini suçlu hisseder.

(Emre/Zeynep teyzesinden ne alıyor?/ Yolda ne oluyor?/ Eve döndüğünde annesine ne söylüyor?/ Durum nasıl ortaya çıkıyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendisini nasıl hissediyor?)

MUTLULUK DUYGUSU UYANDIRAN HIKAYELER

1. Güzel, güneşli bir gün. Emre/Zeynep dışarıda arkadaşıyla oturuyor. Arkadaşıyla konuşuyor ve gülüyor. Sonra top oynamak istiyor ve arkadaşlarına bunu söylediğinde onunla beraber top oynuyorlar ve çok eğleniyorlar. Emre/Zeynep kendini mutlu hissediyor.

(Emre/Zeynep dışarıda ne yapıyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

2. Emre/Zeynep sınıf arkadaşlarıyla birlikte okulun düzenlemiş olduğu bir geziye gidiyorlar. Gezide çok güzel yerler görüyorlar, çok güzel vakit geçiriyorlar ve arkadaşlarıyla sohbet edip, bol bol oyun oynuyorlar. Emre/Zeynep kendini mutlu hissediyor.

(Emre/Zeynep'(n)in gezide vakti nasıl geçiyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

3. Emre/Zeynep bir mağazada çok hoşuna giden bir oyuncak görüyor ve bunu anne ve babasına söylüyor. İki gün sonra Emre/Zeynep'(n)in doğum günü geldiğinde, anne-babası ona hediyelerini veriyor, o da heyecanlı bir şekilde hediyeyi açıyor. Ve hediye paketini açtığında, anne-babasının ona o çok beğenmiş olduğu oyuncağı aldığını görüyor. Emre/Zeynep kendini mutlu hissediyor.

(Emre/Zeynep mağazada ne görüyor?/ Doğum gününde anne-babası ne hediye alıyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

4. Bir yaz günü Emre/Zeynep'(n)in annesi "Emre/Zeynep akşam yemeğimizi yedikten sonra sana bir sürprizim var, seni çok seveceğin bir yere götüreceğim" diyor. Yemek yedikten sonra hazırlanıyorlar ve annesi onu lunaparka götürüyor. Orada çok eğleniyorlar ve Emre/Zeynep kendini mutlu hissediyor.

(Bir yaz günü Emre/Zeynep '(y)e annesi ne sürpriz yapıyor?/ Emre/Zeynep kendini nasıl hissediyor?)

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR SCENARIOS

AFTER THE SHAME ELICITING SCENARIOS:

QUESTION 1 A: How much would you feel shame if you were in the protagonist's place?

(1) Not al all   (2) Slighltly   (3) Moderately   (4) Very   (5) Extremely

QUESTION 1 B: Children who respond this question as *"Not at all"* → How would you feel in this situation?

QUESTION 2: Do you want your parents/peers to know that you feel ashamed?
I want my parent/peers to know about my shame

Definetely no---------Probably no---------- Probably yes----------- Definetely yes
     (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)

If the child answers as "Definetely or Probably no":
QUESTION 3A: You do not want to make your parent/peers aware of your shame because ....

If the child answers as "Definetely or Probably yes":
QUESTION 3B: You want to make your parent/peers aware of your shame because ....

QUESTION 4: Aside from shame, what emotion(s) do you feel the most?

AFTER THE GUILT ELICITING SCENARIOS:

QUESTION 1 A: How much would you feel guilt if you were in the protagonist's place?

(1) Not al all   (2) Slighltly   (3) Moderately   (4) Very   (5) Extremely

QUESTION 1 B: "Children who respond this question as "*Not at all*"→
How would you feel in this situation?

QUESTION 2: Do you want your parents/peers to know that you feel guilty?

I want my parent/peers to know about my guilt

Definetely no---------Probably no---------- Probably yes----------- Definetely yes
     (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)

If the child answers as "Definetely or Probably no":
QUESTION 3A: You do not want to make your parent/peers aware of your guilt
because ....

If the child answers as "Definetely or Probably yes":
QUESTION 3B: You want to make your parent/peers aware of your guilt because
....

QUESTION 4: Aside from guilt, what emotion(s) do you feel the most?

AFTER THE HAPPINESS ELICITING SCENARIOS:

QUESTION 1 A: How much would you feel happy if you were in the protagonist's
place?

(1) Not al all   (2) Slighltly   (3) Moderately   (4) Very   (5) Extremely

QUESTION 1 B: Children who respond this question as "*Not at all*"→ How
would you feel in this situation?

QUESTION 2: Do you want your parents/peers to know that you feel happy?

I want my parent/peers to know about my happiness

Definetely no---------Probably no---------- Probably yes----------- Definetely yes
     (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)

If the child answers as "Definetely or Probably no":
QUESTION 3A: You do not want to make your parent/peers aware of your happiness because ....

If the child answers as "Definetely or Probably yes":
QUESTION 3B: You want to make your parent/peers aware of your guilt because ....

HIKAYELERIN MÜLAKAT SORULARI

UTANMA DUYGUSU UYANDIRAN HIKAYELERDEN SONRA:

SORU 1 A: Sen Emre/Zeynep'(n)in yerinde olsaydın ne kadar utanırdın?

(1) Hiç   (2) Çok Azıcık   (3) Biraz   (4) Çok   (5) Oldukça Çok

SORU 1 B: "*Hiç Utanmazdım*" yanıtı durumunda → Peki, sen bu durumda ne hissederdin?

SORU 2: Senin utanmış olduğunu arkadaşların anlasın ister misin?
                    Utandığımı anlamalarını

Hiç istemezdim---------Pek istemezdim----------Biraz isterdim-----------Kesinlikle isterdim
        (2)   (2)   (3)   (4)

Eğer çocuk "Pek veya Hiç istemezdim" diye cevap verirse:
SORU 3A: Arkadaşın/Ailen utandığını (HİÇ/PEK) anlasın istemezsin çünkü .... (bu cümleyi tamamlar mısın benim için)

Eğer çocuk "Biraz veya Kesinlikle isterdim" diye cevap verirse:
SORU 3B: Arkadaşın/Ailen utandığını (BİRAZ/KESİNLİKLE) anlasın istersin çünkü .... (bu cümleyi tamamlar mısın benim için)

SORU 4: Bu hikayede utanma duygusundan başka bir duygu hisseder miydin? En çok hangi duyguyu hissederdin?

SORU 1 A: Sen Emre/Zeynep'(n)in yerinde olsaydın ne kadar suçlu hissederdin?

(1) Hiç   (2) Çok Azıcık   (3) Biraz   (4) Çok   (5) Oldukça Çok

     SORU 1 B: *"Hiç Suçlu Hissetmezdim"* yanıtı durumunda → Peki, sen bu durumda ne hissederdin?

SORU 2: Senin suçluluk hissettiğini arkadaşların anlasın ister misin?

<div align="center">Suçluluk hissettiğimi anlamalarını</div>

Hiç istemezdim---------Pek istemezdim----------Biraz isterdim-----------Kesinlikle isterdim
     (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)

Eğer çocuk "Pek veya Hiç istemezdim" diye cevap verirse:
SORU 3A: Arkadaşın/Ailen suçluluk duygunu (HİÇ/PEK) anlasın istemezsin çünkü .... (bu cümleyi tamamlar mısın benim için)

Eğer çocuk "Biraz veya Kesinlikle isterdim" diye cevap verirse:
SORU 3B: Arkadaşın/Ailen suçluluk duygunu (BİRAZ/KESİNLİKLE) anlasın istersin çünkü .... (bu cümleyi tamamlar mısın benim için)

SORU 4: Bu hikayede suçluluktan başka bir duygu hisseder miydin? En çok hangi duyguyu hissederdin?

SORU 1 A: Sen Emre/Zeynep'(n)in yerinde olsaydın ne kadar mutlu hissederdin?

(1) Hiç   (2) Çok Azıcık   (3) Biraz   (4) Çok   (5) Oldukça Çok

     SORU 1 B: *"Hiç Mutlu Hissetmezdim"* yanıtı durumunda → Peki, sen bu durumda ne hissederdin?

SORU 2: Senin mutluluk hissettiğini arkadaşların anlasın ister misin?

Mutluluk hissettiğimi anlamalarını

Hiç istemezdim---------Pek istemezdim----------Biraz isterdim-----------Kesinlikle
isterdim
    (1)   (2)   (3)   (4)

Eğer çocuk "Pek veya Hiç istemezdim" diye cevap verirse:
SORU 3A: Arkadaşın/Ailen mutluluk hissettiğini (HİÇ/PEK) anlasın istemezsin
çünkü .... (bu cümleyi tamamlar mısın benim için)

Eğer çocuk "Biraz veya Kesinlikle isterdim" diye cevap verirse:
SORU 3B: Arkadaşın/Ailen mutluluk hissettiğini (BİRAZ/KESİNLİKLE) anlasın
istersin çünkü .... (bu cümleyi tamamlar mısın benim için)

APPENDIX F

CONSENT FORM FOR PARENT

EBEVEYN BİLGİ VE ONAM FORMU

ARAŞTIRMAYI DESTEKLEYEN KURUM: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

ARAŞTIRMANIN ADI: Okul Çağındaki Çocukların Duygusal Yetkinlik Özellikleri

ARAŞTIRMACILARIN ADI: Doç. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı, Arş. Gör. Şule Pala-Sağlam

ADRESİ: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü, 34342 Bebek-İstanbul

Sayın Veli:

Okul çağındaki duygu ifadesi ve kontrolü, çocukların akademik başarıları ve ilerideki sosyal hayat becerileriyle çok yakından ilişkilidir. Bu önemli konu hakkında, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümünde "*Okul Çağındaki Çocukların Duygusal Yetkinlik Özellikleri*" adı altında bilimsel bir araştırma projesi yürütmekteyiz. Bu çalışmanın amacı, çocukların günlük hayatta karşılaşabilecekleri ve farklı duygular (örneğin, mutluluk, suçluluk) hissedebilecekleri durumlarda duygularını nasıl ifade ettiklerini incelemektir. Mevcut çalışma, bu amaçla Türkiye'de yürütülen en belli başlı araştırmalardan biridir. Sizi bu araştırma projesine katılmaya davet ediyoruz. Kararınızdan önce araştırma hakkında sizi bilgilendirmek istiyoruz. Bu bilgileri okuduktan sonra araştırmaya katılmak isterseniz bu formu imzalayıp okula iletmesi için kapalı bir zarf içinde lütfen çocuğunuza veriniz.

Araştırma projesine katılmayı kabul ederseniz, sizden kısa bir aile bilgi formu ve çocuğunuzla olan ilişkiniz hakkında iki kısa anket doldurmanızı rica edeceğiz. Bu formlar size kapalı bir zarf içinde çocuğunuzla yollanacaktır. Formların tamamlanması yaklaşık 10 dakika sürecektir. İkinci olarak, gittiği okulda çocuğunuzla ortalama 20-25 dakika sürecek bireysel bir mülakat gerçekleştirilecektir. Bu mülakat esnasında çocuğunuza 12 kısa hikâye okunacak ve bu hikâyelerdeki durumlarda hissedeceği duygularla ilgili sorular sorulacaktır. Çalışmamıza katkı sağlayan çocuğunuza bir teşekkür belgesi ve hem size hem de çocuğunuza ufak birer hediye verilecektir.
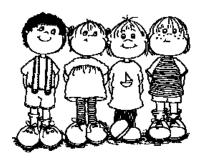
Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmaktadır ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esas tutulmaktadır. Bu araştırmaya katılmak tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Katıldığınız takdirde çocuğunuz, mülakatın herhangi bir aşamasında bir sebep göstermeden mülakattan çekilmek hakkına da sahip olacaktır. Elde edilecek verilerden kişisel sonuçlar çıkarılmayacak, sonuçlar bütün katılımcılar için toplu halde değerlendirilecektir. Araştırma projesi hakkında ek bilgi almak istediğiniz takdirde lütfen Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Arş. Gör. Şule Pala-Sağlam ile temasa geçiniz.

Çalışmaya katılmak istiyorum ☐

Çalışmaya katılmak istemiyorum ☐

ASSENT FORM FOR CHILD

ÇOCUK RIZA FORMU

Sevgili ………….,

Benim adım ...... Senin yaşındaki çocuklarla birlikte keyifli bir çalışma yapıyoruz. Bu çalışmada öncelikle sana, senin yaşındaki çocukların aileleri ya da arkadaşlarıyla yaşayabilecekleri kısa hikâyeler anlatacağım ve bu durumlarda kendini hayal etmeni isteyeceğim. Sonrasında da bu durumlarda hissettiğin duygularla ilgili sana sorular soracağım. Bu soruların doğru veya yanlış cevapları yok. En son olarak da senden kısa bir anket doldurmanı isteyeceğim. Anlattıkların ikimizin arasında kalacak. Ancak söylediklerini daha sonra hatırlamam için konuştuklarımızı kaydedeceğim ve çalışmam bitince bu kayıtları sileceğim.

Bana herhangi bir sorun var mı? Eğer sorun yoksa ve bu çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorsan, aşağıdaki "*Çalışmaya katılmak istiyorum*" kutucuğuna bir işaret koyar mısın?

☺

Çalışmaya katılmak istiyorum ☐   İstemiyorum ☐

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FORM FOR PILOT STUDY

Date: Form number:
Age: Gender:
Class:
School:

Instruction: I am going to mention some emotions. After that I am going to ask your idea about in which situations children feel these emotions. Questions I am going to ask have no true or false answers. Therefore, you can tell me what you think, sincerely. Are you ready?

1. All children, from time to time, feel themselves very happy when he/she is with his/her parents or peers.

    In which situations children whose ages similar to you feel themselves happy with their parents?
    In which situations children whose ages similar to you feel themselves happy with their peers?

2. All children, from time to time, feel themselves ashamed when he/she is with his/her parents or peers. Imagine such a child that this child felt ashamed, degraded and even felt small. This child wanted to keep out of sight and run away in order to hide himself/herself. In which situations children whose ages similar to you experience this emotions that I mentioned?

    In which situations children experience this emotion with their parents?
    In which situations children experience this emotion with their peers?

3. All children, from time to time, feel themselves guilty. Imagine such a child that this child felt guilty because of his/her behavior and he/she felt regret because of his/her behavior. In which situations children whose ages similar to you feel themselves guilty?

    In which situations children can feel like this with their parents?
    In which situations children can feel like this with their peers?

Tarih: Form no:

Yaş: Cinsiyet:

Sınıf:

Okul:

Yönerge: Şimdi sana bazı duygular tanımlayacağım. Sonra da hangi durumlarda çocukların bu duyguları hissedebileceğine ilişkin senin fikrini öğrenmek istiyorum. Sana soracağım soruların doğru veya yanlış cevabı yok. O yüzden bana içtenlikle ne düşündüğünü söyleyebilirsin, dediğim gibi bu soruların doğru veya yanlış cevabı yok. Hazır mısın?

1. Her çocuk ailesiyle ve arkadaşlarıyla birlikteyken zaman zaman kendini çok mutlu hisseder.

   Senin yaşındaki çocuklar aileleri ile birlikteyken hangi durumlarda mutlu hissederler?
   Senin yaşındaki çocuklar arkadaşları ile birlikteyken hangi durumlarda mutlu hissederler?

2. Her çocuk zaman zaman ailesiyle birlikteyken utanmış hisseder. Öyle bir çocuk düşün ki, bu çocuk utanmış, küçük düşmüş hatta yerin dibine girmiş gibi hissetmiş. Böyle hissettiği için de kimselere görünmemek, hatta kaçıp saklanmak dahi isteyebilir. Senin yaşındaki çocuklar ne gibi durumlarda bu anlattığım hisleri yaşar sence?

   Aileleriyle beraberken ne gibi durumlarda böyle hissedebilirler?
   Arkadaşlarıyla beraberken ne gibi durumlarda böyle hissedebilirler?

3. Her çocuk zaman zaman kendini suçlu hisseder. Öyle bir çocuk düşün ki, yaptığı bir davranıştan dolayı kendini suçlu hissediyor ve sonrasında da bu davranışı yaptığı için pişman oluyor. Senin yaşındaki çocuklar ne gibi durumlarda suçlu hisseder sence?

   Aileleriyle beraberken ne gibi durumlarda böyle hissedebilirler?
   Arkadaşlarıyla beraberken ne gibi durumlarda böyle hissedebilirler?

CODING CATEGORIES FOR JUSTIFICATIONS FOR SHAME AND GUILT

EXPRESSION OR CONCEALMENT

JUSTIFICATIONS FOR EMOTION EXPRESSION

1. "To receive positive interpersonal support": Seeking support, encouragement, understanding or apology are child's reasons for emotion expression (Zeman & Shipman, 1996). Moreover, the motivation behind emotion expression is to reveal the unintentionality of the fault and to maintain good relationship.

2. "To receive positive instrumental support": The motive behind emotion expression is the desire to receive assistance and benefit (Zeman & Shipman, 1996). Furthermore, children desire to receive help via parents/peers' advices or suggestions can be also a reason for emotion expression.

3. "To prevent future occurrence": The motive behind emotion expression is the desire not to encounter shame/guilt eliciting event which can otherwise reoccur (Raval, Martini & Raval, 2007).

4. "Protecting the self: To avoid scolding, teasing and derogatory acts, negative interpersonal consequences": The motive behind emotion expression is the desire to avoid scolding and punishment (Raval, et al., 2007). Additionally, expressing emotion in order to prevent further questioning especially from parents, to prevent their parents or peers pestering about the event and to prevent their parents from the derogatory acts are among the other prominent motivations.

5. "Personal Relief through Emotion Communication": The motive behind emotion expression is the desire to reach personal relief through communicating his/her feeling (Raval, et al., 2007; Zeman & Shipman, 1996).

6. "Moral/Normative Justification": The motive behind emotion expression is the desire to show child's own sincerity and integrity. Children prefer to express emotion in an attempt to implement social rules and conventions taught by the society and family (exp. right, wrong, moral values, honesty, fairness, avoidance of sins commitment) (Zeman & Shipman, 1996).

7. "Expression uncontrollable" : Child's reason for emotion expression is the uncontrollable nature of intense emotional experience leaving no room for the emotion concealment (Raval, et al., 2007).

JUSTIFICATIONS FOR EMOTION CONCEALMENT

8. "To Avoid Scolding": The motives behind emotion concealment are the desire to avoid scolding and punishment especially from parents and to prevent their peers to tell on the event to other people especially authority figures in this way child whishes to prevent getting into trouble (Raval, et al., 2007).

9. "To Avoid Embarrassment and Maintain Self-Esteem": The motive behind emotion concealment is child's desire to prevent being embarrassed, teased and humiliated. In this way, child aims to preserve self-esteem (Raval, et al., 2007).

10. "Prosocial Reasons": The motive behind emotion concealment is child's consideration about the target person's feelings and their relationship in case of emotion expression (Raval, et al., 2007).

11. "Normative Justification": Child prefers to conceal emotion in an attempt to implement social rules and conventions taught by the society and family (Raval, et al., 2007).

12. "Minimizing the significance of the event": The motive behind emotion concealment is child's reappraisal that the event is not important enough to turn the emotion experience to expression (Raval, et al., 2007).

REFERENCES

Abell, E., & Gecas, V. (1997). Guilt, shame, and family socialization: A retrospective study. *Journal of Family Issues*, *18*(2), 99-123. doi: 10.1177/019251397018002001

Abramson, L. Y., Seligman, M. E., & Teasdale, J. D. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *87*, 49-74. doi: 10.1037/0021-843x.87.1.49

Alessandri, S. M., & Lewis, M. (1993). Parental evaluation and its relation to shame and pride in young children. *Sex Roles*, *29*, 335-343. doi: 10.1007/bf00289427

Arrindell, W. A., Sanavio, E., Aguilar, G., Sica, C., Hatzichristou, C., Eisemann, M., … Van der Ende, J. (1999). The development of a short form of EMBU: Its appraisal with students in Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, and Italy. *Personality and Individual Differences, 27,* 613-628. doi: 10.1016/s0191-8869(98)00192-5

Assor, A., Vansteenkiste, M., & Kaplan, A. (2009). Identified versus introjected approach and introjected avoidance motivations in school and in sports: The limited benefits of self-worth strivings. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *101*, 482. doi: 10.1037/a0014236

Bafunno, D., & Camodeca, M. (2013). Shame and guilt development in preschoolers: The role of context, audience and individual characteristics. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *10*, 128-143. doi: 10.1080/17405629.2013.765796

Barber, B. K. (1996). Parental psychological control: Revisiting a neglected construct. *Child Development*, *67*, 3296-3319. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01915.x

Baumeister, R. F., Stillwell, a M., & Heatherton, T. F. (1994). Guilt: An interpersonal approach. *Psychological Bulletin*, *115*, 243-267. doi: 10.1037//0033-2909.115.2.243

Bedford, O., Kwang-Kuo, H. (2003). Guilt and shame in Chinese culture: A crosscultural framework from the perspective of morality and identity. *Journal for the theory of social behavior, 33,* 127-144. doi: 10.1111/1468-5914.00210

Belsky, J., Domitrovich, C., & Crnic, K. (1997). Temperament and parenting antecedents of individual differences in three-year-old boys' pride and shame reactions. *Child Development*, *68*, 456-466. doi: 10.2307/1131671

Bennett, D. S., Sullivan, M. W., & Lewis, M. (2005). Young children's adjustment as a function of maltreatment, shame, and anger. *Child Maltreatment*, *10*, 311-323. doi: 10.1177/1077559505278619

Berlin, L. J., & Cassidy, J. (2003). Mothers' self-reported control of their preschool children's emotional expressiveness: A longitudinal study of associations with infant–mother attachment and children's emotion regulation. *Social Development*, *12*, 477-495. doi: 10.1111/1467-9507.00244

Breen, A., Daniels, K., & Tomlinson, M. (2015). Children's experiences of corporal punishment: A qualitative study in an urban township of South Africa. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. doi: 10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.04.022

Breugelmans, S. M., & Poortinga, Y. H. (2006). Emotion without a word: Shame and guilt among Rarámuri Indians and rural Javanese. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *91*, 1111-1122. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.91.6.1111

Brody, L., & Hall, J. (2010). Gender and Emotion in Context. In M. Lewis, *Handbook of Emotions* (3rd ed., pp. 395-408). New York: Guilford Press.

Burnett, S., Bird, G., Moll, J., Frith, C., & Blakemore, S. J. (2009). Development during adolescence of the neural processing of social emotion. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience, 21,* 1736-1750. doi: 10.1162/jocn.2009.21121

Castro, J., Toro, J., Arrindell, W. A., van der Ende, J., & Puig, J. (1990). Perceived parental rearing style in spanish adolescents, children and parents; three new forms of the EMBU. In C. N. Stefanis, C. R. Soldatos, & A. D. Rabavillas (Eds.), Psychiatry: A world perspective. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers BV.

Castro, J., Toro, J., Van der Ende, J., & Arrindell, W. A. (1993). Exploring the feasibility of assessing perceived parental rearing styles in spanish children with the EMBU. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, *39*, 47-57. doi: 10.1177/002076409303900105

Chan, S. M., Bowes, J., & Wyver, S. (2009). Parenting style as a context for emotion socialization. *Early Education and Development*, *20*, 631-656. doi: 10.1080/10409280802541973

Chaplin, T. M., & Aldao, A. (2013). Gender differences in emotion expression in children: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *139*, 735. doi: 10.1037/a0030737

Chaplin, T. M. (2015). Gender and emotion expression: A developmental contextual perspective. *Emotion Review*, *7*, 14-21.

Choi, C. S., & Jo, H. (2011). Relations of shame-proneness and guilt-proneness with parenting attitudes, motivation for self-determination and adaptation to school life. *Korean Journal of Youth Studies, 18(4)*, 29-48.

Cole, P. M., Bruschi, C. J., & Tamang, B. L. (2002). Cultural differences in children's emotional reactions to difficult situations. *Child Development*, *73*, 983-996. doi: 10.1111/1467-8624.00451

Cole, P. M., Tamang, B. L., & Shrestha, S. (2006). Cultural variations in the socialization of young children's anger and shame. *Child development*, *77*(5), 1237-1251. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00931.x

Cooley, C. H. (1992). *Human nature and the social order*. Transaction Publishers.

Cui, L., Morris, A. S., Criss, M. M., Houltberg, B. J., & Silk, J. S. (2014). Parental psychological control and adolescent adjustment: The role of adolescent emotion regulation. *Parenting*, *14*, 47-67. doi: 10.1080/15295192.2014.880018

Denham, S. A., Bassett, H. H., & Wyatt, T. (2007). The socialization of emotional competence. In J. E. Grusec, & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), Handbook of socialization: Theory and research (pp. 614–637). New York: Guilford Press.

Denham, S. A., Bassett, H. H., & Wyatt, T. (2007). The socialization of emotional competence. In J. E. Grusec, & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), Handbook of socialization: Theory and research (pp. 614–637). New York: Guilford Press.

Denham, S. A., Bassett, H. H., & Wyatt, T. (2007). The socialization of emotional competence. In J. E. Grusec, & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), Handbook of socialization: Theory and research (pp. 614–637). New York: Guilford Press.

Donatelli, J. A. L., Bybee, J. A., & Buka, S. L. (2007). What do mothers make adolescents feel guilty about? Incidents, reactions, and relation to depression. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *16*, 859-875. doi: 10.1007/s10826-006-9130-1

Dost, A., & Yagmurlu, B. (2008). Are constructiveness and destructiveness essential features of guilt and shame feelings respectively?. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *38*, 109-129. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5914.2008.00362.x

Dweck, C. S., & Leggett, E. L. (2000). A social-cognitive approach to motivation and personality. In E. T. Higgins & A. W. Kruglanski (Eds.), Motivational science: Social and personality perspectives (pp. 394–415). Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

Eisenberger, N. I., Lieberman, M. D., & Williams, K. D. (2003). Does rejection hurt? An fMRI study of social exclusion. *Science*, *302*, 290-292. doi: 10.1126/science.1089134

Elison, J. (2003). *Definitions of, and distinctions between, shame and guilt: A facet theory analysis. Dissertation Abstracts International,* 64(03), 1537.

Elison, J. (2005). Shame and guilt: A hundred years of apples and oranges. *New Ideas in Psychology*, *23*, 5-32. doi: 10.1016/j.newideapsych.2005.07.001

Else-Quest, N. M., Higgins, A., Allison, C., & Morton, L. C. (2012). Gender differences in self-conscious emotional experience: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *138*, 947-981. doi: 10.1037/a0027930

Feiring, C., Taska, L., & Lewis, M. (1996). A process model for understanding adaptation to sexual abuse: The role of shame in defining stigmatization. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *20*, 767-782. doi: 10.1016/0145-2134(96)00064-6

Ferguson, T. J., & Eyre, H. L. (2000). Engendering gender differences in shame and guilt: Stereotypes, socialization, and situational pressures. In A. H. Fischer (Ed.), Gender and emotion: Social psychological perspectives (pp. 254–276). Cambridge: New York

Ferguson, T. J., Stegge, H., & Damhuis, I. (1991). Children's understanding of guilt and shame. *Child Development*, *62*, 827-839. doi: 10.2307/1131180

Ferguson, T. J., & Stegge, H. (1995). Emotional states and traits in children: The case of guilt and shame. In J. P. Tangney & K. W. Fischer (Eds.), *Self-conscious emotions: Shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride* (pp. 174-197). New York: Guilford Press.

Ferguson, T. J., Stegge, H., Miller, E. R., & Olsen, M. E. (1999). Guilt, shame, and symptoms in children. *Developmental Psychology*, *35*, 347-357. doi: 10.1037//0012-1649.35.2.347

Fessler, D. M. (1999). Toward an understanding of the universality of second order emotions. In A. L. Hinton (Eds.), *Beyond nature or nurture: Biocultural approaches to the emotions* (pp. 75-116). New York: Cambridge University Press

Fessler, D. M. T. (2004). Shame in two cultures: Implications for evolutionary approaches. *Journal of Cognition and Culture, 4, 207-262.*

Fischer, K. W., & Tangney, J. P. (Eds.). (1995). *Self-conscious emotions: The psychology of shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride*. New York: Guilford Press.

Fischer, A. H., Manstead, A. S. R., & Rodriquez Mosquera, P. M., (1999). The role of honour-related vs. individualistic values in conceptualising pride, shame, and anger: Spanish and Dutch cultural prototypes. *Cognition & Emotion*, *13*, 149-179. doi: 10.1080/026999399379311

Frank, E. S. (1991). Shame and guilt in eating disorders. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *61*, 303.

Frazer, A. L., & Fite, P. J. (2015). Maternal psychological control, use of supportive parenting, and childhood depressive symptoms. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, 1-13. doi: 10.1007/s10578-015-0573-8

Fung, H. (1999). Becoming a moral child: The socialization of shame among young Chinese children. *Ethos*, *27*, 180-209. doi: 10.1525/eth.1999.27.2.180

Furukawa, E., Tangney, J., & Higashibara, F. (2012). Cross-cultural continuities and discontinuities in shame, guilt, and pride: A study of children residing in Japan, Korea and the USA. *Self and Identity*, *11*, 90-113. doi: 10.1080/15298868.2010.512748

Gao, J., Tang, M., Qian, M., Zhang, L., & Wang, Z. (2008). Transferred shame in the cultures of interdependent-self and independent self. *Journal of Cognition and Culture*, *8*, 163-178. doi: 10.1163/156770908x289260

Gilbert, P. (1997). The evolution of social attractiveness and its role in shame, humiliation, guilt and therapy. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, *70*, 113-147. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-8341.1997.tb01893.x

Gilbert, P. (1998). What is shame? Some core issues and controversies. In P. Gilbert & B. Andrews (Eds.), *Shame : Interpersonal behavior, psychopathology, and culture* (pp. 3-38). Oxford University Press, Inc. Retrieved from http://site.ebrary.com.ez.statsbiblioteket.dk:2048/lib/stats/reader.action?docID=10278538.

Gilbert, P. (2000). The relationship of shame, social anxiety and depression: The role of the evaluation of social rank. *Clinical Psychology & Psychotherapy*,*7*, 174-189. doi: 10.1002/1099-0879(200007)7:3<174::aid-cpp236>3.0.co;2-u

Goddings, A. L., Burnett Heyes, S., Bird, G., Viner, R. M., & Blakemore, S. J. (2012). The relationship between puberty and social emotion processing. *Developmental Science*, *15*, 801-811. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-7687.2012.01174.x

Haidt, J. (2003). The moral emotions. In R. J. Davidson, K. R. Scherer, & H. H. Goldsmith (Eds.), *Handbook of affective sciences* (pp. 852- 870). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Halpern, D. F. (2013). *Sex differences in cognitive abilities*. Psychology Press, New York.

Harris, P. L. (2010). Children's understanding of emotion. In M. Lewis, *Handbook of emotions* (3rd ed., pp. 320-331). New York: Guilford Press.

Harter, S., & Whitesell, N. R. (1989). Developmental changes in children's understanding of single, multiple, and blended emotion concepts. In C. Saarni, & P. L. Harris (Eds.), *Children's understanding of emotion* (pp. 852-870). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harvey, O. J., Gore, E. J., Frank, H., & Batres, A. R. (1997). Relationship of shame and guilt to gender and parenting practices. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *23*, 135-146. doi: 10.1016/s0191-8869(97)00002-0

Hastings, P. D., Zahn-Waxler, C., Robinson, J., Usher, B., & Bridges, D. (2000). The development of concern for others in children with behavior problems. *Developmental Psychology*, *36*, 531-546. doi: 10.1037//0012-1649.36.5.531

Helwig, C. C., To, S., Wang, Q., Liu, C., & Yang, S. (2014). Judgments and reasoning about parental discipline involving induction and psychological control in China and Canada. *Child development*, *85*, 1150-1167. doi: 10.1111/cdev.12183

Henrikson, C., (2008). *Living away from blessings: School failure as lived experience.* London, Ontario: The Althouse Press.

Hoffman, M. L. (1983). Affective and cognitive processes in moral internalization. In E. T. Higgins, D. N. Ruble, & W. W. Hartup (Eds.), *Social cognition and social development: A sociocultural perspective* (pp. 236–274). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, S., Eisenberg, N., Fabes, R. A., & MacKinnon, D. P. (2002). Parents' reactions to elementary school children's negative emotions: Relations to social and emotional functioning at school. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *48*, 133-159. doi: 10.1353/mpq.2002.0007

Jones, W. H., Kugler, K., & Adams, P. (1995). You always hurt the one you love: Guilt and transgressions against relationship partners. In K. Fischer & J. Tangner (Eds.), *Self-conscious emotions: Shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride* (pp. 301-321). New York: Guilford Press.

Kagitcibasi, C. (2003). Autonomy, embeddedness and adaptability in immigration contexts. *Human Development*, *46*, 145–150. doi: 10.1159/000068584

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (2007). Family, self, and human development across cultures: Theory and applications (2nd ed.). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum. doi: 10.1111/j.1756-2589.2010.00048

Kagitcibasi, C. (2012). Sociocultural change and integrative syntheses in human development: Autonomous-related self and social–cognitive competence. *Child Development Perspectives*, *6*, 5-11. doi: 10.1111/j.1750-8606.2011.00173.x

Kagitcibasi, C. (2013). *Family, self, and human development across cultures: Theory and applications.* Routledge.

Kagitcibasi, C. (2013). Adolescent autonomy-relatedness and the family in cultural context: What is optimal?. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *23*, 223-235. doi: 10.1111/jora.12041

Kelley, S. A., Brownell, C. A., & Campbell, S. B. (2000). Mastery motivation and self-evaluative affect in toddlers: Longitudinal relations with maternal behavior. *Child Development*, *71*, 1061-1071. doi: 10.1111/1467-8624.00209

Keltner, D., & Harker, L. (1998). The forms and functions of the nonverbal signal of shame. In P. Gilbert, & B. Andrews (Eds.), *Shame: Interpersonal behavior, psychopathology, and culture* (pp. 78-98). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Keyes, K., Leray, E., Pez, O., Bitfoi, A., Koç, C., Goelitz, D., ... & Kovess-Masfety, V. (2015). Parental use of corporal punishment in Europe: Intersection between public health and policy. *Plos One*, *10*. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0118059

Kındap, Y., Sayıl, M., & Kumru, A. (2008). Anneden algılanan kontrolün niteliği ile ergenin psikososyal uyumu ve arkadaşlıkları arasındaki ilişkiler: Benlik değerinin aracı rolü. *Turk Psikoloji Dergisi*, *23*, 92-107.

Kındap-Tepe, Y., & Sayil, M. (2012). Ebeveyn Kontrolü ve Ergenin Sosyal Islevselligi Arasindaki Baglantida Iliskisel Saldirganligin Araci Rolü. *Turk Psikoloji Dergisi*, *27*, 119.

Kındap, Y., & Sayil, M. (2012). Ana babanın control davranışları ve ergenlik. In M. Sayıl & B. Yağmurlu (Eds.), *Ana Babalık: Kuram ve Araştırma*. İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Kochanska, G. (1991). Socialization and temperament in the development of guilt and conscience. *Child Development*, *62*, 1379-1392. doi: 10.2307/1130813

Kochanska, G., Gross, J. N., Lin, M. H., & Nichols, K. E. (2002). Guilt in young children: Development, determinants, and relations with a broader system of standards. *Child Development*, *73*, 461-482. doi: 10.1111/1467-8624.00418

Kochanska, G. (1997). Multiple pathways to conscience for children with different temperaments: From toddlerhood to age 5. *Developmental Psychology*, *33*, 228-240. doi: 10.1037//0012-1649.33.2.228

Kochanska, G., Forman, D. R., Aksan, N., & Dunbar, S. B. (2005). Pathways to conscience: Early mother–child mutually responsive orientation and children's moral emotion, conduct, and cognition. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *46*, 19-34. doi: 10.1111/j.1469-7610.2004.00348.x

Kochanska, G., & Aksan, N. (2006). Children's conscience and self-regulation. *Journal of Personality*, *74*, 1587-1618. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.2006.00421.x

Laible, D. J., Carlo, G., & Raffaelli, M. (2000). The differential relations of parent and peer attachment to adolescent adjustment. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *29*, 45-59. Doi: 10.1023/A:1005169004882

Lewis, M. (1991). Self-conscious emotions and the development of self. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, *39*, 45-73.

Lewis, M. (2011). The self-conscious emotions. In R. E. Tremblay, M. Boivin, & R. Dev. Peters (Eds.), *Encyclopedia on Early Childhood Development: Emotions.* Centre of Excellence for Early Childhood Development (CEECD)/Strategic Knowledge Cluster on Early Child Development (SKC-ECD).

Lewis, M. (2010). The emergence of human emotions. In M. Lewis, *Handbook of emotions* (3rd ed., pp. 304-319). New York: Guilford Press.

Lewis, M. (2010). Self-conscious emotions. In M. Lewis, *Handbook of emotions* (3rd ed., pp. 742-756). New York: Guilford Press.

Lewis, M. (1992). *Shame: The Exposed Self*. NewYork: Free Press.

Lunkenheimer, E. S., Shields, A. M., & Cortina, K. S. (2007). Parental emotion coaching and dismissing in family interaction. *Social Development*, *16*, 232–248. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9507.2007.00382.x

Lutwak, N., & Ferrari, J. R. (1997). Understanding shame in adults: Retrospective perceptions of parental-bonding during childhood. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, *185*, 595-598. doi:10.1097/00005053-199710000-00001

Mandara, J., & Pikes, C. L. (2008). Guilt trips and love withdrawal: Does mothers' use of psychological control predict depressive symptoms among African American adolescents?*. *Family Relations*, *57*, 602-612. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3729.2008.00526.x

Matos, M., Gouveia, J. P., & Duarte, C. (2015). Constructing a self protected against shame: The importance of warmth and safeness memories and feelings on the association between shame memories and depression. *International Journal of Psychology and Psychological Therapy*, *15*, 317-335.

Mesquita, B. (2001). Emotions in collectivist and individualist contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *80*, 68. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.80.1.68

Mesquita, B., & Boiger, M. (2014). Emotions in context: A sociodynamic model of emotions. *Emotion Review*, *6*, 298-302. doi: 10.1177/1754073914534480

Mills, R. S. (2003). Possible antecedents and developmental implications of shame in young girls. *Infant and Child Development*, *12*, 329-349. doi: 10.1002/icd.308

Morris, A. S., Silk, J. S., Steinberg, L., Myers, S. S., & Robinson, L. R. (2007). The role of the family context in the development of emotion regulation. *Social Development*, *16*, 361-388. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9507.2007.00389.x

Muris, P., & Meesters, C. (2013). Small or big in the eyes of the other: On the developmental psychopathology of self-conscious emotions as shame, guilt, and pride. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, *12*(1), 19-40. doi: 10.1007/s10567-013-0137-z .

Niedenthal, P. M., Tangney, J. P., & Gavanski, I. (1994). " If only I weren't" versus" If only I hadn't": Distinguishing shame and guilt in conterfactual thinking. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *67*, 585. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.67.4.585

Okur, Z. E., & Corapci, F. (2015). Turkish children's expression of negative emotions: Intracultural variations related to socioeconomic status. *Infant and Child Development*. doi: 10.1002/icd.1945

Olthof, T. (2012). Anticipated feelings of guilt and shame as predictors of early adolescents' antisocial and prosocial interpersonal behaviour. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *9*, 371-388. doi: 10.1080/17405629.2012.680300

O'Neil, R., Parke, R. D., & McDowell, D. J. (2001). Objective and subjective features of children's neighborhoods: Relations to parental regulatory strategies and children's social competence. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *22*, 135–155. doi:10.1016/S0193-3973(01)00073-9

Parisette-Sparks, A., Bufferd, S. J., & Klein, D. N. (2015). Parental predictors of children's shame and guilt at age 6 in a multimethod, longitudinal study. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, 1-11. doi: 10.1080/15374416.2015.1063430

Parker, G. (1983). Parental overprotection: A risk factor in psychosocial development. New York, NY: Grune & Stratton, Inc.

Perris, C., Jacobsson, L., Lindström, H., Von Knorring, L., & Perris, H. (1980). Development of a new inventory for assessing memories of parental rearing behaviour. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, *61*, 265-274. doi: 10.1111/j.1600-0447.1980.tb00581.x

Pulakos, J. (1996). Family environment and shame: Is there a relationship?. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *52*, 617-623. doi: 10.1002/(sici)1097-4679(199611)52:6<617::aid-jclp3>3.3.co;2-x

Raval, V. V., Martini, T. S., & Raval, P. H. (2007). 'Would others think it is okay to express my feelings?'Regulation of anger, sadness and physical pain in Gujarati children in India. *Social Development*, *16*, 79-105. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9507.2007.00373.x

Rebega, O. L., Apostol, L., Benga, O., & Miclea, M. (2013). Inducing guilt: A literature review. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *78*, 536-540. doi: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.04.346

Rose, A. J., & Rudolph, K. D. (2006). A review of sex differences in peer relationship processes: Potential trade-offs for the emotional and behavioral development of girls and boys. *Psychological Bulletin*, *132*, 98. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.132.1.98

Rosemary, S. L., Arbeau, K. A., Lall, D. I., & De Jaeger, A. E. (2010). Parenting and child characteristics in the prediction of shame in early and middle childhood. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *56*, 500-528. doi: 10.1353/mpq.2010.0001

Saarni, C. (1979). Children's understanding of display rules for expressive behavior. *Developmental Psychology, 15,* 424-429. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.15.4.424

Sayil, M., & Kindap, Y. (2010). Ergenin anne-babadan algıladığı psikolojik kontrol: Psikolojik kontrol ölçeğinin geçerlik ve güvenirliği [Perceived parental psychological control in adolescents: Reliability and validity of the psychological control scale]. *Turk Psikoloji Yazıları*, *13*, 62-75.

Sayil, M., Kındap, Y., Bayar, Y., Bayraktar, F., Kurt, D., Tığrak, A., & Yaban, H. (2012). *Ergenlik döneminde ana babalık ve ergenin psikososyal uyumu.* Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayını.

Schaefer, E. S. (1959). A circumplex model for maternal behavior. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *59*, 226-235. doi: 10.1037/h0041114

Schepers, D. (2016). The development of morality: A theoretical and empirical review of its influences and change in adolescence.

Scherer, K. R., & Wallbott, H. G. (1994). Evidence for universality and cultural variation of differential emotion response patterning. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *66*, 310-328. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.66.2.310

Sheikh, S. (2014). Cultural variations in shame's responses: A dynamic perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *18*, 387-403. doi: 10.1177/1088868314540810

Smetana, J. G., & Daddis, C. (2002). Domain-specific antecedents of parental psychological control and monitoring: The role of parenting beliefs and practices. *Child Development*, *73,* 563-580. doi: 10.1111/1467-8624.00424

Stipek, D., Recchia, S., McClintic, S., & Lewis, M. (1992). Self-evaluation in young children. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, *57*, i-95. doi: 10.2307/1166190

Stuewig, J., & McCloskey, L. A. (2005). The relation of child maltreatment to shame and guilt among adolescents: Psychological routes to depression and delinquency. *Child Maltreatment*, *10*, 324-336. doi: 10.1177/1077559505279308

Stuewig, J., & Tangney, J. P. (2007). Shame and guilt in antisocial and risky behaviors. In J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research* (pp. 371–388). New York: Guilford.

Stuewig, J., Tangney, J. P., Kendall, S., Folk, J. B., Meyer, C. R., & Dearing, R. L. (2015). Children's proneness to shame and guilt predict risky and illegal behaviors in young adulthood. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development*, *46*, 217-227. doi: 10.1007/s10578-014-0467-1

Sunar, D. & Fisek, G. (2005). Contemporary Turkish families. In U. Gielen & J. Roopnarine (Eds.), *Families in global perspective* (pp. 169-183). Allyn & Bacon/Pearson.

Sümer, N., Selçuk, E., & Günaydın, G. (2006). *Mediating role of parenting between marital communication and child problem behaviors*. Paper presented at the Internation Association for Relationship Research Conference. Crete, Greece.

Tangney, J., & Dearing, R. (2004). *Shame and guilt*. New York: Guilford Press.

Tangney, J. P., & Salovey, P. (1999). Problematic social emotions: Shame, guilt, jealousy, and envy. In R. M. Kowalski & M. R. Leary, (Eds.), *The social psychology of emotional and behavioral problems: Interfaces of social and clinical psychology* (pp. 167–195). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Tangney, J. P., & Tracy, J. L. (2012). Self-conscious emotions. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), Handbook of self and identity (pp. 446–478). New York: Guilford Press.

Tangney, J. P., Miller, R. S., Flicker, L., & Barlow, D. H. (1996). Are shame, guilt, and embarrassment distinct emotions?. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *70*, 1256-1269. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.70.6.1256

Tangney, J. P., Wagner, P., & Gramzow, R. (1992). Proneness to shame, proneness to guilt, and psychopathology. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *101*(3), 469-478. doi: 10.1037//0021-843x.101.3.469

Tangney, J. P., Wagner, P. E., Burggraf, S. A., Gramzow, R., & Fletcher, C. (1990). Test of self conscious affect for children. *Unpublished manuscript*.

Thomasgard, M., & Metz, P. (1999). Parent-child relationship disorders: What do the child vulnerability scale and the parent protection scale measure? *Clinical Pediatrics*, *38*, 347-356.

Tracy, J. L., & Robins, R. W. (2006). Appraisal antecedents of shame and guilt: Support for a theoretical model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *32*, 1339-1351. doi: 10.1177/0146167206290212

Trommsdorff, G. (2009). Culture and development of self-regulation. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *3*, 687-701. doi: 10.1111/j.1751-9004.2009.00209.x

Ttofi, M. M., & Farrington, D. P. (2008). Reintegrative shaming theory, moral emotions and bullying. *Aggressive Behavior*, *34*, 352-368. doi: 10.1002/ab.20257

Turner, J. E., Husman, J., & Schallert, D. L. (2002). The importance of students' goals in their emotional experience of academic failure: Investigating the precursors and consequences of shame. *Educational Psychologist*, *37*, 79-89. doi: 10.1207/s15326985ep3702_3

Von Salisch, M. (2001). Children's emotional development: Challenges in their relationships to parents, peers, and friends. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *25*, 310-319. doi: 10.1080/01650250143000058

Walker, R., Kyomuhendo, G. B., Chase, E., Choudhry, S., Gubrium, E. K., Nicola, J. Y., ... & Ming, Y. (2013). Poverty in global perspective: Is shame a common denominator?. *Journal of Social Policy*, *42*, 215-233. doi: 10.1017/s0047279412000979

Walter, J. L., & Burnaford, S. M. (2006). Developmental changes in adolescents' guilt and shame: The role of family climate and gender. *North American Journal of Psychology*, *8*, 321-338.

Wang, Q., Pomerantz, E. M., & Chen, H. (2007). The role of parents' control in early adolescents' psychological functioning: A longitudinal investigation in the United States and China. *Child Development*, *78*, 1592-1610. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.2007.01085.x

White, G. M. (1994). Affecting culture: Emotion and morality in everyday life. In s. Kitayama & H.R. Markus (Eds.), Emotion and Culture (pp.219-239). Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Vliet, K. J. (2009). The role of attributions in the process of overcoming shame: A qualitative analysis. *Psychology and Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice*, *82*, 137-152. doi: 10.1348/147608308x389391

Yaban, E. H., Sayıl, M., & Tepe, Y. K. (2014). Are discrepancies in perceptions of psychological control related to maladjustment? A study of adolescents and their parents in Turkey. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *38*(6), 550-562. doi: 10.1177/0165025414537880

Zahn-Waxler, C., & Kochanska, G. (1990). The origins of guilt. In R.A. Thompson (Ed.), *The 36th annual Nebraska symposium on motivation: Socioemotional development* (pp. 183–257). R. A. Dienstbier (Series Ed.). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Zhang, J. (2015). Understanding the concept of shame in the Chinese culture. *NYS Child Welfare/Child Protective Services Training Institute*. Paper 4. http://digitalcommons.buffalostate.edu/cwcpstriaininginstitute/4