EXPLORING SHAME

AS A

RELATIONALLY-CONSCIOUS EMOTION

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Dissertation Abstract

Özlem Çağın, "Exploring Shame as a Relationally-Conscious Emotion"

This study aimed at exploring shame by conceptualizing it as a relationally-conscious emotion. In a pilot study, prevalent shame-triggering themes among Turkish young people were identified and by using these themes as situational antecedents, a new scenario-based shame measure was constructed for the purposes of the study. In the main study, shame was examined in relation to expected reactions of other people in the shame-triggering contexts and to other emotions that might accompany shame.

Participants consisted of 501 undergraduate students. In addition to the Shame Measure constructed for the study, The Guilt-Shame Measure, Interpersonal Sensitivity Measure, Interpersonal Problem Solving Inventory and Positive and Negative Affects Schedule were given to the participants to examine if there were individual differences in the responses.

The results revealed that anxiety, tension and sadness accompanied shame in all situations except sexuality. In addition to these reactions, guilt and regret accompanied shame in moral transgressions and anger was seen together with shame in embarrassing public situations. A more pure shame was seen only in contexts associated with sexuality. In addition, specific reactions of others (e.g. contempt, disappointment) predicted the shame response depending on the nature of the context. Gender differences were observed with regard to sexuality and in the individual characteristics that significantly predicted the mean shame response. Overall, findings of the present study supported the theoretical perspectives that conceptualized shame as a relationally-conscious complex phenomenon with varying situational, affective and behavioral correlates.

Tez Özeti

Özlem Çağın, "Utancın İlişkisel Bir Duygu Olarak İncelenmesi"

Bu çalışmada, utanç duygusunun ilişkisel bir duygu olarak kavramsallaştırılarak araştırılması hedeflenmiştir. Pilot bir çalışma ile Türkiye'de gençler arasında yaygın olarak belirtilen utanç tetikleyici temalar belirlenmiş ve bu temalar kullanılarak senaryoya dayalı yeni bir utanç ölçeği oluşturulmuştur. Asıl çalışmada bu ölçek kullanılarak utanç, ona eşlik eden diğer duygular ve bahsedilen durumlarda öteki kişilerin olası tepkileriyle ilişkili olarak incelenmiştir.

Çalışmaya 501 üniversite öğrencisi katılmıştır. Geliştirilen yeni utanç ölçeğine ek olarak, utanç tetikleyen durumlara verilen tepkilerde bireysel farklılıklar olup olmadığını incelemek amacıyla Suçluluk-Utanç Ölçeği, Kişilerarası Duyarlılık Ölçeği, Kişilerarası Problem Çözme Envanteri ve Olumlu ve Olumsuz Duygulanım Ölçeği katılımcılara verilmiştir.

Sonuçlar, kaygı, gerginlik ve üzüntünün cinsellik dışındaki bütün durumlarda utanca eşlik ettiğini; bunlara ek olarak, ahlak ihlallerinde suçluluk ve pişman olmanın, başkalarının içinde utandıran durumlarda ise öfkenin utançla birlikte görüldüğünü göstermiştir. Ayrıca, ötekilerden beklenen belirli tepkilerin (aşağılama, hayal kırıklığı gibi) durumun niteliklerine bağlı olarak utanç tepkisini önemli ölçüde yordadığı görülmüştür. Cinsiyet farklılıkları ise sadece cinsellikle ilgili durumlarda ve genel utanç tepkisini yordayan bireysel değişkenlerde gözlenmiştir. Genel olarak çalışmanın bulguları, utancı çeşitli durumsal, duygulanımsal ve davranışsal eşlik edenleri olan karmaşık ve ilişkisel bir olgu olarak kavramsallaştıran kuramsal bakış açılarını desteklemiştir.

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To Pan…

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Overview

Shame is an important human experience that has attracted the interest of various

disciplines such as philosophy, literature, psychology, and sociology. While shame

may be a momentary experience in daily life which almost everyone experiences, it

is also a critical ingredient of intrapersonal adjustment and interpersonal functioning

(Tangney, Burggraf, & Wagner, 1995). Shame is found to be involved in negative

physical health outcomes by increasing proinflammatory cytokine and cortisol levels

(Dickerson, Gruenewald, & Kemeny, 2004) and in various forms of psychopathology

such as depression (Lewis, 1971; Scheff, 2001); social anxiety/phobia (Helsel, 2005);

self-harm (Gilbert et al., 2010); suicidal ideation (Mokros, 1995); and eating

disorders (Grabhorn, Stenner, Stangier, & Kaufhold, 2006; Keith, Gillanders, &

Simpson, 2009).

Despite its important role in psychopathology and its inevitable presence in

the therapeutic setting in both overt and covert forms, shame had been a relatively

underexplored experience in clinical as well as in other fields of psychology until a

couple of decades ago. One of the possible reasons behind this may be that shame is

a painful experience that people try to hide or keep out, unlike guilt which is

relatively easier to disclose and to bring as a material to the therapy setting (Levin,

1967). Generally, there is a shame about shame (Kaufman, 1989) and it may show up

in disguised forms and symptoms (Lewis, 1971). It is a complex phenomenon

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(Kilborne, 1995) and it can be inherent in a variety of subjective experiences from being withdrawn and shy to being angry and aggressive (Gilbert, 1998).

Stolorow (2010) states that shame is a family of emotions which includes moral shame, embarrassment, self-consciousness, shyness, self-hatred, mortification, despair, and even different forms of anxiety and depressive affects. It may be suggested that shame should be considered as a set of reactions (Elison, 2005). It is a signal of transgressions, ruptures in relationships, or not living up to one's own or the society's standards, and it has a regulative role in the subjective experience of other emotions (Scheff, 2003). Emotion research in general supports the view that shame is a family of emotions. It is typically examined together with guilt and anger (Lewis, 1971; Lutwak, Panish, Ferrari, & Razzino, 2001; Scheff & Retzinger, 1997; Tangney et al., 1996). Reactions such as anxiety, fright, sadness and envy are also assumed to be closely related to and are important parts of the shame experience (Poulson, 2000). Empirical research is needed to identify specific relationships between shame and other reactions in varying contexts.

Since shame is a complex phenomenon with varying manifestations, there are difficulties in conceptualizing shame and its correlates, and this makes scientific exploration of the inner experience of shame even more difficult (Kaufman, 1989). Shame is considered to be a self-conscious emotion since "the self is both the agent and the object of shame" (Crozier, 1998, p.273). In addition, in shame, there is a sense of exposure to actual or fantasized others and the self is evaluated by the self through the eyes of other people (Ayers, 2003; Crozier, 1998; H. Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1995). Therefore, there is growing interest in conceptualizing shame as a relationally-conscious emotion (Hartling, Rosen, Walker & Jordan, 2000). Perceived threats of rejection, disapproval, abandonment and even social exclusion are

supposed to be important elicitors of shame (Gilbert, 2003; Lewis, 1995; Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Furthermore, shame is considered to be a moral emotion since it is used as a tool for social control (Scheff, 1988) and is related to evaluations based on the standards and rules in the society and the culture (Lewis, 1995). Culture may influence the antecedents as well as the experience and expression of shame (Wong & Tsai, 2007).

Finally, there are individual indifferences in the way people evaluate relational/social threats and in the way they evaluate their self and behaviors (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Understanding vulnerability and resilience factors for shame and how individuals make sense of these factors in their social/cultural context seem to be important (Dearing & Tangney, 2011; Morrison, 2011). Thus far, empirical investigation of these different ingredients of shame has been limited as studies on shame generally focus on only certain aspects of this complex phenomenon.

In the present study, the aim is to contribute to the psychosocial literature on shame by exploring it (1) with situational antecedents that are culturally significant in Turkey, (2) in relation to other emotions/reactions, (3) from a psychosocial perspective that suggests reciprocity between shame and expected reactions from others in shame-triggering situations, (4) in regard to possible vulnerability factors for experiencing shame. In the following sections, the theoretical background of the study including relevant empirical findings will be presented.

The Meaning of Shame

The roots of the words used to express subjective experiences generally give a hint about their nature. Etymologically, the word "shame" came from an Indo-European root: ^am/^em meaning to cover, to hide and it is given reflexive meaning by the prefix "s" suggesting "to cover oneself" (Wharton, 1990). The Italian word for shame *vergogna* is only partially related to the meaning of shame in English as it denotes shyness and embarrassment, especially in interpersonal situations (Berti, Garattoni, & Venturini , 2000). In Greek, the word shame is linked to the body as *aedos* means female genitals. Anastasopoulos (1997) noted that "It indicates a modest, shy attitude, one which covers up that which should not be seen, especially in public" (p.104). In modern Greek, *ntropee is* more commonly used and it denotes inhibition and turning in upon the self. In daily usage, it has a positive meaning that depicts modesty, a quality that is praised in the society, as well as a negative meaning that denotes immorality (Anastasopoulos, 1997). The etymological root of the Turkish word for shame, *utanç/utanmak* is depicted as ETü/OTü, meaning *ar, hayâ, edep yeri* (implying the genitals) and *küçültmek, ufaltmak* (to degrade, to demean) in Divânu Lügati't-Türk, the oldest known dictionary in Turkish-Arabic (Nişanyan, n.d).

Besides the word "shame", there are also various words and idioms used to describe shame-related experiences in different cultures. Li, Wang and Fischer (2004) identified 113 shame-related Chinese words describing the shame experience at two distinct levels: one was related to a shame state with a focus on self and the latter included reactions to shame with a focus on the other. Japanese words and expressions related to shame are parallel with the Chinese expressions, most of

which are related to facial or bodily expressions, depicting mainly three themes: blushing and getting red in the face; shamelessness and being thick-skinned; and public shame (Ho, Fu, & Ng, 2004).

Although there are differences in emphasis, the meanings of shame and other shame-related words in different languages depict the whole subjective experience: the triggers of shame such as sexuality and immoral behavior; the interpersonal context that represents the person's existence within the society; and the ways to cope with shame, mainly inhibition and withdrawal. Although the triggers may differ across cultures and in some cultures there are more detailed descriptions of shame than others, there are also universal features in the meaning of shame.

Shame and Other Emotions

At the beginning of life, there is a physiologically based pleasure versus displeasure/distress system. Throughout emotional development and parallel with cognitive development, awareness of individual feelings such as fear, joy, anger, etc. develops (Lane & Schwartz, 1987, as cited in Bajgar, Ciarrochi, Lane, & Deane, 2005; Sroufe, 1996). It has been suggested that with maturation, emotions blend with each other, making it difficult to examine pure emotions (Gilbert, 1998). This difficulty may also be seen in the shame literature. Shame is generally accompanied by other emotions as a part of the subjective experience (Lewis, 1971; Lutwak et al., 2001; Scheff & Retzinger, 1997; Tangney et al., 1996). In this section, the emotions which are frequently associated with shame will be reviewed.

Shame and Guilt

Shame and guilt are both considered self-conscious emotions (Tangney, 1999) that are related to the functioning of the superego (Lewis, 1971). Especially in concerns related to morality, Lewis (1971) suggested that shame and guilt were fused together but this experience is regarded as just guilt by most individuals, leaving shame unexplored. In parallel, although underlying dynamics and the subjective experience of shame and guilt are considered to be different, these two emotions are generally examined together in the literature. In part, this may be because some situations may trigger both shame and guilt; however, it may be important to differentiate them for effective therapeutic work (Epstein & Falconier, 2011). Not only dispositional tendencies for guilt and shame, but also possibly "shame-fused guilt" are important in psychotherapy, and identifying the domain-specific triggers of these experiences is also crucial to the process (Dearing & Tangney, 2011).

Tangney and Dearing (2002) suggest that shame-free guilt is less likely to develop into psychological disorders and therapeutic outcomes are more positive, while the appearance of shame in the clinical picture is more devastating. In contrast, in their study which examined phenomenological properties of self-conscious emotions, Karlsson and Sjöberg (2009) asserted that there was no shame-free guilt as guilt always brought shame with it; instead, there was an experience of "pure shame" without the guilt. Silfver (2007) also showed that the experiences people reported when asked about shame-free guilt were no different from the experiences they reported when they were asked about the situations that involved the combination of shame and guilt. In addition, she concluded that guilt-free shame was less likely to

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lead to reparative behavior than either guilt or the combination of guilt and shame (Silfver, 2007).

Probably, the meaning attributed to the triggers and the preexisting dispositions specify the subjective experience as shame or guilt or the combination of the two (Epstein & Falconier, 2011). According to Lewis (1971), although internalization of societal standards is included in both emotions, shame is more related to feelings of inferiority and is more related to the self, whereas guilt is more related to an inner judgment of doing something wrong and is more related to behavior. Similarly, Shreve and Kunkel (1991) suggest that in guilt, the emphasis is on the outcome: "I cannot believe I did *that*", but in shame the emphasis is on the self: "I cannot believe *I* did that" (p. 308 [original emphasis]).

In addition to differences in the subjective experience, strategies that are used to deal with these emotions also differ. Generally, people react to shame by hiding or running away, whereas reactions to guilt involve confession or penance (Lewis, 1971). The findings of Silfver (2007), which were previously mentioned, were again in parallel with this view by suggesting that shame was less likely to result in reparative behavior than guilt or the combination of both. The reason behind this difference may be that the perceived threat in shame is abandonment instead of punishment, which is the perceived threat in guilt (Etezady, 2010). Comparably, Morrison (2011) suggests that guilt seeks forgiveness while shame seeks acceptance from the others. Lewis (1987b, as cited in Herman, 2007) also mentioned that "Shame is discharged in restored eye-contact and shared, good-humored laughter; whereas guilt is discharged in an act of reparation" (p.15). Karlsson and Sjöberg (2009) assert that the other is vulnerable in guilt experiences because of one's

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behavior and that is why it drives reparative behaviors, whereas the self is vulnerable in shame since it is objectified.

Despite the emphasis on the self / behavior distinction between shame and guilt, Fontaine et al. (2006) found that at the intrapersonal level, there is also a self-focus in guilt. With a negative self-focus, appraisals regarding falling short of expectations, rumination, self-reproaches, etc. might be seen in guilt reactions. Gausel and Brown (2012) also suggest that although not the whole self is in focus, a tendency to improve the self can be seen in guilt. In addition, there is some behavioral focus in shame (e.g "because of me" feeling, wanting to undo the situation) (Fontaine et al., 2006; Gausel & Brown, 2012). These findings revealed that although the distinction between the focus on the self and the focus on the behavior is important in understanding shame and guilt, this is not always the whole story. It has also been pointed out that the conceptualization of guilt and shame in different cultures as well as situational and personal variations of shame and guilt are important in understanding these emotions (Dost & Yağmurlu, 2006).

Shame and Anger

Anger is one of the emotions that frequently accompany shame. Both direct and indirect expressions of anger have been found to be positively correlated with shame (Tangney et al, 1992; Tangney et al., 1996). From an evolutionary standpoint, it may be argued that there is submission and defeat in shame, whereas anger motivates attack for survival, though heightened anger may be maladaptive in the end (Andrews, Brewin, Rose, & Kirk, 2000). In psychological and sociological theories, anger and rage may be seen as reactions to or defenses against shame as they serve to

hide, mask or disguise the experience (Morrison, 2011; Scheff, 2003). Kohut (1972) suggested that whether it was actual or anticipated, narcissistic injury was either followed by withdrawal or narcissistic rage and both were related to shame. Lewis (1971) described the relationship between shame and anger as humiliated fury which was triggered by the defectiveness felt in the experience of shame. She suggested that when people felt ashamed, they could become hostile because the experience of shame included feeling inferior and small. Hostility towards the shaming source may be an attempt to repair self-worth (Lewis, 1971).

The social rank theory of Gilbert (1997) is in line with these views. He asserts that shame attacks social attractiveness which is important in gaining status and social acceptance. Shame may be a signal that leads to submissiveness to avoid further conflict or it may motivate prosocial behavior, or the use of power by anger or aggression to regain the social acceptance (Gilbert, 1997, 1998). In a cross-cultural study conducted by Kam and Bond (2009), subjects from Hong Kong and United States were asked to report an experience of harm done by another person and then they were asked to assess the perpetrator's intent to harm and the resulting experience. They found that when subjects blamed the perpetrator and perceived that they had intent to harm, they felt just anger. However, subjects, who reported face loss (harm to the social image or reputation) as a result of the harm, reported both anger and shame. The results were similar in both cultures, while subjects from Hong Kong reported higher anger and shame than subjects from the United States.

These reactions to interpersonal harm support the view that blaming the other, anger or hostility may be attempts to recover self-worth if one experiences face loss. However, shame is not only triggered by interpersonal harm that does damage to one's social image. Another explanation is that anger or rage seen in shame may be

reactions against ruptures in relationships and separation (Kaufman, 1989; Lewis, 1971). Lewis (1987, as cited in Scheff & Retzinger, 1997) explored shame in transcripts of psychotherapy sessions and showed that it was followed by either disclosure and laughter, or by ruptures in the relationship and withdrawal, or by verbal aggression. Similarly, Retzinger (1991, as cited in Scheff & Retzinger, 1997) analyzed shame in marital quarrels and showed that anger detected in those quarrels was preceded by shame which was bypassed or not acknowledged.

Lastly, another possibility is that rather than directing the anger at the shaming other(s), it may be directed at the self, if one sees the fault as belonging to himself (Gilbert, 1998). Stimmel, Link, Daugherty and Raffeld (2008) showed that both anger and shame were related to psychopathology but when shame was controlled, it had a minor influence on the correlation between anger and psychopathology; whereas when anger turned inward was controlled, the correlation between shame and overall psychopathology was significantly lowered. This may show that when shame is combined with anger towards the self, it may be more detrimental to the person.

Finally, it is necessary to differentiate when anger is shame-related and when it is more related to other factors such as frustration (Gilbert, 1998). Hejdenberg and Andrews (2011) found that shame-proneness was related to anger in response to criticism rather than anger as a trait. In addition, shame may be related to consequences of angry reactions which are expressed inappropriately (Hejdenberg & Andrews, 2011). Therefore, it may be concluded that it is important to identify specific relationships between anger and shame since the relationship between them seems to be complex and requires further examination.

Shame and Anxiety

The subjective experience of shame may be misidentified as anxiety, since anxiety

usually accompanies self-consciousness (Kaufman, 1989). Rather than just being

triggered as a reaction to shame, anxiety may be inherent in the phenomenology of

shame and it may be difficult to separate them (Gilbert, 1998). The feeling of being

exposed may be at the heart of both reactions (Poulson, 2000) and the rush of anxiety

inherent in many shame experiences may lead to disruptions in the ability to self-

regulate the experienced emotions (Gilbert & McGuire, 1998).

Since shame is a heterogeneous subjective experience, different views offer

contrasting explanations of whether sympathetic or parasympathetic arousal is

associated with shame (Gilbert, 1998). Schore (2003) suggested that not just the

activation of any system of its own, but also the shift between sympathetic and

parasympathetic systems might be disorganizing in shame. He added that "These

intense reactions account for the classic signs of shame: anxiety, blushing, gaze

aversion, difficulty in thinking and speaking, shoulder hunching, postural shrinking

and hiding" (Schore, 2003, p.224).

In addition to the combination of shame and anxiety as momentary affective

experiences, there is also anticipatory anxiety about feeling shame (Greenberg &

Iwakabe, 2011) or shame anxiety to protect the individual from shaming experiences

or the shame felt after a triggering situation (Wurmser, 1981, as cited in Wurmser,

2013). This shame anxiety is also different from shame-proneness/trait shame which

is more enduring and is more like a character attitude (Wurmser, 1981, as cited in

Wurmser, 2013). This point of view is in line with the theories that shame can be

considered as a signal anxiety which anticipates loss of status, devaluation, rejection, etc. (Mann, 2010).

In general, shame anxiety accounts are in line with social anxiety literature that describes social anxiety as evaluation anxiety in which there is a fear of being evaluated and being ashamed in many situations (Beck, Emery, & Greenberg, 1985; Clark and Wells, 1995). Lutwak and Ferrari (1997) found that shame-proneness was related to social anxiety and also to social avoidance, probably as a way to prevent shaming experiences. In addition, Gilbert (2000) showed that shame, social anxiety and depression were all related to submissiveness and feelings of inferiority. Overall, it seems to be important to examine if anxiety would always accompany shame as it is suggested, or if there are specific relationships between them.

<u>Shame and Sadness</u>

Although it is commonly suggested that shame is more likely to be related to anxious arousal rather than lack of positive affectivity (Gilbert, Allan, Brough, Melley, & Miles, 2002) and sadness is more likely to be correlated with guilt (Gilbert, 1998; Elison, 2005), shame and sadness are also related to each other (Poulson, 2000). Feelings of powerlessness, inferiority and helplessness, which are integral to shame experiences, are also part of depressed affective states (Gilbert, 1998).

Poulson (2000) suggested that ruptures or rejection experienced in relationships that trigger shame are experienced as a loss of the interpersonal bond as well as a loss of the valued self. In addition, Gilbert (1998) suggested that internal shame which is focused on negative self-evaluation is different from external shame which focuses on perceived judgments of others. This internal shame and sadness

may have negative self-evaluations in common. Lewis (1995) also mentioned that attributions of shame and sadness resemble each other since self-blame for the global aspects of the self is central in both. He added that sadness and shame are frequently seen together, especially when shame is triggered in the presence of close others or is caused by the reactions of others.

There is also sadness for others in the experience of self-consciousness. Elison (2005) asserted that sadness for others was mostly seen in guilty acts and in remorse. However, this kind of sadness was less likely to result in depression since guilt motivates reparative behaviors (Tangney et al., 1992). Orth, Berking and Burkhardt (2006) showed that when shame was controlled, guilt lost its significance in predicting depression, and rumination mediated the relationship between shame and depression. This finding was in line with other studies linking shame with depression (Andrews, Qian, & Valentine, 2002) and with rumination (Cheung, Gilbert, & Irons, 2004). All these findings may suggest that sadness may frequently accompany shame just as it is thought to accompany guilt.

<u>Shame and Embarrassment</u>

Differentiating shame from embarrassment is controversial. It has been suggested that shame is a more intense and enduring reaction and it has more moral implications than embarrassment (Miller & Tangney, 1994). Shott (1979) argued that in shame, the self is disclosed to be deficient, whereas in embarrassment, the presentation of the self is the trigger of the experience. However, it is difficult to differentiate the self from its presentation; therefore, the two experiences often accompany each other (Shott, 1979).

Miller and Tangney (1994) asked undergraduate students to sort a number of statements into shame and embarrassment categories. Results showed that embarrassment was usually triggered by surprising/accidental situations and was followed by humor, whereas shame was usually triggered by foreseeable events and was accompanied by other negative emotions (Miller & Tangney, 1994). Tangney et al. (1996) also showed that embarrassment was a milder experience; was more likely to be triggered in the presence of acquaintances or strangers rather than close ones and had different affective, cognitive and motivational ingredients than shame and guilt.

Differentiating shame and embarrassment is further complicated in Turkish. The Turkish word for both embarrassment and shame is *utanmak/ utanç*. Sometimes, *mahcup olma/ mahcubiyet* which has etymological roots that implicate being veiled and covered (*örtülü, perdeli, kapalı*) is also used for embarrassment (Nişanyan, n.d). *Mahcubiyet* is usually used as a milder form of *utanç* and is generally triggered as a response to someone else (*birine mahcup olmak*) while *utanç* may also be experienced privately. This is in line with Tangney et al.'s (1996) descriptions that shame may be both public and private, whereas embarrassment is almost always public.

Shame as a Relationally-Conscious Emotion

Theories on shame have differing views on their emphasis given to intrapsychic or interpersonal processes involved in the emergence of shame (Crozier, 1998). Shame is commonly triggered in interpersonal contexts, but it may also be experienced privately (Tangney et al., 1996). In intrapsychic theoretical accounts, shame is

closely tied to the ego ideal (Morrison, 1983) and it is suggested to be a signal for painful self-awareness in which there is failure to live up to ideals (Kinston, 1983). Here, both the object and the subject of shame is the self (Crozier, 1998). Shame requires self-awareness, self-reflection and self-evaluation (Lewis, 1995). Hence, it is suggested to be a self-conscious emotion along with guilt, embarrassment, pride, etc. (Lewis, 1995; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tangney & Tracy, 2011).

Though shame is a self-conscious emotion and it may be experienced in private, it may not solely be a consequence of self-evaluation with regard to ideals or standards since negative self-evaluation may also be seen in other experiences such as depression (Crozier, 1998). The felt discrepancy between the actual self and the ideal self may also lead to many other emotions; but shame is more likely to be related to the felt discrepancy between the actual self and the ought self, representing one's perception of how significant others would evaluate the self (Higgins, 1987). Therefore, with a shift in focus, relational theories propose that perceptions or attributions of others' reactions are critical ingredients of shame (Crozier, 1998). Whether or not shame is triggered in public or in private, the self is evaluated by itself through the eyes of other people (Ayers, 2003; Crozier, 1998; H. Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1995).

Another argument of relational theories is that self-conscious emotions including shame are suggested to be evolved to serve social needs and have communicative and social functions (Tracy & Robins, 2004). In parallel, shame is conceptualized within relational and contextual frameworks. Lewis (1971) asserts that although shame is about the self, it is impossible to separate the self from its relational context. From this standpoint, shame occurs as a consequence of a perceived threat to the relational self. Anticipation of rejection, disapproval and

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rupture in relationships are important elicitors of shame (Gilbert, 2003; Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Therefore, shame is also considered to be a relationally-conscious emotion (Hartling et al., 2000). Shame is commonly triggered as a response to "the failure or absence of the smile of contact, a reaction to the loss of feedback from others, indicating social isolation and signaling the need for relief from that condition" (Basch, 1976, p. 765). It is a result of the disturbance of recognition and leads to experiences of disappointment in the expectations of communicative and interactional responses from the others (Broucek, 1982).

These theories point out that shame requires not only awareness of the self but also awareness of others' minds and this awareness develops within early interactions with the caregiver (Musholt, 2012). Although cognitive capacities required for self-awareness and being able to take the perspective of others seen in shame develop not before the age two (Etezady, 2010; Lewis, 1995), many relational/intersubjective theorists argue that precursors of shame are present from birth on (Kaufman, 1989; Tomkins, 2008). Tomkins (2008) asserts that nascent shame occurs when the heightened level of arousal/excitement of the infant does not find a match from the caregiver. Kaufman (1989) also suggests that when positive expectations from others are not met or when they lead to disappointment, shame may be triggered. Similarly, Schore (2003) mentions that dysregulated and unrepaired interactions with the caregiver may be associated with early signs of shame. If the child's expectations of attunement are not recognized at reunion, the sudden transition from a positive state to a negative one is what Schore (2003) describes as nascent shame. Through this experience, the child may learn to tolerate dysregulations of self and a fair amount of this experience is necessary for healthy development. However, if these experiences are repeated, "dysregulated-self-in-

interaction-with-a-misattuning-other" representation may develop and may influence affect regulation throughout life (Schore, 2003, p. 27).

It may be argued that failures in recognition may not be specifically related to shame. The distinctive features of shame may begin to be apparent when shame begins to take on cognitive qualities in the second year of life rather than solely being a bodily-based experience (Izard & Ackerman, 2000, as cited in Izard, 2007). Lewis (1995) suggests that by 24 months of age, sensorimotor-affective, representational and abstract knowledge capacities become evolved, forming the ground for the emergence of shame in full. Consequently, it may be suggested that shame may be more fully observed together with affective, cognitive and social development (Lewis, 1995). Though specific activators may vary in each developmental stage, from infancy through adulthood, ruptures in interpersonal bonds are the main antecedents of shame (Kaufman, 1989). In time, interpersonal settings that become sources of shame are broadened, beginning with family, school and other groups and expanding to the society and the culture (Kaufman, 1989).

First ideas of conceptualizing shame within relational and social frameworks can be traced back to Cooley's (1902) theory of "the looking-glass self" which has been an influential perspective in sociological theory. The concept of the looking-glass self by Cooley (1902) corresponds to the view that the person sees himself through the perceptions of others in the society. He suggested that three things are important in experience of the self: first, imagination of the appearance of the self in the mind of the other; second, imagination of the thoughts of the other regarding this appearance; third, the resulting feeling state as pride when the imagined evaluation is positive or shame when the imagined evaluation is negative (Cooley, 1902). Parallel

with this suggestion, Scheff (1988) argues that people constantly monitor their selves in social settings:

> "*In presenting ourselves to others, we risk rejection. The form rejection takes may be flagrant, but it is much more frequently quite subtle, perhaps only a missed beat in the rhythm of conversation. Depending on its intensity and obviousness, rejection usually leads inevitably to the painful emotions of embarrassment, shame, or humiliation. By the same token, when we are accepted as we present ourselves, we usually feel rewarded by the pleasant emotions of pride and fellow feeling*" (p. 396).

It is also consistently suggested that shame has visuoaffective significance (Tomkins, 2008). Lewis (1971) mentions that: "The experience of shame often occurs in the form of imagery, of looking or being looked at. Shame may also be played out in imagery of an internal auditory colloquy, in which the whole self is condemned by the other" (p.428). Similarly, Ayers (2003) asserts that in shame, there is a perceived exposure, a feeling of being observed which may be an external reality or an internal, fantasized one. Further, it is about seeing and being seen when one does not want to be seen or not being seen when one wants to be seen:

> "*On both a collective, archetypal level and an individual, developmental one, shame manifests itself most through the eye. It is mediated and conveyed by the idea of vision, and cannot arise without this perceptual element. In shame, we meet eyes and avoid eyes; the solitary, scrutinizing eye of our inner selves or the collective eyes of the world that will bear witness to our state of self-worthlessness, impotence, undesirability, ugliness, incompetence, filth, or damage*" (Ayers, 2003, p.2)

To examine the sense of being exposed in shame, Karlsson and Sjöberg (2009) conducted a phenomenological inquiry of shame and guilt with both sighted and blind individuals. As expected, sense of vision was predominant in the shame experiences of sighted individuals. However, in blind individuals, the visual objectification might be felt indirectly by someone telling the blind individual that

others were looking, or mostly the reactions of others were processed through the sense of audition. Blind participants generally stated that the talk coming after the look was shaming since they did not have a concrete understanding of the look (Karlsson & Sjöberg, 2009). It was concluded that for both sighted and blind people the subjective experience of shame included the feeling that other(s) reject one's whole being (Karlsson & Sjöberg, 2009).

In sum, relational/interpersonal theories on shame suggest that whether there is public exposure or not, in shame experiences, the self is exposed to itself and it is self-conscious; while it is also exposed to actual or imagined or fantasized others and is relationally-conscious (Hartling et al., 2000). These aspects of the shame experience should be subjected to further empirical evaluation.

<div align="center">Shame as a Moral Emotion</div>

Shame is not just a reaction against a threat to the relational self and acts as a signal for ruptures in relationships, it is also a signal for moral transgressions and indicates a threat to the social self (Scheff, 2003). Therefore, shame is also considered to be a moral emotion together with guilt (Emde & Oppenheim, 1995). As Giner-Sorolla (2012) suggested, these moral emotions regulate both the relationship between an individual and his/her group and relationships between interacting groups.

Lansky (2005) states that shame serves as a signal for the loss of connection to the social world and this loss of connection may be regarded as "the ultimate form of separation" (p. 879). In hierarchical societies, shame is an important tool for social control and shaming may be acceptable when it is from the authority to others while the central experience is fear of losing status (Davies, 2009). These views on shame

in relation to losing connection with the social world and fear of losing status are in parallel with Gilbert's (1997) rank theory which ties shame with loss of social rank.

In terms of morality, mostly it has been argued that public exposure and experience of being watched by imagined or real others seemed to be critical in understanding moral shame (Smith, Webster, Parrott, & Eyre, 2002). However, Boonin (1983) suggested that morally significant experiences of shame could occur without the presence of others and shame related to values concerning failures, imperfections and inadequacies were not always related to acts. In addition, Smith et al. (2002) distinguished moral shame from non-moral shame related to inferiority. It may be suggested that moral shame triggered by public exposure, moral shame triggered in private and non-moral shame may have different intrapersonal and interpersonal correlates.

Traditionally, guilt has been considered to be more adaptive than shame in inhibiting immoral behaviors (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). However, Giner-Sorolla, Castano, Espinosa and Brown (2008) showed that in hypothetical collective wrongdoings, the felt insult was significantly reduced if the perpetrator shows signs of shame in addition to offering reparation. This relationship was also displayed in a sample that experienced real world wrongdoings, but only when outgroups were blamed for the wrongdoing (Kamau, Giner-Sorolla, & Zebel, 2013). These results might emphasize the communicative aspects of shame; therefore, it may be concluded that shame may be considered as a socially adaptive moral emotion if it is displayed for communicative and interactive purposes (Kamau et al., 2013).

Rozin and colleagues (1999) view the moral emotions in two clusters. The first cluster is other-critical emotions of contempt, anger and disgust; the second cluster involves self-critical emotions of shame, embarrassment and guilt. They

suggest that the self-critical emotions are about assessment of one's own moral performance and are related to the motivation of fitting within the society. Rozin et al. (1999) also linked other-critical emotions with the three moral domains identified by Shweder, Much, Mahapatra and Park (1997). Anger is linked to the autonomy moral domain associated with violation of individual rights; contempt is linked to the community moral domain associated with obligations to be a part of a community; disgust is linked to the divinity moral domain associated with sanctity and purity (Shweder et al., 1997; Rozin et al., 1999).

Sunar (2009) extends this model by suggesting that there is reciprocity between self-conscious emotions and other-critical emotions of contempt, anger and disgust that are linked to community, autonomy and divinity violations respectively. This reciprocity between self- and other-related emotions is associated with not just the nature of the moral violation but also with the relational models that people use to evaluate other's behaviors and manage their own behavior (Sunar, 2009). These relational models proposed by Fiske (1992) include four main forms: (1) In *Communal Sharing*, the relationship model is based on equivalence and shared properties, everyone treats each other the same way; (2) In *Authority Ranking,* relationships are asymmetrical and hierarchical, the one who has higher rank has prestige, privilege and generally responsibility for those with lower rank; (3) In *Equality Matching*, relationships are based on equality, balance and reciprocity; (4) In *Market Pricing,* following cost-benefit rules, relationships are rational and proportional (e.g. interactions related to monetary concerns). Fiske (1992) suggests that various combinations of these four models are inherent in any social interaction.

Sunar (2009) suggests that in a communal sharing relationship, when community and divinity moral domains are violated (e.g. sexual norms), disgust is

felt by the observer (or the community), whereas the violator feels shame. In an authority ranking relationship, when there is community violation, contempt is the experience of the other, whereas the violator experiences shame again. These two shame experiences are different: in the first case, it is a shame of impurity; but in the second case, it is a shame of status loss (Sunar, 2009). In addition, guilt has different associations: it is likely to be triggered as a reaction to autonomy violations within equality matching and market pricing relational models. Here, anger is the emotion that is felt by the other (Sunar, 2009).

Giner-Sorolla (2012) also proposes main differences between shame and guilt in relational contexts. He suggests that shame regulates hierarchical relationships within the society, unlike guilt which regulates reciprocity in relationships. This suggestion is in parallel with Sunar's integration (2009) in the part that reciprocity which is important in equality matching relational model is associated with guilt, whereas hierarchy which is inherent in authority ranking relationships is associated with shame. However, Giner-Sorolla (2012) makes another distinction between two types of shame, both of which are related to self-worth in the society: Unworthiness shame in which a person receives a higher self-worth than deserved; and defensive shame in which a person receives lower self-worth than expected (Giner-Sorolla, 2012).

These reciprocity theories that suggest a close relationship between other-related emotions and self-conscious emotions in moral violations further elaborate the perspective of shame as a relational and social phenomenon by implying that the nature of transgressions, the nature of the relationships as well as perceived emotions of others related to these transgressions are all important in understanding the shame experience. Empirical exploration is needed to test these theories.

Shame and Culture

Culture is important in understanding what an emotion is, as well as in understanding the ways in which emotions are identified and displayed. Learning cultural scripts is essential for emotional competence and management (i.e. learning about culturally appropriate emotion display rules) and this is achieved via emotion socialization (Peterson, 2006). The contexts in which this socialization occurs are first the family, then the peer group, the school setting and other social settings. In these contexts, the values and taboos of the culture are transmitted to children (Kaufman, 1989).

Although nonverbal aspects of shame are more or less universal, there are important culture-specific ingredients in shame (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Conceptualization of shame, situational antecedents as well as the subjective experience may differ across cultures. First of all, shame is considered to be a self-conscious emotion, but how the self is construed depends partly on the culture. In Western cultures, the emphasis is on the wholeness and uniqueness of individuals' thoughts, feelings and behaviors depicting an independent self-construal, while in non-Western cultures, the self is defined in relational and social contexts depicting an interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These differences in self-construal are reflected in the differences in the experience of emotions in general (Tracy & Robins, 2007), and also in the triggers and behavioral consequences of self-conscious emotions including shame (Wong & Tsai, 2007).

In Western descriptions of shame, it is assumed that shame leads to withdrawal and loss of connection, unlike guilt which motivates for reparation (Lewis, 1971). However, in interdependent contexts, shamelessness, rather than shame, is linked to loss of connection, while shame is congruent with modesty and

self-criticism which are inherent in cultural norms (Mesquita & Karasawa, 2004). Furthermore, in Eastern cultures, shame leads to prosocial motivation and restoring the relationships rather than withdrawal (Bedford, 2004; Mesquita & Karasawa, 2004). Therefore, it should be noted that Western conceptualization of shame which does not involve responsibility and concern for others may not apply to interdependent cultures (Bedford & Hwang, 2003).

In interdependent cultures, although the transgressions that trigger shame and the phenomenological experience may be different in different types of shame, a sense of exposure or a fear of exposure together with a relational identity and concern for others are the common aspects of all types of shame (Bedford, 2004; Li, Wang, & Fischer, 2004). In both individualistic and collectivistic cultures, it is difficult to differentiate shame from guilt; however, in individualistic cultures, the experience is likely to be labeled as just guilt (Lewis, 1971), whereas in collectivistic cultures, guilt emerges as a subcategory of shame (Li et al., 2004).

Another cultural difference in shame is about feeling ashamed for others. In collectivistic cultures, a "transferred shame" which implies experiencing shame for someone else is frequently seen (Szeto-Wong, 1997). Bedford (2004) stated that *xiu chi*, one of the shame experiences identified in Chinese, could be aroused in two ways: either with the awareness of one's own deficiencies or awareness of the deficiencies or transgressions of others with whom the individual identifies. The other in transferred shame may be someone close with whom the individual has a shared identity such as family, or may be a complete stranger (Bedford, 2004). Feeling ashamed for a stranger may be triggered if the individual values the norm the stranger violates unknowingly or knowingly (Szeto-Wong, 1997).

Szeto-Wong (1997) showed that higher levels of transferred shame were reported in Asian Americans than Caucasian Americans. However, Tang et al. (2008) found contradictory results. They showed that the level of transferred shame for close others was similar in both American and Chinese samples of college students. In addition, as the social distance increased (family, partner, close friend, classmate respectively), the level of transferred shame decreased in both samples. Nevertheless, it is possible that the hypothetical scenarios used in the study (i.e. failure to make a public speech, cheating on exams and spreading rumors about others) may not have the same significance as situational antecedents of shame in different cultures.

Overall, the theories and research on the cultural influences on shame suggest that the triggers, the subjective experience and behavioral consequences of shame may differ across cultures (Wong & Tsai, 2007). Therefore, it is important to explore and identify culturally significant aspects of the shame experience.

Shame and Gender

Gender differences in the experience and expression of emotions are also evident in shame, as it is suggested that women of almost all ages report more shame than men (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). It is argued that the reason behind these findings is that women tend to be more prone to shame than men (Lewis, 1971). However, others suggest that developmental tasks for men make them more vulnerable to shame than women (Osherson & Krugman, 1990). In addition to these conflicting views on the nature of shame, several issues such as gender stereotypes, cultural emotion display rules as well as the context and the measurement methods have been argued to

influence gender differences found in shame research (Shields, Garner, Leone, & Hadley, 2006). Else-Quest, Higgins, Allison and Morton (2012) meta-analyzed 382 articles about gender differences in self-conscious emotions and concluded that women tend to report slightly more shame and guilt than men, while there were no differences in embarrassment and pride. These results were only evident for White samples and in trait scales or scenario based measurements in which gender stereotypes were more likely to be reflected (Else-Quest et al., 2012).

In classical psychoanalytic theory, shame has been associated with the recognition of genital deficiency in women, therefore it is seen as constitutional and as independent of contextual or societal influences (Matthis, 1981). Lewis (1971) retreated from the genital deficiency explanation, but elaborated on the views of Freud on superego development. She suggested that shame is the predominant superego mode in women, while guilt is the predominant mode in men. According to Lewis (1971), shame is a relational reaction and relatedness is more central in women's life than men.

In her views on gender identity construction, Chodorow (1978, 1989) suggests that since the mother is the primary attachment figure for both genders, both women and men develop a sense of similarity with the mother. The developmental task of differentiation and separation from the mother requires perceiving not just the "me-not me" distinction but also perceiving the subjectivity of the mother. She mentions that this task is more conflictual for men than women. The issue for female identity is to adjust the need for connectedness and an adequate sense of separateness, while the developmental task of male identity also requires differentiating himself from the mother and from femininity (Chodorow, 1978, 1989). Osherson and Krugman (1990) suggest that both the pre-oedipal task of the

recognition of the differences with the mother and the oedipal task of disidentifying with the mother and identifying with the father to construct the male identity might be important sources of shame for men. Shame is a signal to retreat from regressive strivings; therefore it has a developmental function for the emergent masculine self (Osherson & Krugman, 1990). Throughout the lives of men, threats from others to masculine identity continue to be potential sources of shame for men (Shepard & Rabinowitz, 2013).

These theories on gender identity construction are in line with views on acceptable emotional expressions according to gender stereotypes which had reflections on actual behaviors (Brody & Hall, 1993). In Western cultures, according to gender stereotypes, women tend to be more sensitive to relational issues and any harm to relationships may be potential sources of self-conscious emotions (Ferguson & Eyre, 2000). Accordingly, the expression of self-conscious emotions is acceptable and even promoted for women, but such expression is seen as unmanly and not acceptable for men; while the expression of emotions like anger, which may disrupt relationships, may be acceptable for men but not for women (Ferguson & Eyre, 2000). This supports the views that men frequently bypass shame and develop defensive reactions to it. In more collectivistic cultures, there is a similar trend; however, gender differences seen in emotions tend to be smaller because cultural norms which value bonds with the social group predominate over gender role norms (Fischer & Manstead, 2000).

Ferguson and Eyre (2000) pointed out that the hypothetical scenarios used to assess self-conscious emotions were generally about disadvantaging others and these situations initially trigger guilt. Shame is triggered only when these situations also present a threat to identity. In most of the measurement methods of shame, concerns

related to the male identity are underrepresented (Ferguson & Eyre, 2000). Ferguson, Eyre and Ashbaker (2000) showed that if situations presented threats to masculine identity, men reported more intense shame reactions than women and in situations that presented threats to feminine identity, females reported more intense shame than men. These findings may show that in examining gender differences in shame reactions, the context should be taken into account to increase the validity (Shields, 2000).

Efthim, Kenny and Mahalik (2001) showed that for men, gender role stress depicting intellectual inferiority, expressing vulnerable emotions, physical inadequacy, and work and sexual performance were associated with higher levels of shame; while for women, gender role stress related with physical unattractiveness, victimization, unassertiveness and emotional detachment were associated with higher shame. They also showed that expressing vulnerable emotions which tended to violate masculine gender norms was associated with externalization for men, which supported the views of Lewis (1971) that men tended to bypass shame by externalization to avoid vulnerability. Similarly, Thompkins and Rando (2003) found that gender role conflict about emotion expression and conflicts between work and family relationships were associated with higher levels of shame in men. Finally, Reilly, Rochlen and Awad (2013) showed that lower masculine norm adherence was associated with lower trait shame and higher self-compassion and higher self-esteem.

All these findings may suggest that gender stereotypes in each culture may be important in understanding gender differences in the experience and expression of shame. In addition, in the measurement methods chosen for shame research, concerns for both male and female identities should be represented, since it is argued that any threat to gender identity might be a potential source for experiencing shame.

Individual Differences in Shame

Proneness to Shame

As described earlier, there may be universal, culture-specific or gender-specific triggers of shame; nonetheless, not all individuals respond to these shame-triggering situations in the same way (Tangney, Wagner & Gramzow, 1992). Some people are more sensitive to shame-triggering situations, while others are more resilient at dealing with these situations or bouncing back from shaming experiences (Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

Although state shame is considered as an adaptive mechanism for maintaining social status (Gilbert, 1997), generalized shame is more likely to be maladaptive (Covert, Tangney, Maddux & Heleno, 2003). To describe generalized shame, different terms are used in the shame literature such as shame-proneness, trait shame and chronic shame. These terms represent a propensity to experience shame in potential shame-triggering situations (Andrews, 1998). In addition, shame-prone individuals are more likely to perceive various situations as shame-inducing (Tangney et al., 2007). Gilbert (1998) suggests that shame-proneness also characterizes a susceptibility to experience more intense shame across a broad array of situations. Andrews (1998) claims that being sensitive to shame-triggering situations, frequently experiencing shame or being ashamed of one's own characteristics or behaviors are not mutually exclusive.

It has been suggested that shame-proneness is well-founded in middle childhood and is highly stable through adolescence to adulthood (Tangney, Burgaff & Wagner, 1995). The factors that may influence the development of shame-

proneness may be diverse and research investigating these factors has been growing only in the last decades (Tangney, 1999). Temperament, early parenting experiences, emotion socialization as well as cultural factors may influence the development of shame-proneness (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Among these factors, parenting and emotion socialization processes have received marked attention in the shame-proneness literature. In emotion socialization theories, it is suggested that from infancy to middle childhood, the way parents talk about emotional events, teach about cultural expectations regarding expression of emotions, and the way parents express their own emotions and their reactions toward the child's expression of emotions are all important in the development of affective capacities (Denham, 2001). Accordingly, it is suggested that due to early experiences with parents, there are individual differences in the internalization of standards which are the means of shame-triggering evaluations regarding the self or behaviors (Lewis, 1995). Mills, Arbeau, Lall and de Jaeger (2010) suggested that individual differences in shame responses might be seen as early as 3 years of age when toddlers achieved the cognitive capacity of taking the perspectives of others and began to internalize rules, standards and norms. They added that these responses are shaped through the interplay between the child's characteristics, parents' behaviors and the context of the interaction between them (Mills et al., 2010).

Lewis (1995) stated that parental responses influence not just the internalization of the societal standards but also the attributions that are made after transgressions. Parental shaming might be associated with internal blame attributions as well as global negative attributions for the self (Lewis, 1995). Parents might use indirect shaming behaviors such as love withdrawal or expressing disgusted, angry and contemptuous faces which they might not be aware of. These indirect ways of

shaming might be perceived as signs of disapproval by children (Lewis, 1995).

Kaufman (1989) also states that in addition to learning about shame indirectly through interactions with parents, children may also hear about shame more directly as a verbal message, especially in late childhood. He suggests that direct expressions of parents such as the phrases of "Shame on you," "I am disappointed in you," "You are embarrassing me" as well as the use of disparagement, contempt and humiliation communicating high expectations are experienced as more direct triggers of shame in children. Kaufman (1989) mentions that these practices are transmitted across generations and bring out "a shame-based family system" (p.36). In a longitudinal study, Mills et al. (2010) showed that early shame responding at preschool age predicted shame-proneness in middle childhood but this relationship was dependent on parental shaming and gender. For girls, high mother but low father shaming was associated with higher shame-proneness, while for boys, high shaming from both the mother and the father predicted higher shame in middle childhood (Mills et al., 2010). This finding may support the aforementioned views that repeated shaming experiences may have long-lasting consequences.

Kaufman (1989) suggests that shaming scenes are internalized through imagery and stored in memory. He gives the example that when a mother calls her child as stupid, the child would internalize various aspects of the scene including the disgusted face of the mother, her angry voice and the content of the verbal statement. Shame may be related to the body, to relational needs or to competence needs, but in all conditions, the imagery, the language and the affect of the scene are stored. In time, separate shaming experiences fused together and magnified, leaving the subjective experience as an inner voice. A shame-based identity may develop through this process (Kaufman, 1989).

Adolescence is another critical period for experiencing shame and/or the development of shame-proneness. Important increases in hormonal activity and various changes in physical appearance are observed in adolescence and attention is directed to the self which is exposed to other people's view (Kaufman, 1989). In addition, self-reflection capacities become more developed and the importance given to acceptance from peer groups increases. All these factors may induce vulnerability in the identity exploration process in adolescence (Reimer, 1996). It is suggested that when the social identity is not verified, the resulting experience would be embarrassment and shame (Stets & Burke, 2005). Furthermore, emerging sexuality in adolescence may be perceived as a threat to the bonds with the family and the society, becoming a concern for acceptance or rejection (Reimer, 1996). However, although shame may be a central issue in adolescents' lives, there has been relatively little research on the individual differences in shame-proneness in adolescence (De Rubeis & Hollenstein, 2009; Reimer, 1996; Roos, Hodges & Salmivalli, 2014).

Shame-proneness developed throughout childhood and adolescence would likely to be carried into adulthood (Tangney, Burgaff & Wagner, 1995). Kaufman (1989) suggests that even individuals who are not highly shame-prone may experience devastating shame in face of aging, powerlessness, relationship difficulties and performance or job related difficulties in adulthood. However, highly shame-prone adults were consistently shown to experience more negative outcomes related to general well-being than low shame-prone individuals (Andrews, 1998).

Research on shame-proneness in adulthood largely depends on using scenario-based instruments assessing how much people are prone to feeling ashamed or on retrospective reports of adults about their shame experiences in childhood. An extensive study using both methods was conducted by Malinen (2010) who applied

shame-proneness measures and collected essays on shame from 135 Finnish people. He also conducted in-depth interviews with 19 participants recruited from these participants. The findings of the study demonstrated that the factors that influence the development of shame-proneness including child factors, parental and environmental factors might be subsumed under the heading of "lack of gaining love, validation and protection as their authentic self" (p.148). It was suggested that diverse combinations of child factors such as temperament, health, personality, attachment and environmental factors such as poverty, social settings, and cultural influences might induce a propensity to feel shame in face of challenges and problems during childhood and adolescence. Among these vulnerability factors, parental influences were especially salient in the stories of the participants. It was demonstrated that emotional availability, attunement and responsiveness by the parents and acceptance and warmth were important to establish a secure atmosphere, while parents' emotion regulation difficulties, perfectionism, criticism, sarcastic humor and parents' own shame might influence the development of shame-proneness. Furthermore, maltreatment including humiliation, ridicule and stigmatization as well as physical and sexual abuse might be sources of higher proneness to shame.

Overall, it may be suggested that the core experience in shame-prone individuals would likely to be lack of acceptance, love and security with their authentic self (Malinen, 2010) and this experience may lead to the development of a shame-based identity (Kaufman, 1989). Although each life cycle may bring about its own contributors, repeated shaming experiences in childhood and adolescence pave the way for the development of shame-proneness. Nonetheless, exploring unique pathways to shame-proneness in one's developmental history and examining other characteristics that may influence one's propensity to feel shame in potential shame-

triggering situations seem to be important for a better understanding of individual differences in shame (Kaufman, 1989).

Coping with Shame

There are variations in how people deal with shaming experiences and individuals may use different coping strategies in different shaming contexts (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Theoretically, as mentioned before, it is generally suggested that shame is associated with wanting to hide, "sink into the floor and disappear" (Tangney et al., 1996, p.743), unlike guilt, which drives a person to penance and reparation (Lewis, 1971). Parallel with theoretical suggestions, the autobiographical narratives of shame and guilt experiences that Silfver (2007) collected from 97 college students showed that when shame was not accompanied by guilt, reparative behaviors were seen less frequently. However, she argued that this did not mean that shame was less adaptive than guilt, since displaying shame may produce positive effects on other people.

Although avoidance and withdrawal are consistently associated with shame reactions, certain other behavioral reactions may also be seen following shame. Behrendt and Ben-Ari (2012) showed that in situations that involved interpersonal conflict, people who are high in shame-proneness tended to use either a competitive strategy to protect the helpless, threatened self or a withdrawn strategy which indicated an inability to cope (Behrendt & Ben-Ari, 2012).

Tangney and Dearing (2002) also suggested that the reactions to shame may range from withdrawal which includes self-blame, to redirecting the anger outward by blaming disapproving others. Tangney, Stuewig and Martinez (2014) conducted a

longitudinal study with jail inmates and showed that shame-proneness was negatively related to recidivism one year after release; however, when there was externalization of blame, it was positively associated with recidivism. This may show that strategies of dealing with shame may influence whether the consequences would be destructive or constructive. In addition, Schoenleber and Berenbaum (2012) assert that shame regulation strategies including prevention efforts, escape strategies and both self-directed and other-directed aggression contribute to the development and maintenance of various forms of personality pathology.

Hartling et al. (2000) refer to strategies that involve withdrawal and silencing as "moving away" strategies, and strategies that involve directing anger and resentment to others as "moving against" strategies. These strategies are commonly examined in the literature. They added a third group, "moving towards," which is about trying to keep the connection by pleasing the other (Hartling et al., 2000). Tangney and Dearing (2011) also talked about a relational strategy that seeks social support following a shame experience. They suggested that individuals try to cope with shame either by themselves or by interactions with significant others that provide reassurance. This interactive way of dealing with shame including not hiding but sharing the shame experience, is at the core of therapeutic work on shame (Tangney & Dearing, 2011).

Nathanson (1992) suggested that people try to prevent or get rid of the effects of shame by evaluating the trigger and choosing a defensive strategy. He proposed a model that brought four defensive scripts together, the compass of shame: *Withdrawal* is a rapid response to shame and it is accompanied by distress, sadness and fear; *Avoidance* is associated with strategies to prevent feelings of shame such as denial, distractive behaviors, etc.; *Attack-self* is related to self-disgust, self-

destructive behaviors and depression; *Attack-other* is associated with anger, rage, externalization of blame. It may even lead to verbal and physical abuse (Nathanson, 1992). Elison, Pulos and Lennon (2006) provided support for this compass of shame model. They showed that all these strategies except avoidance were related to internalized shame and psychological symptoms. Attacking others had the highest correlation with trait anger, and attacking the self had the highest correlation with low self-esteem. These results might indicate that different ways of dealing with shame have different aspects and might have different consequences.

Nathanson (1992) suggested that generally people tended to prefer one of the strategies of the compass of shame; however, they might use different strategies in combination or they might use one or the other at different times. He also suggested that although people tend to deal with shame by using these strategies that were less likely to reduce it, they might also use humor and laughter. He gave comedians as examples for this strategy and asserted that they controlled the amount of shame by attacking the self, attacking other, etc. using jokes (Nathanson, 1992). Kaufman (1989) suggested that humor and laughter were effective ways of coping with any negative affect. While Nathanson (1992) referred to humor as the best defensive strategy against shame, Linge (2006) suggested that humor was a moderator in balancing the shame with positive affects. However, there are other views that refer to humor as an effective strategy in dealing with embarrassment which is milder than shame, while shame is more painful and is associated with more negative reactions (Miller & Tangney, 1994; Tangney et al., 1996).

Van Vliet (2008) conducted a qualitative study to explore which factors were associated with resilience against shame. She suggested that bouncing back from shame included self-reconstruction. This reconstruction process included five

categories that were related to each other: Connecting, refocusing, accepting, understanding and resisting. *Connecting* included sharing the experience, seeking social support and repairing the relationships; *Refocusing* was about focusing on action in improving the self; *Accepting* included facing with shame and expressing it; *Understanding* included insight and meaning making of the experience; *Resisting* is about rejecting the negative evaluations of others and asserting oneself. She concluded that shame was an adaptive emotion that signaled a threat to self and if an individual used his/her resources to recover from it, it would be used constructively. Correspondingly, the therapeutic work in dealing with shame would include increasing awareness, promoting the use of resources and resilience (Van Vliet, 2008).

In sum, it may be suggested that not only one's propensity to experience shame in potential shame-triggering contexts but also how one copes with or bounces back from shaming experiences may influence the subjective experience and related consequences. Further exploration of differences in coping may deepen the understanding of the shame experience.

Methodological Issues in Shame Research

All approaches to studying shame have their pros and cons. First of all, measures that explore shame either assess trait shame (shame-proneness) or in-the-moment shame (Harper, 2011; Tangney, 1996). There are relatively a small number of studies that investigate state shame and attempts to measure it generally include check lists of emotion words. Tangney (1996) asserted that these measures rely on the ability to

distinguish between the emotional words and do not provide much information about the accompanying behaviors and the context that triggers the emotions.

Among the alternative methods, there is much more research on shame-proneness or trait shame using either hypothetical shame triggering scenarios or adjective lists. In measures including hypothetical scenarios such as Dimensions of Consciousness Questionnaire and Test of Self-conscious Affect (TOSCA), generally both shame and guilt are assessed. Scenarios or descriptions are categorized as either shame inducing or guilt inducing. Tangney (1996) discusses that although different scenarios are written for shame and guilt, they frequently overlap and this lowers the discriminant validity. For instance, Giner-Sorolla, Piazza and Espinosa (2011) questioned the ability of the TOSCA to measure shame and guilt and showed that the guilt items in TOSCA represented motivation for compensatory action following wrongdoings, whereas the shame items in TOSCA represented the appraisals of self-blame and the tendency to feel negative self-conscious emotions in general. In addition to these arguments, Andrews (1998) discussed that although shame and guilt inducing themes in hypothetical scenario scales and the reactions that were given to subjects as alternatives were identified in previous studies, ecological validity has still been questionable. Another cluster of scales assess how people describe themselves according to several adjectives or self-referent descriptions. This is also a way of measuring shame-proneness but when and why are not answered with this method (Andrews, 1998).

There are advantages and disadvantages of all methods, but there are also increasing attempts in developing theoretically and psychometrically solid measures for shame (Tangney, 1996). When designing and conducting studies and interpreting

the findings on shame, it seems to be crucial to take methodological limitations into account.

<p style="text-align:center">Shame Research in Turkey</p>

Honor and shame are supposed to be central in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cultures, where shame and the associated threat of social exclusion are used as tools of social control (Peristiany, 1966). Similar to other cultures in this region, honor and pride are valued in the Turkish culture and behaviors of individuals may be sources of shame for themselves as well as for the in-group (Önderman, 2009; Öner-Özkan & Gençöz, 2006).

Another important characteristic of the Turkish culture is that both relatedness and autonomy can coexist in the society, especially in the urban context (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; Sunar & Fişek, 2005). These characteristics make unique contributions to cultural values. For instance, Boiger et al. (2014) argued that concerns related to interdependence in Turkish and Japanese cultures were different. While defending honor is important in the Turkish culture, keeping face is important in Japan. Both assertiveness and connectedness are promoted in defending honor. Accordingly, they showed that shame and anger were frequently reported together in the Turkish culture, while anger was avoided and shame was promoted in the Japanese culture (Boiger et al., 2014).

Cultural influences on shame were also explored in studies done with immigrants. In such a study conducted by Mirdal (2006), Turkish immigrant women in Denmark were interviewed in 1980 and 85% of them were re-interviewed in 2000. The themes emerged from the interviews showed that in 1980, the focus in their

<p style="text-align:center">39</p>

shameful experiences was on sexual honor and maintaining traditional gender roles (e.g. avoiding exposure of the body, keeping themselves away from scandal and gossip, etc.) which might have represented the traditional values of the Turkish culture at those times. However, in 2000, the focus had changed from sexuality and honor to transgressions resulting in feeling inappropriate in social situations and social inferiority including concerns about lack of education and lower linguistic abilities compared to Danish population. No causal inferences were implied in these changes; however, it may be suggested that migration and acculturation after meeting with the Danish culture were likely to be the most significant factors that may explain the changes in the sources of shame. However, the elapsed time between the interviews and aging might also contribute to the results (Mirdal, 2006).

Besides the cross-cultural studies comparing the Turkish culture with other cultures, there are a number of studies conducted to examine shame in different populations in Turkey. As in the corresponding literature on other cultures, the Turkish studies have generally explored shame together with guilt. The most commonly used scale in shame research in Turkey has been The Guilt-Shame Scale which was developed by Şahin and Şahin (1992, as cited in Balkaya & Şahin, 2003). Shame scores on this scale were explored in relation to attachment styles (Akbağ & İmamoğlu, 2010; Deniz, 2006); in studies investigating the relationship of these emotions with other emotions such as depression and anger (Balkaya, 2001; Güleç, 2005, as cited in Dost & Yağmurlu, 2005) and was used in shame research done with different groups such as adolescents in prison (Öztürk, 2005); families with chronic mental and physical illness (Ceylan, 2007); mothers of mentally handicapped children (Karaçengel, 2007) and a group of homosexual and heterosexual men (Amanat, 2011).

Another scale that is used in shame research in Turkey is the Test of Self-Conscious Emotions (TOSCA-3; Tangney, Dearing, Wagner, & Gramzow, 2000) which was mentioned above. This scale was adapted to Turkish by independent researchers (Cirhinlioglu, 2006; Kançal, 2011; Motan, 2007; Tokuş, 2014). Parallel with the aforementioned critics (Giner-Sorolla et al., 2011; Tangney, 1996), it was generally reported that TOSCA did not work and failed to differentiate between shame and guilt (Kançal, 2011; Tokuş, 2014). This might be due to the limitations of the scale or it may be discussed that the scale may not be suitable for the Turkish culture.

Overall, regarding shame research in Turkey, it may be said that adapted scales which were developed in other cultures measuring both guilt and shame have been commonly used. Therefore, based on existing research, it is difficult to define culturally meaningful shame triggering themes. Developing culturally sensitive shame measures seems to be important in understanding the subjective experience of shame in the autonomous-relational context of Turkey.

The Present Study

To summarize the theoretical background of the present study, many aspects of the previously mentioned psychosocial theories were integrated and briefly presented. First of all, it may be said that both contextual and individual variables influence the subjective experience of shame. Lewis (1995) suggests that although it is difficult to imply a cause-and-effect relationship between any precipitating event and shame, some themes such as the actions of the body may be enough to elicit shame in almost all individuals. In addition, it is generally suggested that shame is typically triggered

following a transgression (Lewis, 1971) and it is accompanied by guilt especially in moral transgressions (Smith et al., 2002); failure to achieve standards, rules and goals (Lewis, 1995); and ruptures in relationships (Lewis, 1971; Scheff, 2003). Others have suggested that besides these few universal themes associated with shame, there are culture-specific or gender-specific themes that should be identified for a better understanding of shame (Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

Various other reactions may accompany shame in these contexts. Sometimes reactions such as guilt, anxiety and sadness are triggered in response to the characteristics of the same situation and at other times, emotions such as anger and rage may be triggered as reactions to shame and to the situation that triggered it. It is suggested that perceived or actual responses of others such as reactions of contempt, disgust, humiliation and anger or any cue associated with disapproval or rejection (Tangney & Dearing, 2002) may act as interpersonal elicitors of shame and these accompanying reactions (Lewis, 1995).

In addition, it is commonly mentioned that there are individual differences in the way people respond to shame triggering situations (Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992). These differences may include both the propensity to experience shame and the strategies individuals use in dealing with shame experiences. Since shame is suggested to be a relational and social emotion, interpersonal sensitiveness which is defined as the sensitivity to perceived or actual negative evaluations and feedback from others (Harb et al., 2002) may be a vulnerability factor for experiencing shame following potential triggers. Interpersonal problem solving skills which is considered as an important ingredient of social competence and is defined as strategies used to resolve interpersonal dilemmas by achieving both personal goals

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and preserving positive relationships with others (D'Zurilla, Nezu, & Maydeu-Olivares, 2004) may also contribute to the individual differences seen in shame.

Finally, reactions to cope with shame may include a wide range of responses from humor and laughter to withdrawal or anger towards others (Nathanson, 1992). One may use shame constructively in supporting relationships and maintaining status (Greenwald & Harder, 1998) or he/she may use maladaptive coping styles which make it more likely to result in psychopathology (Elison et al., 2006).

Research on the culturally significant triggers, interpersonal and behavioral correlates of the subjective experience of shame has been scarce as compared to other emotions. In addition, to date, only adapted scales which were developed in other cultures measuring both guilt and shame were commonly used in the Turkish research on shame. Therefore, it may be said that we do not know much about culturally meaningful shame triggering contexts as well as the interpersonal aspects of the shame experience in the Turkish culture in which collectivistic and individualistic tendencies melt in the same pot, especially among younger generations. The present study aimed at contributing to the literature on shame by

(1) Identifying culturally significant shame-triggering themes among young populations in Turkey,

(2) Examining the relationship between shame and accompanying emotions across different shame triggering situations,

(3) Examining the interpersonal theories of shame which assert that expected reactions from others present in shame triggering situations would contribute to the prediction of subjective experience of shame,

(4) Identifying commonly used ways of coping with shame in different types of shame-triggering situations,

(5) Exploring possible vulnerability factors in predicting the shame reaction.

The corresponding research questions are as follows:

1. Regarding shame-triggering situational antecedents:

    1.1 What are the relationships among the shame experiences triggered in different situational antecedents?

    1.2 Are there gender differences in the relationships among the shame experiences in different situational antecedents?

2. Regarding shame and accompanying reactions:

    2.1 Which reactions would accompany shame in each situational antecedent?

    2.2 Are there gender differences in the reactions that accompany shame in each situational antecedent?

3. Regarding the interpersonal perspective on shame:

    3.1 Shaming other figures across situational antecedents

        3.1.1 Who is the most prominent shaming other figure in each situational antecedent?

        3.1.2 Are there gender differences in the shaming other choices?

        3.1.3 Would the intensity of shame differ according to who "the shaming other" is?

    3.2 Relational consequences:

        3.2.1 Are there gender differences in the levels of perceived negative relational consequences?

        3.2.2 Are there associations between the level of negative relational consequences and the level of shame?

    3.3 Expected reactions from others as predictors of shame:

3.3.1 Which expected reactions from others would predict the shame experience in each situational antecedent?

3.3.2 Are there gender differences in the relationships between expected reactions from others and the shame experience?

4. Regarding ways of coping with shame:

4.1 Which strategies would be used to deal with each shame-triggering theme?

4.2 Are there gender differences in the strategies of coping with shame?

4.3 Would the intensity of shame differ according to the strategies people use to deal with shame in each shame-triggering theme?

5. Regarding individual characteristics as predictors of the level of shame:

5.1 Which factors among the individual variables of shame-proneness, guilt-proneness, interpersonal sensitiveness and interpersonal problem solving styles would predict the overall shame response?

5.2 Would there be gender differences in the way individual variables predict the overall shame response?

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

Data was gathered from a total of 501 individuals (315 females, 186 males). The

mean age was 21.65 (SD= 2.15, range 17-28). Three hundred thirteen participants

(62.5%) were from Okan University and 188 participants (37.5%) were from Çağ

University. No differences were found between these samples in terms of the

demographics and the scores of the study variables. Therefore, the results of the total

sample were presented. For their involvement, all participants received extra credit in

a course they attended. Table 1 shows the demographical characteristics of the

sample participated in the main study.

Table 1. Demographics of the Sample Participated in the Study.

	Mother's education		Father's education	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No education	15	3.1	7	1.4
Primary School- drop out	19	3.9	11	2.2
Primary School	103	21.1	60	12.3
Middle School- drop out	10	2.0	23	4.7
Middle School	61	12.5	60	12.3
High School- drop out	19	3.9	24	4.9
High School	163	33.3	142	29.0
College- drop out	7	1.4	20	4.1
College	82	16.8	130	26.6
Graduate	10	2.0	12	2.5

Table 1. continued.

	History of living			Current residence	
	N	%		N	%
Big City	320	66.4	With family	302	61.8
City	112	22.9	With friends	73	14.9
Town	52	10.7	Dormitory	59	12.1
Village	5	1.0	Alone	55	11.2

Instruments

The Shame Measure

To assess interpersonal theories on shame by using culturally significant themes, a measure consisting of shame-triggering hypothetical situations was developed for the purposes of the present study. The phases in the development of the measure are explained in detail.

First Phase: Identifying Shame-Triggering Themes

Initially, 24 shame-related Turkish words and idioms which would be used as cues to generate examples of shame-triggering situations were identified by the researcher and the members of the Dissertation Supervisory Committee. A total of 61 individuals (36 females, 25 males) from Izmir University with a mean age of 20.09 (SD= 1.06) participated in this first phase. The words and idioms were randomly divided into 3 lists and every subject received one of the lists (1st list n= 16; 2nd list n= 17; 3rd list n= 16). Then, for each word or idiom, they were asked to describe a related situation that was experienced by themselves or by another person (see Appendix A for the list of the words and idioms). A fourth group (n= 12) was given

another instruction. They were asked to write down two example situations in which people got ashamed, covering what the event was and what the others present in the situation might feel and think.

Two hundred sixty two examples were obtained from the participants. Eighty two representative examples were selected from similar topics and three judges who were clinical psychologists were asked to sort out these examples into groups and define a heading for each group they made. Three to eight themes were reported by the judges and 6 main headings were identified based on these judgments: (1) *Academic failure*; (2) *Neglecting a responsibility*; (3) *Revelation of lying*; (4) *Interpersonal harm*; (5) *Embarrassing public situations*; (6) *Sexuality*.

Second Phase: Construction of the Measure

Six hypothetical situations were written representing the themes identified in the first phase. In the first version of the measure, there was a specified person in the hypothetical situations (e.g. "You make a plan with *a close friend of yours*. Then, you change your mind and tell him/her that you will be at home that day. You go out for something else and you run across him/her on the street"). Following the situations, participants were asked to report the intensities of 13 reactions they might have experienced: Ashamed, sad, tense, anxious, angry, regretful, guilty, deficient, degraded, humiliated, disgusted, calm and indifferent. Then, they were asked to report the intensities of the 12 reactions the other(s) present in the situation might have given: Accusing, angry, disgusted, contemptuous, affectionate, anxious, sad, forgiving, pitying, disappointed, ashamed for me, indifferent. These reactions were chosen among theoretically relevant subjective experiences (e.g Lewis, 1971;

Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Poulson, 2000; Lewis, 1995; Gilbert, 1998). The ratings are made on a scale from 0 (none) to 4 (very much).

Four discussion groups (n= 4 for each) were conducted with a total of 16 students (10 females, 6 males) from Izmir University. Mean age of the participants was 20.94 (SD= 0.99). First, they were asked to fill out the measure. Then, the hypothetical situations and the following questions were discussed with the participants in terms of clarity, the degree of relatedness with shame and appropriateness of the listed reactions.

The discussions with the participants pointed out two important issues regarding the measure. First, majority of the participants experienced difficulty in imagining the situation when a specified person was given in the scenario. In several situations, rather than the shaming other specified in the situation, they imagined another person such as their father, mother, or friends, etc. It was discussed that if the person in the situation would be left ambiguous and if they would choose their own imagined shaming other, they may report a different subjective experience. Second, male participants discussed that although the embarrassing situation (trip and fall in public) in the measure was shaming for them, fear of humiliation regarding monetary concerns was an important topic for their male identity and a more intense source of shame. Therefore, it was decided to add this theme to the identified shame-triggering themes.

Third Phase: The Final Version of the Shame Measure

With the feedbacks from the discussion groups, 8 situations were re-written depicting previously identified themes. These situations included (1) Academic failure; (2)

Neglecting a responsibility; (3) Revelation of lying; (4) Interpersonal harm; (5) Embarrassing public situations ("Trip and fall"); (6) Embarrassing public situations ("Insufficient funds"); (7) Sexuality ("Exposed body"); and (8) Sexuality ("Being exposed to sexual stimuli").

The final version of the measure (See Appendix B for the final version of the Shame Measure) is organized in 5 sections. In each situation, there was an interpersonal context but the shaming other(s) in these contexts is left ambiguous. In section A, participants are asked to choose who would be the most powerful shaming other in that interpersonal context by imagining themselves in the specified situation. The alternatives were family member (followed by a blank to specify the chosen family member), close friend, romantic partner, not so close/newly met categories and a blank category if they need to identify anyone else. After this choice, in section B, they are asked to rate the degree of shame they think the situation would trigger. Then, in section C, they report the intensities of the expected reactions of the other(s) they have chosen and in section D, they report their subjective reactions (see the second phase above for the lists of the self-related and other-related reactions). Finally, in section E, to identify possible behavioral responses, participants are asked to write down what they would feel like doing in that situation. For the moral themes (neglecting a responsibility, interpersonal harm and revelation of lying), one additional question is asked about how much that situation would influence their relationship negatively on a scale of 0-4.

To see the applicability of the measure, this final version was administered to 10 students from Izmir University (7 females, 3 males) with a mean age of 20.10 (SD= 0.88). Mean intensity of the reported shame for 8 hypothetical situations

ranged from 2.19-3.40. Participants reported no difficulty in following the procedure.

Therefore, this final version was used in the main study.

<div align="center">The Guilt-Shame Scale</div>

The Guilt-Shame Scale was developed by Şahin and Şahin (1992[1]; as cited in

Balkaya & Şahin, 2003). It consists of several situations for which participants report

their level of discomfort. In this scale, there are 12 items representing shame-

proneness and 12 items representing guilt-proneness. In the original study, internal

consistency was found to be .81 for the shame-proneness subscale and .80 for the

guilt-proneness subscale. The correlation between these two subscales was reported

to be .49. In the present study, the internal consistency was found to be .77 for

shame-proneness and .81 for guilt-proneness subscales.

<div align="center">Interpersonal Sensitivity Measure (IPSM)</div>

Interpersonal Sensitivity Measure (IPSM) was developed by Boyce and Parker

(1989) to assess excessive sensitivity to negative evaluations of others. It consists of

30 items. The alpha coefficient of the scale was reported to be .86 in a group of

depressed patients and .85 in a group of college students. The factor structure

reported by Boyce and Parker (1989) included 5 subscales: interpersonal awareness,

need for approval, separation anxiety, timidity and fragile inner self.

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[1] The study was presented in a congress and was not published elsewhere. The original citation is as follows: Şahin, N. H. & Şahin, N. (1992). *"Guilt, shame and depression in adolescence"*. World Congress of Cognitive Therapy, June 17-21, Toronto, Canada.

IPSM was adapted to Turkish by Doğan and Sapmaz (2012). Unlike the original study, they demonstrated a three-factor structure: interpersonal worry and dependency, low self-esteem, and unassertive interpersonal behavior. Worry and dependency subscale represented fear of rejection, concerns about other people's thoughts, etc.; low self-esteem subscale represented negative evaluations about the self in relationships; and unassertive interpersonal behavior subscale represented insecure and passive behaviors in relationships. The Cronbach alpha coefficient was found to be .81 for the total score; .84 for worry and dependency; .64 for low self-esteem; and .73 for unassertive behavior (Doğan & Sapmaz, 2012).

In the present study, the Cronbach alpha was found to be .84 for the total score; and .85, .61 and .73 for worry and dependency, low self-esteem and unassertive behavior subscales respectively.

<u>Interpersonal Problem Solving Inventory (PSI)</u>

Interpersonal Problem Solving Inventory (PSI) was developed by Çam and Tümkaya (2007) to assess interpersonal problem solving skills. The scale consists of 50 items. A five factor solution was found for the scale: negative approach to interpersonal problems, constructive approach to interpersonal problems, low self-confidence, unwillingness to take responsibility and insistent-persevering approach. Negative approach to interpersonal problems represented emotional coping; constructive coping included problem-solving behaviors; low self-confidence represented low self-efficacy in solving interpersonal problems; unwillingness to take responsibility was about waiting for the other party to solve the problem; and insistent-persevering approach represented wanting to solve the problem immediately. The reported

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Cronbach alpha coefficients for the subscales were between .67 and .91 (Çam & Tümkaya, 2007).

In the present study, the alpha coefficients of the subscales were found to be .91 for the negative approach to problems subscale; .89 for constructive approach; .77 for insistent-persevering approach; .76 for low self-confidence; and .73 for unwillingness to take responsibility subscale.

Positive and Negative Affects Schedule (PANAS)

PANAS was used to control the influence of positive and negative affective states on the responses if there were any. The scale was developed by Watson, Clark and Tellegen (1988). The scale consists of 10 negative and 10 positive emotions. Participants are asked to rate the frequency of the times they feel each emotion in the last 15 days. In the original study, internal consistency was .88 for the positive affect subscale and .87 for the negative affect subscale (Watson et al., 1988).

PANAS was adapted to Turkish by Gençöz (2000). The Cronbach alpha was reported to be .83 for the positive affect and .86 for negative affect subscales (Gençöz, 2000). In the present study, alpha coefficients were found as .83 and .81 for positive and negative affects respectively.

Procedure

A counterbalancing procedure was applied in the main study. Participants were randomly divided into two groups. One group received the demographical sheet and the Shame Measure in the first session and the remaining scales were given in a

randomized order in another session, while the reverse order was followed in the second group. There was a one week interval between the two sessions for both groups. To match the data from these two separate sessions, participants were asked to write down the last 4 digits of their student ID number or a nickname of their choice to the first page of the measures in each session. The procedure was applied to the participants within groups consisting of 10-15 individuals. Each session lasted approximately 30 minutes.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Overview of the Analyses

Following data screening, preliminary analyses were conducted on the Shame

Measure that was constructed for the present study. Then, research questions were

examined in five headings. Regarding the first set of research questions, to identify

relationships between shame-triggering situational antecedents as well as possible

gender differences in those relationships, hierarchical cluster analyses were

conducted on variables. This method of analysis was chosen because the aim was to

identify classifications among the situational antecedents (Krebs, Berger, & Ferligoj,

2000).

Cluster analysis was also used in examining the second set of questions

regarding shame and accompanying reactions. This procedure begins with treating

each variable as a cluster of its own and gradually the variables were grouped

together to form clusters that are separate from each other, but homogeneous in itself

(Everitt, Landa, Leese, & Stahl, 2011). This method enabled examining whether

shame was seen by itself or it was accompanied by different reactions in different

shame-triggering situations. It was applied for each theme separately.

In examining the third set of research questions regarding the interpersonal

perspective of shame, in exploring the fourth set of research questions regarding

ways of coping and finally in examining the fifth set of questions regarding

individual characteristics, a series of nonparametric tests and multiple regression

analyses were conducted.

Data Screening

Six data with more than 20% missing values were removed. Using the Mahalonobis

distance, six others were identified as multivariate outliers ($p<.001$) and were

excluded from the data. The remaining data were screened for univariate outliers, but

no additional outliers were identified. The final data used in further analyses

consisted of a total of 489 participants (313 females, 176 males). The mean age was

21.59 (SD= 2.05, Range= 17-28). Only missing values in the continuous variables

were replaced by series means and assumptions of each analysis were checked before

proceeding with the data analyses. All the analyses were conducted with the

Statistics Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program.

Preliminary Analyses of the Shame Measure

Face Validity

To check the face validity, as a part of the measure, subjects were asked to respond

to the question "How much do you think this situation triggers shame?" on a scale of

0-4. Table 2 shows the means and standard deviations of these ratings for all the

hypothetical situations.

Table 2. Means (M) and Standard Deviations (SD) of Shame Ratings.

	M (SD)
Revelation of lying	3.44 (0.77)
Neglecting a responsibility	3.02 (0.82)
Interpersonal harm	2.92 (1.04)
Academic failure	2.66 (1.12)
Embarrassing public situations (Insufficient funds)	2.59 (1.20)
Embarrassing public situations- (Trip and fall)	2.54 (1.19)
Exposed body	3.07 (1.07)
Sexual stimuli	2.34 (1.27)

Concurrent Validity

To examine the concurrent validity of the Shame Measure, Pearson correlations were

calculated between the shame scores reported for the hypothetical situations in the

Shame Measure and the shame-proneness subscale of The Guilt-Shame Scale (Şahin

& Şahin, 1992, as cited in Balkaya & Şahin, 2003) which was commonly used in

shame research in Turkey. As Table 3 shows, weak to moderate positive correlations,

all of which were significant at the .001 level, were found.

Preliminary analyses regarding the Shame Measure provided satisfactory

results; thus, it was proceeded to examining the research questions of the present

study.

Table 3. Correlations among the Shame Variables

	Shame-Proneness[1]
Revelation of lying	.20***
Neglecting a responsibility	.23***
Interpersonal harm	.23***
Academic failure	.18***
Embarrassing public situations-(Insufficient funds)	.34***
Embarrassing public situations-(Trip and fall)	.17***
Exposed body	.32***
Sexual stimuli	.27***

*** $p<.001$; [1]Shame-Proneness subscale of The Guilt-Shame Scale

First Set of Research Questions: Situational Antecedents of Shame

The first set of research questions were about the relationships between shame experiences triggered in different situational antecedents and possible gender differences in those relationships. As it was mentioned in the methods section, 6 shame-triggering themes were identified in a pilot study and in the construction of the Shame Measure, 8 hypothetical scenarios were written depicting these themes.

To explore if these situational antecedents of shame might be summarized meaningfully as clusters of themes, hierarchical cluster analyses using a squared Euclidean distance with average linkage method were conducted separately for males and females. In the average linkage method, a variable enters a cluster when it has a greater average similarity with all the members of that cluster than members of other clusters (Blashfield, 1976). The results of the cluster analyses were interpreted based on the dendrogram and the agglomeration schedule. The dendrogram illustrated the steps in clustering and the agglomeration schedule displayed the distances between the clusters at each stage. Distinct increases in these distances pointed out suitable solutions for the number of clusters that might be identified (Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011).

Figure 1 and Figure 2 show the dendrograms of the cluster analyses for females and males respectively.
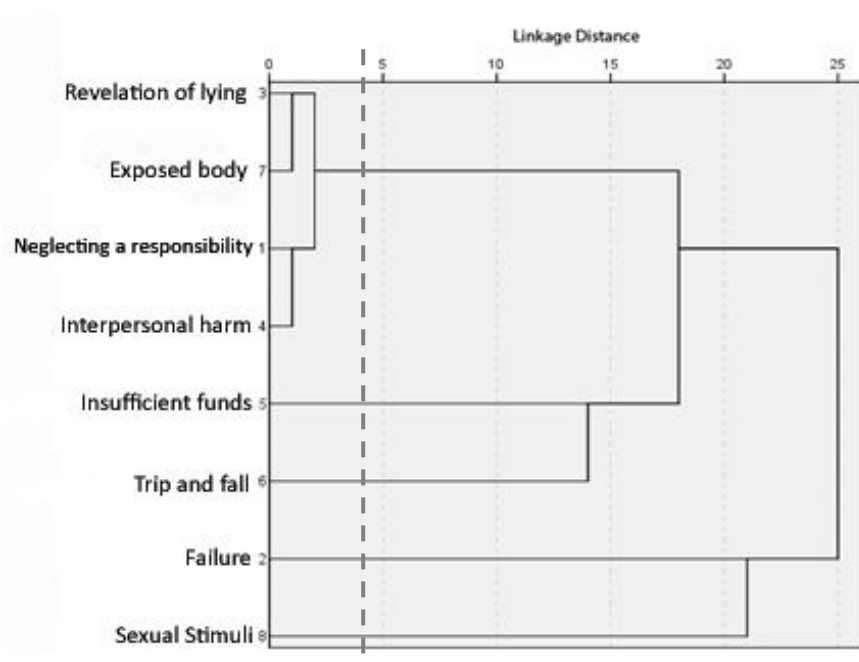
Figure 1.The dendrogram showing the cluster structure of situational antecedents of shame in females.

For females, at the first step, the "exposed body" situation was grouped with the "revelation of lying" situation and at the second step, the "neglecting a responsibility" situation merged with the "interpersonal harm" situation. At the third step, these clusters were combined. According to the agglomeration schedule (see Appendix G), the biggest increase in the linkage distance was seen at this 3rd step, indicating a 5-cluster solution: (1) Moral transgressions (revelation of lying; exposed body; interpersonal harm; neglecting a responsibility); (2) Embarrassing public situations: Insufficient funds; (3) Embarrassing public situations: Trip and fall; (4) Academic failure; and (5) Sexual Stimuli.
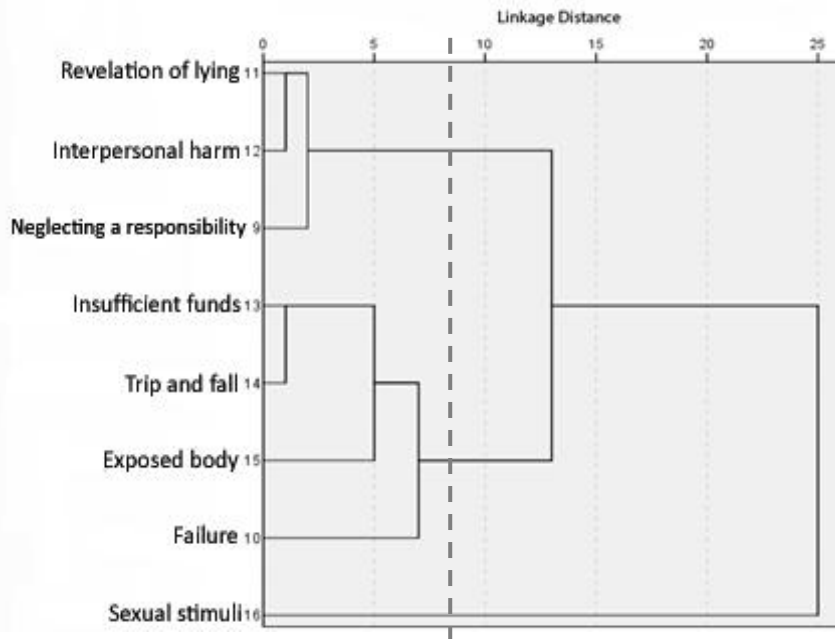
Figure 2.The dendrogram showing the cluster structure of situational antecedents of shame in males.

For males, the dendrogram showed that at the first step, lying and harm situations were combined. At the second step, the two embarrassing public situations merged together. At the third step, the responsibility situation was grouped with the first cluster. At the fourth step, the exposed body situation was combined with embarrassing public situations and at the fifth step, academic failure joined to this cluster. According to the agglomeration schedule (see Appendix G), the biggest increase in the linkage distance was seen at this step, indicating a three-cluster solution: (1) Moral transgressions (revelation of lying; interpersonal harm; neglecting a responsibility); (2) Embarrassing public situations (insufficient funds; trip and fall; failure; exposed body); (3) Sexual Stimuli.

It was noteworthy that the exposed body situation was grouped with moral transgressions in females, whereas it was grouped with embarrassment in males. In addition, the shame response to academic failure showed a similar pattern with other types of embarrassing public situations for males.

For further analyses regarding the second set of research questions, the means of the ratings for "revelation of lying", "interpersonal harm" and "neglecting a responsibility" situations were computed to represent a "moral transgressions" situation. In addition, reported reactions to the two embarrassing public situations ("insufficient funds" and "trip and fall") were found to be similar, therefore the means of the ratings for them were computed to represent the embarrassing public situations cluster. Since gender differences were found in the groupings of the exposed body and academic failure situations, they were explored individually, likewise the sexual stimuli situation which was a cluster of its own for both genders. In conclusion, further analyses were conducted on 5 themes: Moral transgressions; Embarrassing public situations; Academic failure; Exposed body; Sexual stimuli.

To examine gender differences in the shame ratings for these themes, Mann-Whitney U-tests were conducted on 5 shame ratings identified above. Nonparametric tests were used because of the violations in the shame scores for the normality and homogeneity of variances assumptions of the parametric tests. To reduce Type I error, Bonferroni correction was made for 5 comparisons and alpha was set at .01. Table 4 shows the means and standard deviations of the shame ratings as well as the results of the Mann-Whitney U tests.

As Table 4 shows, females reported significantly higher shame ratings than males only for situations that involve moral transgressions and sexuality (exposed body and sexual stimuli situations).

Table 4. Results of the Mann-Whitney U tests

	M (SD)		Mean Rank		
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Z
Moral transgressions	3.25 (0.71)	3.00 (0.86)	259.07	219.98	-2.937[**]
Embarrassing public situations	2.70 (1.06)	2.58 (1.15)	246.34	242.62	ns
Academic failure	2.60 (1.28)	2.55 (1.30)	246.99	241.46	ns
Exposed body	3.40 (0.89)	2.67 (1.35)	271.37	198.11	-3.014[***]
Sexual Stimuli	2.34 (1.30)	1.98 (1.40)	258.01	221.87	-2.781[**]

[***]p<.001; [**]p<.01, ns: not significant

Second Set of Research Questions: Shame and Accompanying Emotions

Analyses regarding shame and accompanying reactions were conducted separately

on 5 themes that were identified in the previous section. To explore which reactions

accompany shame in each situational antecedent, hierarchical cluster analyses using

a squared Euclidean distance with the average linkage method were conducted. The

ratings of 13 reactions in the Shame Measure were entered as separate variables at

the beginning of the procedure. Like the analyses in the previous section, results

were interpreted by looking at the agglomeration schedule and the dendrogram. For

each situational antecedent, the cluster including shame and accompanying reactions

was identified for discussion. Finally, the stability of the clusters was examined by

(1) randomly splitting the sample into two and repeating the analyses and (2) using a

different clustering algorithm, Ward's method in which the variance within a cluster

is minimized (Blashfield, 1976). For each theme, these methods provided consistent

results supporting the reliability of the clusters. In addition, to examine if there were

gender differences, the analyses were conducted separately for each gender.

However, the cluster structures were found to be the same for both genders in all the

situational antecedents; therefore, the results of the total sample were presented. This result also showed that although females reported higher shame ratings than males in moral transgressions, exposed body and sexual stimuli situations (see Table 4 above), the subjective experience was similar for both genders.

<u>Moral Transgressions</u>

Table 5 shows the means (M) and standard deviations (SD) of the ratings for subjective reactions following moral transgressions.

Table 5. Reactions to Moral Transgressions (Range 0-4)

	M (SD)		
	Females	Males	Total
Ashamed	3.25 (0.71)	3.00 (0.86)	3.16 (0.77)
Guilty	3.07 (0.77)	2.84 (0.91)	2.99 (0.83)
Sad	3.01 (0.83)	2.82 (0.91)	2.94 (0.86)
Tense	2.81 (0.91)	2.57 (1.03)	2.72 (0.96)
Regretful	2.73 (0.98)	2.57 (0.74)	2.67 (0.98)
Anxious	2.67 (0.91)	2.42 (0.97)	2.58 (0.94)
Degraded	1.57 (1.17)	1.59 (1.04)	1.57 (1.12)
Angry	1.17 (1.09)	1.34 (1.04)	1.22 (1.07)
Disgusted	0.76 (0.91)	1.07 (1.00)	0.87 (0.95)
Deficient	0.81 (0.98)	0.88 (0.92)	0.83 (0.96)
Humiliated	0.73 (0.98)	0.92 (1.02)	0.80 (0.99)
Calm	0.53 (0.68)	0.94 (0.85)	0.67 (0.77)
Indifferent	0.29 (0.58)	0.54 (0.71)	0.38 (0.64)

Figure 3 shows the results of the dendrogram showing the cluster structure of the reactions reported for moral transgressions. By interpreting the dendrogram, two clusters were identified. The biggest linkage distance in the agglomeration schedule

(see Appendix H) was seen at the 11th step, supporting the two-cluster solution: (1) *Ashamed*, Guilty, Sad, Regretful, Anxious, Tense; (2) Indifferent, Calm, Humiliated, Deficient, Disgusted, Degraded, Angry.
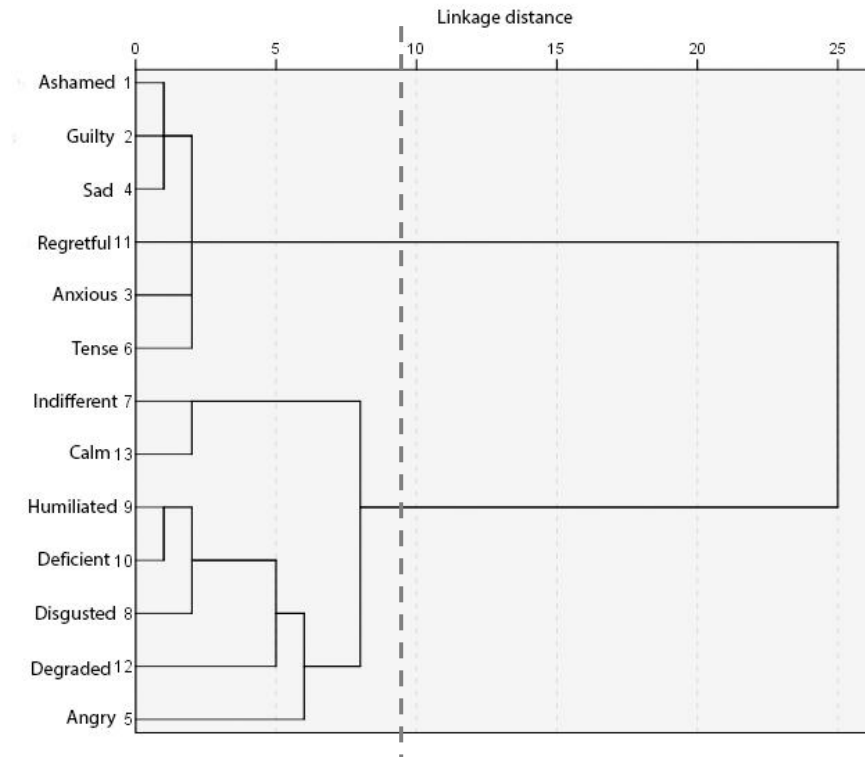
Figure 3. The dendrogram showing the cluster structure of subjective reactions in *moral transgressions*.

Means of the scores for each identified cluster were computed and compared between males and females using independent samples t-tests. As expected, females (M= 2.92, SD= 0.72) were found to report higher shame-related reactions than males (M= 2.70, SD= 0.80), t(487)= 3.101, p<.01. However, no difference was found between males (M= 1.87, SD= 0.68) and females (M= 1.84, SD= 0.63) on the second cluster.

Table 6 shows the means (M) and standard deviations (SD) of the ratings for reactions folowing embarrassing public situations.

Table 6. Reactions to Embarrassing Public Situations (Range 0-4)

	M (SD)		
	Females	Males	Total
Ashamed	2.70 (1.06)	2.58 (1.15)	2.65 (1.10)
Tense	2.39 (1.16)	2.23 (1.12)	2.33 (1.15)
Sad	2.15 (1.26)	2.11 (1.20)	2.14 (1.24)
Anxious	1.86 (1.19)	1.69 (1.13)	1.80 (1.17)
Angry	1.66 (1.34)	1.90 (1.25)	1.74 (1.31)
Degraded	1.03 (1.19)	1.16 (1.24)	1.08 (1.21)
Calm	1.02 (1.09)	1.30 (1.10)	1.12 (1.10)
Humiliated	0.95 (1.22)	1.02 (1.24)	0.98 (1.23)
Guilty	0.88 (1.13)	1.14 (1.20)	0.97 (1.16)
Deficient	0.70 (1.05)	0.82 (1.11)	0.74 (1.08)
Indifferent	0.70 (0.95)	0.78 (0.92)	0.77 (0.94)
Regretful	0.60 (1.05)	0.83 (1.11)	0.69 (1.08)
Disgusted	0.59 (1.01)	0.61 (1.06)	0.66 (1.04)

Figure 4 shows the dendrogram of the hierarchical cluster analysis. By interpreting the dendrogram, three clusters were identified. According to the agglomeration schedule (see Appendix H), the biggest increase in the linkage distance was seen at the 10th step, supporting the three-cluster solution: (1) Disgusted, Deficient, Regretful, Humiliated, Degraded, Guilty; (2) Indifferent, Calm; (3) Sad, Tense, *Ashamed,* Anxious, Angry.

Means of the scores for these three clusters were computed. Independent samples t-tests with a Bonferroni correction showed that only for the defensive reactions cluster (indifferent and calm), males (M= 1.09, SD= 0.88) reported higher ratings than females (M= 0.86 SD= 0.90), t(487)= -2.737, p<.01.
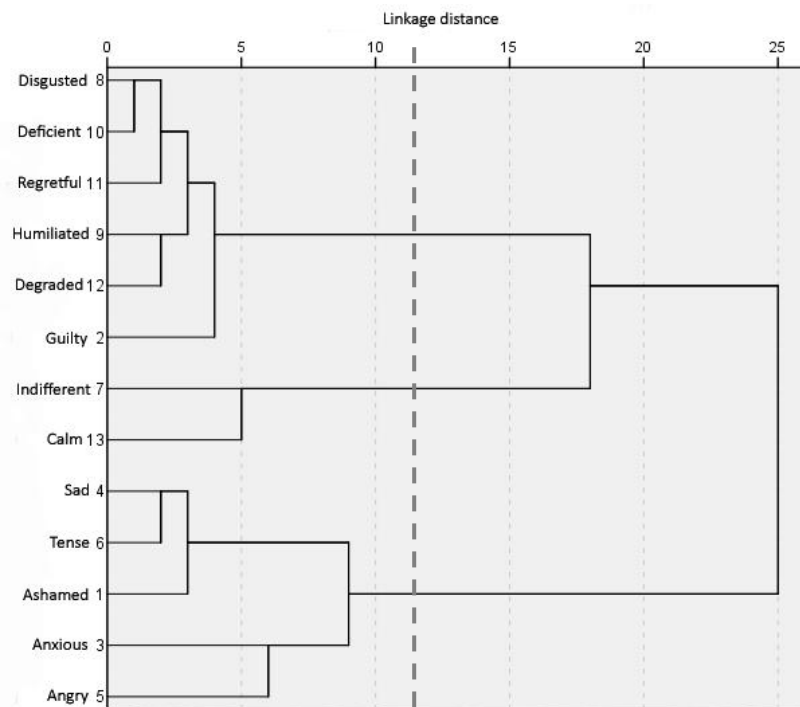
Figure 4. The dendrogram showing the cluster structure of the reactions in embarrassing public situations.

Academic Failure

Table 7 shows the means (M) and standard deviations (SD) of the ratings for reactions following academic failure.

Table 7. Reactions to Academic Failure (Range 0-4)

	M (SD)		
	Femal	Males	Total
Sad	3.19	2.85	3.06
Tense	2.99	2.68	2.88
Anxious	2.84	2.53	2.73
Ashamed	2.61	2.55	2.58
Angry	2.39	2.33	2.37
Regretful	2.24	2.32	2.27
Guilty	2.18	2.14	2.17
Deficient	1.50	1.25	1.41
Degraded	1.34	1.33	1.34
Humiliated	0.85	0.94	0.88
Disgusted	0.80	0.86	0.81
Calm	0.56	1.02	0.72
Indifferent	0.32	0.61	0.42

Figure 5 shows the dendrogram of the cluster analysis. According to the dendrogram and to the agglomeration schedule (see Appendix H), a 5-cluster solution was identified: (1) Anxious, Tense, Sad and *Ashamed*; (2) Guilty, Regretful; (3) Angry; (4) Indifferent, Calm; (5) Humiliated, Disgusted, Degraded, Deficient.
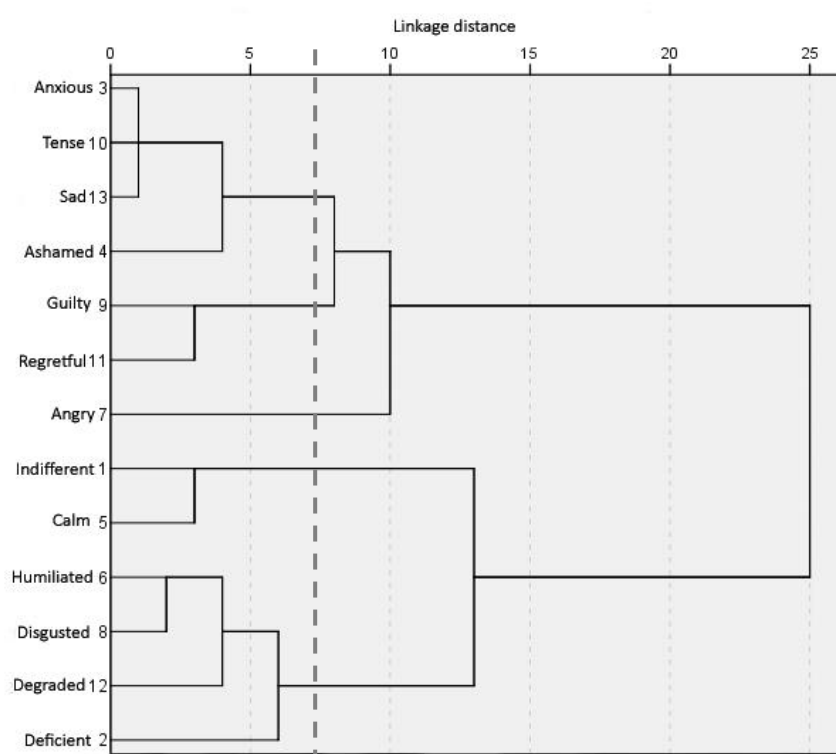
Figure 5. The dendrogram showing the cluster structure of subjective reactions in *failure*.

Means of the scores for these five clusters were computed. Independent samples t-tests with a Bonferroni correction showed no significant gender differences on these mean ratings.

The Exposed Body

Table 8 shows the means (M) and standard deviations (SD) of the ratings for reactions following the exposed body situation.

Table 8. Reactions to the Exposed Body Situation (Range 0-4).

| | M (SD) | | |
	Femal	Males	Total
Ashamed	3.39	2.66	3.13
Tense	2.80	2.06	2.53
Sad	2.69	2.01	2.45
Anxious	2.50	1.61	2.18
Angry	1.97	1.53	1.81
Guilty	1.70	1.16	1.51
Degraded	1.05	1.02	1.04
Humiliated	1.00	0.98	0.99
Regretful	1.10	0.77	0.98
Disgusted	1.00	0.86	0.95
Deficient	0.60	0.51	0.57
Calm	0.60	1.24	0.79
Indifferent	0.53	1.06	0.66

Figure 6 shows the dendrogram of the cluster analysis for the exposed body situation. According to the dendrogram, a 4-cluster solution was identified. The agglomeration schedule showed that the biggest increase in the linkage distance was seen at the 9th stage, supporting the 4-cluster solution: (1) Sad, Tense, Anxious, *Ashamed*; (2) Indifferent and Calm; (3) Humiliated, Degraded, Disgusted, Deficient, Regretful; (4) Guilty and Angry.

The mean ratings of these clusters were computed. Independent samples t-tests with a Bonferroni correction for 4 comparisons showed that females (M= 2.85, SD= 1.04) reported higher ratings than males (M= 2.09, SD= 1.27) for the shame cluster, t(487)= 7.180, p<.001 and for the cluster that included guilt and anger (M= 1.83, SD= 1.38 for females; M= 1.35, SD= 1.22 for males), t(487)= 3.886, p<.001. No significant gender differences were found for the other two clusters.
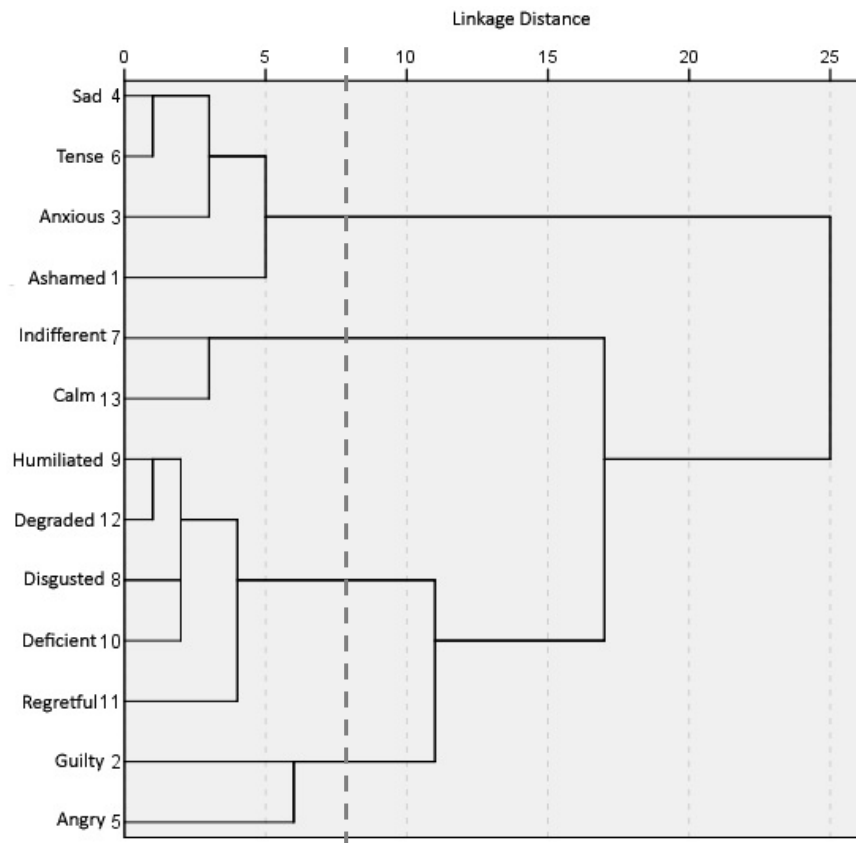
Figure 6. The dendrogram showing the cluster structure of subjective reactions in the *exposed body* situation.

Sexual Stimuli

Table 9 shows the means (M) and standard deviations (SD) of the ratings for reactions to the sexual stimuli situation.

Table 9. Reactions to Being Exposed to Sexual Stimuli (Range 0-4)

	M (SD)		
	Females	Males	Total
Ashamed	3.34 (1.30)	1.97 (1.40)	2.21 (1.35)
Tense	1.54 (1.41)	1.30 (1.38)	1.45 (1.40)
Calm	1.20 (1.35)	1.56 (1.51)	1.33 (1.41)
Anxious	1.07 (1.37)	0.89 (1.26)	1.01 (1.34)
Indifferent	0.84 (1.25)	0.97 (1.40)	0.88 (1.30)
Guilty	0.63 (1.19)	0.80 (1.25)	0.69 (1.22)
Sad	0.60 (1.22)	0.82 (1.26)	0.68 (1.24)
Angry	0.58 (1.16)	0.66 (1.14)	0.61 (1.15)
Regretful	0.37 (0.92)	0.63 (1.15)	0.47 (1.02)
Disgusted	0.34 (0.92)	0.47 (0.99)	0.39 (0.95)
Degraded	0.25 (0.76)	0.46 (1.02)	0.33 (0.87)
Humiliated	0.27 (0.82)	0.38 (0.89)	0.31 (0.85)
Deficient	0.18 (1.13)	0.40 (0.94)	0.26 (0.77)

Figure 7 shows the dendrogram of the cluster analysis for the reactions reported for the sexual stimuli situation. According to the dendrogram, it was seen that *Ashamed* remained as a cluster of its own. The agglomeration schedule pointed out that the biggest increase in the linkage distance was seen at the 10th stage, suggesting a 3-cluster solution: (1) *Ashamed*; (2) Neutral/defensive reactions of indifferent and calm; (3) the remaining reactions (anxious, tense, guilty, sad, angry, regretful, disgusted, degraded, humiliated, and deficient).

Previous analyses showed that females reported higher shame ratings for the sexual stimuli situation than males (see Table 4). For the other clusters, mean ratings were computed. Independent samples t-tests revealed no significant gender differences in these remaining reactions.
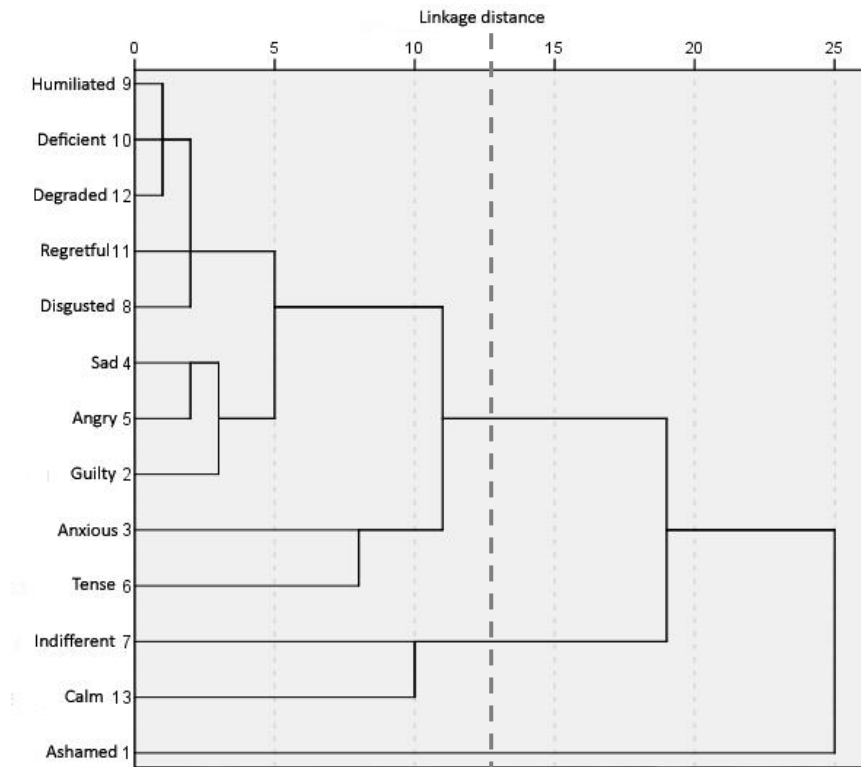
Figure 7. The dendrogram showing the cluster structure of subjective reactions in the *sexual stimuli* situation.

Overall, the findings of the cluster analyses revealed that only in the sexual stimuli situation, shame was a cluster of its own. However, in all the other shame-triggering themes sadness, anxiety and tension were grouped with shame. In addition, guilt and regret were grouped with shame in moral transgressions and anger was grouped with shame in embarrassing public situation (see the summary in Table 15).

Third Set of Research Questions: Examining the Interpersonal Perspective of Shame

Analyses regarding the interpersonal perspective of shame were reported in three headings: Shaming Other Figures; Relational Consequences; and Expected Reactions from Others as Predictors of Shame. At the last part, the findings related to the interpersonal perspective of shame were summarized in a separate section.

Shaming Other Figures

In this section, research questions regarding the shaming other figures were examined: (1) Who would be the most prominent other figure in each shame-triggering situations?; (2) Would there be gender differences in "the shaming other" choices?; (3) Would the intensity of shame differ according to who "the shaming other" is?

First of all, different category choices were identified for the previously combined shame-triggering themes; therefore, 8 situations were explored separately for this part. Table 10 shows the number of observed values as well as the percentages for the shaming other categories. To identify the most frequently chosen shaming other figures in different shame-triggering situations, the *mode* in each situation was reported. Family was the most frequently chosen category in academic failure and sexual stimuli situations. Partner was the most frequently chosen category in embarrassing public situations; and acquaintances category was predominantly chosen in neglecting a responsibility and interpersonal harm as well as the exposed body situations. The close friends category was the most frequent choice only in the revelation of lying situation.

...s of the Shaming Other Choices across Situational Antecedents of Shame

		Family	Close friends	Partner	Acq
n of lying	Females	18 (5.8%)	194 (62.0%)	86 (27.5%)	1
	Males	9 (5.1%)	87 (49.4%)	70 (39.9%)	
onsibility	Females	47 (15.0%)	61 (19.5%)	28 (8.9%)	1
	Males	41 (23.3%)	31 (17.6%)	22 (12.5%)	
onal harm	Females	13 (4.2%)	69 (22.0%)	37 (11.8%)	1
	Males	8 (4.5%)	50 (28.4%)	14 (8.0%)	1
p and fall	Females	1 (0.3%)	16 (5.1%)	188 (60.1%)	1
	Males	3 (1.7%)	7 (4.0%)	84 (47.7%)	
ient funds	Females	4 (1.3%)	32 (10.2%)	123 (39.3%)	1
	Males	3 (1.7%)	10 (5.7%)	109 (61.9%)	
nic failure	Females	212 (67.7%)	21 (6.7%)	42 (13.4%)	
	Males	132 (75.4%)	12 (6.9%)	15 (8.6%)	
osed body	Females	48 (15.3%)	17 (5.5%)	94 (30.0%)	1
	Males	25 (14.2%)	12 (6.9%)	24 (13.6%)	1
al Stimuli	Females	223 (71.3%)	5 (1.6%)	51 (16.3%)	
	Males	118 (67.1%)	1 (0.6%)	27 (15.3%)	

uations

To address the second question regarding gender differences in shaming other category choices, chi-square analyses were conducted. For each situation, categories with less than 5 observed values were excluded from analyses. In addition, the "other" category which included shaming figures written by the participants other than the specified ones had very few observed values; therefore, it was also excluded from the analyses.

For the insufficient funds situation, there was a significant difference between males and females in the responses, $\chi^2(2, N= 467)= 23.676$, $p<.001$. Cramer's V was .23 indicating a moderate association. Exploration of the standardized residuals pointed out that observed count of males were higher than expected (Z-score= 2.8, $p<.01$) in the partner category and were lower than expected (Z-score= -2.7, $p<.01$) in the acquaintances category. For the trip and fall situation, there was again a significant difference between males and females in the responses, $\chi^2(3, N= 485)= 21.555$, $p<.001$. Cramer's V was .21 indicating a moderate association. Standardized residuals pointed out that in the partner category, observed count of females was higher than expected (Z-score= 2.6, $p<.01$) and observed count of males was lower than expected (Z-score= -2.6, $p<.01$).

For the third question, to examine if the reported level of shame would differ according to the chosen shaming other figure, nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis tests were conducted for each situational antecedent, followed by Mann-Whitney U tests for post-hoc analyses. Nonparametric tests were used due to unequal observed values for each shaming other category and violations in the normality and homogeneity of variances assumptions for the shame scores. For the two embarrassing public situations, family category had very few observed values (N= 1 to 4), therefore it was excluded from comparisons. To reduce Type I error, Bonferroni correction was

applied to the alpha level. Table 11 shows the significant results of the Kruskal-Wallis as well as the post-hoc Mann-Whitney U tests.

Table 11. Results of the Kruskal-Wallis Tests (with Post-Hoc Mann-Whitney U Results)

Situation	Mean Rank				H
	Family	Close friends	Partner	Acquaintances	
Academic failure	257.37_a	214.82_{ab}	236.18_a	165.64_b	21.787^{***}
Insufficient funds	214.57	228.61_{ab}	269.11_a	217.24_b	16.681^{***}
Trip and fall	43.75	259.22_{ab}	257.02_a	212.44_b	12.745^{**}

$^{**}p<.016$ (Bonferroni correction for 3 comparisons), $^{***}p<.008$ (Bonferroni correction for 6 comparisons); Subscripts next to the ranks represent the results of the post hoc Mann-Whitney U tests. Ranks that do not share subscripts were significantly different from each other at the $p<.01$ level.

As Table 11 shows, significant differences were found only in the academic failure and two embarrassing public situations. For the failure situation, post hoc Mann-Whitney U tests revealed that the level of shame reported by the participants who have chosen acquaintances was significantly lower than the family and the partner categories. In both insufficient funds and trip and fall situations, the only significant difference was between partner and acquaintances categories; the shame scores given for the partner category was significantly higher than the shame scores given for the acquaintances category in both situations.

Overall, findings in this section revealed that most prominent shaming other figures might differ according to the shame-triggering situational antecedent and there were gender differences in the shaming other figure choices only in the two embarrassing public situations. In the insufficient funds situation, males frequently chose partners and females frequently chose acquaintances, whereas in the trip and

fall situation, the exact opposite was found. Finally, shame reported in the presence of the family and the partner was higher than acquaintances in times of failure; while in embarrassing public situations, shame reported in the presence of the partner was higher than shame reported in the presence of acquaintances.

<u>Relational Consequences</u>

Second heading of the interpersonal perspective of shame was about the relational consequences. For the situations depicting moral transgressions (*revelation of lying*, *neglecting a responsibility* and *interpersonal harm*) in which there was a direct influence on the "other", subjects were asked to rate how much this situation would influence their relationship negatively with the other present in the situation. First, to examine if there were gender differences in the perceived negative relational consequences, independent samples t-tests were conducted on these scores. No significant gender differences were found.

Second, to examine if the perceived negative relational consequences had associations with the shame ratings, Pearson correlations were computed between reported consequence ratings and the level of reported shame in each moral situation. Table 12 shows the correlation coefficients. As Table 12 pointed out, the level of perceived negative relational consequences had moderate to strong associations with the level of shame in all the moral situations, all of which were significant at the .001 level.

Table 12. Correlations Between Relational Consequences and the Level of Shame

		Shame (Lying)	Shame (Responsibility)	Shame (Interpersonal harm)
Negative consequences for the relationship	Females	.32***	.28***	.40***
	Males	.27***	.25***	.50***

*** p<.001.

Expected Reactions from Others as Predictors of Shame

The last part of the examination of the interpersonal perspective of shame was about expected reactions from others. Table 13 shows the means (M) and standard deviations (SD) of the expected reactions from others across situational antecedents.

To examine the research question if shame in each situation would be associated with specific expected reactions of other(s) present in the situation and if there were gender differences in the relationships between expected reactions from others and shame, multiple regression analyses were conducted separately for each gender.

In these regression analyses, a stepwise procedure was followed for exploratory purposes. For each shame-triggering situational antecedent, the level of reported shame was the dependent variable, while ratings for the expected reactions of others were the predictors. Table 14 shows the last step of the results of the multiple regression analyses for each theme.

Others in Each Situational Antecedent

| sions | Embarrassing Public Situations | | Academic failure | | Exposed |
lales (SD)	Females M (SD)	Males M (SD)	Females M (SD)	Males M (SD)	Females M (SD)
(0.81)	0.12 (0.28)	0.20 (0.37)	1.38 (1.27)	1.66 (1.31)	1.00 (1.29)
(0.83)	0.10 (0.29)	0.21 (0.40)	1.17 (1.27)	1.65 (1.40)	0.85 (1.29)
(1.00)	0.39 (0.68)	0.44 (0.71)	0.19 (0.63)	0.52 (1.05)	0.60 (1.04)
(0.99)	0.78 (0.95)	0.99 (1.00)	0.70 (1.05)	0.89 (1.16)	0.77 (1.20)
(0.73)	1.61 (1.16)	1.49 (1.09)	1.44 (1.31)	1.18 (1.14)	0.75 (1.09)
(0.88)	0.88 (0.93)	0.86 (0.92)	1.95 (1.21)	2.13 (1.22)	1.20 (1.32)
(0.82)	1.05 (0.99)	1.17 (0.97)	2.62 (1.21)	2.60 (1.22)	1.17 (1.35)
(0.75)	0.92 (1.23)	0.98 (1.17)	1.76 (1.33)	1.62 (1.29)	0.85 (1.22)
(0.82)	0.99 (1.05)	1.03 (1.04)	0.68 (1.04)	0.76 (1.01)	0.90 (1.21)
(0.75)	0.63 (0.96)	0.91 (0.98)	2.47 (1.35)	2.67 (1.28)	0.76 (1.23)
(1.04)	0.51 (1.19)	1.68 (1.14)	1.26 (1.35)	1.87 (1.41)	2.67 (1.23)

Table 14. Results of the Regression Analyses for Each Situational Antecedent of Shame

	Predictors	β	t	F change	Std. Error of the Estimate	Model R^2
Moral transgressions	Disappointed	.25	5.082***			
	Sad	.23	5.048***			
	Accusing	.21	4.653***	21.654***	.645	.32
Embarrassing public situations	Ashamed for me	.32	7.683***			
	Pitying	.26	6.234***			
	Sad	.23	6.029***	36.344***	.805	.38
Academic failure	Sad	.32	6.898***			
	Ashamed for me	.15	3.328**			
	Disappointed	.22	4.517***			
	Contemptuous	.11	2.860**	8.178**	1.025	.37
Exposed body	Ashamed for me	.34	7.934***			
	Sad	.21	4.838***			
	Affectionate	-.19	-4.551***	20.708***	1.009	.21
Sexual stimuli (Females)	Ashamed for me	.35	6.356***			
	Disgusted	.13	2.172*			
	Affectionate	-.13	-2.504*			
	Sad	.12	1.986*	3.945*	1.135	.25
Sexual stimuli (Males)	Ashamed for me	.50	7.342***			
	Anxious	.19	2.838**	8.056**	1.118	.37

As seen in the Table 14, results of the regression analyses showed that a sad reaction was expected from the others in all shame-triggering situations while ashamed for me was also expected in all except moral transgressions. Accusing reactions were significant predictors of the shame experience only in moral transgressions, while expecting disappointment from the others was a significant predictor of shame in both moral and failure situations. Contempt was expected in failure, whereas pity was expected in embarrassing public situations. Reactions which were not affectionate seemed to be a significant predictor of shame in the exposed body situation for both genders, while it was significant in the sexual stimuli situation only for females. Lastly, in the sexual stimuli situation, disgust was a significant predictor of shame only for females but not for males, whereas anxious reaction was expected by males but not by females.

Summary of the Findings Related to the Interpersonal Perspective of Shame

Table 15 summarizes the findings related to the interpersonal of shame by depicting the most prominent shaming other figures chosen by the participants, expected reactions from "the shaming others" and the experience of the ashamed self for each shame-triggering theme.

As Table 15 shows, the relationships between expected reactions of others and the shame triggered following each situational antecedent were found to be different. Overall, the findings related to the interpersonal perspective of shame revealed that there were specific relationships among the shaming other figures, expected reactions from these figures and the resulting shame experience with its accompanying emotions.

The Shaming Other(s)*	Expected Reactions from Others**	The
Close friends; Partner (revelation of lying)	Disappointed, Sad, Accusing	Ashamed G
Acquaintances (responsibility and harm)		
Partner; Acquaintances	Ashamed for me, Pitying, Sad	Ashamed
Family	Sad, Ashamed for me, Disappointed, Contemptuous	Ashamed
Acquaintances	Ashamed for me, Sad, Not affectionate	Ashamed
Family	Ashamed for me, Disgusted, Sad, Not affectionate (females)	
	Ashamed for me, Anxious (males)	

ng other figures that were chosen by the participants; **Expected reactions from others as signif

Fourth Set of Research Questions: Ways of Coping with Shame

The Coding Process and Inter-Rater Agreement

For each situation, in an open-ended question, participants were asked to report how they would behave in that situation. These responses were coded into categories to examine which coping strategies would be used to deal with each shame-triggering theme and if the intensity of shame would differ according to ways of coping with shame.

Number of participants responded to the open-ended questions ranged from 276 to 311 in 8 situations. About 20% of these participants were randomly selected (N=55) and their responses were coded by 3 raters including the researcher. First of all, following the responses, theoretically relevant ways of coping categories that were previously mentioned in the introduction (Tangney et al., 1992; Nathanson, 1992; Van Vliet, 2008) were given to the raters, including a blank option if they need another category for that response. These categories included: (1) Avoidance; (2) Withdrawal; (3) Attacking others; (4) Attacking the self; (5) Making amends; (6) Making explanations; (7) Apologizing; (8) Problem-solving; (9) Acceptance; (10) Laughter/humor.

After the raters coded the responses, avoidance and withdrawal categories were recoded as "moving away" strategies (Hartling et al., 2000); making amends, making explanations and apologizing were recoded as "moving towards" strategies which were about attempts to repair and keep the connection with others (Hartling et al., 2000); acceptance and problem-solving were recoded as "constructive strategies"; and attacking others, attacking the self and laughter/humor categories

remained by themselves. These 6 categories were used in further analyses including inter-rater reliability: moving away strategies; moving towards strategies; attacking others; attacking self; constructive strategies; and laughter.

Fleiss' Kappa for multiple raters was used as the measure of agreement among the 3 raters. Computations were conducted using theReCal3 (Freelon, 2008). Fleiss Kappa coefficients ranged from 0.639 to 0.938 indicating substantial to very good agreement among the raters (Landis & Koch, 1977): 0.712 for neglecting a responsibility; 0.639 for revelation of lying; 0.643 for interpersonal harm; 0.786 for insufficient funds; 0.799 for trip and fall; 0.749 for exposed body and 0.938 for sexual stimuli. Based on these findings, after exploring the disagreements, the remaining data were coded by the researcher.

<u>Gender Differences in Coping Strategies</u>

Table 16 shows the frequencies and percentages of the reported coping strategies. Exploration of the mode for each situation pointed out that moving away strategies representing avoidance and withdrawal were the most frequently reported ways of coping for the trip and fall, the exposed body and the sexual stimuli situations. Moving towards strategies depicting reparative behaviors towards others were the most frequent choice in three moral themes (revelation of lying, failing a responsibility and interpersonal harm). Constructive strategies depicting problem-solving and acceptance were the most frequently reported reactions only in the insufficient funds situation.

To explore the gender differences in these strategies to deal with shame-triggering situations, chi-square analyses were conducted. For each situation, the

categories with less than 5 observed values were excluded. There were significant gender differences in the trip and fall situation, χ^2(2, N=270)= 17.164, p<.001, Cramer's V=.25; and in the exposed body situation, χ^2(2, N=266)= 23.547, p<.001, Cramer's V=.30.

Standardized residuals were explored for each cell. In the trip and fall situation, observed count of males was higher than expected for constructive strategies (Z-score=2.2, p<.05) and was lower than expected for laughter/humor (Z-score= -2.4, p<.05). In the exposed body situation, observed count of males were higher than expected for constructive strategies (Z-score=2.1, p<.05) and also for laughter/humor (Z-score=2.4, p<.05).

Table 16. Frequencies of the Coping Strategies

		Moving away	Moving towards	Constructive strategies	Attack others	Attack self	Laughter/humor
Neglecting a responsibility (N=298)	Females	19 (10.4%)	153 (83.6%)	2 (1.1%)	6 (3.3%)	3 (1.6%)	-
	Males	14 (5.1%)	94 (81.7%)	3 (2.6%)	-	4 (3.5%)	-
Revelation of lying (N=291)	Females	32 (17.3%)	135 (72.9%)	4 (2.2%)	4 (2.2%)	10 (5.4%)	-
	Males	21 (19.8%)	76 (71.7%)	3 (2.8%)	2 (1.9%)	4 (3.8%)	-
Interpersonal harm (N=287)	Females	38 (21.0%)	97 (53.6%)	41 (22.7%)	2 (1.0%)	3 (1.7%)	-
	Males	15 (14.2%)	66 (62.3%)	20 (18.8%)	1 (0.9%)	4 (3.8%)	-
Academic failure (N=311)	Females	61 (31.6%)	19 (9.8%)	79 (40.9%)	15 (7.8%)	19 (9.8%)	-
	Males	17 (14.4%)	12 (10.2%)	68 (57.6%)	12 (10.2%)	8 (6.8%)	1 (0.8%)
EPS*: Insufficient funds (N=295)	Females	58 (32.2%)	20 (11.1%)	93 (51.7%)	2 (1.1%)	3 (1.7%)	4 (2.2%)
	Males	24 (20.9%)	13 (11.3%)	68 (59.1%)	4 (3.5%)	3 (2.6%)	3 (2.6%)
EPS*: Trip and fall (N=285)	Females	81 (45.5%)	3 (1.7%)	20 (11.2%)	4 (2.2%)	-	70 (39.3%)
	Males	52 (48.6%)	-	27 (25.2%)	8 (7.5%)	-	20 (18.7%)
Exposed body (N=280)	Females	128 (74.4%)	4 (2.3%)	33 (19.2%)	-	6 (3.5%)	1 (0.6%)
	Males	56 (51.9%)	1 (0.9%)	39 (36.1%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (1.9%)	9 (8.3%)
Sexual stimuli (N=276)	Females	128 (40.9%)	1 (0.3%)	38 (12.1%)	-	-	4 (1.3%)
	Males	70 (66.7%)	2 (1.9%)	32 (30.5%)	-	-	1 (1.0%)

*Embarrassing public situations

Coping Strategies and the Level of Shame

To examine if the intensity of shame differs according to coping strategies, nonparametric tests were used due to violations in the normality and homogeneity of variances assumptions for the shame scores. For each situation, the categories with less than 5 observed values were excluded. Depending on the number of the categories that were compared, Mann-Whitney U or Kruskal-Wallis tests (followed by post hoc Mann-Whitney U tests) were conducted.

For the neglecting a responsibility situation, a Mann-Whitney U test showed that participants who described moving away strategies (Mdn= 170.35) reported more intense shame than participants who described moving towards strategies (Mdn= 136.51), Z= -2.396, p<.05.

For the academic failure situation, a Kruskal-Wallis test indicated that there was a significant difference in the intensity of shame among different coping strategies, H= 20.346, p<.001. With a Bonferroni correction for 10 comparisons (α= .005), it was found that only the difference between moving away strategies (Mdn= 136.35) and constructive strategies (Mdn= 100.61) was significant, Z= -4.054, p<.001.

For the exposed body situation, a Mann-Whitney U test showed that participants who described moving away strategies (Mdn= 143.26) reported significantly higher shame than participants who described constructive strategies (Mdn= 90.78) in dealing with shame, Z= -5.573, p<.001.

Finally, for the sexual stimuli situation, a Mann-Whitney U test showed that participants who described moving away strategies (Mdn= 158.83) reported higher level of shame than participants who described constructive strategies (Mdn= 65.57)

in coping with shame, Z= -8.851, p<.001. No significant differences were found in the levels of shame in the remaining situations.

Fifth Set of Questions: Individual Characteristics as Predictors of Shame

Before examining the research questions regarding individual characteristics, descriptive statistics of the variables are presented. Table 17 shows the means and standard deviations of the individual variables; Table 18 shows the Pearson correlations among the individual variables and Table 19 shows the Pearson correlations between individual variables and shame scores across situational antecedents.

Table 17. Means (M) and Standard Deviations (SD) of the Individual
Variable Measures

	Females M (SD)	Males M (SD)	Total M (SD)	Range M (SD)
Shame-proneness	43.20 (7.73)	39.56 (6.82)	41.89 (7.61)	17-60
Guilt-proneness	50.87 (6.78)	49.80 (6.84)	50.48 (6.81)	30-60
IPS total[*]	67.74 (13.62)	68.65 (11.93)	68.07 (13.03)	29-108
Worry and dependency[*]	41.64 (10.14)	42.19 (9.08)	41.84 (9.77)	16-70
Low self-esteem[*]	11.79 (3.32)	12.74 (3.63)	12.14 (3.46)	7-27
Unassertive behavior[*]	19.27 (4.31)	19.16 (3.65)	19.23 (4.08)	8-30
Negative approach to problems[**]	2.56 (0.87)	2.37 (0.68)	2.49 (0.81)	1.00-4.94
Constructive problem solving[**]	3.22 (0.64)	3.11 (0.53)	3.18 (0.60)	1.75-4.69
Lack of self-confidence[**]	1.76 (0.64)	1.92 (0.65)	1.82 (0.65)	1.00-4.00
Unwilling to take responsibility[**]	2.50 (0.91)	2.55 (0.75)	2.52 (0.86)	1.00-5.00
Insistent-persevering[**]	3.65 (0.78)	3.58 (0.67)	3.62 (0.74)	1.17-5.00
Positive Affect	31.59 (7.97)	32.00 (7.16)	31.74 (7.69)	11-49
Negative Affect	22.21 (7.20)	21.26 (6.49)	21.87 (6.97)	10-47

[*]IPS: Interpersonal Sensitivity Scale; [**] Interpersonal Problem Solving Scale.

vidual Variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	.41***						
	.34***	-					
	.27***	.22***	.46***				
	-.22***	.30***	-	.24***			
	-	-	-.17***	-	-.15**		
	-	-	.30***	-	-	-.21***	
	.28***	-	.56***	.32***	-	-.15**	.46***
g	.15**	.30***	-	.22***	-.24***	.30***	-
	-	.25***	.44***	.15**	.23***	-	.28***
	.17***	-.19***	.24***	-	-	-	.18***
	.18***	.31***	-	.18***	-.27***	.32***	-

rsonal Problem Solving Scale; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

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	Moral transgressions		Embarrassing public situations		Academic failure	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
	.34***	-	.33***	.23**	-	-
	.26***	-	-	-	.18**	.19**
	-	.17*	.16**	.27***	-	.18*
	.13*	.24**	.27***	.39***	.18**	.25**
	.12*	.23**	.32***	.39***	.16**	.28***
	-	-	-	-	-	-
	.14*	.20**	.14*	.22**	.18**	-
	.17**	.26**	.30***	.37***	.20***	.39***
	.21***	-	.12*	-	-	-
	-	.26***	.17**	.27***	-	.29***
	-	-	.14*	-	-	.16*
	.25***	-	.13*	-	.16**	-

To identify the individual variables that were predictors of the level of shame and to examine if there were gender differences in the predictors, multiple regression analyses were conducted separately for males and females. First, for each participant, the level of shame reported for 8 situations were averaged to get a mean shame score to be used as the dependent variable. An independent samples t-test showed that females (M= 2.94, SD= 0.70) had significantly higher mean shame scores than males (M= 2.67, SD= 0.80), t(487) = 3.848, p<.001. Then, individual variables of shame-proneness, guilt-proneness, negative affect, subscales of interpersonal sensitivity (interpersonal worry and dependency, low self-esteem, unassertive interpersonal behavior) and subscales of interpersonal problem solving scale (negative approach to interpersonal problems, constructive problem solving, lack of self-confidence, unwillingness to take responsibility and insistent approach) were entered as possible predictors. A stepwise procedure was followed for exploratory purposes. Table 20 and Table 21 show the results of the regression analyses for females and males respectively.

Table 20. Results of the Regression Analyses for Females

Predictors	β	t	F change	Std. Error of the Estimate	Model R^2
Shame-proneness	.42	8.145***	66.335***	.640	.18
Shame-proneness	.36	6.828***			
Negative approach[1]	.21	3.951***	15.609***	.625	.22
Shame-proneness	.34	6.540***			
Negative approach[1]	.18	3.436**			
Insistent approach[1]	.14	2.790**	7.783**	.619	.24

***p<.001, **p<.01; [1]Subscales of the Interpersonal Problem Solving Scale

Table 21. Results of the Regression Analyses for Males

Predictors	β	t	F change	Std. Error of the Estimate	Model R^2
Negative approach[1]	.43	6.245***	39.002***	.721	.18
Negative approach[1]	.31	3.835***			
Worry and dependency[2]	.20	2.491*	6.204*	.710	.21

***p<.001, **p<.01; *p<.05; [1]Subscale of the Interpersonal Problem Solving Scale; [2]Subscale of the Interpersonal Sensitiveness Scale

As Table 20 and Table 21 showed, negative approach to interpersonal problems was a significant predictor of the mean shame for both genders. However, other predictors of the overall shame score differed between males and females. Shame-proneness and insistent approach to problems were significant predictors of the mean shame for females, whereas worry and dependency in interpersonal relationships contributed to the prediction of the mean shame in males.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The present study attempted to explore shame from a psychosocial perspective that conceptualized it within an interpersonal context. To get a comprehensive understanding of shame, the explored model integrated culturally significant shame-triggering situations that were identified in a pilot study, appraisals regarding the reactions of self and others and behavioral responses in these shame-triggering situations. The measure constructed for the purposes of the present study provided an initial step in the development of a scenario-based shame measure that is tailored to the concerns among young people in the Turkish culture.

Overall, the findings supported the views that shame is a complex experience with many correlates. It was demonstrated that only sexuality was associated with a more pure shame, while other shame-triggering themes were associated with varying subjective reactions. Emotions such as guilt and anger accompanied shame depending on the nature of the situational antecedent; however, anxiety, tension and sadness were seen together with shame in all shame-triggering contexts except sexuality.

The findings of the present study also supported the theories that shame is a relational/social emotion, connected to real or imagined interactions with others and is associated with appraisals regarding these interactions (Barret, 1995). It was demonstrated that shame might be predicted to a considerable extent by expected reactions of others in shame-triggering contexts. In addition, reciprocity theories of

shame were supported by the present data which pointed out that specific reactions of others were reciprocal to shame in different shame-triggering themes.

The present study also had important implications for gender differences seen in shame. It is generally suggested that women are more prone to feeling shame than men (Lewis, 1971; Tangney & Dearing, 2002). This view was partially supported by the current findings since gender differences were evident substantially with regard to sexuality: Sexuality was a moral concern for women, while it was a concern of embarrassment in men; women reported more intense shame only in moral and sexual themes; and there were gender differences in the expected reactions from others only in a context associated with sexuality. In addition, gender differences were revealed in the predictors of the level of shame, suggesting that men and women might have different vulnerability factors for experiencing more intense shame.

Finally, it was demonstrated that behavioral responses to shame were not solely withdrawal or avoidance; rather, ways of coping with shame might differ depending on situational as well as individual characteristics. However, it was also revealed that withdrawal and avoidance were associated with more intense shame than constructive strategies, supporting the views that moving away strategies might be more maladaptive than other ways of coping. The specific findings, potential clinical implications and the limitations of the present study are discussed below in detail.

Situational Antecedents of Shame in Turkey

First group of research questions of the present study were about culturally significant shame-triggering situational antecedents among youth in Turkey. Moral transgressions, embarrassing public situations, academic failure and sexuality were identified as sources of shame among Turkish youth. These themes were in line with theories that outlined relationships, body, and competence as important sources of shame (Kaufman, 1989) and were consistent with findings in both independent and interdependent cultures (Fontaine et al., 2006; Su, 2011). In addition, an interpersonal context was apparent in the identified shame-triggering situations. This was parallel with Tangney's (1992) study in which concerns about other people's evaluations were shown to be related to shame for both moral and non-moral concerns among young populations.

Although sexuality and shame are closely knit beginning from childhood, empirical findings related to shame about sexuality have been scarce (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Mollon (2005) argues that sexuality and its biological imperatives are repressed and are displaced by symbols for the sake of our linguistic self in a socio-cultural world, making it a potential source of shame. Koerner, Tsai and Simpson (2011) mention that shame for sexual arousal/behavior and shame due to unwanted attention on the body are concerns that may frequently be seen in daily lives. Likewise, these two concerns were identified as important sources of shame in the present study. Regarding the exposed body theme, it may be considered that there is a deep association between the body and shame. As mentioned in the introduction, etymological roots of the word shame in different languages such as Greek, Turkish as well as German are all related to genitals. Mollon (2005) suggests that in many

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cultures, the genitals are regarded as "private parts," not to be displayed in public. It was remarkable that the exposed body situation in the study was a matter of moral concern for females, whereas a matter of embarrassment for males. This finding might be linked to the theories that men and women had different sexual concerns. Performance related to sexuality was a manly concern; whereas purity, chastity and avoiding sexuality were more promoted for women (Tangney & Dearing, 2002), especially in honor-based societies like Turkey. From this perspective, as a concern of integrity, the shame triggered in the exposed body situation was similar to shame experienced in other types of moral transgressions for women. In contrast, as a concern for status, the exposed body situation was similar to other types of embarrassment/humiliation for men.

In addition, the second sexuality theme, being exposed to sexual stimuli in the presence of others, remained as a cluster of its own with unique predictors of shame. Beginning with childhood, sexual desire and pleasure were prohibited by direct or indirect disapproving reactions of parents (Mollon, 2005; Tangney & Dearing, 2002). In a qualitative study on sexual development, Shoveller, Johnson, Langille and Mitchell (2004) showed that young people with 18 to 24 years of age still avoided sharing their sexual experiences with their parents because they had learnt to be silent about sexuality since early childhood. They reported that sexuality was associated with a fear of rejection and ostracism from the family. The findings of the present study supported this result of Shoveller et al. (2004), since family was the most frequently reported shaming figure in the sexual stimuli situation.

In terms of the level of shame that is triggered by these situational antecedents, there were significant gender differences only in moral transgressions and concerns related to sexuality. For each of these themes, females reported higher

shame than men. This might be linked to the theories that relational identity was more salient for women than men (Maddux & Brewer, 2005) and in moral violations there were explicit relational consequences. For themes related to sexuality, it might be discussed that the value attributed to purity and chastity, as it was mentioned above, might make women vulnerable to more intense shame associated with sexuality (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). It was also suggested that female sexuality was suppressed by societal and cultural influences; and sexual desire and behaviors in women were sources of social disapproval and moral condemnation in many societies (Baumeister & Twenge, 2002). This argument might especially be meaningful for the Turkish culture, since for women of this culture, sexual honor was associated with shame for both themselves and their families (Osiek, 2008; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Accordingly, in a study done with Turkish university students, it was demonstrated that women were more likely to perceive their parents as restrictive about sexuality and they were less likely to hold permissive attitudes towards sexual behavior as compared to men (Askun & Ataca, 2007). For the other themes, there were no gender differences in the intensity of the reported shame.

In sum, although a cause-and-effect relationship cannot be implied between any situational antecedent and the resulting shame, there seems to be both universal and culture-specific shame-triggering themes. In addition, gender differences in the intensity of shame were evident only in certain shame-triggering situations; therefore, the theory that women were more shame-prone than men was partially supported. Future research may be directed at finding other gender-specific sources of shame.

Shame and Accompanying Emotions

Second group of research questions focused on the relationship between shame and other emotions. Most of the theories of shame suggest that it is difficult to conceptualize a pure shame since it is generally accompanied by other emotions such as guilt, anxiety, anger, rage, etc. (Elison, 2005; Poulson, 2000). In parallel with these theories, it was found that a pure shame experience was seen only in a situation of being exposed to sexual stimuli in the presence of others. For all the remaining shame-triggering themes, shame was accompanied by other reactions.

First of all, it was found that anxiety and tension were seen together with shame across all the shame-triggering situations. This finding was in line with the theories that self-consciousness experienced due to feeling of being exposed might lead to both ashamed and anxious reactions (Poulson, 2000). When there were threats to the relationships in any shame-triggering situation, shame might act as a signal anxiety anticipating rejection, disconnection and a loss of status (Mann, 2010). Therefore, it may be inferred that anticipating a social threat may trigger both ashamed and anxious reactions as a part of the subjective experience (Gilbert, 1998).

Second, although sadness has generally been associated with guilt, the present study showed that it also accompanied shame in all the shame-triggering situations. In situations where one's behavior directly influenced another person such as moral transgressions, a potential loss of the bond might trigger feelings of sadness, while in situations such as failure and embarrassment/humiliation, sadness might be related to the loss of a valued self (Poulson, 2000). In addition, in both shame and sadness, the global characteristics of the self were at the center of one's attention (Gilbert, 1998) and self-criticism was also common in these reactions (Whelton & Greenberg, 2005).

Third, guilt and regret accompanied shame only in moral transgressions. This finding supported the vast literature that in the experience of self-consciousness following moral violations, both guilt and shame were apparent (e.g. Emde & Oppenheim, 1995; Lewis, 1971; Tangney, 1999; Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Besides, the finding that guilt was not grouped with shame in other shame-triggering themes supported the views that guilt and shame were not always fused together and there was a guilt-free shame experience (Silfver, 2007).

Fourth, anger accompanied shame only in embarrassing public situations. The result was the same for both genders, but there was a trend for men to report higher anger than women. Although embarrassment is supposed to be milder than humiliation associated with public rejection, criticism or insult (Scheff, 1988), the real or imagined reactions from others may trigger anger to repair the self-worth as a result of the experience of inferiority (Lewis, 1971) and to gain status back (Gilbert, 1998). From these perspectives, anger may not be a reaction to one's own acts; instead, it may be a reaction to the experience of being ashamed. This argument should be subjected to further examination.

Overall, the results regarding the relationships between shame and other emotions provided support for the theories that shame was frequently accompanied by various emotions (Lewis, 1971; Lutwak et al., 2001; Scheff & Retzinger, 1997; Tangney et al., 1996). A "pure shame" was observed only in relation to sexuality. Replicating these findings with different situations representing the identified shame-triggering themes might be a concern for future research.

Shame as a Relationally-Conscious Emotion

In interpersonal theories, it is suggested that real or imagined reactions of others may be important elicitors of shame (Ayers, 2003; Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1995; Scheff, 1988). The findings of the present study provided support for these interpersonal theories on shame that lay emphasis on reciprocity (Lewis, 1995; Rozin et al., 1999; Sunar, 2009). Specific findings will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

Shaming Other Figures

Findings of this study demonstrated that participants imagined different other figures as the most powerful sources of shame across different situational antecedents. Family appeared as an important shaming source in academic failure and sexual stimuli situations for both genders. It might be discussed that participants in the study were university students who were in emerging adulthood, a period in which young people were more independent from their families than adolescents, but they were still dependent on their parents in terms of making their own decisions, of taking responsibility and of financial issues (Arnett, 2000). Therefore, both success in college and sexuality might still be familial concerns for young people.

For embarrassing situations, partners and acquaintances were found to be important shaming other figures, but there were gender differences in their relative importance. Both embarrassing public situations used in the study (trip and fall; insufficient funds) represented threats to social attractiveness. However, partner was the most powerful shaming other figure for women in the trip and fall situation, while men reported partners as the most significant shaming other figures in the

insufficient funds situation. Social attractiveness, which represented physical attractiveness, resourcefulness and social connections, was considered as important for reproductive success in evolutionary perspectives (Gilbert, 1997). Physical attractiveness was threatened in the trip and fall situation and this might more likely to be a concern related to female identity. Resourcefulness, which was about having control over resources such as money and fortune (Gilbert, 1997), was threatened in the insufficient funds situation. This might more likely to be a concern related to male identity.

The acquaintances or strangers, which represented a larger audience, were the most frequently reported shaming others in neglecting a responsibility, interpersonal harm and the exposed body situations. Although shame was generally associated with close others (Tangney et al., 1996), it was demonstrated that acquaintances might also be sources of shame. This was in line with the study of Sznycer et al. (2012) which showed that individuals tended to think that acquaintances were more likely to devalue them than close others in potentially shame-triggering situations. Ghorbani, Liao, Çayköylü and Chand (2013) also discussed that people were more likely to defend their reputations in front of an out-group, whereas in-group members might be more likely to be perceived as accepting and forgiving.

In sum, the findings demonstrated that imagined shaming other figures might differ according to the nature of the shame-triggering situations. Gender differences were found only in the two embarrassing public situations, which might suggest that concern related to gender identity might influence the experience in embarrassing interpersonal contexts.

<u>Expected Reactions from Others</u>

The findings of this study also supported the theories that self-conscious emotions were complementary with expected or imagined reactions from others. It was demonstrated that expected reactions from others predicted the shame experience in specific ways across different shame-triggering themes. A sad reaction was expected from others in all shame-triggering situations and "ashamed for me" reaction was expected in all but moral transgressions. These two reactions might be related to the interdependent characteristics of the Turkish culture. Transferred shame was frequently seen in interdependent cultures (Bedford, 2004; Szeto-Wong, 1997). Lickel et al. (2005) suggested that being ashamed for another person's behavior depended on the level of shared identity but not on the level of social interaction. Therefore, acquaintances or complete strangers might also trigger vicarious shame in interdependent cultures. This result might also be linked to the finding that sadness accompanied shame as a part of the subjective experience across all situational antecedents. Sadness and shame coming from others might be complementary to sadness and shame felt by the self. This complementarity might be more likely to be observed in the Turkish culture in which interdependent self-construal was predominantly held (Üskül et al., 2004). When the boundaries between the self and the other were less likely to be differentiated (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), shame and sadness might be shared in the relational contexts.

Disappointment was another important reaction that was found to be expected in moral transgressions and failure. It might be discussed that disappointment was also a relational reaction. Carroll et al. (2007) showed that people felt disappointment for another person only when the consequences had implications for their self-image.

They discussed that disappointment was not triggered solely as a response to negative outcomes. Rather, it was also triggered as a consequence of expected results (Carroll et al., 2007). This might be linked to the present study in the sense that in moral transgressions and in failure, people might perceive that they failed to fulfill the expectations of others. This argument was parallel with both psychodynamic views that conceptualized shame as self-awareness when one failed to live up to ideals (Kinston, 1983) and with appraisal theories that saw shame as a consequence of the felt discrepancy with social norms and expectations of others (Fontaine et al., 2006; Higgins, 1987).

Besides these common expected reactions, there were also unique predictors of shame in different triggering contexts. These findings had implications for Sunar's (2009) model which integrated self- and other-blaming emotions with relational models and suggested that the nature of moral transgressions might be defined by relational models and they might determine the resulting emotional experience. First of all, in moral transgressions, expecting an accusing reaction was the predictor of the shame experience which was accompanied by guilt. This provided partial evidence for the theory that in transgressions where there were autonomy violations, within equality matching relations, anger was the other-blaming emotion and guilt was experienced by the self (Sunar, 2009). In the present study, expecting accusation rather than anger predicted the shame experience. Accusation might represent a more direct threat for disapproval, rejection and ostracism than anger (Gilbert, 2003). In addition, guilt and shame were seen together in the subjective experience following moral transgressions, supporting the views that there might not be a "shame-free guilt" (Karlsson & Sjöberg, 2009; Silfver, 2007).

In addition, the findings showed that contempt was expected in failure, whereas pity was expected in embarrassing public situations. For the failure situation, the suggested relationship between contempt and shame of status loss in authority ranking relational models (Sunar, 2009) was supported. It might be discussed that the relationship between pity and shame of status loss in embarrassing public situations might be similar to the relation between contempt and shame in terms of the relational models and the resulting experience since both contempt and pity communicate negative evaluation and rejection (Kaufman, 1989). Hutcherson and Gross (2011) showed that contempt and pity were related to incompetent actions of others. Yet, others discussed that pity for another person was experienced when that person suffered from an uncontrollable negative state (Weiner, Graham, & Chandler, 1982). From this perspective, embarrassing public situations might represent an uncontrollable situation leading to pity; whereas, academic failure might be perceived as controllable and lead to contempt. However, attributions regarding control and responsibility over the situation should be examined to make further inferences. It might also be important to differentiate pity and contempt in future research for a better understanding.

Affectionate reaction was negatively associated with shame in the exposed body situation for both genders and in the sexual stimuli situation only for females. Gilbert (1997) suggested that affectionate human relationships were important ingredients of well-being and shame was a reaction to repair ruptured affectionate bonds. In addition, as Morrison (2011) suggested, shame sought acceptance from others to heal. From this perspective, lack of affection may intensify shame as a signal for disapproval and lack of acceptance, or anticipating affection may aid in regulating shame.

Lastly, in the sexual stimuli situation, disgust was a significant predictor of shame for women but not for men, whereas anxious reaction was expected by men but not by women. The finding related to disgust supported the model of Sunar (2009) that in violations of purity, within communal sharing relational models, disgust was the other-blaming emotion and shame was the self-conscious emotion. Here, it was a shame of impurity rather than status loss (Sunar, 2009). Unlike women, anxious reactions from others contributed to the prediction of shame in the sexual stimuli situation for men. Lichtenberg (2008) discusses that children learn prohibitions about sexuality in anxious, uncomfortable and shaming behaviors of parents when they face with their children's pleasure-seeking behaviors. These culturally determined behaviors seem to be transmitted across generations. Expecting anxious reactions in situations related to sexuality might be related to these early interactions.

In sum, the findings related to the interpersonal perspective of shame provided support for the reciprocal emotion theories that conceptualized shame as a relationally-conscious emotion. It was demonstrated that expected reactions from others significantly contributed to the prediction of reported shame. What is more, there were specific relationships between reactions of the shaming others and the experience of the ashamed self, depending on the nature of the shame-triggering context as well as the nature of the relationships. Clarifying and replicating these specific relationships may be a matter of future research.

Shame is commonly associated with reactions such as wanting to hide, sinking into the floor, disappearing, withdrawal and avoidance (Tangney et al., 1992; Tangney et al., 1996). However, other coping reactions including maladaptive coping styles such as attacking the self and others as well as constructive strategies of humor, acceptance, problem solving and relational strategies to seek social support were also mentioned in the literature (Hartling et al., 2000; Nathanson, 1992; Van Vliet, 2008).

In the present study, it was found that moving away strategies including avoidance and withdrawal were predominantly reported only in the trip and fall, exposed body and sexual stimuli situations. It may be discussed that reversing the situation and fixing the consequences were less likely in these situations. In addition, participants who reported moving away strategies in these situations gave higher ratings of shame than participants who reported constructive strategies in dealing with the situation. This may also show that avoidance and withdrawal following shaming experiences may be vulnerability factors for experiencing more intense shame. However, the relationship between coping and the shame experience may be bidirectional. Greenwald and Harder (1998) suggest that if the intensity of the shame experience is mild to moderate, it is possible to use shame constructively in supporting relationships and maintaining status. However, if the shame experience is intense, maladaptive coping styles are more likely to be triggered (Elison et al., 2006). In future research, methological modifications, such as asking the level of shame again after reports of coping, may be made to address this issue.

The only gender difference related to coping was found in the trip and fall and exposed body situations. For both, men reported constructive strategies more

than women. On the one hand, men were consistently found to use more problem-focused coping than women in general (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Olah, 1995). On the other hand, it may be discussed that these themes might be less likely to be a concern for male gender identity, making it easier for men to deal with these situations.

Moving towards strategies including apologizing, compensatory behaviors, etc. were frequently reported in moral transgressions, in which shame was seen together with guilt as a part of the subjective reactions to the situations. This might support the views that when shame was seen together with guilt, it may motivate the individual for reparative behavior since guilt was suggested to seek forgiveness and shame was suggested to heal with acceptance from others (Etezady, 2010; Morrison, 2011).

Constructive strategies, mainly problem solving behaviors were frequently reported for failure and insufficient funds situations. These situations may permit problem solving behaviors so that individuals may try to find solutions to control the consequences such as studying more after failing a course or asking for help to pay the bill in the restaurant. Other strategies of dealing with shame were reported less frequently. Laughter/humor was typically used only in the trip and fall situation, supporting the views that humor was more commonly used in milder embarrassing situations (Miller & Tangney, 1994; Tangney et al., 1996). Lastly, attacking the self and attacking the other were reported rarely in the present study.

Overall, the results regarding ways of coping with shame showed that shame was not always associated with avoidance and withdrawal. Rather, it might motivate reparative behaviors when it was accompanied by guilt. In addition, constructive strategies might be used in shame triggering situations if the characteristics of the

situation enabled compensation. Although there might be individual differences in the coping strategies people use, contextual characteristics might be important as well to explore and understand ways of coping with shame triggering situations. In addition, intraindividual variations across different shame-triggering themes were observed, but they were not subjected to examination due to the methodology used in the present study. Further exploration is needed on both individual and intraindividual differences seen in coping with shame. Finally, as Tangney (1996) suggested, individuals may not acknowledge or may bypass their shame experiences or they may use rationalization or other defenses while they report their own action tendencies in potential shame-triggering situations. Therefore, findings of the present study regarding coping tendencies should be interpreted with caution.

Vulnerability Factors Associated with Shame

Not all individuals react to shame-triggering situations in the same way. Some individual characteristics may make individuals more vulnerable to shaming experiences. The present study examined shame-proneness, interpersonal sensitivity and interpersonal problem solving styles as variables which might be associated with the level of reported shame.

The results showed that negative approach to interpersonal problems was the only common predictor of shame for men and women. It represented an orientation to interpersonal problems suggesting low self-efficacy for solving the problem, negative expectancies for the consequences, low tolerance for frustration, etc. (D'Zurilla & Maydeu-Olivares, 1995). It might be a vulnerability factor for shame triggered in interpersonal situations in the sense that it may influence the appraisals

regarding the consequences of the social threat as well as one's own coping resources dealing with it.

There were gender differences in other predictors. For women, shame-proneness and insistent approach to interpersonal problems contributed to the prediction of shame. Shame-proneness represents a predisposition to experience shame in potential triggering situations. Lewis (1971) suggested that in individuals having a field-dependent perceptual style, which was described as readiness to fuse with the surrounding and was related to lower psychological differentiation, shame was the predominant mode of superego functioning. She also argued that women were more likely to have a field-dependent perceptual style, making them more vulnerable to developing shame-proneness. However, it might also be discussed that the scales that were used to assess shame-proneness might have a gender bias by including mostly concerns for female identity (Ferguson & Eyre, 2000), making it seem like an important predictor of shame experiences in women but not in men. For women, the last predictor of shame was insistent approach to interpersonal problems. This might be a controversial finding in the sense that insistent approach was considered as one of the adaptive styles used in coping with interpersonal problems (Çam & Tümkaya, 2006). However, it represented wanting to solve the problem immediately and this might be maladaptive in potentially shame-triggering interpersonal contexts although it might be adaptive in other contexts.

For women, interpersonal sensitivity did not contribute to the prediction of shame. However, for men, worry and dependency subscale of interpersonal sensitiveness was a significant predictor of shame. This factor represented themes such as caring about other people's opinions about the self, thinking about what kind of an impression was made on others, etc. This might show that characteristics that

represented anxious and dependent tendencies were important in prediction of shame for men.

Overall, it may be discussed that certain interpersonal/relational tendencies may act as vulnerability factors for experience shame and there were gender differences in the tendencies that make individuals vulnerable to more intense shame. In future research, individual variables that may act as protective factors may also be examined to get a more comprehensive understanding of the individual differences seen in the shame experience.

Clinical Implications

Shame has been associated with various forms of psychological symptoms as well as their severity (Cândea & Szentágotai, 2013). According to Kaufman (1989), exploring the interpersonal origins of the internalized shame and making the sources and the corresponding experience conscious are crucial for effective therapeutic work. From this perspective, the findings of the present study may suggest certain therapeutic implications.

Koerner, Tsai and Simpson (2011) suggest that clients may bring various shame-related themes into the therapeutic encounter: shame related to purposes in life such as desires and dreams; shame related to other affective reactions such as fear in men and anger in women; shame related to sexuality and shame related to interpersonal needs. These themes that individuals may experience in their daily lives were consistent with the shame-triggering themes that were identified in the present study. However, repeated shame experiences may lead to various defenses against shame, making it difficult to access to the painful experience (Mann, 2010).

Kaufman (1989) suggests that therapists should be observant of four signs that are indicators of shame: facial signs, affective signs, cognitive signs and interpersonal signs. The findings of the present study may be discussed in terms of affective and interpersonal signs of shame. The sense of exposure seen in the phenomenology of shame may elicit various other reactions and these reactions may be more apparent than shame (Kaufman, 1989). The findings supported this view in the sense that shame was seen almost always together with anxiety and sadness. In addition, it was showed that the characteristics of the shame-triggering context may elicit other reactions such as guilt in moral transgressions and anger in embarrassment/humiliation. Dealing with the more observable affective reactions may leave the underlying painful shame as unexplored (Mann, 2010) and reaching this underlying shame is important for analytic exploration (Kilbourne, 2003).

In terms of interpersonal signs, it may be said that therapeutic setting is an interpersonal context itself and interpersonal aspects of shame may be apparent in the interaction with the therapist (Kaufman, 1989). Sometimes therapeutic tools such as interpretations may be a source of shame; at other times, therapists may be perceived as shamers by the patients due to transferential issues and/or to unconscious elements in the therapist's verbal and nonverbal behaviors (Stadter, 2011). In the present study, it was showed that not just the subjective experience of shame might differ according to the shaming context; shame might also be associated with different reactions from others such as contempt, pity, disappointment, etc. It is important to be sensitive to these interpersonal scripts of individuals and shaming scenes should be brought into consciousness in psychotherapy (Kaufman, 1989).

Furthermore, countertransference reactions of the therapists may strongly be influenced by patients' shame-related reactions (Hahn, 2000). In the therapeutic

context, patients may externalize the devaluing introjects and may see the therapist as disapproving or they may externalize the devalued self and react with contempt, rage, etc. (Hahn, 2000). Livingston and Farber (1996) showed that both beginning and experienced therapists reacted with compassion and sadness to patients' shame; however, beginning therapists were more likely to feel insecure when the patient displayed painful self-consciousness and they were more likely to react with anxiety and defensiveness to shame when it was seen together with anger and rage. The present study demonstrated that reactions of feeling ashamed for another person, disappointment, sadness etc. might influence the shame experience of that person. Therefore, therapists should be sensitive and responsive to the interplay between other-critical and self-critical emotions in the therapeutic context. In future studies, the Shame Measure constructed for the present study may be modified to examine shame-related experiences, including the interaction between the therapist's and the patient's reactions, in the therapy hour.

In sum, the findings of the present study indicating that shame was associated with specific perceived or expected reactions from others and was accompanied by other emotions emphasized the importance of exploring the whole experience in the clinical context by being sensitive to affective, behavioral and interpersonal signs of shame.

Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

Main limitations of the present study were in terms of measurement. As mentioned before, there are difficulties in conceptualizing shame and any method that tries to assess it may have certain disadvantages. In the present study, shame was assessed

by using a scenario-based measure which was constructed for the purposes of the study. There are several critics for scenario-based measures. First, they are suggested to measure the propensity to react with shame rather than in-the-moment shame experiences. Second, self-reports may enable defensive reactions; thus, they may not represent participants' actual responses to shame-triggering situations. Third, it is suggested that the covered interpersonal issues may be biased toward triggering guilt rather than shame and finally, concerns related to male gender identity are generally underrepresented (Ferguson & Eyre, 2000). In the present study, gender was an important part of the research questions; therefore, before the construction of the scale, concerns of both male and female identities were identified in pilot studies. Moreover, the results showed that the Shame Measure used in the study was able to differentiate shame from guilt in situations other than the ones about moral concerns. However, it may be said that shame-triggering themes in the measure may be further diversified for a better understanding. In addition, validity and reliability of the measure should be explored further in future research.

Another limitation was related to the characteristics of the participants. The study was conducted with university students. Developmental periods other than emerging adulthood may bring about their own shame-related concerns. The interpersonal/relational theories on shame should also be examined in populations with different ages. This may improve the generalizability of the findings.

Finally, cognitive reactions to shame were not examined in the present study. Internal and global attributions regarding the self were suggested to be important in understanding shame-related responses (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). In future research, attributions regarding shame-triggering concerns, especially regarding

responsibility for the situations, may also be examined as a step towards a more detailed understanding of the subjective experience of shame.

Conclusion

The present study aimed at exploring shame within an interpersonal context. It was demonstrated that shame was a complex set of reactions with various situational triggers and varying affective and behavioral correlates. The specific relationships found between shame and expected or perceived reactions from others supported contemporary conceptualizations of shame as a relationally-conscious emotion. Furthermore, the present study initiated an effort to develop a culturally sensitive shame measure in Turkey. Future studies may aim at improving the methodology used in the present study to achieve a deeper understanding of shame.

APPENDIX A

Words and Idioms Used in the Pilot Study

List 1	List 2	List 3
Utanmak	Utandırmak	Utanç
Onur	Şeref	Namus
Ayıp	Mahcup olmak	Mahcup etmek
Mahrem	Birinden tiksinmek/iğrenmek	Tiksindirmek/iğrendirmek
Küçük görmek/ hor görmek	Öfke	Suçluluk
Yer yarılsa da içine girsem	Yerin dibine geçmek	Yerin dibine geçirmek
Kırılmak	Yüz karası	Yüz kızartıcı
Küçük düşmek	Rezil olmak	Birini kırmak

The Shame Measure

İlerleyen sayfalarda her insanın zaman zaman karşılaşabileceği 8 tane durum örneği göreceksiniz. Her bir sayfada tek bir durum yer almaktadır. Lütfen her bir durum örneğini iyice okuduktan sonra bahsedilen olayı sizin yaşadığınızı hayal edin ve o durumla ilgili olası tepkileri içeren soruları yanıtlayın.

Her bir durum için sizden 5 kategoride (A, B, C, D, E) yanıt istenmektedir. Lütfen her kategoriyi sırayla yanıtlayın ve hiçbir soruyu boş bırakmayın.

Durum 1

Birisi önemli bir evrakını yerine ulaştırmanızı sizden rica ediyor. Siz de kabul ediyorsunuz. Evrakı daha sonra vermek üzere bir kenara koyuyorsunuz. Birkaç gün sonra bu kişi size evrakın yerine ulaşmadığını söylediğinde vermeyi unuttuğunuzu fark ediyorsunuz.

A. Bu kişi aşağıdakilerden hangisi olsaydı <u>en çok</u> utanırdınız?

Ailemden biri (kim olduğunu belirtiniz: _____)	( )
Yakın bir arkadaşım	( )
Sevgilim / hoşlandığım biri	( )
Az tanıdığım / yeni tanıştığım biri	( )
Diğer (varsa lütfen belirtiniz: _____)	( )

B. Bu durum ne derece utanç verici bir durumdur?

Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
0	1	2	3	4

C. Sizce bu kişi bu durumda aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece gösterirdi?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Suçlayıcı	0	1	2	3	4
2. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
3. Tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
4. Aşağılayıcı / küçük gören	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sevecen / şefkatli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
7. Üzgün	0	1	2	3	4
8. Affedici	0	1	2	3	4
9. Acıyan	0	1	2	3	4
10. Hayal kırıklığına uğramış	0	1	2	3	4
11. Benim adıma utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
12. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
13. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

D. Bu durumda siz aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece hissedersiniz?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
2. Suçlu	0	1	2	3	4
3. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
4. Üzüntülü	0	1	2	3	4
5. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Gergin	0	1	2	3	4
7. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
8. Kendinden tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
9. Aşağılanmış	0	1	2	3	4
10. Yetersiz / Değersiz	0	1	2	3	4
11. Pişman / Vicdan azabı çeken	0	1	2	3	4
12. Gözden düşmüş	0	1	2	3	4
13. Sakin	0	1	2	3	4
14. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

E. Böyle bir durumu yaşasanız, içinizden ne yapmak gelirdi? ....
………
Bu olay bu kişiyle olan ilişkinizi ne derece olumsuz etkilerdi?
<u>0 (Hiç)   1(biraz)   2 (orta)   3 (oldukça)   4 (çok)</u>

Durum 2

Derslerinize çok çalıştığınız bir yılın sonunda notların açıklandığını öğreniyorsunuz. Sonuçlara bakmak için bir bilgisayarın başına geçiyorsunuz ve notlarınızın beklediğinizden çok daha düşük olduğunu görüyorsunuz.

A. Bu sırada aşağıdakilerden hangisi sizinle birlikte sonuçları görse <u>en çok</u> utanırdınız?

Ailemden biri (kim olduğunu belirtiniz: _____)	( )
Yakın bir arkadaşım	( )
Sevgilim / hoşlandığım biri	( )
Az tanıdığım / yeni tanıştığım biri	( )
Diğer (varsa lütfen belirtiniz: _____)	( )

B. Bu durum ne derece utanç verici bir durumdur?

Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
0	1	2	3	4

C. Sizce bu kişi(ler) bu durumda aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece gösterirdi?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Suçlayıcı	0	1	2	3	4
2. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
3. Tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
4. Aşağılayıcı / küçük gören	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sevecen / şefkatli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
7. Üzgün	0	1	2	3	4
8. Affedici	0	1	2	3	4
9. Acıyan	0	1	2	3	4
10. Hayal kırıklığına uğramış	0	1	2	3	4
11. Benim adıma utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
12. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
13. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

D. Bu durumda siz aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece hissedersiniz?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
2. Yetersiz / Değersiz	0	1	2	3	4
3. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
4. Utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sakin	0	1	2	3	4
6. Aşağılanmış	0	1	2	3	4
7. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
8. Kendinden tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
9. Suçlu	0	1	2	3	4
10. Gergin	0	1	2	3	4
11. Pişman / Vicdan azabı çeken	0	1	2	3	4
12. Gözden düşmüş	0	1	2	3	4
13. Üzüntülü	0	1	2	3	4
14. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

E. Böyle bir durumu yaşasanız, içinizden ne yapmak gelirdi? …………………………………………….. ………..

Durum 3

Birisine onun için çok önemli olan bir şeyi birlikte yapmak için söz veriyorsunuz, fakat o gün gitmeyi çok istediğiniz bir konserin olduğunu öğreniyorsunuz. Konsere gitmek için bu kişiye, önemli bir sınavınız olduğunu, bu yüzden bu programı iptal etmek zorunda olduğunuzu söylüyorsunuz. Daha sonra bu kişi sınavınız olmadığını, konsere gittiğinizi öğreniyor ve bunu size söylüyor.

A. Bu kişi aşağıdakilerden hangisi olsaydı <u>en çok</u> utanırdınız?

Ailemden biri (kim olduğunu belirtiniz: _____)	( )
Yakın bir arkadaşım	( )
Sevgilim / hoşlandığım biri	( )
Az tanıdığım / yeni tanıştığım biri	( )
Diğer (varsa lütfen belirtiniz: _____)	( )

B. Bu durum ne derece utanç verici bir durumdur?

Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
0	1	2	3	4

C. Sizce bu kişi bu durumda aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece gösterirdi?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Suçlayıcı	0	1	2	3	4
2. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
3. Tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
4. Aşağılayıcı / küçük gören	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sevecen / şefkatli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
7. Üzgün	0	1	2	3	4
8. Affedici	0	1	2	3	4
9. Acıyan	0	1	2	3	4
10. Hayal kırıklığına uğramış	0	1	2	3	4
11. Benim adıma utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
12. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
13. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

D. Bu durumda siz aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece hissedersiniz?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
2. Yetersiz / Değersiz	0	1	2	3	4
3. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
4. Utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sakin	0	1	2	3	4
6. Aşağılanmış	0	1	2	3	4
7. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
8. Kendinden tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
9. Suçlu	0	1	2	3	4
10. Gergin	0	1	2	3	4
11. Pişman / Vicdan azabı çeken	0	1	2	3	4
12. Gözden düşmüş	0	1	2	3	4
13. Üzüntülü	0	1	2	3	4
14. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

E. Böyle bir durumu yaşasanız, içinizden ne yapmak gelirdi? ………………………………………………………
……......
Bu olay bu kişiyle olan ilişkinizi ne derece olumsuz etkilerdi?
0 (Hiç)   1(biraz)   2 (orta)   3 (oldukça)   4 (çok)

Durum 4

Birisinin bilgisayarını maillerinizi kontrol etmek için onun olmadığı bir sırada, izinsiz kullanıyorsunuz. Bilgisayar bir anda hata mesajı verip çöküyor ve tekrar açılmıyor. Siz durumu düzeltmeye çalışırken o kişi geliyor ve ne olduğunu soruyor.

A. Bu kişi aşağıdakilerden hangisi olsaydı en çok utanırdınız?

Ailemden biri (kim olduğunu belirtiniz: _____)	( )
Yakın bir arkadaşım	( )
Sevgilim / hoşlandığım biri	( )
Az tanıdığım / yeni tanıştığım biri	( )
Diğer (varsa lütfen belirtiniz: _____)	( )

B. Bu durum ne derece utanç verici bir durumdur?

Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
0	1	2	3	4

C. Sizce bu kişi bu durumda aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece gösterirdi?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Suçlayıcı	0	1	2	3	4
2. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
3. Tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
4. Aşağılayıcı / küçük gören	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sevecen / şefkatli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
7. Üzgün	0	1	2	3	4
8. Affedici	0	1	2	3	4
9. Acıyan	0	1	2	3	4
10. Hayal kırıklığına uğramış	0	1	2	3	4
11. Benim adıma utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
12. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
13. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

D. Bu durumda siz aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece hissedersiniz?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
2. Suçlu	0	1	2	3	4
3. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
4. Üzüntülü	0	1	2	3	4
5. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Gergin	0	1	2	3	4
7. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
8. Kendinden tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
9. Aşağılanmış	0	1	2	3	4
10. Yetersiz / Değersiz	0	1	2	3	4
11. Pişman / Vicdan azabı çeken	0	1	2	3	4
12. Gözden düşmüş	0	1	2	3	4
13. Sakin	0	1	2	3	4
14. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

E. Böyle bir durumu yaşasanız, içinizden ne yapmak gelirdi? …………………………………………..
………………………………………………………………………………………………………..
Bu olay bu kişiyle olan ilişkinizi ne derece olumsuz etkilerdi?
0 (Hiç)   1(biraz)   2 (orta)   3 (oldukça)   4 (çok)

Durum 5

Kalabalık bir restoranda yemek yiyorsunuz. Hesabı ödemek için kredi kartınızı uzatıyorsunuz. Garson kartı makineye yerleştiriyor ve bakiyenizin yetersiz olduğunu söylüyor. Bu sırada çevrenizdekilerin de bunu duyduğunu fark ediyorsunuz.

A. Yanınızda aşağıdakilerden hangisi olsaydı <u>en çok</u> utanırdınız?

Ailemden biri (kim olduğunu belirtiniz: _____)	( )
Yakın bir arkadaşım	( )
Sevgilim / hoşlandığım biri	( )
Az tanıdığım / yeni tanıştığım biri	( )
Diğer (varsa lütfen belirtiniz: _____)	( )

B. Bu durum ne derece utanç verici bir durumdur?

Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
0	1	2	3	4

C. Sizce bu kişi(ler) bu durumda aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece gösterirdi?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Suçlayıcı	0	1	2	3	4
2. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
3. Tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
4. Aşağılayıcı / küçük gören	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sevecen / şefkatli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
7. Üzgün	0	1	2	3	4
8. Affedici	0	1	2	3	4
9. Acıyan	0	1	2	3	4
10. Hayal kırıklığına uğramış	0	1	2	3	4
11. Benim adıma utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
12. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
13. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

D. Bu durumda siz aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece hissedersiniz?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
2. Suçlu	0	1	2	3	4
3. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
4. Üzüntülü	0	1	2	3	4
5. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Gergin	0	1	2	3	4
7. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
8. Kendinden tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
9. Aşağılanmış	0	1	2	3	4
10. Yetersiz / Değersiz	0	1	2	3	4
11. Pişman / Vicdan azabı çeken	0	1	2	3	4
12. Gözden düşmüş	0	1	2	3	4
13. Sakin	0	1	2	3	4
14. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

E. Böyle bir durumu yaşasanız, içinizden ne yapmak gelirdi? …………………………………………
……
………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

Durum 6

Üstünüzdeki kıyafetleri kendinize çok yakıştırdığınız ve kendinizi çekici hissettiğiniz bir gün, çevrenizdekilerin de size beğenerek baktığını fark ediyorsunuz. Her şey güzel giderken bir anda ayağınız takılıyor ve düşüyorsunuz.

A. Çevrenizde aşağıdakilerden hangisi olsaydı <u>en çok</u> utanırdınız?

Ailemden biri (kim olduğunu belirtiniz: _____)	( )
Yakın bir arkadaşım	( )
Sevgilim / hoşlandığım biri	( )
Az tanıdığım / yeni tanıştığım biri	( )
Diğer (varsa lütfen belirtiniz: _____)	( )

B. Bu durum ne derece utanç verici bir durumdur?

Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
0	1	2	3	4

C. Sizce bu kişi(ler) bu durumda aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece gösterirdi?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Suçlayıcı	0	1	2	3	4
2. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
3. Tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
4. Aşağılayıcı / küçük gören	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sevecen / şefkatli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
7. Üzgün	0	1	2	3	4
8. Affedici	0	1	2	3	4
9. Acıyan	0	1	2	3	4
10. Hayal kırıklığına uğramış	0	1	2	3	4
11. Benim adıma utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
12. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
13. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

D. Bu durumda siz aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece hissedersiniz?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
2. Suçlu	0	1	2	3	4
3. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
4. Üzüntülü	0	1	2	3	4
5. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Gergin	0	1	2	3	4
7. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
8. Kendinden tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
9. Aşağılanmış	0	1	2	3	4
10. Yetersiz / Değersiz	0	1	2	3	4
11. Pişman / Vicdan azabı çeken	0	1	2	3	4
12. Gözden düşmüş	0	1	2	3	4
13. Sakin	0	1	2	3	4
14. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

E. Böyle bir durumu yaşasanız, içinizden ne yapmak gelirdi? …………………………………………………
………...

Durum 7

Bir gün denizden çıkarken çevrenizdekilerin size baktığını fark ediyorsunuz. Kendinizi kontrol ettiğinizde mayonuzun kötü bir şekilde kaymış olduğunu görüyorsunuz.

A. Size bakan(lar) aşağıdakilerden hangisi olsaydı <u>en çok</u> utanırdınız?

Ailemden biri (kim olduğunu belirtiniz: _____)	( )
Yakın bir arkadaşım	( )
Sevgilim / hoşlandığım biri	( )
Az tanıdığım / yeni tanıştığım biri	( )
Diğer (varsa lütfen belirtiniz: _____)	( )

B. Bu durum ne derece utanç verici bir durumdur?

Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
0	1	2	3	4

C. Sizce bu kişi(ler) bu durumda aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece gösterirdi?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Suçlayıcı	0	1	2	3	4
2. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
3. Tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
4. Aşağılayıcı / küçük gören	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sevecen / şefkatli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
7. Üzgün	0	1	2	3	4
8. Affedici	0	1	2	3	4
9. Acıyan	0	1	2	3	4
10. Hayal kırıklığına uğramış	0	1	2	3	4
11. Benim adıma utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
12. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
13. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

D. Bu durumda siz aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece hissedersiniz?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
2. Suçlu	0	1	2	3	4
3. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
4. Üzüntülü	0	1	2	3	4
5. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Gergin	0	1	2	3	4
7. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
8. Kendinden tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
9. Aşağılanmış	0	1	2	3	4
10. Yetersiz / Değersiz	0	1	2	3	4
11. Pişman / Vicdan azabı çeken	0	1	2	3	4
12. Gözden düşmüş	0	1	2	3	4
13. Sakin	0	1	2	3	4
14. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

E. Böyle bir durumu yaşasanız, içinizden ne yapmak gelirdi? …………………………………………………
………..
………..

Durum 8

Biri / birileriyle birlikte film izliyorsunuz. Filmin bir sahnesinde oyuncular giysilerini çıkarıp yakınlaşmaya ve cinsellik yaşamaya başlıyorlar.

A. Bu sırada yanınızda aşağıdakilerden hangisi olsaydı <u>en çok</u> utanırdınız?

Ailemden biri (kim olduğunu belirtiniz: _____)	( )
Yakın bir arkadaşım	( )
Sevgilim / hoşlandığım biri	( )
Az tanıdığım / yeni tanıştığım biri	( )
Diğer (varsa lütfen belirtiniz: _____)	( )

B. Bu durum ne derece utanç verici bir durumdur?

Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
0	1	2	3	4

C. Sizce bu kişi(ler) bu durumda aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece gösterirdi?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Suçlayıcı	0	1	2	3	4
2. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
3. Tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
4. Aşağılayıcı / küçük gören	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sevecen / şefkatli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
7. Üzgün	0	1	2	3	4
8. Affedici	0	1	2	3	4
9. Acıyan	0	1	2	3	4
10. Hayal kırıklığına uğramış	0	1	2	3	4
11. Benim adıma utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
12. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
13. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

D. Bu durumda siz aşağıdaki tepkileri ne derece hissedersiniz?

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta	Oldukça	Çok
1. Utanmış	0	1	2	3	4
2. Suçlu	0	1	2	3	4
3. Kaygılı	0	1	2	3	4
4. Üzüntülü	0	1	2	3	4
5. Öfkeli	0	1	2	3	4
6. Gergin	0	1	2	3	4
7. Aldırmaz	0	1	2	3	4
8. Kendinden tiksinmiş	0	1	2	3	4
9. Aşağılanmış	0	1	2	3	4
10. Yetersiz / Değersiz	0	1	2	3	4
11. Pişman / Vicdan azabı çeken	0	1	2	3	4
12. Gözden düşmüş	0	1	2	3	4
13. Sakin	0	1	2	3	4
14. Diğer (var ise): _____	0	1	2	3	4

E. Böyle bir durumu yaşasanız, içinizden ne yapmak gelirdi? …………………………………………….. ………..

APPENDIX C

Interpersonal Sensitiveness Scale

Aşağıdaki maddelerin size uygun olup olmama derecesine göre *"Hiç uygun değil", "Uygun değil", "Biraz uygun", "Uygun", " Tamamen uygun"* seçeneklerinden birisini "X" şeklinde işaretleyiniz. Doğru ya da yanlış cevap yoktur.

		Hiç Uygun Değil	Uygun Değil	Biraz Uygun	Uygun	Tamamen Uygun
1	İnsanlarla vedalaşırken kendimi güvensiz hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
2	Diğer insanlar üzerinde nasıl bir etki bıraktığım konusunda kaygılanırım.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Reddedilme korkusuyla ne düşündüğümü söylemekten kaçınırım.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Yeni birileriyle tanışırken kendimi tedirgin hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5
5	Eğer insanlar beni gerçekten tanısalar sevmezlerdi.	1	2	3	4	5
6	Yakın ilişkilerimde kendimi güvende hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5
7	İnsanları incitebilirim korkusuyla onlara öfkelenmem.	1	2	3	4	5
8	Bir arkadaşımla kavga ettikten sonra, tekrar barışana kadar kendimi rahatsız hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Yaptığım ya da söylediğim şeyler konusunda eleştirilmekten kaygı duyarım.	1	2	3	4	5
10	İnsanların genelde beni sevdiğini hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5
11	Birini gücendirmek ya da üzmektense yapmak istemediğim şeyi yapmayı tercih ederim.	1	2	3	4	5
12	Yaptığım bir şeyin iyi olduğuna ancak biri bana onun iyi olduğunu söylediğinde inanabilirim.	1	2	3	4	5
13	İnsanlarla vedalaşırken kendimi kaygılı hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5

14	Birisi bana iltifatlarda bulunduğunda mutlu olurum.	1	2	3	4	5
15	Duygularımın insanları bunaltacağından korkarım.	1	2	3	4	5
16	Diğer insanları mutlu hissettirebilirim.	1	2	3	4	5
17	İnsanlara kızmakta zorlanırım.	1	2	3	4	5
18	Diğer insanları eleştirmekten endişe duyarım.	1	2	3	4	5
19	Eğer birisi yaptığım bir şeyi eleştirirse kendimi kötü hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5
20	Diğer insanlar beni gerçekten tanısalardı, benimle ilgili daha olumsuz düşünürlerdi.	1	2	3	4	5
21	Her zaman eleştirileceğim beklentisi içindeyim.	1	2	3	4	5
22	İnsanların beni gerçekten tanımalarını istemem.	1	2	3	4	5
23	Eğer birisi beni üzerse bunu kolayca zihnimden atamam.	1	2	3	4	5
24.	Diğer insanların beni anlamadığını düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
25	Başkalarının benim hakkımda ne düşündüğü ile ilgili kaygılanırım.	1	2	3	4	5
26	Kimseye karşı kaba değilimdir.	1	2	3	4	5
27	Diğer insanların duygularını incitmekten endişe duyarım.	1	2	3	4	5
28	Birisi bana kızdığında incinirim.	1	2	3	4	5
29	Bir birey olarak benim değerim büyük oranda diğer insanların benim hakkımda ne düşündüğüne dayanır.	1	2	3	4	5
30	İnsanların benim hakkımda ne hissettiklerini umursarım.	1	2	3	4	5

The Guilt and Shame Scale

Bu ölçeğin amacı bazı duyguların hangi durumlarda ne derece yoğun yaşandığını belirlemektedir. Aşağıda bazı olaylar verilmiştir. Bu olaylar sizin başınızdan geçmiş olsaydı, ne kadar rahatsızlık duyardınız? Lütfen her durumu dikkatle okuyup öyle bir durumda ne kadar rahatsızlık duyacağınızı aşağıdaki ölçekten yararlanarak maddelerin yanındaki sayıların üzerine (X) isareti koyarak belirleyiniz.

1.Hiç rahatsızlık duymazdım   2.Biraz rahatsızlık duyardım   3. Oldukça rahatsızlık duyardım   4. Epey rahatsızlık duyardım   5. Çok rahatsızlık duyardım

1. Bir tartışma sırasında büyük bir hararetle savunduğunuz bir fikrin yanlış olduğunu ögrenmek.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Evinizin çok dağınık oldugu bir sırada beklenmeyen bazı misafirlerin gelmesi.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Birinin size verdigi bir sırrı istemeyerek başkalarına açıklamak.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Karsı cinsten birinin kalabalık bir yerde herkesin dikkatini çekecek şekilde size açıkça ilgi göstermesi.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Giysinizin, vücudunuzda kapalı tuttuğunuz bir yeri açığa çıkaracak sekilde buruşması ya da kıvrılması	1	2	3	4	5
6. Bir aşk ilişkisi içinde sadece kendi isteklerinizi elde etmeye çalıştığınızı ve karsı tarafı sömürdüğünüzü fark etmeniz.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Sorumlusu siz olduğunuz halde bir kusur ya da bir yanlış için bir başkasının suçlanmasına seyirci kalmak.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Uzman olmanız gereken bir konuda, bir konuşma yaptıktan sonra dinleyicilerin sizin söylediğinizin yanlış olduğunu göstermesi.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Çok işlek bir iş merkezinin bulunduğu bir köşede herkesin size bakmasına sebep olacak bir olay yaşamak.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Lüks bir restoranda başkaları size bakarken çatal bıçak kullanmanız gereken yerde elle yemek yediğinizi fark etmek.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Başkalarını aldatarak ve onları sömürerek büyük kazanç sağlamak.	1	2	3	4	5
12. İşçilerinizin sağlığına zarar vereceğini bildiğiniz halde bir yönetici olarak çalışma koşullarında bir değişiklik yapmamak.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Sözlü bir sınav sırasında kekelediğiniz ve heyecandan şaşırdığınızda hocanızın sizin bu halinizi kötü bir sınav örneği olarak bütün sınıfa göstermesi.	1	2	3	4	5

14. Tanıdığınız birinin sıkıntıda olduğunu bildiğiniz ve yardım edebileceğiniz halde yardım etmemek.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Bir partide yeni tanıştığınız insanlarla açık saçık bir fıkra anlattığınızda birçoğunun bundan rahatsız olması.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Aklınızca, bencilce ya da gereksizce büyük bir harcama yaptıktan sonra ebeveyninizin mali bir sıkıntı içinde olduklarını öğrenmek.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Arkadaşınızdan bir şeyler çaldığınız halde arkadaşınızın hırsızlık yapanın siz olduğunu hiçbir zaman anlamaması.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Bir davete ya da toplantıya rahat, gündelik giysilerle gidip herkesin resmi giyindiğini görmek.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Bir yemek davetinde bir tabak dolusu yiyeceği yere düşürmek.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Herkesten sakladığınız ve hoş olmayan bir davranışın açığa çıkarılması.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Bir kisiye hak etmedigi halde zarar vermek.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Alısveriş sırasında paranızın üstünü fazla verdikleri halde sesinizi çıkarmamak.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Ailenizin sizden beklediklerini yerine getirememek.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Çesitli bahaneler bularak yapmanız gereken işlerden kaçmak.	1	2	3	4	5

Interpersonal Problem Solving Scale

Aşağıda kişilerarası ilişkilerde yaşanan sorunlara yönelik ifadeler yazılmıştır. Sizden istenen bu ifadeleri tek tek okumanız ve her ifade için kendinizi değerlendirmenizdir. Tüm ifadelere yönelik işaretleme yapmanız önemlidir. Hiçbir ifadeyi boş bırakmamaya özen gösteriniz.

	Hiç Uygun Değil	Biraz Uygun	Uygun	Çoğunlukla Uygun	Tamamıyla Uygun
1.Kişilerarası ilişkilerimde bir problem yaşadığımda onu mutlaka çözmeye çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5
2.Problem yaşadığım kişinin gözüyle problemi görmeye çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5
3.Problem yaşadığımda ne olursa olsun, problem hemen çözülsün isterim.	1	2	3	4	5
4.Bir problemi çözerken "mutlaka bir sonuca ulaşmalıyım" diye düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5
5.Bir problem yaşadığımda kendimi çaresiz hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5
6.Bir sorunun nedeni benden kaynaklanıyorsa karamsarlığa kapılırım.	1	2	3	4	5
7.Problemin çözümü konusunda başarısız olacağımı düşünsem de onu çözmek için çabalarım.	1	2	3	4	5
8.Bir sorun yaşadığımda hemen kendimi suçlarım.	1	2	3	4	5
9.Bir problem yaşadığımda tüm hayatımın allak-bullak olduğunu hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5
10.Bir problemle karşılaştığımda önce bunun hayatımdaki önemini gözden geçiririm.	1	2	3	4	5
11.Bir sorun durumunda ne olursa olsun ilk adımın atılmasını karşı taraftan beklerim.	1	2	3	4	5
12.Bir problem yaşadığımda, bununla ilgili uzun süre yoğun üzüntü yaşarım.	1	2	3	4	5
13.Yaşadığım bir problemi çözmek için, önce adım adım neler yapabileceğimi düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5
14.Bir problem durumunda, problem yaşadığım kişinin problemle ilgili neler düşünüyor olabileceğini tahmin etmeye çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5

15.Bir problemin çözümü için birden çok çözüm yolu bulmaya çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5
16.Yaşadığım bir problemi çözmeye girişmeden önce, çözümün kolay ya da zor bir çözüm olup olmayacağını araştırırım.	1	2	3	4	5
17.Bir problem yaşadığımda öfkelenirim.	1	2	3	4	5
18.Bir problemle karşılaştığımda bu problem, hayatımın tamamını etkiler.	1	2	3	4	5
19.Bir sorunla karşılaştığımda, bununla ilgili yaşadıklarımı nasıl ifade edeceğimi düşünüp planlarım.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Ne yaparsam yapayım kişilerarası ilişkilerimde yaşayacağım bir problemin önüne geçemem.	1	2	3	4	5
21.Bir problem durumunda ne olursa olsun, haklılığımı ispat edip üste çıkmak için sonuna kadar kendimi savunurum.	1	2	3	4	5
22.Bir sorun yaşadığımda baştan, çözüm için ne kadar çaba harcasam da sonuçta sorunun çözülemeyeceğini düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5
23.Kişilerarası ilişkilerde problem yaşadığımda çözümün sonucu konusunda karamsarlığa kapılırım.	1	2	3	4	5
24.Bir sorun yaşadığımda, çözüm için ne yaparsam yapayım içinde bulunduğum durumu değiştiremem.	1	2	3	4	5
25.Yaşadığım yeni bir sorun karşısında, daha önce yaşadığım sorunlar için yaptıklarımdan yararlanırım.	1	2	3	4	5
26.Kişilerarası bir sorun yaşadığımda, bunu hiç yaşamamış gibi davranırım.	1	2	3	4	5
27.Bir sorun yaşadığımda, onu çözme konusunda kendimden kuşkulanırım.	1	2	3	4	5
28.Bir sorunu anlamaya çalışırken, sorun yaşadığım kişinin bakış açısıyla sorunu göremem.	1	2	3	4	5
29.Problemimi çözerken attığım her adımdan, karşımdaki kişinin davranışlarının bundan nasıl etkilenebileceğini tahmin etmeye çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5
30.Kişiler arası ilişkilerde bir sorun yaşadığımda, bu durum bana sanki hayatın sonuymuş gibi gelir.	1	2	3	4	5
31.Bir ilişkide benim açımdan bir problem olduğunda bunu o kişiye hemen ifade ederim.	1	2	3	4	5
32.Bir problem yaşadığımda, ilk önce bu problemin üstesinden gelip gelmeyeceğime yönelik kendi kendimi değerlendiririm.	1	2	3	4	5
33.Çözemediğim bir sorun olduğunda o anda "orada olmamak, birden yok olmak" isterim.	1	2	3	4	5
34.Bir problem yaşadığımda, başarılı çözüm için nelere ihtiyacımın olduğunu araştırırım .	1	2	3	4	5
35.Yaşadığım problemin bana veya başkalarına doğrudan ya da dolaylı etkilerini düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5

36. Problemlerden ders çıkartılacak durumlar olduğunu düşünerek olaya pozitif bakarım.	1	2	3	4	5
37. Problemin çözümünde karşımdakiyle ortak bir çaba göstermeye çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5
38.Biriyle bir problem yaşadığımda karşı taraf özür dilemedikçe durumu değiştirmek için uğraşmam.	1	2	3	4	5
39.Bir problem yaşadığımda hata karşı taraftaysa surat asarım.	1	2	3	4	5
40.Problemi yakınlarımla yaşıyorsam büyük bir hayal kırıklığına uğrarım.	1	2	3	4	5
41. Eğer yaşadığım problem büyükse dünya başıma yıkılmış gibi hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5
42.Problem konusunda benim hatamın olmadığını düşünüyorsam çözüm için hiçbir girişimde bulunmam.	1	2	3	4	5
43.Bir problem yaşadığımda "her kötü şey beni bulur" diye düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5
44.Kişilerarası bir problem yaşadığımda, problemi çözebilmek için araya başkalarını sokarım.	1	2	3	4	5
45.Bir problem yaşadığımda kendimi tutamam, hemen ağlarım.	1	2	3	4	5
46.Bir problem yaşadığımda problem çözülünceye kadar inatla üstüne giderim.	1	2	3	4	5
47.Problemlerle karşılaştığımda "keşke hiçbir zaman sorun yaşamasam" diye düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5
48.Bir problem yaşıyorsam çözülünceye kadar bunun dışında hiçbir şeye dikkatimi yoğunlaştıramam.	1	2	3	4	5
49.Yaşadığım bir problemi etkili bir şekilde çözebilmem için kendimi ve problem yaşadığım kişiyi olduğu gibi kabul ederim.	1	2	3	4	5
50.Kişilerarası problemlerimi kimseye zarar vermeyecek bir şekilde çözerim.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX F

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule

Bu ölçek farklı duyguları tanımlayan bir takım sözcükler içermektedir. <u>Son iki hafta</u> içinde nasıl hissettiğinizi düşünüp her maddeyi okuyun. Uygun cevabı her maddenin yanında ayrılan yere (<u>puanları daire içine alarak</u>) işaretleyin. Cevaplarınızı verirken aşağıdaki puanları kullanın.

1. Çok az veya hiç
2. Biraz
3. Ortalama
4. Oldukça
5. Çok fazla

1. İlgili	1	2	3	4	5
2. Sıkıntılı	1	2	3	4	5
3. Heyecanlı	1	2	3	4	5
4. Mutsuz	1	2	3	4	5
5. Güçlü	1	2	3	4	5
6. Suçlu	1	2	3	4	5
7. Ürkmüş	1	2	3	4	5
8. Düşmanca	1	2	3	4	5
9. Hevesli	1	2	3	4	5
10. Gururlu	1	2	3	4	5
11. Asabi	1	2	3	4	5
12. Uyanık	1	2	3	4	5
13. Utanmış	1	2	3	4	5
14. İlhamlı	1	2	3	4	5
15. Sinirli	1	2	3	4	5
16. Kararlı	1	2	3	4	5
17. Dikkatli	1	2	3	4	5
18. Tedirgin	1	2	3	4	5
19. Aktif	1	2	3	4	5
20. Korkmuş	1	2	3	4	5

Agglomeration Schedules Reported in Cluster Analyses of Situations

Situational Antecedents (Females)

Agglomeration Schedule

Stage	Cluster Combined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	3	7	348,000	0	0	3
2	1	4	350,000	0	0	3
3	1	3	373,500	2	1	5
4	5	6	573,000	0	0	5
5	1	5	642,500	3	4	7
6	2	8	688,000	0	0	7
7	1	2	760,667	5	6	0

Situational Antecedents (Males)

Agglomeration Schedule

Stage	Cluster Combined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	11	12	271,000	0	0	3
2	13	14	281,000	0	0	4
3	9	11	288,500	0	1	6
4	13	15	325,500	2	0	5
5	10	13	355,000	0	4	6
6	9	10	421,583	3	5	7
7	9	16	483,857	6	0	0

Agglomeration Schedules Reported in Cluster Analyses of Emotions

Moral Transgressions

Agglomeration Schedule

Stage	Cluster Combined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	1	2	175,333	0	0	2
2	1	4	219,444	1	0	7
3	9	10	232,444	0	0	6
4	7	13	286,667	0	0	11
5	3	6	286,667	0	0	8
6	8	9	300,111	0	3	9
7	1	11	327,259	2	0	8
8	1	3	348,583	7	5	12
9	8	12	615,667	6	0	10
10	5	8	676,028	0	9	11
11	5	7	907,022	10	4	12
12	1	5	2546,640	8	11	0

Embarrassing Public Situations

Agglomeration Schedule

Stage	Cluster Combined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	8	10	254,000	0	0	3
2	9	12	319,750	0	0	6
3	8	11	339,250	1	0	6
4	4	6	361,000	0	0	5
5	1	4	412,000	0	4	10
6	8	9	426,542	3	2	7
7	2	8	487,500	0	6	11
8	7	13	535,000	0	0	11
9	3	5	601,000	0	0	10
10	1	3	730,333	5	9	12
11	2	7	1259,458	7	8	12
12	1	2	1715,400	10	11	0

Academic Failure

Agglomeration Schedule

Stage	Cluster Combined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	3	10	432,000	0	0	2
2	3	13	494,000	1	0	6
3	6	8	581,000	0	0	7
4	9	11	635,000	0	0	9
5	1	5	668,000	0	0	11
6	3	4	726,000	2	0	9
7	6	12	774,500	3	0	8
8	2	6	900,667	0	7	11
9	3	9	1364,500	6	4	10
10	3	7	1669,500	9	0	12
11	1	2	1958,500	5	8	12
12	1	3	2251,286	11	10	0

Exposed body

Agglomeration Schedule

Stage	Cluster Combined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	4	6	528,000	0	0	6
2	9	12	583,000	0	0	4
3	8	10	619,000	0	0	4
4	8	9	686,500	3	2	7
5	7	13	693,000	0	0	11
6	3	4	727,000	0	1	8
7	8	11	819,000	4	0	10
8	1	3	896,667	0	6	12
9	2	5	979,000	0	0	10
10	2	8	1347,100	9	7	11
11	2	7	1734,786	10	5	12
12	1	2	2167,000	8	11	0

Sexual Stimuli

Agglomeration Schedule

Stage	Cluster Combined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	9	10	176,000	0	0	2
2	9	12	209,000	1	0	3
3	9	11	287,667	2	0	4
4	8	9	311,750	0	3	7
5	4	5	335,000	0	0	6
6	2	4	421,500	0	5	7
7	2	8	549,667	6	4	10
8	3	6	806,000	0	0	10
9	7	13	1018,000	0	0	11
10	2	3	1064,500	7	8	11
11	2	7	1795,200	10	9	12
12	1	2	2319,417	0	11	0

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