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THE MEASUREMENT AND CONSTRUCT OF SHAME

presented by

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THE MEASUREMENT AND CONSTRUCT OF SHAME

Ву

Wesley Novak

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

THE MEASUREMENT AND CONSTRUCT OF SHAME

By

Wesley Novak

Whereas shame, the concept and the experience, has been theoretically explained in a variety of ways, there has been very little empirical work investigating shame. The purpose of this investigation was to both theoretically and statistically discover, through factor analytic techniques, the dimensionality of shame. It was postulated that previously constructed shame scales might be meaningfully grouped into a profile of various clusters or components of shame. Towards that end, a preconceived profile of shame clusters, based upon an affect theory of shame was formulated. The profile model assumed that shame becomes differentially associated with its source or activator. Items from existing shame measures (Beall Shame-Guilt Test, Perlman Attitude Anxiety Survey, and Cook Shame Instrument) were combined and administered to a college population. Factor analytic techniques were used to test the preconceived profile in addition to other measurement models suggested by the data.

Confirmatory factor analysis indicated that a four factor model "best fits" existing shame measurement. The results did not support the theoretically preconceived profile. Instead, the data supported a model of three factors as represented by three general shame states: feelings of inferiority, extreme self-consciousness, and fears about exposure of self. Additionally, a fourth factor indicated that individuals differ in their propensity to experience shame in "consensually validated" shame

situations. This shame vulnerability factor merits further empirical work, since the qualitative nature of the shame reaction of the respondents remains unclear.

Present shame theory fails to adequately elucidate the model found in existing shame measures. The measurement model which fits the data requires further conceptual thought, particularly the relationship between feelings of inferiority and feelings of exposure (self-consciousness). One path model which fits the data is presented and discussed. Additionally, this investigation indicated that though there is a rich range of states described in association with the construct of shame, current shame measurement appears limited in its "tapping" of this domain. It is suggested that the domain of existing shame measures be expanded to include more of the states of shame described in the literature.

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Introduction

Very little research attention has been paid to the concept of shame as an important dynamic in personality formation. Lynd (1958) has attributed the neglect of shame to the lack of clarity about the meaning of the word, which she claimed has often been used interchangeably with, or subsumed under the heading of "guilt". Erikson assserted that: "shame is an emotion insufficiently studied because in our civilization it is so clearly and so easily absorbed by guilt" (Erikson, 1950, p. 252). Fisher (1985) has suggested that the frequent substitution of "guilt" for "shame", in both common usage and in otherwise precise psychological descriptions, provides at least circumstantial evidence of the avoidance of the terrible pain of shame; "simply put, no one wants to talk about it" (p.4). What has been written has failed to yield a consensus as to its nature.

Shame, the concept and the experience, has been understood in a variety of ways. The plethora of theoretical "lenses" used to investigate the shame experience has resulted, in this author's view, in much confusion about the primary events (both inner and outer) and psychological meaning (significance) of a "shame" experience, as well as the definition of the term/concept shame. The term shame has been used to describe: a primary affect or discrete emotion (Tomkins, 1963; Izard,1977; Kaufman, 1985); a specific form of anxiety about contemptuous rejection (Wurmser, 1981); a basic attitude (way of experiencing accessible to introspection, ways of behaving observable to others, and unconscious inner states) arising from a specific developmental epoch (Erikson, 1959); a complex

phenomenological state with specific affective and cognitive features (Lewis, 1971); an affective experience intimately linked with identity, narcissism, and sense of self (Brikson, 1950, 1968; Lichtenstein, 1963; Kinston, 1980, 1982); a component of or defense against the sexual instinct (Freud, 1894, 1905, 1926; Abraham, 1913; Fenichel, 1946; Jacobsen, 1964; Kohut, 1971); a trait (Wurmser, 1981); a specific form of conscience (Anderson, 1977); a basic form of unpleasure (Broucek, 1982); a specific cognitive and affective 'signal experience' associated with conformity (Kinston, 1983); a neurotic symptom (shyness, bashfulness and self-effacement) (Wurmser, 1981), and a specific form of social anxiety (Buss, 1980). Theoretical confusion continues to exist for a host of reasons. Most authors have ignored the phenomenology of shame. Most make no attempt to compare their observations/interpretations with those of their colleagues.

Another problem has been clearly distinguishing shame from guilt. The symbols of "shame" and "guilt" have been used to depict a range of diverse inner experiences. The two phenomena have been contrasted on various dimensions depending upon the sensitivity and theoretical orientation of the particular theorist. Foci for differentiating the two constructs have included: phenomenology (feelings of inferiority versus feelings of responsibility/wrongdoing) (Izard, 1977; Lewis, 1971), types of activators or content of the experience (what it is which one feels shame or quilt about) (Lewis, 1971; Tomkins, 1963; Kaufman, 1985), source of disapproval (primarily one's self or other persons) (Lewis, 1971; Erikson, 1968; Freud, 1950; Benedict, 1934; Buss, 1980), the "target" of negative evaluation or aggressive behavior (Lewis, 1971; Wurmser, 1981), aspect of Freudian super-ego activated (either the forbidding or goalcreating aspect) (Piers and Singer, 1953; Lewis, 1971),

nature of negative affect directed against one's self (contempt, fear, distress, hatred, rage) (Kaufman, 1984; Wurmser, 1981), unconscious fears with which the experience is associated (rejection/abandonment vs. punishment) (Piers and Singer, 1953; Wurmser, 1981), nature of inner comparison (compare self to global diffuse image of perfection vs. compare deed or misdeed or thought of deed/misdeed to standards or ethical codes of behavior (Wurmser, 1981; Izard, 1977, Lynd, 1958, Fisher, 1984), and characteristic defenses (Lewis, 1971; Wurmser, 1981). Additionally, various approaches have asserted that the same situation may give rise to both shame and quilt (Lewis, 1971; Lynd, 1958), that shame and guilt may alternate with and reinforce one another (Lynd, 1958; Lewis, 1971), and that a particular situation may be experienced by an individual as shame or quilt or both according to the nature of the person, and/or the nature of his/her relation to other persons who may be involved (Izard, 1977; Lynd, 1958; Lewis, 1971; Anderson, 1977). Lynd (1958) has emphasized that shame and guilt are in no sense antitheses, or at opposite poles from each other. Rather they involve different foci, modes, and stresses. Most recently, Tomkins (in press) has viewed guilt as a specific type of shame, which he defines as a specific affect auxillary. He states "shame is experienced as guilt when positive affect is attenuated by virtue of moral normative sanctions experienced as conflicting with what is exciting or enjoyable" (p. 22).

The development of a meaningful and shared definition of the construct shame has been further confounded by theorists neglect to differentiate the central phenomenon called "shame" from perceived variants of it. Wurmser (1981) has differentiated "shame anxiety" from "shame affect proper". "Shame anxiety" is not the actual experience "shame affect proper" but is rather the cue that serves to

help avoid a shame-inducing event or escape from shame that is already being experienced.

Lewis (1971) has differentiated two variants of shame experience depending upon the availability or overtness of affect. In "overt, unidentified shame" shame affect is overt (to an observer) but the person experiencing it either will not or can not identify it. An observer may see it as shame, but the person is unable to communicate. He/she often states that he/she feels "lousy", or "tense", or "blank". In what Lewis has called "by-passed shame" an individual is aware of the cognitive content of shame-connected events, but experiences only a "wince", "blow", or "jolt". The person's experience proceeds smoothly, except for a peripheral, nonspecific disturbance in awareness which serves mainly to note the shame potential in the circumstance. Ideation involves doubt about the self's image from the other's viewpoint.

Buss (1980) has differentiated four variants of what he labels "social anxiety" (shame, embarrassment, audience anxiety, and shyness). All four forms of social anxiety begin with acute public self-awareness, in which the individual is aware of him/herself as a social object. "Shame" and "embarrassment" are reactions in which the parasympathetic part of the autonomic system is in dominance and self-blame is present. Shame is viewed as being a more severe (intensity) and persistent affective state than embarrassment. An "embarrassment" reaction consists of blushing, a "silly" smile, and a nervous giggle or laugh. The "embarrassed" individual feels foolish, ridiculous, and uncovered due to impropriety, lack of competence, conspicuous, breaches of privacy, or overpraise. Buss states that shame may have many of the same observable reactions as embarrassment, but it does not involve blushing. Severe shame looks like depression- the individual's gaze is

averted and mis/her face is covered with his hands. The primary feeelings in shame are self-disgust and selfdisappointment (the "shamed" individual verbally attacks his/her self and/or feels let down by his/her self). consists of intense feelings of regret or mortification, which are hard to verbalize. "Audience anxiety" and "shyness" are traits in which the sympathetic nervous system is dominant. Disorganization, conspicuousness, evaluation, and fear are present in both, but more intense in audience anxiety. In shyness, defined as a relative absence of expected social behavior, the individual averts eye contact with a tendency to shrink back, and communication is restrained. Affectively the individual feels naked and revealed, and worries about what might happen (apprehensive about being seen as ill-mannered, clumsy, intrusive, or too loud, saying wrong thing, appearing foolish, being ignored, or rejected), as contrasted with embarrassment and shame in which the person reacts to events that activate acute public self-awareness. In audience anxiety, defined as fear, tension and disorganization by an individual in front of an audience, the person may worry about being evaluated as performing poorly and failing (evaluation anxiety) and/or being rejected as a person (whether he/she will be liked and appreciated).

Another problem with elucidating the shame experience as well as reaching consensual definition for the term shame may be the nature of the shame experience itself. Various theorists have noted the isolating, alienating, and incommunicable nature of the experience of shame (Kaufman, 1980; Tomkins, 1963; Lynd, 1958; Piers and Singer, 1963). There is no readily expressive language of shame, no accepted form by which these experiences can be communicated. In attempts to understand diffused experiences of which shame is one example, the development of a language

that can express such experiences becomes of great importance. There are obvious advantages for certain kinds of scientific precision of a language that concentrates on a limited exactness which demands elimination of ambiguity and complexity. The danger is that such concentration and language usage may lead to the neglect of significant experiences that may be of special relevance for the understanding of people's experience. A language that is confined to labeling rather than describing, to denotation at the expense of connotation, does not have the means of expressing experiences whose nature may include ambiguity and surplus meaning. Thus, theorists have used metaphoric language and ambiguous terms in describing the inner experience of shame.

Though most of us can agree on the existence of subjective states of shame, theorists are still attempting to find a dynamic definition of the construct. that guided this research is that shame is an innate affect (Tomkins 1963; Kaufman, 1985) Other theoretical perspectives could also apply, so that this research is not valid as an empirical test of "affect theory". An affect is defined as a complex process with neurophysiological (electrochemical activity in the nervous system), neuromusculature (physical expression of affect in face), and phenomenological (subjective feeling) aspects. Affects are triggered at subcortical centers where specific "programs" for each distinct affect are stored, programs which are innately endowed and have been genetically inherited. The shame response proper is the dropping of the eyes, face, and head and the conscious experience of its resulting feedback. According to Tomkins, it is highly probable that the adult will modify the shame expression because it is not socially desirable for him to express shame too openly, too intensely, or too often.

In subjective experience affects do not occur in "pure" form, so that the "feeling" of shame will vary according to the total complex of affect(s), source(s), and response(s) (Tomkins, in press). Kaufman (1985) has asserted that it is a sudden unexpected feeling of exposure and accompanying <u>self-consciousness</u> that characterize the essential nature of the affect of shame. In shame the self "feels" exposed (either to one's own self or others) in a diminished or defective sense. Tomkins (1963) has emphasized the <u>ambivalent</u> nature of shame affect; the shame response is "an act of facial communication in which excitement or enjoyment is only incompletely reduced...there is some serious impediment to communication which forces consciousness back to the face and the self... Self-consciousness is heightened by virtue of the unwillingness of the self to renounce the object" (p. 137). According to Tomkins, in shame, the object 🗸 (either internal or external) from which we are alienated is one in which we still sustain some positive cathexis (interest). If one stands judged and inadequate before one's "better" self, one still possesses and maintains interest in "living up to" or "pleasing" that "better" self. Kaufman's description of the root experience of shame (exposure of self in diminished or defective sense) which quided this research. It is important to note though, that Tomkins' and Kaufman's descriptions of the core shame affect are not incompatible; it is possible that what activates the "sudden feeling of exposure" (Kaufman's focus) could be the "incomplete reduction of interest/enjoyment" (Tomkins' focus).

The affect of shame may be activated in a variety of situations. It can be primarily situationally aroused (shame as amplifier, according to Tomkins) or can become more entrenched within the self, so that the perception and interpretation of environmental events becomes biased in the

direction of activating shameful feelings and the individual "lives in" a more chronic state of shame or vigilant defensive state escaping and/or avoiding experiencing shame. Kaufman (1985) refers to the latter as "internalized shame" whereas Tomkins (1963) refers to the latter as "magnified" shame.

Shame has been postulated to be the source of many complex and disturbing inner states: depression, alienation, self-doubt, isolating loneliness, paranoid and schizoid phenomenon, inferiority, perfectionism, and inadequacy and failure (Tomkins, 1963; Kaufman, 1985); clinical depression (Lewis, 1971), borderline personality disorder (Fisher, 1984), chemical dependency (Wurmser, 1977), narcissistic personality disorder (Broucek, 1982), eating disorders (Kaufman, 1985), physical and sexual abuse (Kaufman (1985), alcohol and other addictions (Kaufman, 1985). While such a view highlights the perceived importance of shame in the development of psychopathology, its validity awaits a more precise understanding/definition of what shame is as well as its dynamic relationship with other affects and the other sub-systems of personality (homeostatic, drive, perceptual, cognitive, and motor).

One objective of this study was to investigate the extent of shame found in various clinical and normal populations. To do so, it is necessary to differentiate various types of shame. Items from previously established shame scales might be meaningfully grouped into a "profile" of various sources and/or activators of shame. Thus particular sources of shame for an individual or group could be identified.

Statement of Problem

Systematic attempts to measure shame have used "global" scales for shame and have generally attempted to distinguish it from guilt. Perlman (1958) constructed the "Attitude Anxiety Survey" with which he achieved some success in discriminating between guilt anxiety and shame anxiety. His results were replicated much later by Negri (1978), establishing with some confidence that the two constructs can be differentiated empirically. Beall's "Shame-Guilt Test" (1971) was designed to measure tendencies towards the two affects directly. Shortened versions of the "Shame-Guilt Test" (Smith, 1972; Korpi, 1977; J. Jones, 1980; D. Jones, 1981) have been used with positive results in more recent studies. Two other scales, the Revised Stanford Shyness Survey (Pilkonis, 1977) and the Cattell Embarrassing Circumstances Test (1960), have been used to systematically measure shyness and social embarrassment. Shyness has been hypothesized by both Kaufman (1985) and Tomkins (1963) as a variant of shame- shame in the presence of a stranger while embarrassment has been hypothesized as shame resulting from being seen in some way as socially inappropriate (Kaufman, 1985). Such definitions make shyness and embarrassment nonmutually exclusive variants of shame. Most recently, Cook (1985) has been developing a measure designed to systematically assess "internalized" feelings of shame. That is shame affect that has been magnified in frequency, duration, and intensity such that the individual suffers enduring mortification by shame. So far no attempt has been made to consolidate and refine the shame aspects of these instruments into a profile including various "types" of shame. It is the intent of this investigation to theoretically and statistically develop through factor analytic techniques such a shame profile. There is some



research and theoretical support for such an endeavor.

The theoretical underpinnings for a shame profile stem from the work of Tomkins (1963) and Kaufman (1985). Both theorists view shame as an innate affect, with Kaufman observing that the root of shame is the feeling of exposure arksigmaof self (either to one's own self or to others) in a painful or diminished sense. The affect can be triggered by various activators, which can be meaningfully distinguished from one another, as well as become internalized. Tomkins (1963) has delineated four general sources of shame affect: interpersonal relations, the body (both movement and appearance), work, and the self. Both Kaufman (1985) and Tomkins (1963) have hypothesized that seemingly diverse experiences such as shyness in front of a stranger, self-consciousness in talking before a large group, social embarrassment, and guilt for immorality or transgression, while phenomenologically felt as distinct experiences, are variants of shame affect. Both theorists have carefully described the impact and interaction of shame affect with three other motivational systems: affect (Tomkins, 1963; Kaufman, 1980), need (Kaufman, 1980), and drive (Tomkins, 1963; Kaufman, 1980). Shame's interaction and subsequent "binding" with any or all of these other sub-systems result in its internalization. In short, their theory indicates that shame can more meaningfully be understood as a profile of activators and/or sources rather than as a unitary construct. Another significant distinction made is that between partial, temporary shame (shame as amplifier) and more chronic, enduring shame (magnified shame). An affect "acts" as an amplifier by extending the duration and impact of whatever triggers it. By being immediately activated and "co-assembled" with its activator, affect as amplifier "makes conscious" the events which activated it. Magnified affect results from the interconnection of one affect-laden

scene with another affect- laden scene. Psychological magnification necessarily presupposes affective amplification of sets of connected scenes.

With the conceptualization of shame as an innate affect, which can be activated in seemingly disparate situations with consequent diverse phenomenological experiences, the author examined the instruments currently used in the measurement of shame. It was hypothesized that shame items might be meaningfully organized into separate content categories. Such a reorganization/consolidation of shame instruments might result in a clearer understanding of the prevalence of shame, as well as its impact and outgrowth on human functioning. Mirman (1984), in his dissertation research, did a post hoc analysis of 17 items of the Korpi Shame Scale. Raters (well-acquainted with the concept of shame) placed each of the seventeen items into one of five categories of shame activators. These categories were: a)task competence--lack of competence at work or in a task of some sort; (b) social incongruity or inappropriateness; (c)body-shame--shame about some aspect of one's own body; (d)relationship shame -- interpersonal incompetence or failure, or shame-producing relationship needs, interests, attitudes or activities; and (e) feelings -- shame about one's experience or expression of feelings. Results indicated, that although these scales were generally moderately inter-correlated, subjects did indeed respond differentially to the items in these scales. In addition, both the presence of sex differences along with the fact that the correlations between the scores on these scales and that of other measures varied among the subscales, suggested that these subscales were tapping different phenomena.

The following hypothesis is under investigation: there exists a shame profile with shame differentially associated with clusters of self experience.

Hypothesized Profile

Competence Shame

The person with competence shame experiences him or herself as incompetent. It tends to focus on one of two areas: 1) physical abilities (e.g. muscular strength, agility, and coordination), and 2) mental abilities (intelligence and creativity). There is a keen sense of "being without", without essential talent and ability, without skills to be proud of, and without redeeming strengths and qualities. In its most intense form, the self is experienced as a failure, worthless, enormously stupid and incapable. The individual sees others as endowed with greater skills and abilities and is constantly comparing him/herself and concluding that others are more agile and intelligent.

Joffe (1984) has postulated an association between competence shame and various clinical problems. Unresolved feelings of competence shame frequently result in problems of work and performance. Work activities provoke feelings of shame, and usually a pattern of procrastination evolves. Competence shame is also associated with test anxiety, math anxiety and performance anxiety in general. The fear is fear of exposure of shame. Competence shame is often associated with problems of career choice, as the individual shows a tendency to misrepresent his or her strengths and abilities. The avoidance of shame affect can also lead to a pattern of underachievement (Joffe, 1984). White's (1959) postulate that shame always includes incompetence is consistent with this particular category of shame.

A subcategory of competence shame is performance shame, in which shame affect is more "situationally determined, as opposed to representing a characterlogical basis of competence shame. This subcategory of shame occurs when one

fails to do what one "should" be able to do, or is caught unprepared for an assignment. For example, the individual who after a semester of adequate or better performance in the classroom, fails miserably on the final examination (Wong, 1984). Tomkins' (1963) focus on sources of shame stemming from work is also located within this category.

Appearance/Body Shame

The individual experiences him/herself as physically unpresentable and lacking in physical appeal and attractiveness. In its most intense form, the self is experienced as ugly, offensive to look at, freakish in appearance. The focal issue tends to be centered on one or more body parts. Common themes include being too short, too tall, too thin, too fat, or having a scar. Others are seen as physically perfect or lacking in significant flaws. A person with body shame feels that other people are judging him/her on the basis of his/her physical appearance (Joffe, 1984).

Appearance shame has been hypothetically associated with a wide range of problems related to social and romantic intimacy (Joffe, 1984). The person finds it difficult to enter into romantic relationships, as courtship encounters are filled with anxiety and depression. Once in a romantic relationship, appearance shame is often associated with difficulties in being vulnerable and feeling close, because the individual feels unworthy. There is a tendency to act out one's feelings of abandonment and limit one's contacts with others. Two common presenting complaints are social isolation and lonliness-based depression. Appearance shame is also associated with eating disorders. The focal issue is either body weight, or more specific body parts, such as the thighs or stomach. In the natural attempt to control these feelings, the person may become locked in an obsessional

struggle with body weight.

Rejection/Relationship Shame

The person with rejection shame experiences him/herself as unloveable; there is a keen sense of not belonging, of being unwanted and left out. There is a tendency to blame oneself for being rejected. The individual reports that there is something wrong with him/her, he/she is flawed and objectionable. For the most part rejection shame does not lead to a centering on a specific flaw; instead what is reported is a free-floating anxiety that one is awful and unlikeable. The individual with rejection shame believes that other people do not care for him/her. There is paranoia that other people do not hold him/her in high regard, that he/she is either discounted or held in contempt.

In general, unresolved feelings of rejection shame have been hypothetically associated with problems of social and romantic intimacy (Joffe, 1984). Unresolved feelings of rejection shame can lead to a pattern of unassertivenss and dependency. Connections with others are experienced as tenuous and easily broken. Friends are chosen more in an attempt to meet security needs than for genuine compatibility. For example, considerably younger or older friends are chosen in order to avoid the risk of rejection. A pattern of dependency may develop in which the individual's primary motivation for being in a relationship is one of preventing rejection. Unresolved feelings of rejection shame can also lead to a pattern of social isolation. Social contacts are kept to a minimum, which is also often accompanied by a large amount of resentment aimed at one's supposed rejectors (Joffe, 1984).

Character Shame

The person with character shame experiences him/herself as weak, unstable and hopelessly flawed. The presence of a serious flaw threatens to ruin his/her life. Strong feelings of self-doubt and self-disgust are reported. Words like sick, ugly, and stinks are used to describe the self. Feelings of character shame tend to be centered on one of two themes: (a) either the self is experienced as overly emotional, irrational, immature and out of control or (b) the self is experienced as weak, spineless and without inner substance. Other people are seen as stronger and more mature than him/herself and in possession of true character and inner fiber (Joffe, 1984).

Developmentally, character shame has been hypothesized to interfer with the acquisition of a healthy relationship with one's feelings (Joffe, 1984). Emotions are viewed as an enemy, something to be controlled. A person with a history of character shame often knows less than the average person about what he/she is feeling and why. They can become emotionally overcontrolled and exhibit the range of problems associated with overcontrol. Emotions that undermine one's sense of self-control are particularly prone to becoming bound by shame. A person with character shame often projects an unreal image of strength in an attempt to prove to both self and others that one is strong and capable. As control fails, and emotions leak, the individual resorts to drugs and alcohol in order to fend off unwanted feelings of helplessness and maintain an inner feeling of control. Individuals with unresolved character shame may act out their felt lack of control. They often alternate between trying to hide their weaknesses and seeking reassurance that someone cares for them. Sometimes individuals with character shame appear hysterical. Kaufman's (1980) character with a "shame-based identity", Wurmser's character with "warps" in

the "perceptual-expressive zone", Fisher's (1985) borderline patient with an "identity of two", and Broucek's (1983) "narcissistic types" are all descriptions of character shame.

Affect Shame

This type of shame is activated when events occur which would normally result in the experiencing and/or expression of any of the other primary affects. For example, when an individual loses an important relationship either through death, separation, or altercation, one would expect the individual to experience/express sadness through crying, the affect of distress. The individual with affect-shame would instead feel shame. Whereas affect shame is a precursor to internalized shame, it is more specifically focused on a delimited part of self. Affect shame may be specific to any one of the primary emotions or combinations thereof. In its most extreme form, all experiencing of affect is "cut-off". Consequently, the individual does not express/experience any of the primary affects. Freugently, such an individual can be identified through his/her public mask of a "stone-face".

Individuals with affect-shame have difficulty experiencing and expressing their feelings. Affect expression is viewed as a sign of inner defficiency. Affect shame is frequently found in individuals with character shame.

Moral/Ethical Shame

This type of shame results from either transgressing or failing to live up to moral, ethical, and religious codes. Moral shame may occur as readily and as frequently from omission as from commission, from failure to feel, think, or act, in a prescribed way at a certain time, as well as from actual feelings, thoughts, or acts that violate moral codes

or beliefs. The codes may be explicit or implicit and accepted intuitively. Almost everyone has an ethical framework which quides his/her interpersonal and social behavior, but very few people carry the structure and details of this framework in consciousness all the time. Moral shame arises when one's own acts or one's failures to act, are exposed to censure (by others or self), either overtly or imaged by the self. This category of shame is quite prevalent in our society, and arises from the value systems which each of us has developed through parental, educational, and religious strictures. The severity of breach from "accepted" behavior varies from smaller "ethical lapses" (accepting "too much" change from a cashier, revealing a confidence) to acts which are considered so wrong or sinful that even their contemplation brings deep shame (murder, marital infidelity, child abuse) (M. Wong, personal communication, August, 1984).

Social Inappropriateness or Embarrassment Shame

The individual in embarrassment shame "feels seen" in some way as socially inappropriate. This can happen in various ways, when the individual fails to appear as he "should" and is caught in a compromising position. Embarrassment arises not from a lack of intellect, character, competence, or preparation, but is due to totally unexpected circumstances in which the individual has little or no control. Yet the individual feels shame in that he/she believes that he/she should have anticipated the possibility and made the appropriate correction. Individuals may also experience embarassment shame when they commit a social gaffe, such as over-dressing, using incorrect table manners, or talking at inappropriate times when in the presence of others. These are all examples of mistakes in social judgment.

Shame Awareness

The individual who scores high on this cluster of shame is conscious of the phenomenological experience of shame affect proper. It is expected that individuals who are sensitive to the experience of shame (and can self-report the experience) are more likely to have internalized the affect, that is suffered from more chronic, enduring shame. Thus, individuals who score high on this scale would be expected to report high on character, relationship, and affect shame scales.

Research Design and Objective

To date no attempt has been made to consolidate and refine existing shame measures. It is hypothesized that previously constructed shame scales might be meaningfully grouped into a profile of various "clusters" or "components" of shame. It is the purpose of this investigation to both theoretically and statistically discover, through factor analytic techniques, the dimensionality of shame. Items from existing shame measures will be combined and administered to a college population. A preconceived profile of shame clusters will be tested for its "fit" to the data through factor analytic techniques. Additionally, other measurement models suggested by the data will be tested in an attempt to determine statistically the factor structure of shame.

Methodology

Participants

The participants were 310 introductory psychology students at Michigan State University who were given extra credit for their participation in this study. The final total sample was composed of 220 females and 90 males.

Procedure

The measures were administered in a group setting with groups composed of approximately fifty to seventy-five students. They each were provided with a testing packet within which were: the SGT (a questionnaire consisting of shame items from both the Perlman Attitude Anxiety Survey and the Beall Shame-Guilt Test) and the Cook Shame Instrument. The two testing instruments were administered with their order counterbalanced across all participants.

Testing Instruments

SGT

The SGT is a combination of items from the Beall Shame-Guilt Test (Beall, 1972) and the Perlman Attitude Anxiety Survey (1958). Beall developed the "Shame-Guilt" test to measure tendencies towards the two affects directly. The instrument is a 103 item Likert format test which

presents situations and requires the respondent to evaluate, on a one to five scale, how upsetting each would be for him or her. Beall developed her item pool and then had several clinicians rate each item as either shame-inducing or quilt-inducing to establish content validity. Shame items were defined as situations that implied exposure of self, failure to live up to an ideal, self-deficiencies, and embarrassment of self. Beall's test was the basis for two subsequent revisions: the 36-item Korpi Shame-Guilt Test (Korpi, 1977), and the 40 item Smith Shame-Guilt Test (Smith, 1972). None of these three tests have been published, and only the Beall Test has been cited in published research (Wood, Pilusuk & Uren, 1973). Perlman (1958) constructed the Attitude Anxiety Survey, in which he attempted to discriminate between quilt anxiety and shame anxiety. The survey consists of 52 Likert-type items in which the respondent is asked to rate how "disturbed" most people would feel in a particular situation. The survey includes 25 shame anxiety items. For inclusion in the SGT the Perlman shame anxiety items were modified: (1) proper nouns were changed to personal pronouns, (2) respondents were asked to rate their own reaction to particular situations rather than to rate how "most people" would feel, (3) respondents were asked to rate how "anxious" they would feel rather than how "disturbed".

Cook (1985) has been developing a scale designed to measure the extent to which individuals experience shameful feelings about themselves. Initially, the scale consisted of childhood (23 items) and adult subscales (48 items). A later version of the instrument has combined the two subscales into a single forty item scale. Because the revised edition of the "Cook Shame Instrument" did not arrive until the completion of testing, the earlier version of this test was used in this study. Only the 48 items included in the adult

subscale were included in the analysis of the data because the childhood items asked the respondent to "recall" how he/she felt in their family of origin which was not consistent with the "present-oriented" status of the other items included in the SGT. Only 8 of the items from the childhood scale are included in the updated version of the "Cook Shame Instrument". The test presents the respondent with a list of statements describing feelings or experiences and requires that the respondent indicate the frequency with which he/she finds him/herself experiencing what is described in the situation. At present, Cook is attempting to develop norms, as well as begin to examine the relationship of shame to chemical dependency and abuse. The scale is specifically designed to measure debilitating or dysfunctional levels of shame.

Explanation of Empirical Investigation

The analysis begins with a content based theory of how shame items should be partitioned and then proceeds to test that theory empirically. The empirical analysis of responses to the items may provide evidence which supports alternative theories about shame. The meaning of some of the items as perceived by the item writer may be different from the meaning of these items as perceived by the respondents. The researcher may disregard "subtle" features of content which are perceived as important by the respondents. For example, an item writer focused on one idea may not realize that a certain word is ambiguous, that it is open to a different interpretation. The people responding to the item have no such bias and may thus generate answers that are irrelevant to the assessment of the desired trait. These item failures will be detected by the statistical analysis since these items will not be "parallel" to the other items in their

cluster. The preconceived clusters may fail for reasons other than a few poorly written items; there may be very different dimensions determining the responses than those imagined by the investigator. That is there may be an entirely different way of clustering the items which is more appropriate to the dimensions which actually determine the responses. This could be determined by submitting the data to an exploratory factor analysis (Hunter and Gerbing, 1982).

Two major areas of concern were addressed in an attempt to provide structure to the construct/concept of shame. First, is the issue of adequacy, which primarily has to do with the initial item selection. If the factor structure to be derived is to be a reflection of the domain of shame, the pool of items to be selected must be representative. The researcher sampled from several shame instruments (Perlman, 1959; Beall, 1972; and Cook, 1985) each puported based upon different approaches to the construct shame. The Perlman Atitude Anxiety Survey attempts to differentiate anxiety related to the funtioning of guilt from anxiety related to the functioning of shame. The Beall Shame-Guilt Test attempts to differentiate the affect of shame from the affect of guilt. The "Cook Shame Instrument" attempts to assess more chronic, enduring shame than the other two shame measures included in this study. Initially the researcher planned to include some original shame items (stemming from Tomkins (1963) and Kaufman's (1980) shame theories), postulating a need to expand the domain of shame being assessed. It was subsequently decided to limit this study to an assessment of existing shame measures, before attempting to expand the domain of shame measurement.

The second area of concern has to do with the meaningfulness of the factor structure derived from the analysis. In order to demonstrate that the clusters of shame

items derived in this investigation measure meaningful and unique dimensions of shame, a test of dimensionality of the concept of shame was undertaken. That test, as described by Hunter and Gerbing (1982) and Hunter, Gerbing, and Boster (1982), measures the degree of external parallelism or external consistency shown by the shame clusters. Basically, external consistency holds that if the shame clusters are alternate measures of the same underlying, unidimensional concept of shame, they will each have the same pattern of correlations to other clusters or traits. Conversely, if the shame clusters truely represent different dimensions of shame, the clusters will have different patterns of correlations with the other clusters.

Statistical Procedures

The data were analyzed as follows:

One-hundred and thirty-one items were selected from previous shame measures (Perlman, 1958; Beall, 1972; Cook, 1985) and were arranged in clusters each of which appeared to measure a single underlying dimension. The proposed theoretical structure of each scale was submitted to a formal confirmatory factor analysis. The confirmatory factor analysis used the classic least squares estimation procedure called either oblique groups factor analysis (Hunter, 1977) or the group-centroid method (Nunnally, 1978). To implement the cluster analysis, correlations were computed between all items. The correlations for factors were corrected for attenuation to provide an estimate of what the true correlation would be if the variables were perfectly reliable (Gillmore, 1970; Nunnally, 1967). Three corrections for attenuation are needed for a cluster analysis and were implemented through the PACKAGE program (Hunter and Cohen,

1969): 1) intercorrelations among clusters need to be corrected for the different amounts of measurement error caused by having clusters of different sizes; 2) the correlations between an item and the cluster to which it belongs must be corrected downward to eliminate the spurious inflation caused by a common error of measurement; (3) the spuriously low correlation between an item and a cluster to which it does not belong, due to the error associated with each cluster, must be corrected. This procedure eliminated the distortion caused by having clusters with different amounts of error.

The data (correlation matrix of 131 shame items) were also submitted to an exploratory factor analysis using the PACKAGE subprogram FACTOR (Hunter and Cohen, 1969). Factor is an exploratory factor analysis of the inter-item correlation matrix -- a principal axis factor analysis with communalities followed by a varimax rotation. For each factor a corresponding cluster is defined. The items are assigned to clusters on the basis of their factor loadings. Each cluster is made up of those items whose highest loadings are on the corresponding varimax factor. An oblique homogeneous clusters were met homogeneous clusters were met : 1) Internal consistency- the items within a cluster must be relatively highly correlated with each other; 2) External parallelism- all items within a cluster must have relatively similar patterns and magnitudes of correlations with items and other factors outside the

cluster; 3) homogeneity of item content- items in a cluster

must share a similar ideational content.

Results

Overview

The initial step in the analysis was the computation of the inter-correlations among the 131 shame items (Table B1 in Appendix B). These 131 shame items were partitioned into eight preconceived (content-based) clusters and submitted to an oblique multiple groups factor analysis. The results of this analysis were abandoned in favor of deriving factors stemming from an exploratory factor analysis (Table B2 in Appendix B), because the "blind" factor analysis revealed dimensions outside the apriori shame profile.

The examination of the exploratory factor analysis suggested a confirmatory factor analysis with fourteen clusters. Figure C1 (Appendix C) contains the items grouped by factor for the fourteen clusters. Further refinement of this measurement model suggested a confirmatory factor analysis with nine clusters.

<u>Defining the Structure: Unidimensionality</u>

The actual analysis of unidimensionality consists of evaluating each of the clusters according to three criteria:

(a) internal consistency, (b) parallelism or external consistency, and (c) homogeneity of content (shared meaning). Failure to meet any one of these criteria is grounds for dropping an item from a cluster; each of these criteria are necessary but none are sufficient properties for an item to be accepted as an alternate indicator of the underlying trait (Hunter and Gerbing, 1979).

The examination of the preliminary analyses stemming

from the exploratory factor analysis suggested a confirmatory factor analysis with nine clusters. Table 1 presents the shame items clustered according to this confirmatory factor analysis which fits the data. The means and standard deviations of these items grouped by factor can be found in Table 1. Each cluster was given a name depicting the common meaning across the items. The selection of the term "embarrassment" is partially confounded in its connotation with its use in the apriori theoretical profile (see Introduction), as "Social Inappropriateness or Embarrassment Shame". The shared meaning of the items in the cluster labeled "embarrassment" is the experience of intense negative affect (shame) along with the impulse to hide. This is what was labeled in the apriori hypothesized profile as "Shame Awareness" (see Introduction). cluster labeled "rejection" is meant quite differently from the label "Rejection/Relationship Shame" as used in the apriori hypothesized shame profile. The prior use of the term "rejection" depicted a particular type of inferiority, where one experiences him or herself as unloveable and Aposteriori, "rejection" is used to depict situations where an individual finds him/herself rejected by others. Further discussion of the comparison in meaning between the hypothesized profile and the present findings will be addressed in the discussion section.

The test for "internal consistency" uses the correlations between items in the same cluster. There are two basic patterns for unidimensional matrices. First, if all the items have equal quality (the same correlation within sampling error to the cluster true score) than any two items will have the same correlation (within sampling error). In this case, the correlation matrix is said to be "flat". Second, if the items within a cluster do not have uniform quality, then the correlation can be arranged so as

Table 1

Heans, Standard Deviations, of the Shame Items
Grouped by Factor

М	SD	Clust	ers and Items
		HARM	TO OTHERS
3.6	1.0	67.	You become aware that you have mistreated another person.
4.2	. 9	101.	You intend to give a friend a playful swat, but he/she moves just as you swing and you cause severe injury.
4.1	1.0	102.	A man has been convicted of burglary on the strength of your eye-witness testimony. Later it is proved that he was innocent.
		REJEC	TION.
4.0	1.0	51.	You give a poor speech in front of the class and people are laughing and making fun of you.
4.0	1.0	77.	You overhear your friends making fun of you.
3.6	1.0	89.	You are not asked for (or are refused) a date to your group's big dance.
4.4	.9	65.	You are in a relationship with an intimate lover. One day, Your lover tells you that he/she is having an affair with another person and is leaving you for her/him.
	!	AUDIR	NCE EXPOSURE
3.5	. 9	72.	After arriving at your destination, you discover that you are improperly dressed for the occasion.
3.8	1.0	59.	You're trying out for the high school basketball team in front of a large crowd. You attempt a fancy shot and trip, missing the backboard altogether.
3.3	1.0	86.	You feel that you look awkward in a bathing suit and you receive an invitation to a beach party.
3.5	1.0	44.	You show up in casual dress at a party where everyone else is wearing their finest.
3.5	. 9	62.	You're supposed to be a good tennis player. In a tournament you are so jittery that you make wild and stupid shots.
3.8	1.0	93.	You've been asked to go on local TV and talk about an event your organization is planning. The big day arrives and you have a huge cold sore on your lip.

- 4.2 .9 84. You forget your lines in a play on opening night.
- 4.2 .9 97. You enter a restaurant you go to guite regularly during a busy dinner hour, and the proprietor calls out halfway across the room that your have a bad check, and demands payment.
- 2.6 1.1 46. You are unbelievably awkward trying to play a new sport. Your friends are trying to teach you and you feel as if you are all arms and legs.
- 3.4 .9 37. You are trying to appear more knowledgeable than you are on a subject. An expert starts pointing out your misconceptions and exposes your ignorance.
- 2.9 1.2 56. You're an adolescent showering after gym class. You feel acutely self-conscious about undressing in front of the rest of the group.

SUCCESS

- 3.6 1.0 91. Your immediate supervisor has just been praising you, in your presence, to the head of the firm. The boss asks you a simple question, and you draw a complete blank.
- 3.6 1.0 82. You are criticized in front of your peers.
- 3.5 1.0 76. You are sharply criticized for your mistakes.
- 3.8 .9 73. You discover that you have failed miserably in what you are trying to accomplish.
- 3.5 .9 71. You see that you have failed to make a good impression on your boss.
- 3.5 1.0 83. You are criticized in front of your subordinates.
- 3.4 .9 79. You make poor progress in your job.
- 3.4 1.1 90. You find that you are the only member of your group that did not make the honor society.
- 3.9 .9 87. You are shown up as a fraud.
- 3.4 1.0 81. Your husband/wife confronts you with your failures.
- 4.2 .9 38. Your boss has planned a big meeting where your presentation is to be the highlight. You fail to live up to expectations and your company loses the account.

PAUX PAS

- 3.6 1.1 104. You hear your son come in long past his curfew and dart out, clad only in your underwear, to scold him. Too late you discover that he has a guest (opposite sex) with him.
- 2.9 1.1 103. You have been muttering to yourself as you struggle with a serious problem, and you suddenly become aware that someone you don't know very well has been listening.
- 3.7 1.0 96. You've described a very unpleasant encounter with a person in a downtown store to a fellow employee. Later you meet the two of them together. They are obviously quite close.
- 4.1 1.0 63. You're getting out of the swimming pool after diving and suddenly notice that your swimsuit has slipped down.

3.7	1.0	109.	You recognize a friend from behind and sneak up to try to scare him/her. When the person turns you see you were mistaken.
2.7	1.0	95.	You run into an old friend you haven't seen for years. After warm greetings, you ask about his/her spouse. Your friend informs you coldly that they've been divorced for several years.
3.2	1.0	85.	You are ignored by an old friend in a chance encounter.
3.3	1.0	108.	A childhood friend, who is now your new boss, fails to remember you, even when reminded.
3.0	. 9	88.	You meet a friend whose name you have forgotten.
2.6	1.1	105.	You are singing along, loudly, with your car radio when you suddenly realize that the driver of the car in the next lane is staring at you.
3.3	1.1	106.	Your four-year-old is chastised by your mother for using "bad language". The child replies, "But that's what Daddy/Mommy says!"
3.7	1.1	98.	You're enthusiastically describing the sexual attractive ness of a person you just saw. You learn later that the person you were talking to is married to the person you were talking about.
2.2	1.0	94.	You are a teacher, and Johnny Smith's mother pays a visit. You address her as Mrs. Smith, and she corrects you, since she has a different last name.
3.0	1.0	52.	You're in the middle of a very involved discussion. You have an important point to make and you can't open your mouth because you're afraid you'll sound stupid.
2.7	1.0	54.	You find yourself in a situation where you're asked to venture an opinion that you're afraid may be wrong, about a subject where you know very little.
2.9	1.2	66.	You discover that even by running, you will be at least ten minutes late for class.
3.0	1.2	107.	An acquaintance comes into the room when you are crying over a touching commercial.
2.3	1.1	50.	You are caught unexpectedly by someone talking to yourself.
3.3	1.3	99.	You see an attractive and fit young couple at the beach, and realize that you're paying more attention to the one of your own sex than to his/her mate.
2.8	1.0	55.	You're usually very calm when discussing heated subjects. All of a sudden you hear your own voice and realize that you're almost shouting.
2.3	1.0	74.	You are the manager of a losing bowling team in a tournament.

PRIVATE TRANSGRESSION

2.4 1.0 57. Everyone in your neighborhood takes pride in keeping the neighborhood clean. You're unwrapping a package and you forget and casually toss the wrapper on the street.

- 2.8 1.1 42. Your mother angrily asks you if you ate the last dessert she was saving for your father. You blandly say no, as you swallow the last bite.
- 2.3 1.0 43. You feel a magging worry that you are not doing what you should to help solve social problems.
- 1.9 1.0 53. You finish a small project and your boss compliments you. You feel silly being so proud over such a minor accomplishment.
- 1.8 1.0 58. You're reading an old diary and can't believe you wrote such nonsense. You feel ridiculous to have written down such things.
- 3.4 1.1 40. You are driving by someone who has just had an accident and is obviously in trouble. You pass by because you are in a hurry and don't want to become involved.
- 2.5 1.0 36. Your friend tells you in confidence that she/he is secretly fond of someone. Later, in passing you tell him/her.

FEAR OF EXPOSURE

- 3.0 1.0 122. I worry about making foolish mistakes, and wonder what other people would think.
- 2.2 .9 115. I worry that others might think some of my ideas are "crazy."
- 3.0 1.0 125. I often worry that I might do something inappropriate in a social situation.
- 2.5 1.1 114. I keep secrets and worry that they might be discovered.
- 2.3 1.0 129. I worry about giving myself away.
- 3.6 1.1 116. I am very concerned about the impression I make on others.
- 2.5 1.0 117. I feel silly about some of my irrational fears.
- 3.2 1.0 128. I have a tendency to make up excuses to avoid situations that would make me uncomfortable.
- 2.4 1.0 119. When I get angry I feel silly or uncomfortable because I can't justify my anger. I feel I have no reason to be angry.
- 2.5 1.1 120. I feel I have to be able to justify most of the things I do, even little pleasures.
- 3.0 1.1 127. It bothers me that apparently trivial things can upset me so much.
- 2.4 1.1 124. I often deceive others into believing things about me that aren't so.
- 1.6 .8 110. I feel like an imposter and worry that people will find out.

EMBARRASSMENT

2.3 1.0 30. I would like to shrink away when I make a mistake.

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- 2.4 1.0 31. When I become embarrassed , I would like to go hide in the corner.
- 2.5 1.1 13. When I am embarrassed, I wish the earth would open and swallow me.
- 2.6 1.1 14. When I am embarrassed, I feel like I could sink into the ground.
- 2.6 .9 17. In certain situations I feel like melting away.
- 2.0 .8 21. Sometimes I feel like I am about one inch tall and I want to hide.
- 2.2 .9 29. I feel immobilized when I think about doing an unfamiliar task.
- 2.3 .9 24. Sometimes I feel like there are 1,000 eyes staring at me.
- 2.0 1.0 20. It is hard for me to maintain eye contact with other people.

INFERIORITY

- 2.2 1.0 10. I feel intensely inadequate and full of self doubt.
- 2.2 .9 7. I think that people look down on me.
- 2.5 1.0 3. I see may self as not being able to measure up to other people.
- 2.0 1.0 12. I see myself as being very small and insignificant.
- 2.8 .9 1. I feel like I am never quite good enough.
- 2.1 1.1 9. I say to myself, "how could anyone really love me or care about me"?
- 2.5 1.0 25. I scold and put myself down.
- 2.6 1.0 27. I feel somehow left out.
- 2.0 1.0 33. When I compare myself to others, I am just not as important.
- 1.9 .9 22. I believe that I am mocked and laughed at by my friends.
- 2.6 1.0 26. It is difficult for me to accept a compliment.
- 2.6 .9 6. I see myself striving for perfection only to continually fall short.
- 2.4 1.0 19. I have an overpowering fear that my faults will be revealed in front of others.
- 2.7 1.0 18. I think others are able to see my defects.
- 1.6 .8 5. I know people look at me and think I am worthless.
- 1.7 .8 4. I see myself as being a bad person.
- 3.0 1.1 8. I feel inadequate when I do not achieve what is expected of me.
- 2.6 1.0 111. I feel funny about my physical appearance.
- 1.6 .8 28. I feel I am someone or something to be dumped on a garbage heap.

2.5 1.0 2. I could beat myself over the head with a club when I make a mistake.

RESIDUAL

- 2.2 1.1 It is hard for others to get close to me and for me to get close to others.
- 3.0 1.1 15. I am cautious when it comes to trusting others.
- 3.2 1.2 16. I am a very sensitive person, easily hurt by others comments.
- 2.1 1.0 23. I think I should be all things to all people.
- 2.6 1.0 32. Sometimes I become enraged when people criticize me.
- 4.1 .9 34. You completely forget your speech in front of an audience and just stand there awkwardly, unable to recall where you were.
- 3.5 1.0 35. You walk onto a bus and after walking all the way to the back, someone suddenly points out that you have a huge rip in the front of your clothes.
- 3.2 1.1 39. You falsify some information on a job application in order to get a job.
- 3.5 1.1 41. You are finally intimately involved with someone you have seen as attractive but uninterested in you. You find yourself suddenly unable to become sexually aroused.
- 3.8 1.1 45. You're having an affair with a friend's spouse and, while you avoid the friend you are often around mutual friends.
- 3.9 1.2 47. You find out just before you are to be married that you are sterile (male)/infertile (female).
- 2.7 1.1 48. You're telling a joke and suddenly realize that you are the only one who is laughing.
- 3.9 1.1 49. You're in high school. Your mother goes through your coat pockets before sending your clothes to the cleaners and finds some contraceptive devices and confronts you.
- 3.7 1.1 60. You have a mild case of epilepsy. You forget to take your pills and have a convulsion before friends who didn't know.
- 3.8 1.2 61. You are sick to your stomach and don't quite make it to the bathroom.
- 3.0 1.1 64. You're not very successful in relating to the opposite sex but in your dreams you always contemplate fairy-tale romances. As part of a small group experience you talk about these romantic fantasies.
- 3.1 1.1 68. You belch in public.
- 3.8 1.0 69. You suddenly realize that you are unable to cope with \sqrt{g} your own problems.
- 3.2 .9 70. You realize that you have not acted as effectively in a business deal as you would have liked.
- 3.8 1.1 75. You let off gas in public.
- 3.2 1.0 78. You lose an important game.

2.9	. 9	80.	In a game, you see that you have made some foolish mistakes.
4.3	1.0	92.	You have your first apartment. Your mother drops in for an unannounced visit, and catches you making love with someone.
4.3	. 8	100.	You're an adolescent, and for the first time you're engaged in "heavy petting." Your father catches you.
2.4	1.0	112.	I have a feeling others don't take me seriously.
3.3	1.1	113.	I am more worried when I have done something wrong about being caught than about being punished.
3.1	1.0	118.	I blush when someone notices something about me that I wasn't aware of.
3.0	1.2	121.	I am very modest about my body, especially about being seen naked.

- 4.0 .9 123. I can't stand to see others' feelings hurt.
- 2.9 1.3 126. I hate to cry in front of anyone.
- 2.6 1.0 130. When I've done something awful, I feel I can't talk to anyone.
- 2.4 1.0 131. I have trouble knowing when others are serious.

to show a "strong-weak gradient". If the items are ordered in terms of their comunalities (true score correlation) than the highest correlations will be in the upper left-hand corner and the lowest correlations will be in the lower right-hand corner. Sampling error will produce chance deviations from these two types of correlation matrices. Table B3 in Appendix B presents the shame items clustered according to the confirmatory factor analysis which fits the Inspection of this table shows the data (nine factors). private transgression, embarrassment, and inferiority clusters approximate (within sampling error) a strong-weak gradient. The harm to others, rejection, success, faux pas, Thus, the and fear of exposure clusters are flat matrices. clusters meet the criteria for internal consistency.

The criteria of parallelism specifies that items in a unidimensional cluster have similar patterns of correlations with items in other clusters. Table B4 in Appendix B presents the correlations between each of the items and the nine factors defined. Inspection of Table B4 shows that the items in each cluster are parallel in their correlations with the other factors. The rejection, audience exposure, and success clusters appear to be highly intercorrelated. This suggests a probable grouping of these three clusters into one factor.

Table 2 presents the cluster means, standard deviations, and reliabilities of the nine clusters which fit the data. As can be seen from Table 2, the nine clusters have high standard score alphas, except for the harm to others, rejection, and private transgression scales. These three scales have the lowest reliabilities because they were measured by the fewest number of items: harm to others (3 items), rejection (4 items), and private transgression (7 items).

Table 2

Cluster Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities (N = 310)

Cluster	Mean	Standard Deviation	Alpha Reliability
Harm to Others	4.09	.73	.65
Rejection	3.98	.69	.69
Audience Exposure	3.55	.61	.83
Faux Pas	3.06	.57	.88
Success	3.62	.61	.86
Private Transgression	2.44	.58	.66
Fear of Exposure	2.63	.56	.81
Embarrassment	2.32	.66	.85
Inferiority	2.29	.61	.92

Substantive Findings: Inter-cluster Correlations

Table 3 presents the inter-cluster correlations (corrected for attenuation) for the nine cluster solution. The initial six scales (harm to others, rejection, audience exposure, success, faux pas and private transgression) are highly correlated with one another, while the last three scales (fear of exposure, embarrassment, inferiority) are also highly intercorrelated. The very high correlations among the rejection, audience exposure, and success clusters suggested combining them into one cluster.

Table 4 presents the inter-cluster correlations (corrected for attenuation) after combining the rejection, audience exposure, and success clusters into one cluster, termed social competency (alpha = .90) The correlation matrix for the first four clusters approximate a Guttman simplex. The meaning of this finding will now be discussed. A Guttman simplex indicates a non-linear relationship among the clusters which form the simplex. The Guttman simplex suggests that the certain apparently different scales actually measure the same thing but nonlinearly. The range of trait scores (cluster true scores) on a scale can be broken into intervals. The people in each interval operate as a type with respect to the Guttman scale ; they are indistinguishable in terms of any particular cluster. For each "type of person" there is a characteristic pattern of responses to the items comprising the Guttman scale. A Guttman simplex satisfies a product rule for causal chains, such that when the clusters are ordered by probability of saying "yes" (in a Likert type item or scale as in this study, it is actually the likelihood of reporting higher on a designated continuum), the correlation between any two items is the product of the intervening adjacent correlations. A Guttman simplex suggests a typology of

Table 3

Correlations between Nine Clusters Corrected for Attenuation (N = 310)

	Harm			1		Private			
	to)thers	to Audience Others Rejection Exposure Success	Audience Exposure	Saccess	Faux	Trans- gression	Fear of Exposure	Embarrassment	Inferiority
Harm to Others	100	98	71	08	61	47	21	10	11
Rejection	98	100	96	100	75	30	45	23	17
Audience Exposure	71	96	100	88	83	52	51	39	31
Success	08	100	83	100	72	37	42	28	56
Faux Pas	61	75	83	75	100	99	48	31	25
Private Transgression	47	30	25	37	99	100	37	23	26
Fear of Exposure	21	45	51	42	48	37	100	64	9/
Embarrassment	10	23	39	28	31	23	64	100	77
Inferiority	11	17	31	56	25	56	92	77	100

Correlations between Seven Clusters Corrected for Attentuation (N = 310) Table 4

	Harm to	Social	Faux	Private Trans-	Fear of		7.000
	Ocners	nomberence	ras	gression	Exposure	Embarrassmenc	THIEFIOFIC
Harm to Others	100	19	61	47	21	10	11
Social Competence	79	100	79	43	47	32	27
Faux Pas	61	79	100	92	48	31	25
Private Transgression	47	43	92	100	37	23	26
Fear of Exposure	21	47	48	37	100	64	9/
Embarrassment	10	32	31	23	64	100	77
Inferiority	11	27	25	56	76	77	100

respondents (in this study, most probably based upon their vulnerability to shame) across the four types of situations as represented by the four scales (cluster scores). The probability of saying "yes" was highest for harm to others, somewhat lower for social incompetence, lower still for faux pas and lowest for private transgression. This suggests that those who say "yes" to situations of private transgression, may be a subset of those who say "yes" to situations of faux pas who may in turn be a subset of those who say "yes" to situations of social incompetence, who may in turn be a subset of those who say "yes" to situations of harming others.

The moderately high inter-cluster correlations and Guttman simplex pattern suggested a combination of the initial four clusters into one variable, which was labeled situational shame (alpha = .85). Table 5 presents the correlations among situational shame, fear of exposure, embarrassment, and inferiority.

Path analysis

The four variables defined by the shame inventory were subjected to a causal analysis. One path model which fits the data is shown in Figure 1. This model assumes that people who develop feelings of inferiority tend to become vulnerable to embarrassment and tend to develop a fear of exposure. Those who have a fear of exposure tend to become vulnerable to situational shame.

The test of the path model is presented in Table 6.

The first section of the Table 6 presents the actual correlations between the four variables. The second section presents the correlations reproduced or predicted by the path model of Figure 1. The third section of Table 6 presents the errors; i.e. difference of actual minus

Table 5

Inter-correlations of Situational Shame, Fear of Exposure, Embarrassment, and Inferiority (N = 310)

	Situational Shame	Fear of Exposure	Embarrassment	Inferiority
Situational Shame	100	45	28	26
Fear of Exposure	49	100	64	76
Embarrassment	28	64	100	77
Inferiority	26	76	(77)	100

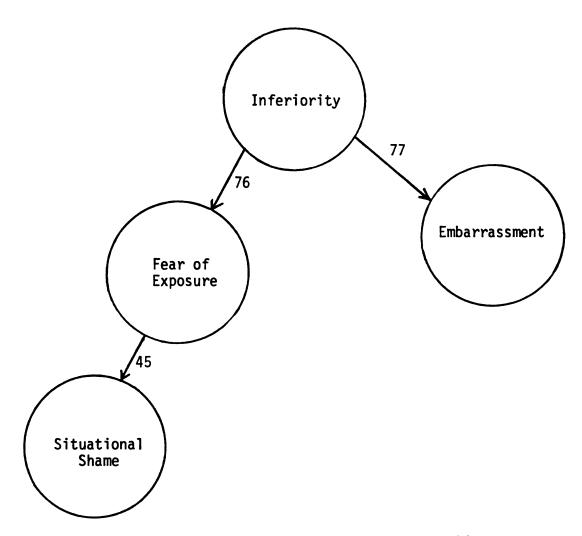


Figure 1. A causal model of the relations between feelings of inferiority, vulnerability to embarrassment, fear of exposure, and vulnerability to situational shame

Table 6
Test of the Path Model Shown in Figure 1

		I	E	F	S	
Actual correlations:						
Feelings of Inferiority	I	100				
Vulnerability to Embarrassment	Ε	77	100			
Fear of Exposure	F	76	64	100		
Vulnerability to Situational Shame	S	26	28	45	100	
Reproduction correlations:						
Feelings of Inferiority	I	100				
Vulnerability of Embarrassment	Ε	77	100			
Fear of Exposure	F	76	59	100		
Vulnerability to Situational Shame	S	34	26	45	100	V
Errors:						
Feelings of Inferiority	I	-				
Vulnerability to Embarrassment	E	0*	-			
Fear of Exposure	F	0*	5 .	-		
Vulnerability to Situational Shame	S	-8	2	0*	-	

 $[\]star$ Constrained to be 0 by the estimation process.

predicted correlations. None of the three differences free to vary are individually significant. The overall chisquare is 1.36 with 3 degrees of freedom and is not significant.

There are other models which would fit this same data. Three such models are: First, a model in which embarrassment is prior to inferiority which is prior to fear of exposure which is prior to situational shame. Second, a model which assumes that fear of exposure is prior to inferiority and situational shame and assumes that inferiority is prior to embarrassment. Third, a model which assumes that situational shame is prior to fear of exposure which is prior to inferiority which is prior to embarrassment. The model selected here was chosen on substantive grounds rather than on the basis of difference in fit.

Discussion

Apriori Profile Contrasted with Findings

<u>Discrete Traits of Inferiority (body, character, relationship, and competence)</u>

Figure 2 presents the crosstabulation of apriori clusters by final clusters for the 131 shame items. An examination of Figure 2 reveals "successful" predictions for four of the eight apriori clusters: character (relabeled in findings as inferiority), social inappropriateness (relabeled in findings as faux pas), competence (relabeled in findings as success; a primary component of social competence), and phenomenology (relabeled in findings as embarrassment). The findings led the investigator to reexamine the conceptualization and operationalization of the apriori profile. The original shame categories were derived from Tomkin's (1963) and Kaufman's (1985) theoretical work about shame. Tomkins delineated four general sources of shame: the body, work, interpersonal relationships, and the self. These four general sources were hypothesized to define four factors of shame: competence shame (self is experienced as incompetent), body shame (self is experienced as ugly), relationship shame (self is experienced as unloveable), and character shame (self is experienced as weak and hopelessly flawed). The findings show only one factor of inferiority.

It is noteworthy to examine the preconceived cluster of competence shame in this regards. Competence shame was defined as a type of inferiority in which one experiences him/herself as incompetent; the self-perceived personal

Harm to Social Others Competence		Faux Pas	Private Transgression	Fear of Exposure	Embarrassment Inferiority Residual	Inferiority	Residual
1 16 3	ო			1	2		7
3						-	က
3 2	2					ო	ស
1			г	7		15	
2	2		1	ო		1	2
2 1 1			2	1			œ
Social Inappropriateness Shame 2 13	13			1			വ
					7		2

Figure 2. Cross-tabulation of apriori clusters and final clusters for 131 shame items

defect tends to be focused on either one's physical or mental abilities. Performance shame, which is discouragement arising when one fails to do what one wishes or "should" be able to do, was conceived as a subcategory of competence shame. The operationalizing (placing of shame items into the preconceived cluster) of competence shame consisted of primarily performance shame items. findings suggest making a distinction between shame about a particular act (i.e. performance shame) and shame about the general failure of one's self (trait of inferiority). Most recently, Tomkins has postulated a related distinction, on the basis of the target of one's negative evaluation, between the shame states of "inferiority" and "discouragement" (Kaufman, 1986). According to Tomkins, "inferiority" is shame about the inability or incapacity of the self, whereas "discouragement" is shame about the failure of one's effort, rather than the incapacity of the self. In sum, it appears that the conceptualization of the apriori profile erred either in its conceptual combination of performance shame and competence shame, or in the operationalizing of competence shame. If the latter case is true, then new shame items are needed to differentiate the hypothesized trait of inferiority about competence from either the more general trait of inferiority or more externally dependent (shame is activated by discrete external event) trait of success (a subcluster of social competence).

Affect Shame

Inspection of Figure 2 reveals no support for the preconceived cluster of affect shame. Affect shame was defined as a specific variant of shame: shame is experienced when events occur which would normally result in the experiencing and/or expression of any of the other primary affects. The notion of affect shame arises out of a theory

of discrete emotions (Tomkins, 1963; Izard, 1977), in which a separate affect system is conceived as a sub-system of personality. Perhaps the interaction of shame with the other postulated innate affects (as hypothesized with affect shame) is not phenomenologically distinguishable to the respondent. Another possibility is that existing shame measurement does not approach this domain, so that new items are needed to further test this "type" of shame. For example, "I feel stupid when I am afraid" (shame about the discrete affect of fear), "Letting others see my joy is bad or childish" (shame about the affect of enjoyment), and "I try to hide my feelings of superiority towards others" (shame about the affect of contempt), are possible items to specifically assess the presence of affect shame.

Shame Awareness

Inspection of Figure 2 reveals that 7 of the 9 "shame awareness" items clustered as predicted (relabeled in the findings as embarrassment). The relabeling was done for two primary reasons: (1) individuals who score low on this trait may be aware of their shame, but just do not experience the state frequently, (2) the phenomenological experience of shame may consist of a diverse band of inner experiences, so that a different label (from shame), such as "embarrassment", is needed to describe the predisposition to states of intense feelings of exposure (most likely shame) with accompanying self-consciousness.

It is noteworthy that the relabeled hypothesized cluster of shame awareness did correlate higher, as predicted, with the trait of inferiority than with states of shame about particular acts or specific situations (trait of situational shame). (The prediction was made after inspecting the items traditionally used to measure shame. It was postulated, then, that the items did not capture the entire range and quality of shame states as observed through

introspection and clinical practice. The attempt to broaden the scope resulted in the inclusion of many of the Cook shame items in this investigation.) The low correlation of shame awareness (relabeled as embarrassment) and situational shame supports the notion of two qualitatively different types of shame states. The high association of states of embarrassment with negative self-judgment (inferiority) in combination with the significantly lower association of embarrassment with situational shame suggests a type of shame that may be more malignant in nature than the "shame" states indicative of situational shame.

Social Inappropriateness

Inspection of Figure 2 reveals the predicted clustering of items comprising the factor social inappropriateness (13 of 21 items clustered as predicted with 5 of the items falling into the residual category). In the findings the cluster was relabeled faux pas.

Moral Shame

Inspection of Figure 2 reveals little support for the hypothesized cluster of moral shame. Moral shame as preconceived was a trait as evidenced by shame states resulting from either transgressing or failing to live up to moral, ethical, and religious codes. The findings reveal two clusters related to moral shame, private transgression (5 of its 7 items came from the preconceived cluster of moral shame) and harm to others (2 of its 3 items came from the preconceived cluster of moral shame). It is important to note that both of these clusters are highly correlated with each other as well as the other two factors (social competence, faux pas) comprising situational shame. Guttman scale pattern of correlations suggests that all four clusters measure exactly the same trait; though moral transgressions elicit more shame than faux pas. indicates that structuring shame traits on the basis of

situational activators (i.e. moral transgression) is not supported.

Shame and guilt have been differentiated as <u>affects</u> on several dimensions: phenomenology (Buss, 1980; Izard, 1977; Lewis, 1971), type of activator (Buss, 1980; Lewis, 1971; Piers and Singer, 1953; Wurmser, 1981), locus of evaluation—public or private (Buss, 1980; Erikson, 1968), and characteristic responses or defenses (Buss, 1980; Lewis, 1971; Wurmser, 1981). The traditional distinctions of two discrete negative affects on the basis of activator (moral transgression versus social inappropriateness, competence, or rejection) or public—private evaluation is not supported.

State-Trait Distinction

The apriori profile was based on the premise that the items from existing shame measures could be meaningfully grouped into clusters based on the various sources and/or activators of shame. The preconceived model contained four clusters conceived as chronic, discrete types of inferiority (character, competence, capacity for intimate relationships, and body), that is shame whose source is from the self; one cluster derived from a specific theory of emotions (affect); two clusters in which the source of shame affect is contextually based (moral and social inappropriateness); and one cluster in which the awareness of the inner experience of a variant of shame affect is primary (shame awareness).

The four discrete "types" of inferiority were conceived as diverse shame states. As states they are typically distinguished from each other. For example, at one moment a person feeling shame over perceived deficiencies of character does not think about being ugly. Most personality items ask for characteristic responses rather than a response to one particular event. Thus, they tap predispositions or traits rather than states. The items in this inventory measure traits: a disposition toward either a

high or low frequency of such states. One trait may govern many states. In particular, one trait may be the causative agent for a range of shame states. The findings indicate only one trait (inferiority) for the sources of shame located within the self, as opposed to the four factors postulated in the apriori profile. A person high on inferiority often experiences shame about all four aspects of the self. A person low on inferiority rarely feels shame about any aspect of the self. Psychodynamic investigation is an interactive study of the self and its meaningful interpersonal relationships and has focused on states rather than traits in this area and has thus failed to note the unified tendency to either experience all or experience none of these shame states.

Contrasting Theoretical Models of Shame

The apriori profile model assumed that shame is "clustered" by the content of the shame, that is, the object about which one feels shame. If true, this could have been explained by a learning theory model. Shame is experienced either about certain aspects of oneself (competence, capacity for relationships, body, needs) and/or particular types of situations (social inappropriateness, in front of an audience, when meeting strangers). Many have thought that trait shame is shame affect that has become conditioned to particular aspects of oneself or with particular situations. Instead the findings indicate a model quite different from that preconceived profile. This tends to disconfirm the learning or developmental state based hypothesis.

The four clusters comprising <u>situational shame</u> (harm to others, social competence, faux pas, and private transgression) formed a Guttman scale. The Guttman scale indicates that rather than there being four distinct clusters of situationally based sources of shame (a content

based model), there is a typology of individuals who differ in their vulnerability to shame. Situations differ in their probability of activating shame, most likely on the dimension of social norms; that is, certain behaviors are socially viewed as "more important" to "uphold" and thus when not "followed" are more likely to heighten the awareness of "not fitting in" and the intensity of negative affect experienced by the vulnerable individual in that situation. Individuals differ in their vulnerability to shame affect because they differ in their threshold for shame; some individuals are "thicker skinned" in regards to shame than others. Some will never feel shame. Some will feel shame only if they harm others. Some will feel shame if they have a private transgression or harm others. will feel shame even if they commit only a faux pas. People differ in terms of how serious an error or transgression (either by self or other) must be in order to evoke shame.

The three remaining clusters, <u>fear of exposure</u>, <u>embarrassment</u>, and <u>inferiority</u>, rather than being "content-based" traits associated with shame, are traits reflecting three different inner states: inferiority is a propensity towards states of unworthiness and inadequacy; fear of exposure is a propensity towards states of worrying about others' opinions or scrutiny of one's self; and embarrassment is a propensity towards states of intense feelings of exposure (most likely with accompanying self-consciousness) along with the impulse or desire to hide.

In sum, the apriori model formulated from an affect theory of shame, postulated that shame becomes associated with its stimulus (either parts of self, or discrete situations). The findings do not support such a organizational model of shame. The findings suggest that individuals differ in their vulnerability or threshold for shame across situations (situational shame) Additionally,

the construct shame is found to be associated with negative self-evaluation (<u>inferiority</u>), apprehension about other's negative evaluations of one's self (<u>fear of exposure</u>) and experiences of extreme exposure (<u>embarrassment</u>).

Findings: Four Factor Model

Overview

An underlying goal of this investigation was to determine the factor structure of existing shame measurement. Towards that end the investigators formulated a preconceived profile of shame clusters, based upon an affect theory of shame structuralization. It was postulated that shame is associated with parts of self or particular situations. The preconceived profile was heavily biased in the direction of sources of shame stemming from the self or discrete categories of inferiority (competence, capacity for intimate relationships, body, and character). The results indicate that existing measurement does not support such a distinction. One possible explanation is that while clinicians may empathically discover discrete phenomenological states of inferiority, these states are representative of only one underlying trait. Another possible explanation is that the domain of shame items requires expansion to include a wider range of shame states. A third possibility is that the clinician's conceptual framework for "working with" their client's shame may be differentiated in a manner quite different from either their client's "organization of shame" or the population sampled in this investigation.

The findings indicate that a four factor model, situational shame, fear of exposure, embarrassment, and inferiority "best fits" existing shame measurement. Each of these traits will be discussed separately. Initially a

descriptive definition of each will be presented. An attempt will be made to integrate the findings with the descriptive literature about shame, both philosophical and clinical, so that the nature and connotative meanings of the findings might be broadened.

Situational Shame

The trait situational shame is actually a combination of four nonlinearly related measures: harm to others, social competence (rejection, audience exposure, success), faux pas, and private transgression. The correlational pattern among these four clusters suggested that all four clusters measure the same thing, that individuals characterlogically differ in their vulnerability to shame. (Situations_differ in their probability to elicit shame on the basis of social value). The variable situational shame is an index of an individual's propensity to experience shame in shame eliciting situations (sources of shame outside the self, such as work, relationships, social interaction). However it is important to note that the item measuring this cluster does not clearly specify the inner affective experience of the respondent in the situation. Thus, it is possible that the propensity for "shame", may also tap other negative affects as well as shame. There is a need for future work to more clearly delineate the nature of the inner experience assessed in these previously "consensually validated" shame situations. Perhaps the scale confounds propensity for other negative affects in response to the situation with the propensity to shame.

Self-consciousness, unexpected exposure, rejection, fears of abandonment, helplessness, hiding, failure, incompetence, inadequacy, loss of control, anger, disappointed expectations, invidious comparisons, and incongruity have been given prominence in discussions of shame. It becomes quite evident that "shame" has been used

as a symbol for a diverse and wide range of inner experiences. Some authors have recognized this problem and have attempted to specify what they consider to be the generic core of shame experiences. Schneider (1977) has maintained that the core of shame experience is found in a sense of visibility and exposure. He locates the essence of shame in the "cognitive focus on the appearance or display of that which ought not to show" because it covers the wide range of shame-related phenomena including disgrace-shame (after the act) and discretionary shame (before the act) (p. 34). Kaufman (1985) has asserted that the core of shame is unexpected exposure and it's accompanying selfconsciousness. Both Kaufman's and Schneider's postulated core elements of shame are qualities of the states indicative of the embarrassment cluster. Situational shame correlated rather low with embarrassment (r=.28), which suggests that the shame manifested in situational shame is distinct from states of embarrassment. The nature of the shame in situational shame is in need of specification. Perhaps, other postulated core elements of shame (besides extreme exposure and the inpulse to hide) are core elements in "situational shame".

If one inspects the items comprising situational shame, few of them specify the respondent's "subjective experience". Instead the respondent is asked to rate how "anxious" he/she would feel in particular situations. The subjective experience of anxiety may consist of a constellation of negative affects (Izard, 1977), or could be a signal or cue to avoid the experience of shame or any other negative affect. Existing shame measurement does not directly address the issue of phenomenology. Instead existing measurement assumes that items "consensually validated" to elicit shame will all activate the same inner response. Thus, there was no need for items to specify the

nature or content of that inner response. Instead, symbols such as "embarrassed", "anxious" or "disturbed" are all taken as evidence of the presence of shame. needs to be directed towards specifying the respondent's inner experience in situations presently thought to measure a respondent's level of shame. Cook's Shame Instrument (1985) (one of the instruments used in this investigation) differs from previous shame methodology in that it approaches the construct of shame primarily through assessing frequency of inner feelings, feeling states, and affect-beliefs about one's self. In this study, the clusters (traits) of inferiority and embarrassment contain items almost entirely (except for 1 item) from the Cook Shame Instrument. It is noteworthy that situational shame correlated only .28 and .26 with the clusters of embarrassment and inferiority respectively. While phenomenological states of intense "feelings of exposure along with the impulse to hide" and "negative affect-beliefs about one's self" are associated with shame in situations selected by previous investigators, other negative inner experiences may be even more prevalent in these situations.

Fear of Exposure

The fear of exposure trait indicates a disposition to worry or be apprehensive about others' opinions or scrutiny of one's self or aspects of one's self as well as a desire or tendency to conform, "hide" aspects of one's self, or "fit in". Buss (1980) has made the distinction between the trait of public self-consciousness (the predispostion to become aware of one's self as a social object) and private self-consciousness (the predisposition to be aware of private aspects of one's self). The fear of exposure factor is evidenced by states involving awareness of both private and public aspects of one's self. The fear of exposure

trait reflects the social or relational core of shame as described by several theorists (Kaufman, 1980; Schneider, 1977; Lynd, 1958; Erikson, 1959; Broucek, 1982; Kinston, 1983; Buss, 1980), in addition to illuminating the "exposure" core of shame. According to Schneider, shame as "exposure" arises from a felt incongruity in which somone has exceeded his or her proper place in relation to the self-perceived larger context. Schneider (1977) claims that shame occasions are those where someone or some aspect of a person or group is "out of place" or "exposed" (p. 35). It is possible to understand whether someone is out of place only in relation to some larger context.

Kinston (1983) has linked shame with conformity.

Conformity is one probable behavioral response to fears of exposure. He described shame as a signal experience in which the individual is faced with painful self-awareness and rather than disclose this awareness, denies it, and conforms with the other in order to maintain their love and approval. The person conforms to the other rather than risk self-disclosure. Kinston's narrative description of shame includes a general motive for "conforming" rather than disclosing or exposing one's "true self", and thus, provides a possible meaningful dynamic explanation for conforming.

Embarrassment

The trait of embarrassment indicates a disposition for intense feelings of exposure along with the impulse or desire to hide. Several authors have linked "shame" to the need to cover or hide - in particular, to cover that which is exposed (Kaufman, 1980; Tomkins, 1963; Wurmser, 1981; Lewis, 1971; Broucek, 1982). The embarrassment trait reflects the "covering" or "hiding" component described in association with the construct shame. MacCurdy (1965), from a biological perspective, recognizes three fundamental reactions to danger: fear-flight, anger-aggression, and

concealment-immobility. Shame is a form of a concealmentimmobility response. He notes that the subjective confusion that has typically characterized embarrassment is not the picture of a person caught up in fearful flight, but an individual frozen in the inertness of immobility. The elements of concealment and the incapacity to respond reflect shame. MacCurdy notes that manifestations of shame (in this investigation differentiated as embarrassment)averting the eye, covering the face, blushing, hanging one's head, and wanting to "sink through the floor"- are distinct from fear responses. From a psychoanalytic perspective, Wurmser (1981) distinguishes the "aim" of shame from other affects: anxiety (aim of flight), hatred and anger (aim of fight and destruction), contempt (aim of elimination and disappearance of object), and love (aim of partially or totally uniting with the object). In Wurmser's view shameanxiety or shame's aim is an avoidance reaction in the form of hiding and blocking instinctual aims (to fuse, gain power, or be overpowered by object). Tomkins (1963), from an affect theory perspective, views shame as a deeply ambivalent experience in which part of one's self "hides" from the other and another part maintains interest in reestablishing relationship. While these authors perspectives reflect shame as hiding (trait of embarrassment), they do not distinguish embarrassment from other aspects of shame. The findings suggest that further theoretical work is needed to elucidate the relationship between embarrassment and other shame traits.

Embarrassment correlated quite high with the fear of exposure (r=.64) and inferiority (r=.77) factors whereas it correlated much lower with situational shame (r=.26). Apriori, the embarrassment cluster was conceived as an index of an individual's awareness of shame. This reflected the researcher's conception of "embarrassment" as a subjective

state strongly associated with states of inferiority. results confirm this association between embarrassment affect and inferiority. It is noteworthy that the three highly inter-correlated factors of fear of exposure, embarrassment, and inferiority predominately contain items emphasizing (requiring) a field independent and differentiated focus towards one's internal world, while the situational shame items require an awareness of one's contextually-based affective response. Fenigstein et. al. (1975) defined self-consciousness as the consistent tendency of persons to direct attention inward or outward. possibility, is that individual differences in the direction of self-awareness influenced the correlations found. Perhaps, individuals inwardly focused respond higher on the traits of fear of exposure, embarrassment, and inferiority than situational shame while outwardly focused individuals score higher on the trait of situational shame than on the other three traits found.

Inferiority

Inferiority is a disposition to view oneself as a failure, inadequate, or worthless; hopelessly defective. It is evidenced by both negative affect and negative evaluation of one's self. The qualitative nature of this negative affect requires further investigation. Several theorists have highlighted the negative consequences for personal integrity and identity resulting from "too much" shame or failures in coping with it (Tomkins, 1963; Erikson, 1959; Izard, 1977; Kaufman, 1980; Wurmser, 1981; Joffe, 1984) and its resulting inferiority. Kaufman (1980) has postulated that the final step in the developmental process of shame internalization is the formation of a "shame-based identity". Internalization means that an individual can experience shame in isolation, without the prompting of an interpersonal event.

Kaufman (in press) theorizes that a Shame Profile emerges through the higher order magnification (increased duration and intensity) of shame scenes. He postulates the first stage of magnification to involve four primary scene dimensions: affect shame, need shame, drive shame, and purpose shame. Second stage magnification fuses these scenes into competence shame, body shame, and relationship shame. The final stage of magnification is character shame (inferiority). This investigation offers little support for such a formulation, as the profile of shame postulated (according to shame content or object of shame) is not found. It is important to note that the discrete clusters of shame in Kaufman's schema may exist , but to be validated require the expansion of the domain of present shame measurement to include the postulated states. Current shame measurement does not include the range of shame states formulated in Kaufman's profile model.

Correlations between Final Scales

There were four scales produced from the shame inventory: inferiority, embarrassment, fear of exposure, and situational shame. The first three are much more highly correlated with each other than they are with situational shame. Initially, this suggested a hierarchical model in which inferiority, embarrassment, and fear of exposure might be dependent on a common factor (i.e., "malignant shame"). However, a confirmatory factor analysis shows that there is no such higher order factor. The pattern of correlations shows that the higher order factor would just be inferiority itself. That is, "malignant shame" would be inferiority.

There are at least four path models which fit this data. The path model chosen for Figure 1 was selected on the basis of the following theoretical rationale. First

consider the high correlation between inferiority and fear of exposure. Which way might a causal arrow go? The direction chosen assumes that one reason for a high fear of exposure is the belief that an inner deficiency will be exposed. Thus a person with feelings of inferiority believes that exposure will reveal the deficiencies which the person believes himself to have. The reverse argument seems less plausible. If a person started out with a fear of exposure but no feeling of inferiority, then subsequent actual exposure seems likely to diminish or extinguish the fear response rather than produce feelings of inferiority. It is probable that the individual's fear might be used as a "signal" or motivator for preparatory coping behavior for the anticipated "feared exposure" (i.e., like in preparing for a public speech).

Consider the high correlation between fear of exposure and situational shame. The causal arrow from fear of exposure to situational shame was chosen because of stronger arguments in favor of a causal impact of fear of exposure on vulnerability to shame than vice versa. The argument that fear of exposure tends to produce vulnerability to situational shame begins with the argument that fear of exposure creates an anticipation of negative evaluation for mistakes, faux pas, failures, or other situational traumas. This anticipation is like a "chip on the shoulder"; it renders the person more emotional or "on quard" in the situation even before something happens. This excess emotionality makes the person more vulnerable to shame. is also true that any path model that fits this data with inferiority prior to fear of exposure must also have fear of exposure prior to situational shame.

Consider the high correlation between inferiority and embarrassment. The assumption that inferiority causes vulnerability to embarrassment rather than the reverse stems

from a consideration of embarrassment as an extreme form of self-consciousness. If an event causes a person to become self-conscious, then a person with feelings of inferiority becomes aware of self-perceived deficiencies. magnifies the feeling of self-consciousness and hence magnfies the embarrassment. A person who starts out vulnerable to embarrassment but without feelings of inferiority seems likely to extinguish the embarrassment response after exposures that turn out to be harmless. Consider an exposure which turns out harmless; say dropping a spoon at a restaurant. The confident person feels selfconscious for a moment, but the feeling quickly passes into relaxation. The person with feelings of inferiority feels both self-conscious about dropping the spoon and also self-conscious about many other self-perceived deficiencies which might be brought to others' attention. Thus, even if no one does pay attention, the person feels like they "escaped a potential disaster" (i.e. "no one discovered my other deficiencies"). Since they do not feel relaxed even when the event of exposure is actually harmless, the emotional self-consciousness response is magnified rather than extinguished.

The correlation between fear of exposure and situational shame is .45 which is lower than would be expected on the basis of the argument given above. This raises a point discussed elsewhere; the possibility that "situational shame" might be measuring other negative affects as well as shame. For example, if the scale assesses fear as well as shame, then there might be other factors which predetermine "situational shame"; i.e. factors which contribute to high vulnerability to fear in situations of exposure. For example, an extremely competitive person might have "much invested" in always appearing superior. A faux pas or simple failure might very well produce fear

(threat of losing superior status) or distress (loss of superior status) for that person more than for others. Thus, a competitive person might be higher on "situational shame" than others. This "extraneous variation" would then reduce the correlation between fear of exposure and the situational shame scale.

Shame Theory: Self-consciousness (embarrassment) Contrasted with Inner Deficiency (inferiority)

Some authors (Kaufman, 1985; Schneider, 1977) have made embarrassment the corner stone of their shame construct. That is, they have stressed exposure and self-consciousness rather than feelings of deficiency or inadequacy in talking about shame affect. This stress would not matter at the trait level if inferiority were perfectly correlated with embarrassment. However, the correlation of .77 is high but Thus the two concepts, extreme selffar from perfect. consciousness and feelings of deficiency are not coincident at the trait level. There are at least two reasons why this correlation might be less than 1.00. First, it may be that most of the people who develop feelings of inferiority are also vulnerable to embarrassment but some are not. Perhaps those who accept their inferiority become matter of fact about it and hence do not become emotional about the possibility that others may notice. They would be high on inferiority but not high on vulnerability to embarrassment. Second, it may be that everyone who is high on feelings of inferiority is also high on vulnerability to embarrassment, but that there are also people who are high on embarrassment who are not high on inferiority. It may be that there are people who are much more vulnerable to self-consciousness than others; for example people who are "bashful" (in the sense of being fearful of offending others) but do not feel

inadequate.

It may also be true that these authors have overstressed the relationship between "shame" (self as diminished) and embarrassment (acute self-consciousness) at the state level. If "shame" is used to describe acute feelings of inadequacy or deficiency, then it seems possible that shame and embarrassment are potentially independent affects or subjective states. Tomkins (1963) affect theory connects these two distinct states. He uses the label "shame" for a theoretical entity referring to a specific innate affect that is postulated to be the primary affective component in both inferiority and embarrassment, as well as other disparate negative affective experiences. (in press) argues that it is the total complex of affect, source (activator), and response which results in a particular "feeling" label. Because source and response can differ, the same affect may be present in many different feeling states. Thus there are many variants of shame (or any other affect). The use of the symbol shame serves a potentially useful purpose in integrating diverse qualities of human experience (Kaufman, 1985). This investigation suggests that such symbolization might also hide some meaningful differentiations at both a trait and state level. For example, a situation in which the person is selfconscious provides an opportunity for "shame" if the person also focuses on feelings of deficiency. The combination may be much more intense than shame without self-consciousness. On the other hand, consider a child who is falsely accused by a teacher and responds to the accusation with angry humiliation. A person who responds to shame with anger (angry humiliation) may feel no self consciousness and hence no embarrassment. Their focus may be entirely on the hated person who produced the shame.

Related to the issue of the distinction between

embarrassment and inferiority is the issue of the distinction between inferiority and fear of exposure. authors who have made acute feelings of exposure (i.e. selfconsciousness) the central focus of their shame construct have also assumed that shame would automatically imply fear of exposure. Thus they would implicitly predict a perfect correlation between inferiority and fear of exposure. correlation is a high .76 but is still far from 1.00. Thus at the trait level fear of exposure and feelings of inferiority are not coincident. There are at least two reasons which might explain the lack of perfect correlation. First, although most people with feelings of inferiority may fear exposure, some may not. Those who accept their inferiority may not fear exposure since they are habituated to it. Second, even if all who are high on inferiority were high on fear of exposure, there may also be people who are high in fear of exposure for other reasons. For example, people who are "bashful" (modest about themselves) but are not troubled with feelings of inadequacy may dread exposure because of the acute self-consciousness which they experience under those conditions.

Directions for Future Research

Problem of Language

The term shame has been used to depict a diverse and vast range of phenomenological states and traits. In reviewing the literature, the investigator became aware that most authors failed to encompass the observations (particularly the phenomenology) of their colleagues within their theoretical construct of shame or even attempt to compare their observations/interpretations with those of their colleagues. In 1959, Lynd noted that there is no readily expressive language of shame, no accepted form by

which shame can be communicated. She also differentiated precise scientific language which concentrates on a limited exactness and demands elimination of ambiguity from expressive language which may include ambiguity and surplus meaning (i.e., metaphors). It is this author's viewpoint that the descriptive studies of shame have significantly advanced since the time of Lynd's observation. The work of Kaufman (1985) and Tomkins (1963) have done much to provide a language for communicating the inner experiences of shame (or shame variants), while a host of other psychodynamic and existential theorists have emphasized and highlighted previously neglected elements of "shame experiences" that have increased understanding of people's experience. of this work has come from clinical observation, and few attempts have been made to empirically "test" and reformulate and/or integrate theory.

Expanding the domain of shame items

This investigation indicated that though there is a rich range of states described in association with the construct of shame, current shame measurement appears limited in its "tapping" of this domain. Shame states have been classified according to the subject of shame (the contents of shame: actions, its results, or general reflection on whole acting person), sources of shame (body, self, work, relationships), its activators (audience exposure, personal rejection/betrayal, faux pas, failure/incompetence, humiliation, public exposure of the privately cherished, criticism), and behaviors which reduce it (hiding-escape, blaming, denial). An outgrowth of using these diverse classification schemes is that there is no "shared" scientific language for shame. In obtaining ideas for shame-state items from theory, it becomes important to "see behind" labels used to depict states : (a) some authors

use the same label for different states (i.e. Tomkins uses the label of "shyness" for shame resulting from an impediment to immediate intimacy, while Buss defines the term as the relative absence of expected social behaviors) (b) other authors use different labels for similar states (i.e. social anxiety and shame). One clear direction for future shame research is to write new items based upon the various shame states described in the literature. important distinction to be kept in mind using such a methodology is the distinction between states of shame and traits associated with shame states. This investigation indicated that distinct states of inferiority are representative of only one trait. Additionally, it might be useful to include states more traditionally labeled as "guilt". This investigation showed a high correlation between states traditionally thought of as "shame" (faux pas, social competence) and states traditionally thought of as "guilt" (private transgression, harm to others). provides some support for affect theory, in that "guilt" is postulated as shame resulting from moral sanctions (Tomkins, in press).

The Inner Experience of Shame (States of Shame)

The four traits of situational shame, fear of exposure, embarrassment, and inferiority were found to exist within current shame measurement. The items measuring fear of exposure, embarrassment, and inferiority contain references to specific inner experiences or feelings. These feelings have been linked to "shame" by many authors: relational incongruity (shame as exposure), negative self-evaluation (shame as inferiority), concealment (shame as hiding), and painful self-consciousness elements which have been described in relation with shame states. Other elements have been "discovered" and/or hypothesized through various

methodologies (psychodynamic, introspection, and empirical) as core elements in the shame experience: self as passive and helpless in relation to a laughing ridiculing other (shame as dependency and rejection) (Lewis, 1971; Anderson, 1977) failure to live up to an ideal image (shame as imperfection) (Piers and Singer, 1953; Lewis, 1971; Wurmser, 1981), a global withdrawal of love and approval (shame as unloveability) (Wurmser, 1981; Kinston, 1983), a partial barrier to the "heart's desires" (shame as ambivalence) (Tomkins, 1963), self-disgust/contempt or selfdisappointment or self-blame (shame as self-hatred) (Piers and Singer, 1954; Tomkins, 1963; Kaufman, 1980; Buss, 1980); loss of self boundaries (shame as identification) (Tomkins, 1963, Lewis, 1971), and noxious body stimulii (rage, tears, and blushing) (Lewis, 1971; Tomkins, 1963). It appears that current measurement does not encompass the range of elements hypothesized to be a "part" of shame. Future research needs to assess/differentiate the elements of hypothesized shame states. In particular need of clarification is the relationship between shame and anger. Edwards (1982) has stated that the "courageous use of anger" is the effective counter to shame and that shame inhibits the experience/expression of impotent rage. In contrast, Kaufman (1985) observes that rage (anger) is a spontaneous, naturally occurring reaction following shame. Lewis (1971) hypothesized that anger (humiliated fury) is blocked by quilt and/or love of the other in shame experiences and is "turned back" against the self. The relationship between shame and anger will require careful thought in future investigations of shame states. Its clinical importance is hypothesized.

Izard et. al. (1977) have developed an instrument to investigate the primary emotions postulated in his discrete emotions framework. The DES is a standardized adjective

check list self-report measure, which can assess the intensity (State-DES I) or frequency (Trait-DES II) for each of ten primary emotions (interest, enjoyment, surprise, distress, anger, disgust, contempt, fear, shame/shyness, guilt). In brief, each of the ten fundamental emotions are represented by three substantive items on five-point scales. A potentially fruitful avenue for future work would be to use the DES (rather than a more global assessment of negative affect such as "anxious") with each of the shame items to differentiate the nature of the affective response. Such an approach might "shed some light" on : (1) the ambivalent aspect of shame (does shame consist of both a negative and positive affective experience?), (2) postulated distinctions between shame, guilt, and fear, (3) the relationship between "situational shame" and "embarrassment", (4) to what extent does "situational shame" measure other affects? Additional information about the inner experience of shame might be attained through use of the Dimensions Rating Scale (DRS) (Izard et. al., 1977) in conjunction with shame items. For example, Izard et. al. (1977) found more pleasantness associated with shyness than for any other of the negative emotions. The DRS assesses three levels (feeling, cognition, and behavior) on four dimensions (tension, pleasantness, impulsiveness, and selfassurance) for each of the ten fundamental emotions of the DES.

Another possibility for specifying shame states is to write items with actual phenomenological descriptions. The literature is rich with descriptions of postulated shame states, but it is "clouded" by potentially arbitrary semantic distinctions. Symbols such as "dishonor", "ridicule", "humiliation", "mortification", "embarrassment", "inferiority", "guilt", "disappointment", "shyness", "bashfulness", "discouragement", "awe", and "pride" have

Y.

been used to describe specific psychological states of Other postulated shame states (as well as traits) have been labeled on the basis of its assumed activator (either internal or external): "affect shame", "need shame", "criticism shame", "relationship shame", "moral shame", "social inappropriateness shame", "body shame", and "competence shame". It is assumed that these labels cover a very wide range of <u>differing</u> psychological states, yet with postulated common psychological features. investigation indicated that on a trait level several of these postulated distinctions "wash out". Writing items to operationalize postulated shame states would do much to clarify the semantically based confusion. For example, in this investigation which used existing shame measures, the three general but distinct inner states (a fourth remains ambiguous) of inferiority, extreme self-consciousness, and worrying about exposure of self were found, rather than the eight previously hypothesized shame states. The postulated common psychological features of shame states awaits clarification of the domain of shame states, or perhaps vice versa.

Methodological Problem: Defenses Against Shame

Many theorists have hypothesized a proclivity to develop defenses against the experience of shame (Tomkins, 1963; Lewis, 1971; Wurmser, 1981; Kaufman, 1980). According to Kaufman (1980), "particularly following internalization, that psychological event which makes shame so intolerable, the self begins to develop strategies of defense against experiencing shame and strategies for the interpersonal transfer of experienced shame" (p. 83). Denial, overcontrol, detachment, and grandiose idealization of oneself have been several of the particular psychological defenses hypothesized to be associated with shame. These

types of defenses result in an individual distancing him/herself from experiencing shame. The underlying process in the defense may be <u>conscious</u> in that the individual makes choices to avoid shame situations within his/her lifestyle. Secondly, the process may be <u>conscious</u>, in that the individual escapes the experience of shame through consciously suppressing the affect once it is activated.

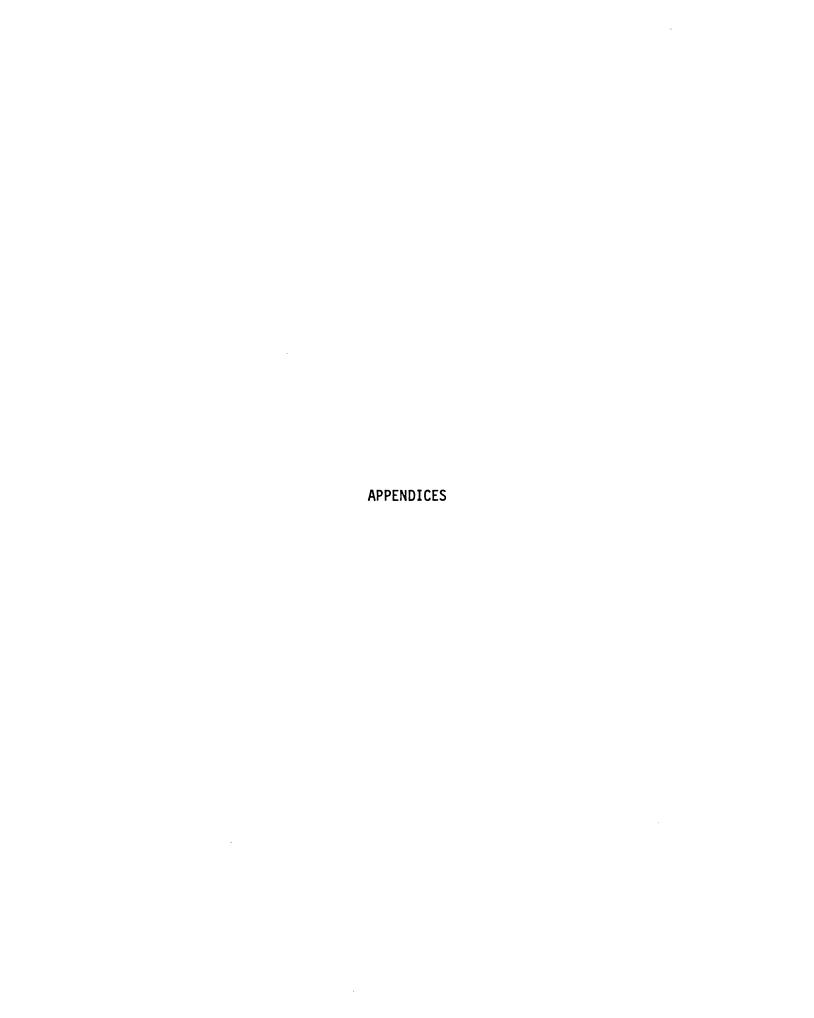
Thirdly, some authors believe in unconscious defenses. It may be that the individual's habitual affective dynamics (a consequence of affect socialization) result in automatic defenses against shame affect. This might include the use of significant others for the disowning of one's own shame through the process of projective identification. Here the individual might select a shame-prone individual and "punish" the other for their shame as a means of disowning their own shame. Thus, in a self-report methodology, one would expect/predict that a subset of the "low-shame scorers", while not experiencing or minimizing their experience of shame (and thus would score low on shame trait scales), might be defended and unaware of its dynamic impact on their functioning. Future research needs to address the impact of defenses on self-report measures of shame, and thus, clarify the meaning of a "low-shame" score. One possibility would be to select individuals clinically observed to be prone to shame and contrast them on a battery of measures (self-esteem, dependency, depression, etc) including a shame inventory with a matched sample (age, sex, and socioeconomic status) of postulated "low-shame" prone individuals ("loving" and "competent individuals). It might also be useful to measure shame across time in therapy, to see if there is a change and the nature of the change in shame scores. One could make use of clinicians ratings of clients defenses in conjunction with the measured shame score. Additionally, one might have access to other

information (meaningful life events) to further understand possible meanings of a low shame score. If clinical theory is valid, then one would predict an increase in shame around the middle phase of therapy with a subsequent decrease after termination (particularly the inferiority and embarrassment scales). Another possibility is to attempt to develop a method to assess defensiveness to shame, based upon some of the defenses delineated by individual theorists. One could observe the interactions of these individuals with intimate others and "score" for postulated interpersonal shame defenses, such as blaming, overly critical remarks, extreme interpersonal control, or denial of behaviors. possibility would be to develop scales of postulated adaptations to shame (perfectionism, detachment, idealization of self, competitiveness) and examine their interrelationships with shame traits.

Conclusion

The investigation was formulated from affect theory (Tomkins, 1963) and assumed that shame becomes structuralized or associated with parts of self or specific The findings did not support such a model of situations. shame. Instead the data supports a model of three shame traits represented by three general shame states: feelings of inferiority, extreme self-consciousness, and fears about exposure of self. Additionally, support was found for individual differences in shame vulnerability; the data (represented by the trait of situational shame) indicate that individuals differ in their propensity to experience shame in "consensually validated" shame situations. finding merits further empirical work, particularly since the qualitative nature of the shame reaction of the respondents remains unclear. The trait (situational shame) had a low association with intense feelings of exposure

(shame as embarrassment). The measurement model which fits the data requires further conceptual thought. Present shame theory fails to adequately elucidate the model found in existing shame measures. It is suggested that the domain of existing shame measures be expanded to include more of the states of shame described in the literature.



APPENDIX A

The actual instruments used; with variable numbers handwritten and circled for those items that were used in the analysis presented in the text.

COOK SHAME INSTRUMENT

CHILDHOOD S SCALE

DATE

AGE SEX
DIRECTIONS: Below are a list of statements describing some feelings and experiences
which you may or may not have had when you were growing up with your parents. The
growing up time period to think about is from your earliest memories until you left
home. If you grew up with only one parent or with a step parent, think about the
period of time with the parent or parents that was longest or most significant. Any
statements referring to "parents" can be taken to mean either your mother or father
or both.
For each statement mark the number that most closely indicates the frequency
with which you had these feelings or experiences during the period of your growing up.
<u>SCALES</u>
1 - NEVER 2 - SELDOM 3 - SOMETIMES 4 - FREDUENTLY 5 - ALMOST ALWAYS
1. I felt like the blacksheep or the outsider in my family.
2. I remember being mocked and laughed at by my parents.
3. My parents belittled me.
4. My parents were good at blaming others for their mistakes and failures.
5. I felt that my opinions were not important to anyone.
6. My parents were able to make me feel about one inch tall.
7. I felt I had to be responsible for everyone in my family.
8. I got the feeling that my parents did not want me.
9. I saw my parents as wardens in a prison.
10. It seems that my parents shaped me into the person they wanted.
11. I felt there was a heavy burden of expectations put on my shoulders.
12. I think my parents wanted me to be someone else.
13. My parents were good at putting me down.

SCALES

	1 - NEVE	R 2 - SELDOM	3 - SOMETIMES	4 - FREQUENTLY	5 - ALMOST ALWAYS				
	14	. My parents abus	sed me.						
	15	. I tried to hide	my differences from	my parents.					
	16								
_	17	. Somehow, I alwa	ys was expected to k	now better.					
_ E	18	. I remember a fe	eling of panic, afte	r being scolded by my	parents.				
<u>a</u>	19	. Sometimes my pa	rents exploded with	anger towards me for	no apparent reasons.				
×	20	. My parents did	not allow me to expr	ess my feelings.					
	21	. No matter what	I did it never seems	d to be good enough f	or my parents.				
	22	. I had the feel	ing that my parents t	rested me badly becau	se I was a bad kid.				
	23	. I remember a re	ige I felt, when my p	erents put me down.					
			ADULT S SCAL	<u>E</u> .					
	DIRECTIONS: Below is a list of statements describing feelings or experiences that you								
	may have	from time to time	or that are familia	r to you because you	have had these				
٠	feelings	and experiences i	for a long time. Res	d each one and mark t	he number in the				
	space to	the left of the	item that indicates t	he frequency with whi	ch you find				
	yourself	feeling or experi	lencing what is descr	ibed in each statumen	t.				
			SCALES						
	1 - NEVE	R 2 - SELDOM	3 - SOMETIMES	4 - FREQUENTLY	5 - ALMOST ALHAYS				
(1)	1	. I feel like I a	m never quite good e	nough.					
3	2	. I could beat my	rself over the head w	ith a club when I mak	e a mistake.				
	3	. I feel I am ald	one on an island, sep	arated from the rest	of society.				
3	4	. I see myself as	not being able to m	easure up to other pe	ople.				
	5	. When I feel emt	parrassed, I wish I c	ould go back in time	and avoid that event.				
	6	. I become confus	sed when my guilt is	overwheiming, because	I am not sure why				
_		I feel guilty.							
9	7	. I see myself as	s being a bad person.						
5	8	. I know people	look at me and think	I am worthless.					

SCALES

	1 - NEVER	2 - SELDOM 3 - SOMETIMES 4 - FREQUENTLY 5 - ALMOST ALMAYS
©	<u> </u>	I see myself striving for perfection only to continually fall short.
9	10.	I think that people look down on me.
	11.	My loneliness is more like emptiness.
	12.	I feel insecure about others opinions of me.
${\mathfrak F}$	13.	I feel inadequate when I do not achieve what is expected of me.
9	14.	I say to myself, "how could anyone really love me or care about me"?
(15.	I feel intensely inadequate and full of self doubt.
W	16.	It is hard for others to get close to me and for me to get close to others.
(17.	I see myself as being very small and insignificant.
(3)	18.	When I am embarrassed, I wish the earth would open and swallow me.
	19.	I feel like there is something missing.
(H)	20.	When I feel embarrassed, I feel like I could sink into the ground.
(3)	21.	I am cautious when it comes to trusting others.
(I)	22.	I am a very sensitive person, easily hurt by others comments.
\bigcirc	23.	In certain situations I feel like melting away.
(IB)	24.	I think others are able to see my defects.
	25.	I replay painful events over and over in my mind, until I am overwhelmed.
(19)	25.	I have an overpowering fear that my faults will be revealed in front of others
	27.	I am like a sponge, easily taking in others problems and feelings.
	28.	My inadequacies are intensely overwhelming.
B	29.	It is hard for me to maintain eye contact with other people.
3	30.	Sometimes I feel like I am about one inch tall and I want to hide.
3	31 .	I believe I am mocked and laughed at by my friends.
(Z)		I think I should be all things to all people.
(29)	33.	-Sometimes I feel like there are 1,000 eyes staring at me.
_		Sometimes I feel less than human.
33	35.	I scold and out myself down.
(26)	36.	It is difficult for me to accept a compliment.

SCALES

	1 - NEVE	R 2 - SELDOM 3 - SOMETIMES 4 - FREQUENTLY 5 - ALMOST ALWAYS
D	37	. I feel somehow left out.
	38	. I really do not know who I am.
	39	. I feel like a puppet on a string that is being manipulated.
(Lig		. I feel I am someone or something to be dumped on a garbage heap.
ঠ	41	. I feel immobilized when I think about doing an unfamiliar task.
	42	. I feel miserable because things should have been different.
3	43	. I would like to shrink away when I make a mistake.,
	4	. I have this painful gap within me that I have not been able to fill.
3	45	. When I become embarrassed, I would like to go hide in the corner.
	46	. I feel empty and unfulfilled.
3	47	. Sometimes I become enraged when people criticize me.
(33)	48	. When I compare myself to others, I am just not as important.

SGT

Here are a number of descriptions of situations in which you might find yourself, or which you may have experienced. Please indicate how anxious (nervous, tense or upset) you would feel in each of the situations described. Some of the situations sound as if they are appropriate only for men. Please don't skip those questions even if they don't seem to apply to you. Just try to imagine how you would feel if they happened to you. For each situation described, rate how you would feel along a scale which ranges from "not at all anxious" to "extremely anxious". Circle the number that best describes your response:

- 1 = not at all anxious
- 2 = somewhat anxious
- 3 = moderately anxious
- 4 = highly anxious
- 5 extremely anxious

To assist you in marking the response you mean, you will find this scale repeated at the top of each page.

SGT QUESTIONAIRE

		1	2	3	4	5
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious
34)	1.	You comp and just stan	letely forge d there awkw	t your speech in ardly, unable to	n front of and orecall when	n audience re you were.
		1	2	3	4	5
(I)	2.	You walk back, someone the front of	suddenly po	and after walking ints out that you	ng all the wa	ay to the ge rip in
		•	2	3	4	5
3	3.	Your fri fond of someo	end tells youe. Later,	u in confidence in passing, you	that she is tell him.	secretly
		1	2	3	4	5
3	4.	You are on a subject. and exposes y	An expert	pear more knowl starts pointing e.	edgeable than out your mi	n you are sconceptions
		1	2	. 3	4	5
38	5.	Your bos is to be the and your comp	highlight.	d a big meeting You fail to live account.	where your pe up to his	presentation expectations
		1	2	3	4	5
3	6.	You fals to get the jo	ify some inf b. You're w	ormation on a journed about ha	ob application of the control of the	on in order
		1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious
(40) 7.	You are is obviously and don't wan	in trouble.	omeone who has You pass by b involved.	just had an ecause you ar	accident and e in a hurry
	1	2	3	4	5
(H) 8.	You are seen as attra suddenly impo	ctive but un	mately involve interested in	d with someon you. You fin	de you have d yourself
	1	2	3	4	5
9 .	Your mot she was savin swallow the 1	g for your f	asks you if yo ather. You bl	u ate the las andly say no,	t dessert as you
	1	2	3	4	5
¶3 10.	You feel should to hel		orry that you al problems.	are not doing	what you
	1	2	3	4	5
(Y) 11.	You show is wearing th		l dress at a p	arty where ev	eryone else
	1	2	3	4	5
3 12.	You're h you avoid the	aving an aff friend, you	air with a fri	end's spouse ing around mu	and, while tual friends.
	1	2	3	4	. 5

		1	2	3	4	5
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious
4	13.	You are Your friends all arms and	are trying t	awkward trying o teach you and	to play a r you feel as	new sport. I if you are
		1	2	3	4	5
Ð	14.	You find sterile (male	out just be) / infertil	fore you are to e (female).	be married	that you are
		1	2	3	4	5
(JB)	15.	You're to	elling a jok is laughing.	e and suddenly i	realize that	you are the
		1	2	3	4	5
	16.	You catcl	n yourself i	ndulging in pet	ty bragging.	•
		1	2	3	4	5
49	17.	pocket before	sending you	l. Your mother r clothes to the ve wrappers and	cleaners a	ind finds
		1	2	3	4	5
Ô	18.	You are	caught unexp	ectedly by some	one talking	to yourself.
		1 .	2	3	4	5
(D)	19.	You give laughing and		ch in front of t	the class ar	nd people are
		1	2	3	4	5

	th because
an important point to make and you can't open your mou you're afraid you'll sound stupid. 1 2 3 4 21. You finish a small project and your boss complime You feel silly being so proud over such a minor accomp	th because
21. You finish a small project and your boss complime You feel silly being so proud over such a minor accomp	ents vou.
You feel silly being so proud over such a minor accomp	ents you. clishment.
1 2 3	
	5
You have a reputation for being particularly smar you find yourself in a situation where you're about to opinion that you're afraid may be wrong, about a subjeknow very little.	venture an
1 2 3 4	5
23. You're usually very calm when discussing heated s All of a sudden you hear your own voice and realize yo shouting.	subjects. ou're almost
1 2 3 4	5
You're an adolescent showering after gym class. acutely self-conscious about undressing in front of th the group, afraid that they might tease you.	You feel te rest of
1 2 3 4	5
Everyone in your neighborhood takes pride in keep neighborhood clean. You're unwrapping a package and f casually toss the wrapper on the street.	ing the corget and
1 2 3 4	5

		1	2	3	4	5
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious
ઉ	26.	You're r	eading an ol u feel ridio	d diary and car culous to have w	n't believe Fitten down	you wrote such such things.
		1	2	3	4	5
(59)	27.	You're t front of a la missing the b	rge crowd.	or the high scho You attempt a forgether.	ool basketba Cancy shot a	ll team in nd trip,
		1	2	3	4	5
<u>(ب)</u>	28.	You have pills and hav	a mild case a convulsi	of epilepsy. on before frier	You forget ds who didn	to take your 't know.
		1	2	3	4	5
()	29.	You are bathroom.	sick to your	stomach and do	on't quite m	ake it to the
		1	2	3	4	5
(3)	30.			e a good tennis ou make wild ar		
		1	2	3	4	5
	31.	You're g suddenly notic	etting out o	f the swimming swimsuit has s	pool after lipped down	diving and
		1	2	3	4	5

•		1	2	3	4	5
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious
(J)	32.	but in your d	lreams you al	cessful in rela ways contempla perience you ta	te fary-tale	romances. As
		1	2	3	4	5
(S)	33.	your lover te	ils you that	onship with an he/she is have for her/him.	intimate lov	er. One day, r with another
	•	1	2	3	4	5
	34.	You disc minutes late		ren by running,	you will be	at least ten
		1	2	3	4	5
	35.	You beco	me aware tha	t you have mis	treated anot	ther person.
		1	2	3	4	5
(3)	36.	You belo	h in public.			
		1	2	3	4	5
(F)	37.	You sudd	enly realize	that you are	unable to co	pe with your
		1	2	3	4	5
1	38.	You real business deal	ize that you as you woul	have not acted. d have wished.	d as effe cti	vely in a
		1	2	3	4	5

		1	2	3	4	5
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious
①	39.	You see	that you ha	ave failed to ma	ke a good i	mpression on
		1	2	3	4	5
B	40.	After an are improper!	riving at ; Ly dressed :	your destination for the occasion	, you disco	ver that you
		1	2	3	4	5
13	41.	You disc trying to acc		you have failed	miserably i	n what you are
		1	2	3	4	5
63	42.	You are	the manager	r of a losing bo	wling team	in a tournament.
		1	2	3	4	5
(13)	43.	You let	off gas in	public.		
		1	2	3	4	5
7	44.	You are	sharply cr	iticized for you	r mistakes.	
		1 .	2	3	4	5
(T)	45.	You over	chear your	friends making f	un of you.	
		1	2	3	4	5
(78)	46.	You lose	an importa	ant game.		
		1	2	3	4	5

		1	2	3	4	5
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious
79	47.	You mak	e poor progr	ess in your job	•	
		1	2	3	4	5
(80)	48.	In a ga	me, you see	that you have m	ade some for	olish mistakes
		1	2	3	4	5
3	49.	Your hu	sband/wife c	onfronts you wi	th your fail	lures.
		1	2	3	4	5
(3)	50.	You are	criticized	in front of you	r peers.	
		1	2	3	4	5
83	51.	You are	criticized	in front of you	r subordina	tes.
		1	. 2	3 .	4	5
	52.	A friend	i tells you	that you boast	a great deal	L
		1	2	3	4	5
83	53.	You for	get your lin	es in a play on	opening nig	ght.
		1	2	3	4	5
	54.	You mee and smelly c	t your frien lothing.	ds at a time wh	en you are w	vearing dirty
		1	2	3	4	5

		1	2	3	4	5
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	extremely Anxious
(3)	55.	You are	ignored by	an old friend i	n a chance en	counter.
		1	2	3	4	5
&P	56.	You feel receive an in	that you lovitation to	ook awkward in a beach party.	a bathing sui	t and you
		1	2	3	4	5
প্ত	57.	You are	shown up as	a fraud.		
		1	2	3	4	5
81	58.	You meet	a friend wi	no se name y ou h	ave forgotten	•
		1	2	3	4	5
89	59.	You are big dance.	not asked fo	or (or are ref u	sed) a date t	o your group!s
		1	2	3	4	5
60	60.	You find that did not	out that you make the hor	ou are the only nor society.	member of yo	ur group
		1	2	3	4	. 5
9	61.	your presence	, to the he	rvisor has just ad of the firm. ou draw a compl	The big bos	g you, in s asks you
		1	2	3	4	5

		1	2	3	4	5
		Not at all Anxious	Scmewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious
	62.	dance at the	club with y	eams has agreed ou. You dress olently, due to	with care an	d arrive with
		1	2	3	4	5
43	63.	You have an unannounce bathroom.	your firsted visit, an	apartment. Yod finds you wit	ur mother dr h a naked gi	ops in for rl in your
		1	2 .	3	4	5
93	64.	You've to your club is cold sore on	planning.	o go on local T The big day arr	V to talk ab	out an event u have a huge
		1	2	3	4	5
	65.	Your son	i's teacher ried to Mr.	has addressed y Jones. Your ex	ou as Mrs. S -husband is	mith, but you remarried.
		1	2	3 .	4	5
99	66.	You are You address h	er as Mrs.	and Johnny Smit Smith, and she	h's mother p corrects you	ays a visit. , since she
		1	2	3	4	5
(१३)	67.	After warm gr	eetings. yo	friend you hav u ask after his divorced for s	wife. He i	nforms you
		1	2	3	4	5

		1	.2	3	4	5		
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious		
90	68.	in a downtown	store to a	ery unpleasant fellow employe introduces her	e. Later y	ou meet the		
		1	2	3	4	5		
	69.	drop a packag	e. Angrily	someone bumps you ask, "Why ticing the whi	don't you w	atch where you'r		
		1	2	3	4	5		
4	70.	busy dinner h	our, and the	nt you go to q proprietor ca check, and dem	lls out hal	fway across the		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(P	71.	You're enthusiastically, and profanely, describing the beautiful girl you just saw, and learn later that the person you're describing her to is her husband.						
		1	2	3	4	5		
	72.	You see realize that sex than to h	you're payin	g more attenti	g couple at on to the o	the beach, and ne of your own		
		1	2	3	4	5		
9	73.	lot a car cut	s you off. your minist	You shout the er looks aroun	vilest curs	of the parking es you can ocked expression		
		1	2 .	3	4	5		

		1	2	3	4	5		
		Not at all Anxious		Moderately Anxious	Highly Extremental Anxious	•		
	74.	that a member	of the ethni	c group it atta	ethnic joke, unavacks is listening.	vare . A		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(<u>(w</u>)	75.	You're ar in "heavy pet"	n adolescent, ting" with yo	and for the four girl. Her	irst time you're e father catches you	engaged		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(<u>1</u>)	76.	You intend to give your girl a playful swat, but she moves just as you swing and you injure her severely.						
		1	2	3	4	5		
	77.	You set of back, but your	ip an elabora dad becomes	te practical jo the victim ins	oke to pay your br stead.	rother		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(102)	78.	A man has eye-witness to	s been convicestimony. La	ted of burglary ter it is prove	y on the strength ed that he was inr	of your		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(63)	79.	a serious prob	olem, and you	ng to yourself suddenly becomes as been listen:	as you struggle we aware that some	vith cone		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(10A)	80.	clad only in y	rou underwear	e in long past, to scold him, ite sex) with h	his curfew and da . Too late, you daim.	rt out, iiscover		
		1	2	3	4	5		

		1	2	3	4	5
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	Extremely Anxious
(<u>63</u>)	31.	You are s you suddenly s is staring at	realize that	g, loudly, with the driver of	your car rathe car in	adio when the next lane
		1	2	3	4	5
	32.	Doing an feeling. Late word.	unaccustomed er you hear y	i chore, you bo your four-year-	tch it and o	curse with the forbidden
		1	2	3	4	5
(104)	33.	The pasto using "bad lar says when he p	iguage." The	nurch scolds yo child replies	ur four-year , "But that	r-old for 's what Daddy
		1	2	3	4	5
	84.	Your basi the members as star of the te	re embracing	has just won a . You feel sex	n important ually arous	victory, and ed when the
		1	2	3	4	5
(b)	85.	Your sistinto your live commercial.	ter's boyfricing room when	end, a football n you are cryin	. teammate o: g over a to:	f yours, comes uching TV
		1	2	3	4	· 5
	86.	At a chur the prayer. State prayer is	The person no	ne members are ext to you pull	asked to jo: s his hand a	in hands for away before
		1	2	3	4	5

		1	2	3	4	5	
		Not at all Anxious	Somewhat Anxious	Moderately Anxious	Highly Anxious	"xtremely Anxious	
	87.	You attend a game of your favorite football team and, your team scores a touchdown, you realize that in your exc you have knocked the total stranger next to you off his se					
		1	2	. 3	4	5	
(D)	88.	A childr You were once	nood friend : very close	fails to rememb . He is now yo	per you, even	n when reminded.	
		1	2 .	3	4	5	
(09) 89. You recognize a friend from behind and sneak scare her. When the person turns, you realize you					up to try to were mistaken.		
		1	2	3	4	5	
	90.	You stop into a nightclub you've never been to before. A you're served, you realize that all of the intimately embracing couples around you are gay men.					
		1	2	3	4	5	
In the next section are statements describing traits, feeli or personal characteristics that might fit you. Please rate each statement according to how characteristic it is of you. 1 = Not at all characteristic (never true of you) 2 = Rarely characteristic (very seldom true of you) 3 = Somewhat characteristic (occasionally true of you) 4 = Fairly characteristic (frequently true of you) 5 = Very characteristic (almost always true of you)						lease rate each you, you) f you) e of you) you)	

	•	1	2	3	4	5		
		Not at all	Rarely	Somewhat	Fairly V	ery		
110	91.	I feel l	ike an imposte	r and worry tha	t people will fi	nd out.		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(11)	92.	I feel f	unny about my	physical appears	ance.			
		1	2	3	4	5		
(13)	93.	I have a	feeling other	s don't take me	seriously.			
		1	2	3	4	5		
. •	94.	I worry about what others would think of some of my more grandiose fantasies.						
		1	2	3	4	5		
(13)	95.	I am mor being caught	e worried when than about bei	I have done son	mething wrong ab	out		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(17)	96.	I keép s	ecrets and wor	ry that they mis	th be discovere	d.		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(II)	97.	I worry	that others mi	ght think some o	of my ideas are	"crazy."		
		1	2	3	4	5		
(II)	98.	I am ver	y concerned ab	out the impress:	ion I make on ot	hers.		
		1	2 .	3	4	5		

						•
		†	2	3	4	5
		Not at all	Rarely	Somewhat	Fairly	Very
(I)	99.	I feel.s	illy about son	me of my irra	tional fears.	
		1	2	3	4	5
(118)	100.	I blush aware of.	when someone	notices somet	hing about me th	nat I wasn'i
		1	2	3	4	5
	101.	When I g	et angry I fe my anger. I	el silly or us	ncomfortable bed no reason to be	cause I angry.
		1	2	3	4	5
(129	102.	I feel I do, even litt	have to be allie pleasures.	ole to justif	y most of the th	nings I
		1	2	3	4	5
(1)	103.	I am ver	y modest abou	t my body, es	pecially about (being seen
		1	2	3	4	5
(33)	104.	I wo rry people would	about making think.	Coolish mista	kes, and wonder	what other
		1	. 2	3	4	5
	105.	I have d	ifficulty tak	ing things se	riously.	
		1	2	3	4	5
	106.	Sometime	s I think eve	rything is tr	ivial.	
		1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Not at all	Rarely	Somewhat	Fairly Ve	ry
(23) 107.	I can't s	stand to see o	thers' feelings h	urt.	
	1	2	3	4	5
108.	I am upse important to m	et when others	treat casually t	he things that	are
	1	2	3	4	5
(24) 109.	I often daren't so.	eceive others	into believing t	hings about me	that
	1	2	3	4	5
110.	I am usua appreciate iro	lly very aler ny and absurd	t to incongruitie	s in situations	and
	1	2	3	4	5
111.	I often w social situati	orry that I m	ight do something	inappropriate	in a
	1	2	3	4	5
(26) 112.	I hate to	cry in front	of anyone.		
	1	2	3	4	5
113.	I feel I	take things t	oo seriously.		
	1	2	3	4	5
(27) 114.	It bother so much.	s me that app	arently trivial t	hings can upset	me
-	1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
	Not at all	Rarely	Somewhat	Fairly	Very
115.	I like to and am bothere	think of myse d when I find	lf as not caring it isn't true.	about public	opinion
	1	2	3	4	5
[]\text{\figs.} 116.	I have a that would make	tendency to ma	ke up excuses to able.	avoid situat	ions
	1	2	3	4	5
(129) 117.	I worry a	bout giving my	self away.		
	1	2	3	4	5
(39 118.	When I've anyone.	done somethin	g awful, I feel	I can't talk	to
	1	2	3	4	5
(131) 119.	I have tr	ouble knowing	when others are	serious.	
	1	2	3	4	5
120.	I hate it all that good.	when others p	raise me, because	e I know I'm	not
	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Shame 131

Table B1

Correlations

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トじてーのほとのほとじょうなもとのもできょうのほうのはいちょうのはいことしゃととしにことにことにことにことにことにことにことにことにことにしまりましましましましましましましましましましましましましまし

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ender-te former-te description of the control of th #U-4#-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#U-4#-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1-#10-1 g - de de la compansión d g - d - d - d - d - d de la compansión de PRO-METEL-PER-GOGERIGER-PARENTER-PARENTER DE METEL DE ME PRO-METEL DE METEL D では、アージー・ロックでは、アージーでは、

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Results of the Exploratory Factor Analysis of the 131 Shame Items Table B2

	13 14 15 16 17	7 2 -12 1 15 -15 7 8 3 3 -7 -3 -7 2 -14 0 12 0 2 -5 1 -1 9 3 13 17 -2 8 -3 -17 3 -9 10 24 -3 -3 -7 1 -2 -4 1 -8 5 -8 -21 -3 -4 1 -7 35 0 4 0 -3 -9 0 4 4 -11 19 10 18 3 11 19 10 -4 1 -7 11 -4 24 9 22 8 14 1 9 -2 3 18 -10 4 1 -7 13 -5 -11 8 12 -1 4 24 9 22 8 14 1 9 7 21 -10 5 9 13 4 -12 -12 1 7 18 9 -5 8 -10 4 2 11 8 -2 3 3 4 6 -1 3 3 4 6 -1 3 3 4 6 -1 4 24 9 22 -1 6 4 1 -7 -1 7 35 -1 8 14 1 9 -2 3 3 4 6 -1 7 35 -1 8 14 1 9 -2 3 3 4 6 -1 7 35 -1 8 14 1 9 -2 11 8 12 -1 8 14 1 9 -2 11 8 12 -1 9 -5 8 -1 0 4 -1 1 1 9 -2 11 8 12 -1 0 5 9 -1 0 4 -1 1 1 9 -2 11 8 12 -1 0 4 -1 1 1 9 -2 11 8 12 -1 0 4 -1 1 1 9 -2 11 8 12 -1 0 4 -1 1 1 9 -2 11 8 12 -1 0 4 -1 1 1 9 -2 11 8 12 -1 0 4 -1 1 1 9 -2 11 8 -1 1 1 9 -3 3 -6 -1 2 11	
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	Items	41 15 118 16 47 60 61 64 75 80

Note. Items have been reordered according to their magnitude of loading on their primary factor.

Table B3

Summary of the Results of the Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Nine Clusters: Correlations between the Items in Each Cluster

Clusters
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Private Transgression

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115	32	32	32	41	9	28	27	58	30	20	25	25	24
125	49	32	33	31	27	27	23	31	33	21	23	21	18
114	27	41	31	5 6	22	23	19	53	22	20	20	5 8	24
129	53	30	27	22	56	19	8	29	50	23	17	35	28
116	48	58	27	23	19	25	25	5 6	18	24	28	21	10
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128	27	58	31	53	53	5 6	21	23	13	15	19	23	25
119	9	20	33	22	50	18	53	13	21	32	5 6	13	6
120	53	20	21	20	23	24	29	15	35	21	25	15	17
127	53	25	23	20	17	28	23	19	5 6	25	20	19	17
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Table B4

Summary of the Results of the Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Nine Clusters: Correlations between Items and Factors

			Correlat	tions of	Items	with Factors Gro	Grouped by Fac	Factor	
	Harm to Others	Rejection	Audience Exposure	Success	Faux Pas	Private Transgression	Fear of Exposure	Embarrassment	Inferiority
Harm									
67 101 102	66 55 56	47 61 52	40 47 45	50 53 47	37 41 35	40 26 22	16 11	0 o 4	10 0
Rejection	tion								
51 77 89 65	46 62 49 51	62 63 55	61 62 58 49	57 68 61 55	49 49 32	24 23 16 8	27 36 29 16	19 21 7 10	21 9 4
Audie	Audience Exposure	iure							
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3		}	3	}	}	;	}	(table continues	

			Correlat	ions of	Items 1	with Factors Gro	Grouped by Fa	Factor	
	Harm to Others	Rejection	Exposure	Success	Faux Pas	Private Transgression	<u> </u>	Embarrassment	Inferiority
Success	SSS								
91	20	65	99	29	55	23	28	20	19
85	41	29	55	29	51	23	31	18	16
9/	55	29	59	65	55	27	30	23	18
73	09	62	57	92	43	22	25	16	17
71	54	09	52	65	ထ္က ဗ	15	5 6	11	12
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81	37	45	41	52	37	21	3.	18	19
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Faux	Pas								
104	43	46	54	40	62	39	59	11	12
103	30	39	44	34	61	30	53	18	∞
96	51	26	09	58	29	25	38	27	21
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200	\$ \$	4 c	ֆ Հ Ծ Հ	46	ւ Գ Մ	07	25 01	13	ဌ
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APPENDIX C FIGURES

Success

Items: 38, 69, 71, 73, 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 87

Rejection

Items: 51, 65, 77, 89

Harm

Items: 101, 102

Group IA

Items: 59, 72, 90, 91, 97

Group IB

Items: 37, 56, 62, 67, 70

Group IC

Items: 44, 84, 85, 86, 88, 93, 96, 98, 108

Embarrassment II

Items: 17, 21, 24, 29

Fear of Exposure II

Items: 19, 110, 117, 120, 122, 127, 128, 129

Inferiority

Items: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27,

28, 33, 111

Normal Shame III

Items: 63, 94, 95, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109

Guilt IV

Items: 36, 40, 42, 43, 53, 57, 58

Anxiety IV

Items: 39, 46, 50, 52, 54, 55, 66, 74

Fear of Exposure V

Items: 114, 115, 116, 119, 124, 125

Embarrassment VI

Items: 13, 14, 30, 31

Residual

Items: 11, 23, 32, 45, 100, 112, 113, 130, 131

Figure C1. Items grouped by factor for fourteen clusters



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