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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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Examining Vicarious Guilt and Shame Through Corporate and Categorical Dimensions of
Social Identities

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

Yvonne Thai

August 2011

Dissertation Committee:

Peter J. Burke, Chairperson

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The Dissertation of Yvonne Thai is approved:

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University of California, Riverside

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DEDICATION

For my family, my husband, and my four legged kids.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Examining Vicarious Guilt and Shame Through Corporate and Categorical Dimensions of Social Identities

by

Yvonne Thai

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Sociology
University of California, Riverside, August 2011
Dr. Peter J. Burke, Chairperson

This study examines the group-based emotions of vicarious shame and vicarious guilt using an elaboration of the perceptual control focus of identity theory. The concept of social identity is refined through incorporating categorical and corporate dimensions. This extends identity theory by including new dimensions of meaning, which have not been examined in the existing literature as well as by testing the predictive power of specific emotions as outcomes of the identity verification process. Moreover, the role of culture via interdependent self-construals is also considered within these processes. To empirically test these relationships, two surveys are administered to over three hundred students at a large Southwestern university. The survey contains a series of hypothetical scenarios measuring two social identities: ethnic and classmate. The purpose of the scenarios is to create the conditions in which vicarious shame and guilt are thought to occur in addition to activating the respondent's social identity. After respondents read

each scenario, they are queried regarding their social identities, reflected appraisals, extent to which they saw the act as a violation, motivation to change how others perceive them and emotional responses among other things. Results are mixed; showing that while ethnic and classmate identities do not significantly predict shame and guilt, reflected appraisals do across all scenarios. In certain contexts degree of violation, degree of self-reported interdependence, and identity prominence are also shown to be significant predictors. Implications of the study findings and recommendations for future research are discussed.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Theory and Hypotheses.....	10
Shame and Guilt Emotions.....	12
Vicarious Shame and Guilt.....	15
Identity Theory.....	19
Reasons for Expanding the Current Conception of Social Identities.....	32
Sociocultural Embeddedness: Corporate and Categorical Units.....	36
Expanding Social Identities using Corporate and Categorical Units.....	39
Linking Vicarious Shame and Guilt to Dimensions of Social Identity.....	43
A Note on Interruption.....	46
The Role of Culture.....	48
Hypotheses.....	52
Summary.....	58
Chapter 3: Methods	60
Part I: Exploratory Focus Groups	60
Part II: Two-Part Survey.....	66
Measures and Coding	76
Statistical Analyses.....	79
Summary.....	80
Chapter 4: Results	82

Summary.....	100
Chapter 5: Discussion and Concluding Remarks	101
Findings from Ethnic Identity Scenarios	101
Findings from Classmate Identity Scenarios	105
Findings from Motivation Hypotheses	108
Broader Implications.....	109
Limitations of Methodology	111
Future Research.....	112
Concluding Remarks.....	113
Appendix A: Survey Part One	115
Appendix B: Survey Part Two.....	125
References	134

List of Tables

Table 3.1 Principles Component Factor Analysis for Interdependence	69
Table 3.2 List of Variables used in Survey Part One.....	70
Table 3.3 Scenarios Presented in Survey Part Two.....	73
Table 3.4 List of Variables used in Survey Part Two.....	74
Table 4.1 Means and Standard Deviations of Variables by Scenario.....	83
Table 4.2 Correlations Among Variables.....	89
Table 4.3 OLS Regression of Shame on Independent Variables for Ethnic Scenario One.....	90
Table 4.4 OLS Regression of Shame on Independent Variables for Ethnic Scenario Three.....	92
Table 4.5 Pooled OLS Regression of Guilt on Independent Variables for Classmate Scenarios Two and Four.....	95
Table 4.6 OLS Regression of Motivation on Shame and Guilt across all Scenarios...	97
Table 4.7 Tally of Support for Hypotheses.....	99

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Identity Model	24
Figure 3.1 Scenario I as Presented in Survey Part Two.....	75

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation seeks to understand the group-based emotions of vicarious shame and vicarious guilt using an elaboration of the perceptual control focus of identity theory. Vicarious guilt and vicarious shame are felt when an individual observes a transgression by another individual and feels guilt or shame for the other's actions (Lickel, et al. 2005; Lickel, Schmader, Spanovic 2007). Under the scope conditions of group based emotions theory, the difference in feeling guilt versus shame stems from the nature of the relationship between the transgressor and observer. Specifically, shame is felt when the transgressor and observer share a demographic characteristic or membership in a social group (i.e. race or gender). Guilt results from having a more personal relationship with the transgressor (i.e. friends or family) in addition to the observer believing that he/she has some influence or control over the actions or behavior of the transgressor (Lickel et al. 2005; Lickel, Schamder, and Spanovic 2007). Generally speaking, the emotion of shame is considered a global self-evaluation, which motivates the individual to hide or withdraw from the event, whereas guilt focuses on the act or behavior and motivates the individual to repair the situation (Tangney and Dearing 2002).

In identity theory, emotions are not usually discussed with respect to specific emotions. Instead, it is with respect to whether individuals are experiencing negative or positive feelings in situations (Burke and Stets 2009; Turner and Stets 2005). Emotions

are understood as a continuum from negative to positive with individuals moving along this continuum in any one situation. Generally, identity theorists are not concerned with *which* emotions individuals might feel in a situation, but rather their focus lies in the valence of feelings along good and bad (Burke and Stets 2009). Within the perceptual control focus of identity theory, emotions are incorporated into the control model as a product of the identity verification process. Specifically, emotion signals the degree of correspondence between perceptions of the self in the situation and identity standard meanings (Burke 1991; 1996). Correspondence or identity verification produces positive emotion, and non-correspondence or identity nonverification produces negative emotions (Burke and Stets 2009).

In this dissertation, I contend that studying and empirically testing specific emotional responses benefits identity theory by strengthening its predictive power under certain conditions, such as how individuals react when members of their social group behave inappropriately. Understanding such emotional consequences within a group allows for greater knowledge of how the individual relates to the group in some contexts as well as how a group member's actions impacts the individual's view of the self as a group member. In order to examine the relationship between the identity verification process and vicarious shame and guilt, I develop an elaboration of the theory, specifically with respect to one basis of identity: the social identity. However, before discussing this new conceptualization, it is first necessary to briefly describe identity theory's central tenets.

Early work in identity theory posited that identity and behavior were linked through a common system of meaning (Burke 1980; Burke and Reitzes 1981; Burke and Tully 1977). Today, the belief still holds that the meaning behavior elicits should correspond to the meaning held in one's identity. Thus, in order to effectively understand one's actions, it is important to examine the meaning held in one's identity. Stated another way, the meaning held in one's identity has consequences for how one will behave, and one's behavior confirms the meanings in one's identity (Burke and Stets 2009). An *identity* is defined as a set of meanings associated with the self in a situation and others respond to the individual as if the person had these set of meanings (Burke and Stets 2009). The meanings we attribute to ourselves develop from the reactions of others and over time a person responds to him or herself in the same way that others respond to the person. Through this process, the self-meanings become significant or shared (Burke 1980).

The identity process begins when an identity is activated in a situation, establishing a feedback loop. This loop has five components: (1) the identity standard (the self meanings associated with an identity), (2) perceptual input of self-relevant meanings from the situation including self views and other's views of self (reflected appraisals), (3) a comparator, or a process that compares the perceptual input with the identity standard, (4) output to the environment (meaningful behavior), and (5)

emotions¹ that result from the comparison process (Stets and Burke 2011). The system operates by modifying outputs to the social situation in attempts to change the input to match the internal standard. The goal of any identity is to achieve *identity verification* by matching the perceptions in the environment or situation to the self's internal standards producing positive emotions (Burke and Stets 2009; Stets and Burke 2011). However, this is not always the case. When perceptions are not congruent with the standard, an error signal or a discrepancy is given in the comparator, and identity non-verification occurs, which produces negative emotions. These emotional by-products of the identity process are what motivate the behaviors involved.

The present study focuses on the negative emotional arousal of non-verified *social identities*, an identity base often understudied by identity researchers. Historically, identity theory recognizes three different bases of identities: role, person, and social. Each basis of identity operates in the same fashion within the perceptual control model (i.e. attempting to achieve identity verification), but have different foci; with *role identities* based on social structural positions held by individuals, *person identities* based on characteristics or qualities unique to individuals, and *social identities* based on individual's membership in social groups (Burke and Stets 2009). Early identity researchers tended to focus primarily on role identities, leaving the other bases relatively unexplored (Burke and Reitzes 1981; McCall and Simmons 1978; Stryker 1980

¹ Self-esteem can also be an outcome of the identity process, but is not being tested in this dissertation. For a comprehensive review of self-esteem in identity theory see Cast and Burke (2002).

[2000]). Identity theorists have only recently begun to examine person and social identities. Consequently, our present understanding of these alternate forms of identity bases, especially social identities, is under developed. The present research offers a refined and extended conceptualization of social identities to bring light to different dimensions of social identities by applying Jonathan H. Turner's conceptualization of meso- level forces.

Synthesizing Turner's work buttresses identity theory by increasing its theoretical power by expanding social identities to include a different dimension that is currently unaccounted for. The dominant view of social identities is based on self-identifying as a social group member and being similar to other group members by thinking and acting like the group. However very little attention has been given to groups in which membership is not self selected or even voluntary, but instead formed by one's work, school, or organization—that is group members are placed together by a boss or a teacher or professor. The purpose of such groups is to work together in order to achieve a joint purpose or goal. Each person has an obligation and duty to fulfill as a group member and the attachment to the group stems from a sense of responsibility to accomplishing the goal rather than a qualitative similarity to others (the prevalent view of social identities). It cannot be denied that this too is a form of social group, though different from what is currently understood by identity researchers. Therefore, this dissertation seeks to elaborate the concept of social identities to include an expanded set of meanings using Turner's theory of sociocultural embeddedness (2002; 2007).

Like many other theorists before him, Turner views social reality as unfolding along macro-, meso-, and microlevels (Turner 2001; 2002). What is most pertinent to the present study is his view on encounters within the mesolevel structures, which he claims are both constrained by the institutional domains and the associated culture in which they are found (Turner 2002). This paper incorporates Turner's basic structures of mesoreality: corporate and categoric units with the existing definition of social identity. According to Turner, a *corporate unit* is defined as possessing a division of labor among actors, whether individuals or subgroups, for organizing activity in pursuit of goals of varying degrees of clarity while a *categoric unit* is subpopulations of individuals who have distinctive characteristics and are treated by others in certain ways due to those characteristics (2002). The current view of social identities as based on a person's identification with a social group (Burke and Stets 2009), demonstrates strong similarities to Turner's conception of categoric units.

Proponents of Turner's theory and identity theory would agree that individuals are selected or self-select themselves into groups based on qualitative characteristics and subsequently, are treated in ways specific to these characteristics (i.e. women, ethnic minorities, Christians, etc). However, I will argue that group membership evolves beyond these distinctions everyday. In this research, I seek to expand the current view of social identities to include aspects from Turner's perspective of corporate units, specifically having a social identity with meanings that are based upon a sense of responsibility and concern for in-group members, particularly within groups practicing a

division of labor (i.e. task oriented groups such as work groups). In doing so, social identity meanings can be understood in a broader context, moving beyond membership based upon similar qualities, to encompassing connections based upon obligation and duty to the group in order to achieve an end.

To empirically test the relationship between social identities and negative emotional arousal in a group context; I administer a cross-sectional survey design to over three hundred students at a large Southwestern university. The survey contains a series of hypothetical scenarios measuring two particular social identities: an ethnic identity to represent a categoric social identity and a classmate identity (or more specifically classmates who are placed into a work group) representing a corporate social identity, which the survey respondent must first read and then respond to. In each hypothetical scenario, a member of the respondent's social group commits a transgression that the respondent and others are witness to. The respondents are then asked a series of questions relating to their social identity including issues relating to their self-views and reflected appraisals. Respondents are then queried about their emotional responses to the situation. The purpose of the scenarios is to create the conditions in which vicarious shame and vicarious guilt are thought to occur as well as to activate the respondent's social identity and allow them to respond to the fictional situation from that particular identity.

As a final component to the study, I also empirically examine the role of self-construal brought about by culture, on the relationship between social identities and

negative emotional arousal within the perceptual control process. Specifically, I am interested in whether individuals who report themselves as holding more interdependent, group-oriented meanings have stronger emotional reactions to the fictional transgressions demonstrated in the scenarios than those who claim to be less interdependent. I will argue that individuals who have a proclivity for group-ness may be more greatly affected by witnessing a fellow group member commit an inappropriate act than individuals who are not group minded. However one may wonder why culture even matters? The answer is that culture helps to create and perpetuate meanings associated with identities. Identity researchers claim that identity meanings are generally drawn in part from one's culture, thus culture or aspects of one's culture influences (to an extent) the way individuals think, feel, act, and relate to others. In this study, culture is measured using items from an established interdependent self-construal scale used in psychological research (Singelis 1994; 1995).

The structure of this dissertation is as follows. Chapter 2: "Theory and Hypotheses" will introduce and review the literature and research on vicarious shame and guilt, followed by an in-depth discussion of identity theory with a focus on emotions. Then I move to an explanation of what differentiates social identities from role and person identities and why I feel the concept of social identities requires revision will follow, along with how this can be done using Turner's mesolevel structures of corporate and categoric units. What is emphasized is how this reformulation of social identities will operate within the perceptual control process. Finally, I will talk about the

role of culture and its moderating effects on social identity meanings and emotional expression and end by presenting three sets of hypotheses. The first set of hypotheses deals with an ethnic social identity; the second with a classmate social identity; and the third will test the relationship between feeling shame or guilt and the motivation to change one's behavior.

Chapter 3 titled "Methods" will discuss at length the exploratory process leading up to the survey questionnaire construction used in this study. First, I will recount in detail part one of my study, which included the formation of several focus groups gathered to acquire a greater understanding of relevant shame and guilt inducing situations and the findings that resulted from our discussions. Next, I go on to explain part two of my study, which is a two-part web based survey administered to a large group of Southwestern university students over the course of several weeks. Lastly, I will introduce the measures used in the surveys and the statistical analyses used to analyze the data.

Chapters 4 and 5: "Results" and "Discussion and Conclusion" respectively will provide the results of the empirical study and discuss in detail the relevance of the findings, which findings supported the theory, limitations of the methodology used, and potential future research topics.

Chapter 2: Theory and Hypotheses

Introduction

This chapter begins with a review of vicarious guilt and vicarious shame that I posit is produced from an interruption in one's social identity meanings stemming from witnessing a member of one's social group act inappropriately. In order to understand these emotions from a theoretical perspective, I first examine how the perceptual control focus of identity theory incorporates emotions into the identity control model. Briefly, in identity theory, emotion signals the degree of correspondence between perceptions of the self in the situation and identity-standard meanings (Burke 1991; 1996; Burke and Stets 2009). Correspondence of these meanings or identity-verification produces positive emotions, while non-correspondence or identity non-verification produces negative emotions. In the process I will state why the study of specific emotional outcomes, rather than identity theory's focus on positive and negative valence of emotions is both necessary and beneficial to strengthening the theory. This is done through examining a previously unexplored type of identity interruption, which occurs in the context of witnessing another person from one's social group commit a misdeed, but also through understanding the internal processes of shame and guilt experienced vicariously.

Next, I will present an in depth review of identity theory including a summary of its central tenets followed by a concentration on the concept of social identities. In doing so I will explain why this type of identity requires conceptual refinement in order

to more fully understand the emotional outcomes discussed in the present research. I propose an elaboration of social identity by using Turner's theory of meso level structures, specifically: corporate and categoric units. I posit that in addition to the common definition of social identities as based upon one's identification with a social group, there exists different meanings based upon a sense of involvement and responsibility that occurs within groups organized by a division of labor. I seek to expand the current conceptualization to include these multiple dimensions to explain the varied ways that individuals control perceptions of being a group member within certain social contexts, and how feelings of vicarious shame and guilt arise when perceptions of what it means to be a group member are not aligned with situational meanings.

Finally, this chapter presents an exploration on the role of interdependent self-construal and the theorized moderating effect on the relationship between social identities and shame and guilt experienced vicariously. Specifically, I address the question of whether interdependently oriented individuals are more affected by actions of their social group members when compared to individuals who claim to be less interdependent. According to identity researchers, the meanings attached to any bases of identity are drawn in part from one's culture (Burke and Stets 2009). And according to cultural researchers, culture socializes its individuals with regards to a propensity for certain forms of emotional expression (Camras and Fatani 2004; Wong and Tsai 2007). Studying aspects of cultural meanings (e.g. degree of interdependence) will benefit identity theory by allowing for a greater understanding of the types of meanings people

draw from culture and associate with their group level identities. It will also advantage cultural theory by explaining via identity theory how we as individuals actively work to control our cultural perceptions and the ways in which these perceptions come to affect our behavior in groups. The chapter concludes with the presentation of three sets of hypotheses outlining how these ideas will be tested.

Shame and Guilt Emotions

Two specific emotions that are of interest to this paper are shame and guilt that are *experienced vicariously*. Shame and guilt are classified as types of negative emotions in identity theory and are probable emotional responses to identity non-verification. Before introducing what these particular emotions are and how I believe they relate to identity theory, I begin by discussing in some detail shame and guilt more generally in order to gain a fuller understanding of how these emotions are understood and what they mean for the people who experience them.

Shame and guilt have been classified as *self-conscious emotions*, or a unique class of emotional experiences, which require self-awareness and mark events that have direct relevance to one's sense of self (Lewis 1971; Lickel, Schmader, Spanovic 2007; Turner and Stets 2007). These emotions are "evaluative" in that persons evaluate their thoughts, feelings, and actions vis-a-vis their goals (Lewis 2000). Tangney (1995) points out that people generally mention shame and guilt as types of moral emotions because they inhibit socially undesirable behavior and foster moral conduct, however over the last decade emotions researchers have concluded that shame and guilt are not equally

moral or adaptive emotions (Tangney 1995; Turner and Stets 2006). According to Turner and Stets (2007) shame and guilt are second order emotions combined of three negative primary emotions: anger, fear, and sadness—in different rank orderings. The dominant emotion in shame and guilt is sadness and it is the relative amounts of fear and anger that produce shame and guilt. For shame, the dominant emotion is said to be sadness, which is followed by anger at the self, and then fear of consequences to the self. For guilt, the order is sadness followed by fear about the consequences to self for one's actions, and then anger at the self.

Shame

Shame involves global negative evaluations of the self (i.e. “Who I am”), whereas *guilt* involves a condemnation of a specific act or behavior (i.e. “What I did”) (Lewis 1992; Scheff 1988; Tangney and Dearing 2002; Tangney and Fischer 1995; Tracy and Robins 2004). The feeling of shame is described as intensely painful because the entire self is being scrutinized and evaluated, causing the individual to feel small, worthless, powerless and in disfavor of others. Shame makes the individual want to shrink and hide from the situation (Tangney 1996; Turner and Stets 2005; 2007). It is such a powerful emotion that it causes individuals to activate defense mechanisms to protect the self. Shame has been linked to a number of emotional states such as depression, rage, and anxiety as well as to such behaviors as aggression, violence, withdrawal, and suicide (Kemper 1978; Lewis 1992; Scheff and Retzinger 1992).

Guilt

In contrast to shame, guilt involves a focus on a specific behavior, which is negatively evaluated apart from the global self. It assigns fault by focusing on one's *actions or behaviors*, but without taking the further step of specifically trying to damn the self or suggest that it is fundamentally flawed (Lewis 1992; Owens and Goodney 2000). Instead of seeing the global self in negative terms, guilt leads individuals to perceive that they did a “bad thing”, while leaving the evaluation of the whole self in place (Turner and Stets 2007). Guilt is generally less painful than shame and there is a sense of tension and remorse, which allows the individual to repair his/her actions (Tangney 1996; Tangney and Dearing 2002; Tangney and Fischer 1995). Guilt is seen as the moral emotion because it promotes responsible, normative, moral behavior while shame encourages illicit, self-destructive behavior. Tangney and Dearing (2002) claim that shame is a destructive emotion because it leads to defensiveness and the transmutation of shame into anger, whereas guilt leads to role taking, sympathy, empathy, and attunement.

Implications of these Emotions to Group Associations

Self-conscious emotions may play a central role in motivating and regulating almost all of people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors and subsequently can be thought of as a “master” emotion (Campos 1995; Fischer and Tangney 1995; Owens and Goodney 2000; Scheff 1988; 2003; Tracy and Robins 2007). While these emotions have

been brought to light more in recent years, they have generally received less attention from emotion theorists and researchers than the more universal emotions such as joy, fear, anger, and sadness; perhaps in part because of the cultural taboo in talking about the emotions themselves, particularly shame (Campos 1995; Fischer and Tangney 1995; Scheff 2003; Tracy and Robins 2007). Emotions theorists have discussed self-conscious emotions in terms of how an individual uses these emotions to regulate his or her own behavior with respect to certain personal goals or social standards (e.g. Beer, Heerey, Keltner, Scabini, and Knight 2003; Tracy and Robins 2007), however it has become increasingly important to recognize that an individual's sense of self is also defined by one's associations with others, which impacts emotional expression as well. As the present paper concentrates on social identities, I now turn to discuss group based shame and guilt, conceptualized as vicarious shame and guilt, which occur in settings where members of one's group are present.

Vicarious Shame and Guilt

Group based self-conscious emotions such as vicarious shame and vicarious guilt are defined as an individual's response *not* to his/her own actions and behaviors, but to the guilty or shameful actions of others (Lickel et. al 2005; Lickel, Schmader, and Spanovic 2007; Morris 1987; Ortony, Clore, and Collins 1988; Tangney and Fischer 1995; Weiner 1986). In other words, these terms are used to refer to instances in which the person who is not the proximal agent of a wrongdoing experiences these emotions (Lickel et. al 2005).

Specifically, *vicarious shame* refers to the shame an individual feels when he or she witnesses others who share the same demographic characteristic or are part of the same social group, engaging in behaviors that are seen as revealing a flawed social image. In this situation, the witnessing individual might feel ashamed of *who we are* as a group opposed to *who I am* (Lickel, Schmader, and Spanovic 2007). In contrast, *vicarious guilt* occurs when an individual who is in a relationship with the transgressor, perceives him or herself (rightly or wrongly) as being able to influence the behavior of the wrongdoer (Lickel, Schmader, and Spanovic 2007). Here, the observing individual feels guilty because he believes that he could have had a hand in controlling the actions of the individual committing the bad act (e.g. a mother and an unruly child).

Social Associations Linked to Vicarious Shame and Guilt

Drawing upon group based emotions theory and research (e.g. Brewer 2000; Hamilton, Sherman, and Lickel 1998; Krech and Crutchfield 1948; Lewin 1948; Prentice, Miller, and Lightdale 1994; Rabbie and Horwitz 1988; Tonnies 1998; Wilder and Simon 1998) Lickel et. al (2005) highlight two dimensions of social associations that might play a role in activating the observer's appraisal of the transgressor's wrong-doing. The first, or what they call "*shared identity*" refers to the extent to which people see themselves as sharing a deep and meaningful similarity to others as defined through a common group membership (Lickel, Schmader, and Spanovic 2007). According to the literature on group processes, these identity-based associations are usually studied in terms of shared membership in broad social categories as ethnicity, religion, kinship, or gender.

These associations often involve high levels of shared identity perhaps because these attributes are seen as essential features of the individual since the features are often times ascribed (e.g. Allport 1954; Haslam, Rothschild, and Ernst 2000; Hirschfeld 1995; Rothbart and Taylor 1992; Yzerbyt, Rocher, and Schadron 1997). Since perceptions of shared social identity are a source of self-identification and esteem, people dislike having negative stereotypes about their groups confirmed (Tajfel and Turner 1986).

In contrast to this is the second dimension or *interpersonal interdependence*, which refers to the extent to which individuals are perceived to have high levels of social interaction, possess joint goals, and have shared norms of behavior (Gaertner and Shopler 1998; Hinsz, Tindale, and Vollrath 1997; Lewin 1948; Lickel et al. 2000; 2005; Rabbie and Horwitz 1998; Wilder and Simon 1998). An important component is that there is more opportunity for shared communication and influence of another's thoughts and behaviors. Interpersonal interdependence can characterize relationships between business partners, close friends, and family members. Thus, highly interdependent associations involve close contact and communication between individuals, although any other connection between them might be arbitrary (Lickel et al. 2005).

According to Lickel et al. (2000; 2005) these different dimensions of association are important to understanding the degree to which a person feels vicarious shame or vicarious guilt. Additionally, each emotion has been found to predict a unique behavioral response. Their research suggests, that when an individual engages in some

wrongful behavior, one's perceptions of interdependence with that person is found to be associated with one's appraisals of having control over the occurrence of the event, which in turn is associated with the degree of guilt and reparative actions. In contrast, the degree to which the person's behavior is seen as relevant to a group identity or reputation shared in common with the perpetrator is found to relate to an appraisal that the event is a threat to one's own self image, which is associated with shame and distancing actions. In some cases, there is a high level of both interdependence to the wrongdoer and a sense that the behavior reflects negatively on the shared identity. In these cases, people may feel shame and guilt for the group member's actions. However, even when both emotions occur, they are separable.

Applying Vicarious Shame and Guilt to Identity Theory

Generally, identity theorists have only conceptualized emotions on a continuum from negative to positive. Their interests were in identifying the eliciting condition(s) that produce positive or negative feelings, but not so much in predicting or identifying the *specific* emotions individuals might feel in a situation with the exception of Stets and Burke (2005). While an understanding the nature of circumstances leading to emotional responses is a critical part of the theory, I argue that testing the *specific emotions* that result from the identity verification process will benefit the theory's predictive power. Certainly, knowing whether an individual feels good or bad tells us a lot about the importance of self in situations, however there are many types of emotions broadly categorized as good or bad, and I put forth that being able to uncover the precise

emotion under certain social contexts will tell us a great deal more about the behavioral consequence, particularly within groups. For example, my behavior when I feel angry is much different from my behavior when I feel fear or sadness and these are important distinctions when studying individuals in group dynamics. In order to examine vicarious shame and guilt through the identity control process, it is important to first review the basic principles of identity theory to understand where in the control model, emotion comes into play. I turn to that discussion now.

Identity Theory

Within identity theory two related foci have emerged: structural and perceptual control (Stryker and Burke 2000). Both foci share the structural symbolic interactionist assumption that society is patterned and organized, and that the self emerges within the context of a complex, organized society (Burke and Stets 2009). This notion reflects the principle that the “self reflects society” (Stryker 1980 [2002]) and follows from James’s (1890) belief that there are as many selves as there are different positions that one holds in society and that there are different groups who respond to the self. The structural focus of identity theory focuses on how the social structure influences individual’s conception of self and how the self influences society, whereas the perceptual control focus’ chief concern is with internal operations of identities. It is this latter focus of identity theory that I now turn to.

The perceptual control focus of identity theory is principally concerned with the internal dynamics that operate for any one identity (Burke and Cast 1997; Burke and

Reitzes 1991; Burke and Stets 1999; 2009; Stets and Burke 1996; Stets and Carter 2006; Stets and Tsushima 2001; Tsushima and Burke 1999). An *identity* can be thought of as an “internal positional designation” representing the meanings actors use to define themselves as unique individuals (person identity), as role occupants (role identity), or as group members (social identities) (Stets 2006; Stryker [1980] 2002). Identity theorists posit that identity and behavior are linked through a common system of *meanings*. Thus, in trying to understand a person’s behavior, it is important to understand that the meaning behavior evokes corresponds to the meaning held in one’s identity (Burke and Stets 2009). Meanings associated with an identity are realized by the person through interaction with others in situations in which others respond to the individual as if the person had these set of meanings (Burke and Stets 2009). As a result, self-meanings develop from the reactions of others, and over time, a person responds to him or herself in the same way that others respond to the person, in a way that the self-meanings become significant or shared by all (Burke 1980; Burke and Stets 2009).

The feedback loop for an activated identity is made up of five components: an input, an identity standard, a comparator, an output, and emotions. Each component is a process that deals with meanings in the situation and within the self (Burke and Stets 2009; Stets and Burke 2011). The processes are inter-connected in a cycle and operate to maintain perceived self-meanings identical with those in the identity standard. Once an identity is activated in a situation, a feedback loop is established to control

perceptions involved with the identity (see Figure 2.1). Each component will be described separately in order to understand how identities operate.

Within the perceptual control model there is first the *standard*, or the stable set of meanings each identity contains that characterizes who a person is (e.g. a set of meanings important to a student identity might be: academic ability, intellectualism, sociability, and assertiveness); next is the perceptual *input* of self-relevant meanings from the situation including how one sees oneself and the meaningful feedback that the self obtains from others known as reflected appraisals (e.g. I see myself as an intelligent person or my professors tell me I am a good student); then there is the *comparator* or a process that compares the perceptual input to the identity standard (e.g. compares the comments given by a professor on an assignment to the individual's own sense of academic ability); next there is *output* to the environment in the form of meaningful behavior that is a result of the comparison of perceptions of self meanings with actual self meanings held in the standard (e.g. if the comments received from a professor are more critical than what the student perceives, the student will tell herself that the professor grades too harshly). Finally there is emotion that is a result of the comparison process. If the perceptions correspond to the self-meanings held in the standard then positive emotions are produced, if there is no correspondence then negative emotions arise (e.g. the critical comments that the professor gives to the students cause her to feel bad or angry).

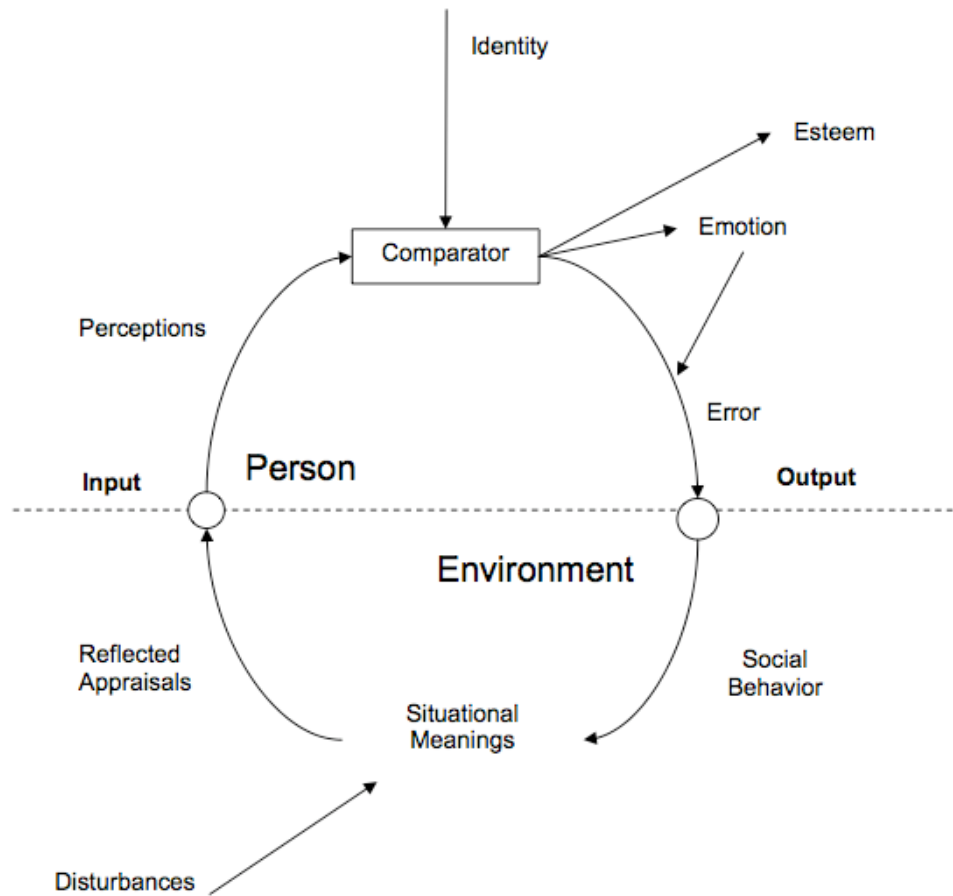
The system works by modifying outputs (meanings) to the social situation in attempts to change the input (meanings) to match the internal standard meanings. Individuals are motivated to seek out situations where they can actively maintain congruence between their identity standard and their perception of themselves. The goal of the controls system then, is to achieve *identity-verification*, that is—to match situational inputs with the identity standard. When perceptions of self-in situation are congruent with the identity standard, identity verification exists and the individual feels good. Identity non-verification occurs when there is a discrepancy between the perceived self-in situation meanings and the identity standard. This error signal between input and standard is read in the comparator.

When an identity is not verified, individuals experience *negative emotions* and attempt to resolve the discrepancy of meanings in the situation in an attempt to accomplish identity verification (Burke and Stets 2009). Generally, there are three lines of action that can be taken to resolve a discrepancy and they are not mutually exclusive. First, one can change their behavior in the situation (i.e. if a student sees herself as extremely intelligent, but receives a poor grade on an exam she can opt to study harder for the next exam). Secondly, individuals can change their perceptions of how they think they are seen in the situation (i.e. the student can also blame the professor for writing an incomprehensible test), and finally individuals can change their identity standard meanings (i.e. the student can admit to herself that she is merely of average

intelligence). Identity theory thus predicts that people actively act to match their perception of a situation to the meanings held in their identity standard.

Another shared belief among identity researchers is that identities that have common meanings are likely to be activated together whenever those meanings are present in the situation and that multiple identities could work together in the identity verification process to control those meanings in the situation (Burke and Stets 2009). There are a couple factors that affect the verification process where multiple identities are concerned. First, the *salience* of an identity is the likelihood that it will be activated. Identities that are more salient are more likely to be activated in any situation. Second, if more than one identity is activated in a situation, it is expected that the identity with the higher level of *prominence* (importance) or the identity with the higher level of *commitment* will guide behavior more than any identity with a lower level of prominence or commitment (Burke and Stets 2009). If one identity is more important than another is, then verification of that identity is more important than verification of another identity. Similarly an identity that has more commitment (other people depend upon that identity) then that identity is more likely to be verified. Using this approach, identities can be distinguished and compared in terms of prominence and commitment. In this dissertation I concentrate on the concept of social identities, but will first discuss in some detail the distinction between each basis of identity.

Figure. 2.1 Identity Model



Bases of Identities: Role, Social, and Person

Identity theory recognizes three different bases of identities: role, person, and social. Since the development of identity theory, identity researchers have focused on the categorization of the self as an occupant of different roles in the social structure such as being a student, worker, or spouse (Thoits and Virshup 1997). Researchers have studied the meanings people attribute to themselves while in various roles (i.e. role identity) and these meanings are distinct from the behaviors people enact while in these

roles (Burke and Reitzes 1981; McCall and Simmons 1978; Stryker 1980 [2002]; Thoits 1983). More recently, identity researchers now understand that there are more bases for identities than roles alone (Burke and Stets 2009). While role identities are based on the various social structural positions individuals hold (e.g. student, worker, parent), person identities are based on the person as a unique entity with characteristics and qualities that are distinctive to the individual (e.g. moral, controlling, stubborn), and social identities are based on individual's memberships in groups (e.g. Christian, Asian, Republican).

Importantly, although each basis of identity has a different focus role, person, and social identities all operate in the same way within a perceptual control system (Burke 1991; Burke and Stets 2009; Stets 2006). That is, identities from each basis have identity standards that serve as a reference to individuals and guide their behavior in situations. With role, person, and social identities, individuals are actively engaged in controlling the perceptions of who they are in situations in order to match the feedback they receive in the situation. Regardless of the basis of identity, individuals are still trying to verify their identities. However, researchers have recently found that the *outcomes* of verification for each basis may be different, where verification of different bases of identities may produce feelings of self-efficacy, authenticity, and self worth (Stets and Burke 2011).

Recall that identity verification occurs when there is a correspondence between identity standard meanings and feedback from the situation leading to positive feelings

(i.e. a sense of self efficacy), with behavior and perceptions (feedback) continuing uninterrupted. However, this is not always the case, and a lack of correspondence between self in situation meanings and identity standard meanings results in non-verification. Individuals experience negative feelings when a discrepancy in meanings like this occurs, and they will act in ways to reduce the negative feelings by changing their behaviors, perceptions, and possibly their identity standard. Let us now turned to a detailed description of the bases of identities.

Social Identities

The identity of interest to this dissertation is the social identity, which is rooted in the social group. In both identity theory and social identity theory, a social identity is based on a person's identification with a social group (Burke and Stets 2009; Hogg 2006; Hogg and Abrams 1988). A social group is conceptualized as a set of individuals who share the view that they are members of the same social category (e.g. religion or race). Persons who are similar to the self are categorized and labeled as the in-group or more simply 'us' whereas persons who differ from the self are categorized as the out-group or 'them'. Holding a certain social identity means being like others in the group and seeing things from the group's perspective. There is an assumption that members of the same social group think and act alike. As a result, there is uniformity in thought and action in being a group member (Burke and Stets 2009). The very act of identifying with the group is enough to activate similarity in perceptions and behavior among group members.

According to social identity theorists, within a social group there is a group prototype. Prototypicality refers to the degree to which a group member exemplifies the stereotypical attributes of the group as a whole. It is the interrelated set of perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behavior that capture similarities among in-group members and differences between in-group members and out-group members (Hogg 2006). Prototypes do not describe the typical in-group member, but instead follow the *metacontrast principle* meaning that they are the ideal or hypothetical in-group member (Hogg 2006). When a social identity is activated, a process known as *depersonalization* has occurred. Instead of individuals seeing themselves as unique, they see themselves in terms of the prototypical attributes of in-group members.

Social identities become active in a situation through the processes of *accessibility* and *fit* (Oakes 1987). Accessibility refers to the readily available social categories that are important to individuals and accessible in memory or in situations. People use accessible categories to make sense of their immediate environment. They may ask themselves how well these accessible categories account for similarities and differences among individuals in the situation (comparative fit) or how well these accessible categories help account for people's behavior in the situation (normative fit) (Burke and Stets 2009). If the fit is not good, people will turn to other social categories until they are able to understand the situation. The category that best fits the situation becomes the activated category.

People join groups for several reasons including: self-enhancement, uncertainty reduction, and a sense of belongingness. *Self-enhancement* refers to wanting to feel valued. Group memberships more often than not help to generate positive distinctiveness or the idea that one's own group is better than another group (Hogg 2006). People compare in-group members with out-group members along certain dimensions that lead in-group members to judge their own group positively and the alternate group negatively, making their evaluation of themselves better. Additionally, people tend to want their environment to be predictable.

By joining groups, one can model oneself after the prototype, which helps to guide behavior, making life more predictable and less uncertain (uncertainty reduction) (Hogg 2006). *Uncertainty reduction* allows individuals to have control over their lives—people have expected thoughts, feelings, and behaviors to follow from and this makes daily living more manageable. Finally, it has been found by identity theorists, that having one's social identity verified leads to a sense of belongingness and raises one's feelings of self-worth (Stets and Burke 2000). One is verified by being *like* the other members. With high levels of self-worth, comes a feeling of security that provides people with value and meaning to their lives. These feelings arise when group members feel accepted and are judged valuable merely on the basis of who they are (Cast and Burke 2002).

While the present research focuses on social identities, it is important to remember that identity theory also recognizes two other bases of identities: role and

person. Role and person identities are sets of meanings associated with an individual's social structural role and what it means to be that person respectively. To understand how social identities are different from these bases, I now discuss in some detail what role and person identities are in comparison to social identities.

Role Identities

A role identity is the internalized set of meanings of a role that individuals apply to themselves (Burke and Stets 2009). Unlike social identities, which draw their meanings primarily from the social group, the meanings in role identities come from culture as well as from individuals' distinctive interpretation and experience of the role. The cultural component is conceptualized as the *conventional* dimension of a role identity where individuals are socialized into what it means to be an occupant of a particular role (McCall and Simmons 1978). Through socialization, individuals learn the meanings of a role identity in interaction with others in which others act toward the self as though the person had the identity appropriate to their role behavior (Burke 1980). In other words, the conventional dimension of role identities depends on acquiring meaning through the reactions of others. The other part of a role identity is the *idiosyncratic* dimension (McCall and Simmons 1978). This refers to individuals' own understanding of what the identity means to them. The role holder uniquely defines this dimension of a role identity and different individuals may have different meanings for the same role identity.

Individuals must negotiate their role meanings with others who may have different meanings for that role (McCall and Simmons 1978). During interaction, individuals' relate to each other in terms of specific role identities. What is unique to role identities is that for every role identity that is engaged in a situation, there is a *complimentary* role designation known as a counter role identity that is also being engaged (e.g. the professor identity cannot be played out without the student identity). For role identities and counter role identities to work in situations, individuals must negotiate the different meanings and corresponding behaviors tied to each identity (McCall and Simmons 1978). More often than not, actors are required to make compromises for successful role performances to occur. Through interactions and negotiation, meanings come to be shared (Burke and Stets 2009).

If interactions run smoothly, all actors in the situation will mutually accomplish their respective identity verifications. Mutual identity verification often necessitates that actors' act to compliment one another's performances. This type of coordinated interaction may involve individuals modifying their role performance or altering their identity standard in order to accomplish identity verification and facilitate the verification of the other person's identity (Burke and Stets 2009). When role identities are verified, they activate a sense of *self-efficacy* (Stets and Burke 2000). Self-efficacy refers to a feeling of competency and effectiveness in one's environment (Gecas 1989). Individuals with higher self-efficacy are more likely to engage in difficult behaviors that they have not tried previously, whereas those with low self-efficacy are more likely to

distance themselves from complex situations for fear of messing up (Burke and Stets 2009).

Person Identities

In identity theory, person identities are defined as the set of meanings that define the person as a unique individual (Burke and Stets 2009; Stets 1995; Stets and Burke 1994). The set of meanings associated with person identities are unlike that of social identities because they are not based on being like others (in the group), but rather on what it means to be a particular individual. Conceptually person identities are somewhat dissimilar to the concept of personal identity found in social identity theory, which defines it as the idiosyncratic personality attributes of an individual not shared with others (Hogg 2006). With a person identity, behavior is guided by one's own goals rather than the goals or expectations of the group or role. Person identities in identity theory have meanings based on culturally recognized characteristics that individuals internalize as their own, serving to define and characterize them as unique. These identity meanings can include characteristics such as how dominant or idealistic a person is or what the person values.

Unlike social and role identities, person identities are viewed as operating across various roles and situations (Burke and Stets 2009). They are more likely to be activated across situations, as the meanings associated with person identities are core to who the person is. For example, if an individual is competitive he does not behave competitively only at work—rather he is competitive at school, when he plays sports, and at home

with his siblings. As such, person identities are constantly activated and generally high in salience and prominence (Burke 2004). Related to this is the idea that because of its constant activation and high salience in the hierarchy of identities, it operates like a master identity (Burke 2004). What this means is that if we arrange role, social, and person identities in the hierarchy of perceptual control², person identities would be ranked higher than role or social identities. Consequently, meanings in the person identity would likely influence the meanings held in one's role and social identities. Furthermore, just as individuals actively maintain the meanings of their role identities, so too do they maintain the meanings of their person identities. Like all bases of identities, person identities operate within the perceptual control process in order to achieve identity verification. When verification of person identities occur it results in increased feelings of *authenticity* or a feeling that you are whom you believe you are (Burke 2004).

Reasons for Expanding the Current Conception of Social Identities

In identity theory, social identities are based on a dimension of 'likeness' or similarity to prototypical in-group members. Through a social comparison and categorization process, persons who are similar to the self are categorized with the self

² Multiple identities are ranked in the hierarchy of control where higher-level identities control lower level identities. Not that the output of all identities within a person must combine to control the social behavior of the individual. This process occurs for all activated identities in a situation so that perceptions of all of the self-relevant meanings of all the activated identities are simultaneously controlled. The output of the higher identity is the standard of the lower identity so that the higher identity does not control social behavior directly, but rather controls the standard of the lower identity. Thus what the lower identity does depends on the goals set by the higher identity (Burke and Stets 2009).

and labeled as the in-group whereas those categorized as dissimilar with the self are labeled as the out-group. Simply stated, the current definition of social identities can be viewed as a self-selected, qualitative grouping of people based on some shared status or demographic characteristic (e.g. religion, ethnicity, gender, sports team). While being *like* an in-group member is sufficient to activate and establish one's social identity, I believe that it is not the only way or even the primary way. Rather, I argue that this unidimensional conceptualization of social identities is under developed because individuals can and do claim group membership in other meaningful ways beyond our present understanding of social identification.

Utilizing an adaptation of Turner's conception of corporate units as groups governed by a division of labor (2002; 2007), I argue that individuals can also base their social identities on meanings focusing on involvement and responsibility towards their group; particularly if the group they belong to is working towards a *joint purpose*. In other words, groups of this nature are bound not by a qualitative characteristic internalized by all group members, but rather by the task or duty they are given to complete, such as is the case of a work group. An outside person or persons essentially create(s) groups of this nature, such as: an authoritative figure, an organization, or a company. This is somewhat similar to the notion of productive exchange (Lawler, Thye, and Yoon 2000) where two or more individuals are joined to produce an object or event. Regardless of what the rewards are, individuals in these type of groups all share a single

source of profit and the dynamics of the group are such that the flow of contributions are from person to group, and the flow of rewards are from group to person.

Though individuals may or may not voluntarily join; once vested into the group, I believe that members continue to actively engage in maintaining the group meanings in order to achieve identity verification just as they would for any identity. Unlike the traditional understanding of the verification process of social identities, verification for this dimension of social identity is based upon whether one is doing his/her part for the group's purpose. For example, each member of my work group is assigned a specific job. Mine is to put together a presentation of my work group's research and findings. While working on the presentation, I am actively controlling the meanings of this dimension of my social identity. I make good progress and my group members see this and praise my work. Thus, I am essentially sustaining the group by doing my part and my social identity as being a working member of this group has been verified.

From this example, one might question whether this elaboration of social identities differs from that of role identities in identity theory. I argue that while the two concepts may overlap due to shared identity meanings, it is important that they be thought of as distinct. Recall that role identities are based in part upon meanings tied to the expectations associated with certain occupations in the social structure and in part upon the individual's own interpretation and experience of the role. A key feature of role identities is the notion of *role reciprocity* where one role cannot exist without one or more relevant other roles (Turner 1962). In this way role identities are about

complimentary designations or mutual verification of role identities through counter role identities. However, having an alter identity is not required where social identities are concerned and this aspect is critical—that is, social identities are not verified by counter social identities, but rather they are verified through aspects of one's in-group.

The basis of social identity meanings resides on some level, from a *shared attachment* to the group to whom one belongs, which is not necessary with role identities. For example, a professor identity can easily be verified through interaction with a student identity. Perhaps more critical a point, is that verification can occur with *any* student identity and not just one particular student or students. The same argument cannot be made for social identities. Specifically, for one's social identity to be verified it has to be done by being like one's group or from one's group member. Take for instance the example of a work group. While it is true that a member of work group A could get the answers to a question he is looking for from a member of work group B, the fact remains that he sees group A as his in-group and group B as the out-group. Thus this individual seeks answers from group A and not B. In other words, it isn't about what group member specifically that meets the group's goals, but the attachment the group member feels to his own group that drives his behavior to sustain his group.

Unlike role identities which can be verified by any counter role identity, verification for social identities occurs amongst group members through being like in-group members (as the existing literature discusses) or by working together to achieve an end, as I have argued here. Specifically, the set of meanings of what it is to be a

group member is being controlled when the social identity is activated whether it is through acting, dressing, or behaving like the prototypical group member or through working on one's part for the sake of the group's goals. Whichever the case, verification of a social identity happens *within* the social group and through other group members that individuals feel an affinity to.

This elaboration of the concept of social identities can best be understood by drawing upon Turner's notion of sociocultural embeddedness in social encounters and more specifically his conceptions of categoric and corporate units. Here, Turner distinguishes between two subpopulations of individuals—those that organize activity in pursuit of goals and those that are defined according to a distinctive characteristic. Both units are drawn from the larger social structure, but have their own dynamics in the mesoreality in which they occur. Applying these ideas to identity theory expands our knowledge of the ways in which people organize and see themselves with respect to groups and group activity. To elucidate further, I now turn to a detailed discussion of Turner's theory and his definition of corporate and categoric units.

Sociocultural Embeddedness: Corporate and Categoric Units

Turner's general theory of interpersonal processes argues that social reality spreads out from a microlevel to a mesolevel and finally to a macrolevel and that each level has its own forces determining the formation of structures at each particular level highlighting the embeddedness of social phenomenon (Turner 2002; 2007). According to Turner (2007), at the microlevel emotional forces, transactional forces, symbolic forces,

role forces, status forces, and demographic/ecological forces shape the flow of interaction in encounters at its most elemental unit. At the mesolevel, the forces of segmentation, differentiation, and integration direct the formation of corporate units (revealing a division of labor for achieving ends) and categoric units (marking social differences and distinctions among individuals). And at the macrolevel, population, production, reproduction, regulation, and distribution drive the formation of institutional domains (made up of corporate units) and stratification system (made up of categoric units) as well as societies and intersocietal systems.

The present research focuses on Turner's view of mesoreality in which the basic structures of this level: corporate and categoric units are found. While structures at the mesolevel are critical for the development of large-scale institutional systems, they are at the same time constrained by the institutional domains and associated culture in which they are located. Interestingly, Turner (2002, 2007) argues that corporate and categoric units are built from encounter after encounter and reveal their own dynamics. To better understand the distinction between them I now discuss in detail the differences of each unit of analysis.

Corporate Units

According to Turner (2002; 2007) a *corporate unit* is defined as possessing a division of labor among actors, whether individuals or subgroups, for organizing activity in pursuit of goals of varying degrees of clarity. He describes this unit along five basic dimensions. First, corporate units can range from a small group of individuals pursuing a

goal to a larger corporation or governmental bureaucracy. Second, the larger the corporate unit, the more visible are its external boundaries and its internal parts, which are divided into subsets of corporate units (e.g. divisions, offices, and cliques). It follows then that these forms of segmentation are much less pronounced in small corporate units. Third, corporate units can also range in the formality of its structures, from informal positions, roles, and norms (e.g. a family) to codified rules defining duties for its members in explicit positions (e.g. a bureaucracy). Fourth, the scope of the division of labor can range from few distinctions (e.g. as with amongst a group of friends) to vast differences in the duties that individuals are supposed to perform. And fifth is the vertical division of labor, which can be simply two levels to vast formal hierarchies of officers and positions.

Categoric Units

Very different from corporate units are *categoric units*, which are defined as subpopulations of individuals who have distinctive characteristics and as a result of those characteristics are treated by others in a certain way (e.g. social class, ethnicity, gender, age) (Turner 2002). Unlike the corporate unit, the categoric unit does not reveal a division of labor or pursue explicit goals, although members of categoric units can become transformed into a corporate unit when they organize to achieve some ends for the interests of the categoric unit. According to Turner (2002), like corporate units, categoric units can also be described along five dimensions. First, is the relative homogeneity or heterogeneity of members in a categoric unit. More homogenous

categoric units refer to its members as being marked by one point of distinction whereas more heterogeneous categoric units mark its members by multiple distinctions. Second, is the clarity of the features defining individuals as members of a categoric unit. While some distinctions are discrete (e.g. gender) others are more continuous (e.g. income). Third, is the extent to which distinctions that define individuals as members of a unit are differentially valued and rank ordered (e.g. rich—poor). Fourth, is the relationship among categoric distinctions. When members overlap into other categoric units (e.g. poor and minority) then the dynamics of categoric units are changed. And fifth is the relationship of categoric membership with the structure and division of labor in corporate units (e.g. CEO of a corporation, poor laborer).

Expanding Social Identities using Corporate and Categoric Units

Turner's conceptions of categoric and corporate units can be incorporated with the concept of social identities by producing a social identity as conceived of two, separate though not necessarily mutually exclusive dimensions. The connection between Turner's perception of categoric units and our current understanding of social identities is closely related and thus would be a natural extension of one another. Yet it is the application of his concept of corporate units to social identities that results in an entirely new re-formulation of our understanding of social identification with the group. While a distinction in social identities has been considered in other identity writings (Burke and Stets 2009; Stets and Burke 2000), this dissertation both examines and tests this idea by incorporating Turner's theory with this aspect of identity theory. In doing so

identity theory is profited through generating a broader conceptualization of what it means to be a group member and the ways individuals maintain these meanings for themselves. The new dimensions will now be discussed.

Categoric Dimension of Social Identity

Currently, Turner's definition of categoric units as subpopulations of individuals who possess distinctive characteristics and who, as a result are treated by others in a distinctive way, lends itself well to the existing notion of social identities even though the unit of analyses is not identical. Although social identities are conceived of in terms of groups rather than categories, the principles described of categoric units can also occur in social groups. Categoric units are based upon a status characteristic allowing individuals to compare and categorize themselves against one another (e.g. social class, ethnicity, gender, Democrats, Buddhists) much like how social group members compare themselves against prototypical in group members as well as out group members. When incorporating it into the perceptual control model of identity theory, the verification process of this dimension of social identity would be no different from how identity theorists have explained it for years. Verification occurs when one is seen as being like members of one's in-group.

Specifically, when an individual perceives that he is like his group members or when he gets feedback in the situation from others that he is like his group members then there is a correspondence between his social identity standard and his self in situation meanings (input). As a result of this correspondence or match between

meanings that he is controlling (both in his standard and in the situation), identity verification occurs and he continues his behavior because for lack of a better explanation, it *works*. For example, Joe is a part of the college basketball team. He can verify his identity as a team member by being athletic, passing the ball to his team members, and scoring points during the game. Since identity verification produces positive emotions, it can be safely assumed that Joe feels good about how he played in the game and how others view him as a team member.

Corporate Dimension of Social Identity

Perhaps the most unique aspect of Turner's corporate units is the requirement of a division of labor among actors. Though the form of corporate units may vary in many ways (e.g. size, formality, nature of external boundaries), division of labor remains a cornerstone to the concept. Thus, in applying this idea to social identities it is important that the aspect of division of labor is not lost. What then does this dimension of social identity look like? I argue that the corporate dimension of social identity has its meanings based in task groups or groups created for the sake of achieving a joint purpose or end. The set of meanings associated with this dimension might be a sense of involvement or responsibility toward the group's pursuit of goal. Each member is essential to sustaining the group and within these groups, two or more actors can contribute their individual resources or talents to the collective endeavor (Lawler, Thye, and Yoon 2000). The meanings can also be based upon having a specified duty to the

group or perhaps being an integral member to the group's ability to function successfully.

At first glance it may appear that this set of meanings may not be generalizable to group based identities, however I posit that this type of group membership is quite common. For example, as children we were often put in small groups in the classroom to make crafts together, as teenagers we were assigned to write book reports with other classmates, and as adults we are organized into work groups to complete a company project. Thus we were group members at times not by our own choosing, but we still claimed group membership just the same.

Unlike categoric social identities, verification of the corporate dimension of social identity occurs whilst doing one's part within the group and not simply being like other group members because each member of the task group may have little if anything in common qualitatively except membership. For example, Susan is in a group that must complete a group paper. She has been assigned to write the introduction and conclusion. While working on these respective parts of the paper she is controlling the meanings of what it entails to be a part of her group. By continually working she is telling herself that she is doing what she is supposed to be doing for the group and her identity as a group member is verified. That is, there is correspondence in the meanings of her identity standard (e.g. write introduction and conclusion to complete group paper) and what is going on in the situation (working on introduction). As a result of the

correspondence she feels good because she is actively contributing to her group and as such she will continue working on her part of the paper.

Linking Vicarious Shame and Guilt to Dimensions of Social Identity

Researchers of vicarious shame and vicarious guilt argue that having a shared identity with the transgressor produces feelings of vicarious shame whereas feeling interpersonally involved with the transgressor produces feelings of vicarious guilt when the transgressor acts (Lickel et. al 2005; Lickel, Schmader, and Spanovic 2007). While the existing conceptualization of social identities might account for why individuals would feel vicariously ashamed as a result of a group member's transgression (e.g. *that person is not acting in accordance with the group's norms and values and he is a reflection of us!*), it cannot adequately explain why an individual could also feel vicarious guilt for the offender's misdeeds. To resolve this issue, I argue that using the elaboration of social identities as presented in this dissertation helps to address why this may be happening.

Non-Verified Categorical Social Identities Produce Vicarious Shame

There is no doubt that the concept of a shared identity as described by vicarious shame and vicarious guilt researchers is quite similar to my definition of categorical social identity. Both concepts possess the critical feature where individuals self categorize and self select themselves into groups, or are assigned by others into social groups on the bases of some qualitative similarity (e.g. ethnicity, gender) shared in common with other group members. As such I argue that when a member of one's group behaves badly, it affects one's social identity, for the mere fact that the other person is not acting in the

prototypical fashion and in a sense misrepresenting the group that the self claims. This transgression committed by another group member causes the self some degree of emotional distress.

When applied to the identity control model what is happening is that witnessing a group member's misdeed acts as a disruption or a discrepancy to the self's categoric social identity. In other words, the meanings initially associated with "we" or the group in the situation are now turning and affecting the "me" in the situation. Specifically, the transgression is a type of situational input causing the self to stop and try to make sense of the conflicting meanings held in the self's identity standard (e.g. this is how the prototype is supposed to behave) and the meanings in the situation (e.g. this member of my group is not acting prototypically). As a result of the lack of correspondence in identity standard and self in situation meanings, negative emotions in the form of vicarious shame is produced because the categoric social identity is not being verified. The self is essentially ashamed of "who we are" and will try different coping strategies in order to achieve verification once again (e.g. telling one self that the transgressor is a bad apple—my group would never behave that way! Or distancing the self from the group entirely).

Non-Verified Corporate Identities Produce Vicarious Guilt

Alternatively, if the transgressor were someone that the self is personally involved with, I argue that a different dimension of the social identity is being activated—the corporate dimension of social identity. Recall that some key meanings

associated with corporate social identities are a state of involvement and a feeling of personal responsibility for the in-group and by extension the in-group members. Like the concept of interpersonal interdependence, individuals who base their group membership on the corporate dimension are highly interactive with one another and depend on one another. Here, there is a sense that one can influence other group members' actions. Thus when an individual that one is personally involved with commits a bad act, one would not feel shame in this instance, but rather guilt for what he/she has done because one might feel that he could have prevented the act from occurring.

The logic can be demonstrated once again through the identity control model. A task group member's transgression would be understood in the identity control model as situational input to be compared to the identity standard. More specifically, the transgressor's actions activates the self's corporate social identity (because of the nature of his relationship to self) and comes into the control model as input or situational meaning. The meaning in the situation (e.g. a student plagiarizing his portion of the group paper) does not correspond with the self's identity standard of what it means to be a part of that particular group (e.g. coming together to write a good paper) and an error signal is created in the comparator. Consequently the self feels guilty for his group member's actions (e.g. I should have checked his work) and may opt to alter his/her behavior in order to verify the self (e.g. I will check his work from now on).

A Note on Interruption

One important implication for studying the process wherein vicarious shame and vicarious guilt occur is that it introduces a new type of identity interruption that has yet to be considered in existing identity research. Current identity theory and research discusses four basic types of interruptions that can occur in the control system (Burke and Stets 2009). To explain briefly, the first type of interruption or the *broken loop* is normally a result of life events such as the death of a loved one. When this occurs, our identity with respect to that person is interrupted. The second type of interruption or *interference from other identities* refers to when people have more than one role identity. Here, it might be possible that maintaining one identity acts to undermine and interrupt the processes that maintain the other identity, otherwise known as role-conflict. The third type of interruption is the *over-controlled identity*, which refers to tightly controlled identities being more sensitive to errors in the situation. And lastly is the fourth manner of interruption or *episodic identities*, which is based on the fact that people have multiple identities not all of which are activated simultaneously. Thus identities are seen as episodic and interrupted routinely and regularly.

Each type of interruption in the control system with the exception of the broken loop can be understood in terms of one's identity as it relates to controlling the meanings of one specific identity or multiple identities. However, identity theory has yet to examine an interruption in the control system coming from merely witnessing a social group member doing something bad. Unlike other forms of interruption, this form is not

appraised from the self's actions or to the reactions of others to the self, but from watching an event by a fellow in group member, who by all accounts represents the meanings held in one's social identity. Thus the interruption to one's social identity in this context is from seeing someone who is like oneself do something that is not aligned with the group's values and feeling a sense of threat to one's own identity standard. This interruption is what predictably causes shame and guilt to be experienced vicariously.

In other words, one's social identity (categoric or corporate) is activated by seeing someone of one's same social group whose membership is based either on a similarity to the self (categoric) or based in a division of labor oriented relationship (corporate) do something bad or inappropriate. This transgression acts as disconfirming input or situational meanings to the identity standard and prompting the identity holder to take notice of and question their identity meanings because the group member that transgressed is essentially a reflection of one's own social identity. In other words, it's almost as though it becomes the self that is doing the bad deed (due to the self's social association with the transgressor), and this identity interruption produces negative emotions (shame or guilt) and causes the individual to want to try to repair the damaged identity in order to once again achieve identity verification. The individual might accomplish this perhaps by acting in a way that compensates for the transgressor's actions or maybe by choosing to distance him/herself from being associated with his/her social group all together. Examining this type of identity

interruption, which I will label *indirect interruption* allows for a greater understanding of the different situational factors that could threaten identity verification processes.

The Role of Culture

As a final point of interest in this research, I examine how cultural values come to moderate the relationship between social identity meanings and negative emotions arising from identity non-verification. Culture is an important model from which individuals draw their systems of shared meanings. It is also a critical component to the development of self. Through socialization, norms, and practices, cultures emphasize the connectedness or separateness of individuals in many ways (Hofstede 1980; Markus and Kitayama 1994; Triandis 1990). While identity theorists acknowledge that meanings based in any identity come in part from culture, what they neglect to discuss is the *explicit* cultural meanings individuals draw upon when forming their identity standards. It is important that we begin to look at these specific meanings to understand how they affect the identity verification process.

The issues I address in this part of the research are: do individuals who are socialized in one culture place more value and greater importance on group membership than people of another culture? Moreover, do individuals who come from cultures with a proclivity for certain emotional expressions experience these emotions more than others? And finally, would an identity discrepancy for these types of individuals produce more intense emotions? To answer these questions I focus on one type of individual's "self-construal" or self-image as a representative of internalized

cultural values: *interdependent*³ which is framed from a type of general cultural framework: collectivistic.⁴ This self-construal can best be understood as what people believe about the relationship between the self and others and the degree to which they see themselves as separate or connected to others. Specifically, a self-construal is defined as a constellation of thoughts, feelings, and actions concerning one's relationship to others, and the self as distinct from others (Singelis 1994; Singelis and Brown 1995). It is strongly linked to cultural norms and values (Geertz 1975; Markus and Kitayama 1991; Marsella et. al 1985; Triandis 1989; Singelis and Brown 1995) as well as to behavior (Kim, Sharkey, and Singelis 1994; Markus and Kitayama 1991).

Interdependent Self-Construal

An interdependent self-construal emphasizes (a) external, public features such as statuses, roles, and relationships, (b) belonging and fitting in, (c) occupying one's proper place and engaging in appropriate action, and (d) being indirect in communication and reading other's minds. When individuals with highly developed interdependent self-construals think about themselves or others, they view the self and others as being interconnected. Moreover, both the self and other are not separate from the situation but are molded by it (Markus and Kitayama 1991). The

³ Interdependent self-construal is conceptualized as an individual difference variable, whereas collectivism is a cultural variable. While similar, these terms do not denote the same concepts.

⁴ While much of the literature has dichotomized the groups, it is important to note that this is not the aim of this study. Rather, the researcher will be using these cultural frameworks as a model, or a set of assumptions that are widely shared by a group of people, existing both in individual minds and in public artifacts, institutions and practices (Snibbe and Markus 2005); while fully acknowledging that individuals engage with and enact cultural models merely as a blueprint of how to think, feel, and act in very idiosyncratic ways that shape their self views.

interdependent self-construal is exemplified in Asian (collective) cultures. In a recent study comparing the two cultural models, researchers found that when it came to issues of preference and choice, North American subjects were more likely to make choices according to their personal preferences and follow a disjoint model which called for actions as being freely chosen, contingent on one's own preferences, goals, intentions, and motives as compared to Indian subjects who tended not to place a premium on individual preference and subscribed to a disjoint model which maintained that actions are responsive to obligations and expectations of others, roles, and situations (Savani, Markus, and Conner 2008).

Culture and Shame and Guilt Expression

Emotions researchers have found that triggers of shame and guilt differ in collectivistic contexts as opposed to more individualist contexts. Specifically, it has been found that the Western cultural context tends to produce shame or guilt in the individual who committed the transgression, whereas collectivistic cultural contexts tend to produce emotions that are induced by others' actions (Camras and Fatani 2004; Wong and Tsai 2007). One explanation for this phenomenon rests on the notion that individuals from collectivistic backgrounds are more likely to experience shame and guilt in social situations because individuals who have these cultural meanings do not view themselves as separate from their relationships with others, their contexts, or their actions (Wong and Tsai 2007).

In one study, participants were presented with scenarios in which they or a close family member were responsible for hypothetical transgressions. Findings for this study showed that compared to European American participants, Chinese participants were more likely to report feeling ashamed and guilty in response to a family member's transgressions (Stipek 1998). In another study, participants were asked to describe different shame episodes in their lives, and it was found that when compared to European Americans, Hmong Americans were more likely to describe those actions committed by another person (Tsai 2006). Consistent with this finding, Liem (1997) found that when asked to describe a past shame event, Asian American college students were more likely to talk about events experienced by close others than were European American college students.

While the literature provides some evidence of individuals from a collective culture as being more prone to feeling shame and guilt, I argue that these ideas can be applied to vicarious shame and vicarious guilt feelings as well. Individuals who are more other oriented should be more emotionally sensitive to members of their own group committing transgressions than individuals who are more independently oriented. In other words, I believe that more interdependent individuals would have a proclivity towards group-based emotions when their social identities are not verified in situations involving similar or involved others than less interdependent individuals.

Hypotheses

Hypotheses Relating to Categorical Identity

The first set of hypotheses examines situations involving a categorical social identity. Here I am interested in seeing how categorical social identity processes are affected using hypothetical scenarios in which a member of one's categorical social group behaves badly. The first hypothesis tests the relationship between a categorical social identity and feelings of shame. For the purposes of this study an *ethnic identity* will act as a proxy for a categorical social identity whereas a *classmate identity* will represent a corporate social identity.

According to the theory presented in this research non-verification of a categorical social identity should produce feelings of shame. Specifically, seeing others who share a similar demographic characteristic or are part of the same social group behaving inappropriately acts as a discrepancy to the self's categorical social identity. Here the observer perceives that the offender is not acting prototypically of the group and the self becomes ashamed of "we" in this situation due to the self's shared association with the offender. These self in situation meanings do not correspond to the internal standard meanings resulting in negative emotional output, predicted to be shame. Following this, I hypothesize individuals who greater identify as an ethnic member will feel more shame when witnessing a transgression by a member of their same ethnic group.

Second, in accordance with identity theory, more prominent identities are expected to produce more intense negative emotional outputs when not verified as opposed to less prominent identities. Following this, I hypothesize individuals whose ethnic identities are more important to them to feel more shame when witnessing an infraction by a member of their same ethnicity. Third, I examine the relationship between reflected appraisals after the transgression has occurred to feelings of shame. According to identity theory, negative emotional arousal should be produced when the feedback in the situation is not aligned with one's internal meanings. This is the process of identity verification. Expectedly, to the degree that the feedback in the situation is less in tune with the individual's meaning standard, the emotion experienced should be predictably more intense. As such, I predict that a greater degree of perceived labeling of the self by others will produce more shame.

Fourth, I examine the effects of the degree of inappropriateness of the act committed on feelings of shame. Theoretically I posit that the more inappropriate the act is seen the more negative emotions (e.g. shame) should be felt. While what constitutes a bad act is subjective on some level, I argue that the respondents rating of the transgression will correlate with the intensity of the emotion felt. That is, if the respondent sees the act as more inappropriate (presumably because it is not behavior that is well suited with the social group meanings), then he/she should feel worse. The more inappropriate the act is ranked, the more of a disturbance it should be to social

group meanings. Thus, I hypothesize the more egregious the act is deemed, the greater the feelings of shame will be.

Fifth, I examine the effects of interdependence on feelings of vicarious shame. Following the theory on interdependent self-construal, other oriented individuals should feel more shame when witnessing a member of their social group or demographic behaving badly. The reasoning here is that interdependent individuals have a tendency to be more aware and sensitive of others, particularly their own group members. These individuals are in a sense more attuned to their groups, so when a group member misbehaves, the effect on them emotionally should be predictably greater. As such, I hypothesize the more interdependent the individual views himself/herself the more shame will be felt when a member of his/her ethnic group commits a transgression. Finally, I examine the interaction effect of interdependence and degree of violation on shame. I predict a stronger effect of degree of violation on shame when an individual is more interdependent than not.

H1a: The more one identifies as an ethnic group member, the more shame will be felt after a transgression is committed.

H1b: The more important the ethnic identity is to the self, the more shame will be felt after the transgression is committed.

H1c: The more one perceives others as labeling the self as an ethnic group member, the more shame will be felt after a transgression is committed.

H1d: The more inappropriate the act is deemed by the self, the more shame will be felt after the transgression has occurred.

H1e: The more the one views the self as interdependent, the greater the feelings of shame will be when a transgression is committed by a similar ethnic member than compared to less interdependent others.

H1f: The more interdependent the self is, the stronger the effect of degree of violation on shame.

Hypotheses Relating to Corporate Identity

The second set of hypotheses examines situations involving a corporate social identity. Here I examine how corporate social identity processes are affected using hypothetical scenarios involving a transgression committed by a member of one's corporate social group. In this study, a classmate identity is used as a proxy for a corporate social identity. In this set of hypotheses I am interested in testing the effects of each variable on feelings of guilt experienced vicariously.

The first hypothesis examines how individuals who self identify as classmates predict feelings of vicarious guilt. Following the theory presented in this dissertation non-verification of a corporate social identity should produce feelings of guilt experienced vicariously. Recall that a critical component of a corporate social identity is a deeper involvement with the offender, one that involves meanings of responsibility and influence. When individuals see one of their corporate group members committing a violation, they experience guilty feelings as a result of the group member's actions. Theoretically this is due to the observer feeling that he could have in some way prevented the behavior of the offender, potentially saving the group's image as a whole. From this I hypothesize individuals who have a greater classmate identity will feel

guiltier when witnessing a transgression by a member of their student work group.

Second, I expect individuals whose classmate identities are more important to them to feel guiltier when witnessing a violation by a member of their own student work group. According to identity theory, identities that are more prominent produce more intense negative arousal when not verified. Thus to the degree the classmate identity is important to the individual, the greater the feelings of guilt when the identity is threatened. Third, I examine the degree of perceived labeling of the self as a classmate by others after the transgression has occurred and how this affects feelings of guilt. Following identity theory the greater the discrepancy between the situational feedback and the internal standard, the more intense the emotional outcome. As such, I hypothesize greater levels of classmate identity labeling by others after the event has occurred will produce greater feelings of guilt.

Next, I examine the effects of the degree of inappropriateness of the act committed on feelings of guilt. I predict that the more inappropriate the respondent deems the act, then the greater the feelings of guilt will be. Theoretically, the more inappropriate the act is deemed the bigger the disturbance it is to identity meanings, thus leading to more intense emotional responses. Fifth, I look at the relationship between degree of self's interdependence on feelings of guilt. Following the theory, other oriented individuals are more sensitive to their group members. Thus when a corporate group member transgresses, the other oriented individual would to a greater degree feel that he could have done something about it than less interdependent

individuals. As such, I hypothesize the more interdependent the individual views himself/herself the more guilt will be felt when a member of his/her student work group commits a transgression. Finally, I examine at the interaction effect of interdependence and degree of violation on guilt. I predict a stronger effect of degree of violation on guilt when an individual is more interdependent than not.

H2a: The more one identifies as a classmate, the more guilt will be felt after a transgression is committed.

H2b: The more important the classmate identity is to the self, the more guilt will be felt after the transgression is committed.

H2c: The more one perceives others as labeling the self as part of the class work group, the more guilt will be felt after a transgression is committed.

H2d: The more inappropriate the act is deemed by the self, the more guilt will be felt after the transgression has occurred.

H2e: The more the one views the self as interdependent, the greater the feelings of guilt will be when a transgression is committed by a class group member than compared to less interdependent others.

H2f: The more interdependent the self is, the stronger the effect of degree of violation on guilt.

Hypotheses Relating to Motivation to Alter Perception

The final set of hypotheses examines how feeling vicarious shame or guilt affects individuals' motivation to alter the perceptions of the other witnesses to the transgression, perhaps through changing one's behavior or through other means. According to identity theory, when identity non-verification occurs, individuals go through a series of coping mechanisms in order to restore identity standard and

situational meanings. This is done by altering one's output or meaningful behavior. What behavior is evoked is not of consequence, but what is important is that the identity holder desires to change the meanings either in the situation or in the identity standard so that it can once again correspond. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to determine specific behavioral consequences, what I am interested in is whether or not individuals are motivated by the intensity of their negative emotional arousal to alter other's perceptions of them. Thus, I hypothesize feeling greater shame or guilt will produce greater motivation to alter other's perception of self after the transgression has occurred.

H3a: Greater feelings of shame produces more motivation to change the perceptions of others of self after a transgression has occurred.

H3b: Greater feelings of guilt produces more motivation to change the perceptions of others of self in the situation after a transgression has occurred.

Summary

This chapter started with an extensive review of the important concepts and theoretical framework used in the present research. Vicarious shame and vicarious guilt were introduced as feeling shame or guilt through witnessing a group member act inappropriately.⁵ To better understand how these emotions are produced, I turned to identity theory, first summarizing its basic principles and then focusing on one type of identity: the social identity, which I believe to be critical to explaining the output of

⁵ Recall that the actual emotions of shame and guilt are different only in that they are experienced indirectly from the individual's own acts or in a group based context.

vicarious shame and guilt. At issue was the fact that the current conceptualization of social identity is under developed and one-dimensional. To rectify this, I turned to a discussion of how a refinement in the concept of social identities could aid in our understanding of specific emotional consequences when the identity meanings do not correspond with the situational meanings.

Specifically, I incorporated facets of Turner's theory, using his concepts of corporate and categoric units to add multiple dimensions of meaning to what it means to be a social group member. I then explained how this new conception would operate within the identity control model to produce feelings of vicarious shame and guilt. Finally, I included a brief exploration on one aspect of culture—the value of interdependence as a possible moderator to social identity and emotions. The chapter concluded with a list of testable hypotheses involving two types of social identities: ethnic and classmate to represent categoric and corporate dimensions of social identities respectively. In the next chapter, I will discuss the research design involved to test the hypotheses presented here. I will also explain the measures and coding used, provide a table of variables, and discuss to the statistical analyses conducted to achieve results.

Chapter 3: Methods

Introduction

This chapter begins by reviewing part one of the research design, which was several exploratory focus groups used to aid in later survey questionnaire items. After discussing the relevant findings from the focus groups, I then move to a detailed discussion of part two of the study, which was comprised of a two-part web based survey. Survey one measured baseline emotions, identification with social groups, identity prominence, interdependence self-construal, and background variables. Survey two, which was administered several weeks later, introduced four fictional scenarios that the respondent had to read and respond to. This survey re-measured identification with social groups, reflected appraisals, the degree to which respondents deemed the act in the scenario inappropriate, emotional responses, and motivation to change other's perceptions of the respondent after the scenario has occurred. The chapter concludes with a summary of the measures used for analysis and the statistical analysis that was conducted to test the hypotheses.

Part I: Exploratory Focus Groups

A critical component of the research design was to create scenarios for the survey portion that were both relatable and potentially experienced by participants in the sample population. The construction of good scenarios was an important element to the study because the scenarios acted as the experimental stimulus. Specifically, the purpose of the scenarios was to induce inconsistency in the respondents' perception of

their identities and to produce an emotional response. For these reasons, it was critical that the scenarios though fictional, be as appropriate to the sample population as possible in order to obtain more accurate and generalizable results.

Several focus groups were conducted in order to gain more insight about shame and guilt inducing situations as well as the types of social groups individuals felt most aligned with. For this part of the study, undergraduates from one upper division sociology course at a large southwestern university in the United States were recruited. Students were awarded a small amount of extra credit in exchange for their participation.⁶ Students were made aware that their participation was completely voluntary and that their responses would be kept confidential.

Sample

A total of three focus groups were carried out over the course of two days in November 2010. Each focus group consisted of approximately ten participants or less and lasted one hour. The majority of the participants were female. Out of 25 total participants, 18 (72%) were female and 7 (28%) were male.⁷ Since the sample was drawn from a sociology course, an over sampling of women was expected as these courses tend to have more women than men enrolled. As each participant arrived, he/she was given an informed consent form to read and sign. Consent forms were collected before the focus group began and checked to make sure that each participant

⁶ Those unable to participate in the physical focus group due to scheduling conflicts were given an alternate essay assignment of a similar subject matter to complete for extra credit.

⁷ Additional demographic factors such as ethnicity, age, and income were not measured, as they were not a key focus for the exploratory portion of the research design.

was willing to be digitally voice-recorded. Participants were invited to share their responses to questions posed by myself and others, and were told that they could refuse to answer any question and leave the group at any time if they felt uncomfortable. Participants were also instructed to use pseudonyms to protect other's privacy and not to report the content of the discussion outside of the group.

Issues: Emotional Scenarios, Social Groups, and Culture

To begin, I asked the participants to think of a time in which they or someone they know felt guilty or ashamed for something that someone else did even though they did not have any direct involvement in what transpired. Participants were encouraged to discuss details of the event including: what happened, who did what, what emotions were felt, the intensity of emotions felt, the timeline of the event, the participant's relationship with the offending actor, and any shared characteristics with the offending actor. Each person took a few minutes to think about this question before responding. As the individual reported his/her story, I took notes on key points in the story as well as on his/her tone of voice, his/her body language, and observed how other participant's were reacting to this person. I repeated this for each response given. Some examples of shame and/or guilt experiencing situations that were given are: the participant was with a friend who shoplifted inside a store, a friend of a participant informed him that he was taking extra cash from his job, a classmate to a participant was asking a slew of irrelevant questions during class, a family member who was addicted to drugs and was

later incarcerated, and being privy to a friend who was cheating on his/her boyfriend or girlfriend.

Participants often reported that they would feel both shame and guilt as a result of witnessing or being conscious of these events. When asked whether their level of shame and guilt was different, the respondent usually weighed one emotion more heavily than the other depending on the situation being discussed. Participants felt more shame for example, when they caught their friend stealing from a store because they did not want witnesses to think “I’m like them” or “I didn’t want the people at the store to think I was in on it and that I was okay with what she was doing”. On the other hand, participants felt more guilt for example, when they did not tell their friend about their knowledge of an infidelity occurring, “when my friend told me he was cheating on his girlfriend, I was like... stop, I don’t even want to know. She’s my friend too, you know? I didn’t even know what to do so I kept quiet.”

When asked how their feelings of shame and guilt were different, participants stated that shame was a more intense emotion overall. They also reported that shame would occur more readily if others were to witness the act. They also likened shame with feelings of embarrassment. With respect to guilt, participants claimed that guilty feelings stem from doing a bad thing and a desire to rectify the bad act. Furthermore, participants on the whole agreed that having a relationship with the offending actor caused heightened emotional distress and that while being similar to the offender made it easier to relate to them, it also caused a desire to disassociate oneself from them.

Moving on to another topic I asked the participants to talk about social groups. Social groups were defined as any group consisting of three or more people that they feel apart of or have membership with. Participants were asked to consider these questions: what types of social groups they associated themselves with, whether group membership was important to them, what types of groups were they more involved with, what types of groups did they simply identify/classify themselves with, and how they would feel if they witnessed a member of their own social group acting inappropriately, offensively, or wrongly. In response to this set of questions, individuals stated that their social groups included: sororities/fraternities, their families, religious groups, ethnic groups, military groups, work groups, and student groups. Groups that were high on importance to participants were generally school, family, and work related. Ethnic groups while deemed very important to a few individuals who discussed their ethnicity at length, were generally reported as less important by the majority of participants. Finally, participants stated that if they were to witness a member of their own social group behaving badly, they would feel worse because the group member was a reflection or representation of himself or herself. One student went so far as to say, "it's as if that were *you* doing it and that's why it would feel bad."

The final topic of discussion was issues relating to culture. For this portion of the focus group, participants were asked if they: knew the concepts of interdependent versus independent cultures and what characteristics/values were associated with each type of culture. They were also asked whether being apart of these cultures affected the

way they thought, felt, or acted. Participants of one focus group reported that interdependent cultures were focused more on roles within the group and that the functionality of the entire group was important. With respect to independent cultures, they noted that these cultures tended to be more self-serving and one student even used the term “self centered” to describe it. Other respondents likened interdependence with being more family oriented/driven and independent as being “the American way”. Every participant polled agreed that culture influences all aspects of one’s life, but for the most part did not elaborate further on what this meant exactly, even when probed to do so.

Implications for Survey Construction

After analyzing the discussions that took place within the focus groups, I determined that many of the guilt and shame type scenarios discussed were too situationally specific to be used in the survey. One situation that a participant shared that seemed to resonate with the other focus group members was of her classmate who happened to be the same ethnicity as her asking a series of “stupid questions in class”. She claimed that the very thought of this memory made her feel ashamed and embarrassed because she often worried that the professor associated her with this particular classmate and that due to their shared characteristics, being women and Latino, that others in the class would think they were the same level intellectually. Due to the response of other focus group members to this example I felt it prudent to incorporate this scenario into the final construction of the survey. Furthermore, I also

utilized results obtained from the focus groups to determine the two types of social identities to use in the survey scenarios. Based on the responses given, I decided to focus my survey scenarios on an ethnic identity and a classmate identity. While the ethnic identity was only extremely important to a few participants, it is one that each respondent can readily access and draw from even though it may be more prominent and salient to some than others. The classmate identity is arguably more dominant of the two social identities as it was often drawn upon during the discussions, so that became the second identity basis for survey construction.

Part II: Two- Part Survey

Undergraduates from three large sociology courses in the same southwestern university in the United States were recruited to be participants in a two-part Internet survey. The Internet surveys were hosted on www.surveymonkey.com, a professional survey hosting website (Survey Monkey 2010). Each survey was open for the span of one week's time during which students were able to sign in and complete the survey at their convenience. Each survey was designed to last no more than 20 minutes time. Survey one opened in mid January 2011 and survey two opened three weeks later in February 2011. For their participation students were awarded extra credit points⁸. However, in order to receive extra credit students were informed that they were required to complete *both* surveys. Every student was electronically sent a unique invitation to take the first survey, which allowed him or her one time access to the

⁸ An essay alternative was made available to students who did not wish to take the survey, but no participant chose this option.

survey. Only students who fully completed survey one were sent a new, second unique email link for survey two. Students were instructed not to take the survey more than once.⁹ Participation was not required and students were told that their answers would be kept confidential. All respondents were over the age of 18. IRB approval was obtained prior to administering the surveys and proof of IRB approval can be made available upon request.

Survey Part One: Social Identities, Prominence, and Self-Construals

Survey one measured degree of identification with social groups, identity prominence, interdependence self-construal, and demographic, background characteristics (i.e. race, gender, age, income, and acculturation). Respondents were asked the extent to which they identified as members of their ethnicity and classmate groups. Note that the questions only ask respondents the degree to which they identify as members in these groups and not about the meanings they associate with these identities. As such, it is in effect a type of *identity label* or *self-identification* that is being measured and not the same conceptual notion of identity standard as presented in the literature (Burke and Stets 2009). In addition to these items, respondents are asked questions about the prominence or importance of these identity labels and again asked to rank their responses on a 10 point Likert scale. For example, the self-identification

⁹ The survey was set to only allow users to take the survey one time from their unique link. However a minority of students were enrolled in more than one course recruited from and were sent two unique survey links. Students were informed not to take the survey more than one time and that they would receive extra credit for each course they were enrolled in. Approximately 5 students failed to comply and took the survey twice and subsequently had their second response sets dropped from the data.

question asks: “to what extent do you consider yourself a member of your ethnic group?” with 0 being- not at all a member and 10 being- definitely a member. After responding to this question, respondents were asked *how important* being a member of their social group is to them (prominence), asked as “how important is being a member of your ethnic group to you?” with 0 being not at all important and 10 being extremely important.

The survey also measured how respondents view themselves in terms of interdependence (self-construal). These 12 items were taken from Singelis (1994, 1995). Singelis (1994, 1995) self-construals instrument was developed to measure the strengths of an individual’s independent and interdependent self-construal or the degree to which an individual sees him/herself as separate from or connected to others (Singelis 1994). However for the purposes of this paper, I will only be examining one of the two dichotomies, specifically looking at degree of respondent’s interdependence. Tables 3.1 presents a principal components factor analysis for the interdependence measure. The factor analysis shows that the twelve interdependence items form a single factor structure (Eigenvalue = 3.18) and an alpha reliability score of .74. An example of a question asking respondents to rank their level of interdependence was worded as, “it is important for me to maintain harmony within my group” with 0 being strongly disagree and 10 being strongly agree. All responses were measured along a 10 point Likert scale.

Finally respondents were asked a series of demographic related questions including: race, gender, age, income, and whether English is their first language. Some

responses were formatted as multiple choice whereas others required the respondent to fill in an answer in the provided blank. Table 3.2 provides a list of the variables from survey part one and how they were measured.

Table. 3.1 Principles Component Factor Analysis for Interdependence

Items	Factor Loading
I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact	.58
It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group	.63
My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me	.55
I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor	.46
I respect people who are modest about themselves	.52
I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in	.56
I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments	.40
I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education/career plans	.45
It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group	.65
I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I'm not happy with the group	.49
If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible	.37
Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument	.44
Eigenvalue	3.18
α	.74

Table 3.2 List of Variables Used in Survey Part One

Name of Variable(s)	How it was Measured
Ethnic Identity	0-not at all a member to 10-definitely a member
Classmate Identity	0-not at all a member to 10-definitely a member
Ethnic ID Prominence	0-not at all important to 10-extremely important
Classmate ID Prominence	0-not at all important to 10-extremely important
Interdependence Scale (12 items)	0-strongly disagree to 10-strongly agree
Race	White, Black, Asian, Latino, Native American, Multiracial, Other
Gender	Male or Female
Age	(Fill in the blank)
Income	20,000 or less, \$21,000-\$40,000, \$41,000-\$60,000, \$61,000-\$80,000, \$81,000-\$100,000, \$101,000 +
English Language	Yes or No, my first language is (fill in the blank)

Survey Part Two: Scenarios and Reactions

Survey part two was administered to those respondents who completed part one three weeks after the original survey was sent out.¹⁰ Survey two was designed to produce an interruption in respondents' ethnic or classmate worker identity effectively activating the identity by having respondents read through four scenarios relating to the two types of identities and then measuring reflected appraisals of others in the situation, motivation to change other's perception of self, and emotional responses. The

¹⁰ Survey monkey kept record of respondents' level of completion using respondents' email addresses. Those who fully completed survey part one were sent a new unique link to take part in survey part two. Those who only partially completed survey part one were not sent a new link and dropped from the data set all together.

survey began by measuring respondents' current emotional state. To begin, respondents were asked to what degree they felt happy, fearful, ashamed, sad, guilty, and angry. These six emotions make up the four primary emotions: happiness, fear, sadness, anger and the two secondary emotions: shame and guilt that are the focus of this dissertation (Kemper 1987, Turner and Stets 2005).

While the current research is primarily interested in secondary moral emotions, primary emotions were included to create balance and so that participants would not become suspicious to the same set of questions included in survey two. Respondents ranked their responses on a Likert scale from 0- not at all to 10- intensely. While asking about baseline emotions is infrequently done in identity research, it is an important component to capturing how respondents felt when they began the survey as well as how they felt after exposure to the experimental stimuli or in this case the scenarios. Including a measure of baseline emotions allows a more accurate measure of emotional outcomes in identity verification processes. By measuring respondents' baseline emotions, we can know with more accuracy that emotions that emerge from identity non-verification are a result of a discrepancy and not due to how a subject feels for some unknown reason.

In the next part of the survey, respondents were asked to read through a series of four hypothetical scenarios dealing with their ethnic or classmate worker identities and to respond to questions relating to each scenario including how it made them feel, which is a common method used when measuring emotional responses to inconsistency

(Aquino and Reed 2002; Stets, Carter, Harrod, Cerven, and Abrutyn 2008). In each scenario an ethnic or classmate identity becomes threatened by the actions of another social group member. In these fictitious accounts, an actor who shares the respondent's ethnic identity or is the actor's classmate behaves in a way that may be considered inappropriate to the meanings associated with what it means to be an ethnic group member or a classmate work group member, and others including the respondent is witness to this transgression. Table 3.3 presents each scenario in the order they were listed in the survey.

Table 3.3 Scenarios Presented in Survey Part Two

Scenario I – Ethnic Scenario	You are sitting in class listening to the professor lecture. Midway through the class, another student who is the same ethnicity as you asks the professor a question. It becomes clear to you that the individual asking the question is not familiar with the class material, but the student continues to ask additional irrelevant questions. The professor responds and the student eventually stops.
Scenario II – Classmate Scenario	You are in discussion section. Your TA assigns you into groups of five. He/she announces that you have 15 minutes to produce a standing structure using only these materials: paper scissors, tape, wooden popsicle sticks, and a pencil. Each member is to work simultaneously on a different part of the structure. After the structures have been completed, the TA goes around the room to examine each one. While inspecting your group's structure, he/she finds that there is glue holding a part of your structure together. One of your group members has used an "illegal" material.
Scenario III – Ethnic Scenario	You are at a party with your friends. During the course of the party you notice an individual who is the same ethnicity as you acting foolishly while in a drunken state. The other partygoers who are a different ethnicity from you are whispering and laughing about this person.
Scenario IV – Classmate Scenario	Your professor assigns you into a group with 3 other classmates. They four of you must work together on a group paper. Each person's portion requires the same amount of time and will be worth an equal amount of points. As your group is turning the paper in, the professor notices that a portion of your classmate's work is plagiarized and remarks aloud on this.

After reading the scenario and taking time to consider it the respondent was asked the degree to which he/she felt that the violation was inappropriate. Then the respondent was asked how he/she felt witnesses of the transgression thought about him/her even though the respondent had no direct involvement in the inappropriate act. Finally, respondents were asked to report the degree they felt happy, fearful,

ashamed, sad, guilty, and angry as a result of the event, and how motivated they felt to change how a witness to the transgression perceived them. All responses were measured along a Likert scale. Table 3.4 presents the variables used in survey two and how they were measured. Figure 3.1 provides an example of a scenario used in the survey along with the series of questions asked there after. The full survey instruments are available in the appendices.

Table 3.4 List of Variables Used in Survey Part Two

Name of Variable(s)	How it was Measured
Reflected Appraisal	0-not at all a member to 10-definitely a member
Violation	0-not at all inappropriate to 10-definitely inappropriate
Motivation	0-not at all motivated to 10-extremely motivated
Baseline Shame and Guilt	0- not at all to 10-intensley
Shame and Guilt (DVs)	0-not at all to 10-intensley

Figure. 3.1 Scenario I as Presented in Survey Part Two

You are sitting in class listening to the professor lecture. Midway through the class, another student who is the same ethnicity as you asks the professor a question. It becomes clear to you that the individual asking the question is not familiar with the class material, but the student continues to ask additional irrelevant questions. The professor responds to each question and the student eventually stops.

1. Have you personally experienced this scenario or one similar to it?

_____ Yes

_____ No

2. To what extent do you think the student asking the questions is being inappropriate?

Not at all inappropriate 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Definitely Inappropriate

3. To what extent do you think the professor sees you as a member of your ethnic group?

Not at all a member 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Definitely a member

4. To what extent do you consider yourself a member of your ethnic group?

Not at all a member 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Definitely a member

5. After this event, how do you feel? (Please take a moment to consider each emotion before responding)

Happy	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Fearful	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Ashamed	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Sad	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Guilty	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Angry	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely

6. After this event, how motivated do you feel to change how the professor perceives you?

Not at all motivated 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Extremely motivated

Sample

Approximately 500 undergraduates were sampled from three sociology courses from a large southwestern university¹¹ and 338 (67%) enrolled students participated in both surveys one and two in exchange for extra credit in their courses. There was an attrition rate of 27 respondents between survey one and two. The sample consisted of more women (68%) than men (32%), which is a common occurrence as a larger percentage of women are enrolled in sociology courses. Racial background was diverse, reflecting the general population of the area. The majority of respondents were Latino/Hispanic (34%) with Asians making up 29% of the sample and whites at 16%. A minority of respondents were black (8%), multiracial (6%), and 7% reported themselves as “other”. As a measure of acculturation, 63% of respondents reported that English was their first language and 85% reported being born in the United States. Respondents ranged in age from 18 to 44 with the mean age as approximately 21. The average reported total family income was between \$41,000 and \$60,000.

Measures and Coding

Emotions

A baseline emotions measure was used before respondents began survey two. Respondents were asked to what degree they felt happy, fearful, ashamed, sad, guilty, and angry measured on a 10 point Likert scale with 0 being “not at all” and 10 being

¹¹ Although there was a total of 500 students enrolled across three courses about two dozen students were enrolled in more than one course sampled from. These students participated one time and received extra credit for each additional course they were enrolled in.

“intensely”. This was administered to measure respondents’ affective state prior to being exposed to the stimulus or the hypothetical scenarios. These same emotions measures were also administered to respondents after each scenario in survey two. This served as a way to determine how respondents felt as a reaction to the discrepancy-inducing scenario. Baseline emotions variables used in the analysis are baseline shame and guilt. Shame and guilt as a response to the scenarios become the dependent variables.

Ethnic and Classmate Identities

Ethnic and Classmate self-identification variables are measured using survey items asking respondents to what extent they consider themselves members of their ethnic group or a classmate to other students in their class. The response categories were measured on a 10 point Likert scale with 0 being “not at all a member/classmate” to 10 being “definitely a member/classmate”. These items were asked in survey one. Two variables were used for analysis and labeled ethnic identity and classmate identity.

Ethnic ID Prominence and Classmate ID Prominence

Ethnic ID prominence and classmate ID prominence are defined as how important being a member of one’s ethnic group or a classmate to other students is to the respondent. It is measured on a 10 point Likert scale with 0 being “not at all important” to 10 being “extremely important”. These items are asked in survey one. Two variables were created for the analysis and named ethnic id prominence and classmate id prominence.

Reflected Appraisal

Reflected appraisal is defined as the extent to which the respondent thinks another witness (i.e. professor, party goers) sees him/her as a member of his/her social group (ethnic or classmate worker). It is measured on a 10 point Likert scale with 0 being- not at all a member and 10 being-definitely a member. These items were asked after each scenario in survey two. A variable of the same name was made for the analyses.

Interdependent Self-Construal

Self-construal was created into one scale for interdependence. The survey items representing interdependence or collective include authority, harmony, happiness, seat, modest, sacrifice, relationship, parent advice, group decision, stay group, sibling fail and argue. Response categories were measured on a 10 point Likert scale ranging from 0 as “strongly disagree” to 10 as “strongly agree”. These twelve items were asked in survey one. One variable labeled interdependence was created for analyses. In addition one interaction term was created interdependence*violation to measure the effect on guilt and shame. Items included in the scales can be found in the appendices.

Background Variables

Background variables measures asked in survey one included: race, gender, age, income, English as first language, and being born in the US were used as control variables. The race measure was created into six variables or race 1 to race 5 with race 1 being “black”, race 2 as “Asian”, race 3 as “Latino/Hispanic”, race 4 as multi racial, race 5

as “other” and race 6 as “white”. Gender was created into a dummy variable with 0 as “female” and 1 as “male”. Born in the US measures were made into born us, mom born us, and dad born us and made into dummy variables with 0 as “no” and 1 as “yes”. English as first language also became a dummy variable called English language with 0 representing “no” and 1 representing “yes”.

Violation of Act

Violation in the analysis is defined as the degree to which respondents perceived the action in the scenario to be inappropriate. It is measured on a 10 point Likert scale with 0 being “not at all inappropriate” and 10 being “definitely inappropriate”. It is asked after each scenario in survey two. The variable violate was created for analysis.

Motivation to Change Other’s Perception of Self in Scenario

Motivation to change behavior is defined as motivation from the respondent to change how a witness to the transgression perceives him/her after each scenario measured in survey two. This is measured along a 10 point Likert scale with 0 being “not at all motivated” and 10 being “extremely motivated”. It is labeled as motivation in the analysis.

Statistical Analysis

All analyses were completed using Stata v. 11 (StataCorp 2009). First, univariate analyses (means and standard deviations) were run to provide simple descriptions of the variables. Next, Pearson’s correlations were performed to demonstrate zero-order bivariate relationships between the dependent variables and the independent variables.

Significant correlations at the .05 level are starred. The unit of analysis in the present study is the interaction between the respondent and the scenario (respondent*scenario). Each subject responded to a total of four scenarios (two pertaining to the classmate identity and two pertaining to the ethnic identity) and each scenario provided the type of identity (classmate or ethnic) and sources of appraisal in addition to degree of violation, emotional responses, and motivation to alter behavior. While respondent data was collected in wide format (i.e. one case per respondent), it has been reshaped into long format (i.e. multiple cases per subject), with each respondent having one data entry point per scenario. Panel clustered regressions were used to correct for correlated error within subjects that arises when there are multiple or “grouped” responses from a single subject (Rogers 1993; Williams 2000). Thus, each respondent’s set of answers is seen as a “cluster,” and responses are assumed to be inter-related. This is a modified form of the Huber/White “sandwich” technique of estimates (Huber 1967; White 1980), which estimates standard errors that are sufficiently robust to account for autocorrelation among clustered responses (Froot 1989).

Summary

In this chapter I have reviewed the research design involved to test the ideas presented in this study. The design necessitated the use of exploratory focus groups in order to understand relevant types of scenarios that induce shame and guilt in individuals. The next step involved the administering of a two-part web based survey,

given several weeks apart. Survey one measured two social identities and level of identity prominence, an interdependent self-construal, as well as background variables. Survey two introduced four hypothetical scenarios intended to create a disruption in the subject's social identities and re-measured subject's degree of social group identification in addition to their emotional responses to the scenario among other things. In chapter 4, I will present the univariate and multivariate analyses conducted. I will discuss the findings of the statistical analyses conducted to test the research hypotheses and discuss at length, which hypotheses were supported and which were not.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

This chapter will provide the results from the statistical analyses performed to test the research hypotheses. I will begin by discussing in some detail the results from the univariate statistical analysis of the variables used in this study. Table 4.1 will provide the means and standard deviations of the variables overall as well as for specific scenarios. Next, I will present the results from the bivariate correlations as shown in Table 4.2. Though there are numerous significant correlations found, I will only briefly report on some of the stronger findings.

Moving on to the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analyses, I review the results of Table 4.3 and 4.4, which examines shame on the independent variables for scenarios one and three, involving respondent's ethnic identity. Earlier statistical analyses showed significant interactions between the two ethnic identity scenarios. Specifically, results $F(3,337)=4.35$; $p < 0.01$ showed the effects of the variables were different for each ethnic identity scenario. Thus, two separate tables are offered for each ethnic identity scenario and results will be discussed accordingly. Previous analyses on the classmate identity scenarios did not show a significant difference of variation $F(3,337)=1.84$, $p = .14$ between classmate identity scenarios, thus one table (Table 4.5) will present the findings of the two scenarios pooled together. Table 4.6 presents the OLS regression coefficients of motivation on shame and guilt. The chapter will conclude with a summary of which hypotheses were supported as shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.1 presents the means and standard deviations for each of the variables¹² listed according to their scenarios.

Table 4.1 Means and Standard Deviations of Variables by Scenario					
N = 338	T1	Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Scenario 3	Scenario 4
Variable		Mean, SD	Mean, SD	Mean, SD	Mean, SD
Ethnic Identity	7.03, 2.79	---	---	---	---
Classmate Identity	6.66, 2.52	---	---	---	---
Interdependent	0.00, 1.00	---	---	---	---
Ethnic Identity Prominence	5.96, 2.98	---	---	---	---
Classmate Identity Prominence	5.43, 2.57	---	---	---	---
Baseline Shame	1.37, 2.23	---	---	---	---
Baseline Guilt	1.44, 2.28	---	---	---	---
Overall					
Shame	3.60, 3.07	2.41, 2.67	3.72, 3.01	3.75, 3.09	4.52, 3.50
Guilt	1.87, 2.48	0.98, 1.78	2.63, 2.75	1.39, 2.30	2.48, 3.10
Violation	7.10, 2.42	5.00, 2.57	7.55, 2.60	6.67, 2.72	9.16, 1.80
Motivation	4.89, 3.02	3.70, 2.86	6.04, 2.99	4.05, 3.10	5.76, 3.14
Reflected Appraisal	6.21, 2.81	4.97, 2.87	6.99, 2.58	6.06, 3.05	6.83, 2.74

In survey one, respondents reported a mean ethnic identity of 7.03; SD=2.79 on a scale from zero to ten with zero being “not at all a member” to ten being “definitely a member” meaning that on average, respondents strongly identified themselves with their ethnic identity. An Anova was conducted to test for ethnic identity differences among race. Results suggest that the mean of ethnic identity differed significantly among race $F(5,1351)=25.54, p< .01$ with the exception of the multi-racial category,

¹² Note that ethnic identity, classmate identity, ethnic identity prominence and classmate identity prominence are not scenario specific thus their values are listed only once in the overall column. These items were asked in survey part one and the scenarios were posed in survey part two.

which was not significant $F(1,1351) = .04$, $p = .83$. Specifically black/African American respondents have the highest ethnic identity with a mean value of 8.48; SD = 2.79. Latinos/Hispanics have the second highest ethnic identity mean value at 7.42; SD=2.46 followed by Asians/Pacific Islanders with a mean ethnic identity of 7.23; SD=2.31. The other race category was next with an ethnic identity mean value of 7.02; SD=3.16. Whites/Caucasians had the lowest ethnic identity mean of 5.62; SD=3.53.

Results showed that ethnic identity prominence (asked in survey one) had a mean of 5.96; SD=2.98 out of 10 meaning it was of average importance. An Anova was conducted to test for ethnic identity prominence differences among race. Results suggest that the mean of ethnic identity prominence differed significantly among race $F(5,1351)=46.63$, $p < .01$. Results indicate that blacks/African Americans have the highest ethnic identity prominence mean value at 7.18; SD=2.46. Latinos/Hispanics have the second highest ethnic identity prominence mean value of 6.75; SD=2.72 followed closely by Asians/Pacific Islanders with a mean ethnic identity prominence value of 6.19; SD=2.70. Next is the other and multi-racial respondents who had a mean ethnic identity prominence value of 5.64, SD=3.36 and 5.6; SD=2.43 respectively. Finally whites/Caucasians have the lowest ethnic identity prominence score of 3.51; SD=2.88.

For the classmate identity asked in survey one, respondents reported a mean score of 6.66 (out of 10; SD=2.52), meaning that on average respondents also strongly identified themselves as being a classmate to other individuals in their class and a prominence score of 5.43; SD= 2.47 evidencing average importance ranking of the

identity. Additionally, the interdependent self-construal measure was created into a scale and was subsequently standardized to have a mean value of zero and a standard deviation of one.

With respect to emotions, respondents reported scores of 1.37; SD= 2.23 and 1.44; SD=2.28 for baseline shame and guilt (shame and guilt prior to reading the hypothetical scenarios) respectively. When examining the values individually by scenario, results from Table 4.1 indicated that shame was most likely to be reported across all scenarios. To test for significant differences in means by scenario, paired samples t-tests were conducted to determine if different scenarios elicited one emotion more strongly than the other. Results suggest that the means for shame are significantly higher than the means for guilt for all four scenarios. Specifically, for scenario one regarding an ethnic member asking irrelevant questions in class, results $t(337)=10.80$, $p<.01$ demonstrate that the mean difference of guilt and shame is different from zero. For scenario two, regarding a classmate using illegal materials to construct a group object, results $t(337)=7.69$, $p<.01$ show that the mean difference between shame and guilt is different from zero. For scenario three about the drunken ethnic group member, results $t(337)=14.97$, $p<.01$ show that the mean difference between shame and guilt is different from zero. Finally for scenario 4 regarding the plagiarizing classmate, results $t(337)=11.88$, $p<.01$ indicate that the mean difference between shame and guilt is different from zero.

These findings are unexpected as two of the scenarios were set up to elicit more shame, while the other two scenarios were made to elicit more guilt. Theoretically this implies that each hypothetical scenario may have impinged upon respondents' feeling that the self was implicated as bad or immoral rather than on the transgression or act itself. In other words, it is possible that the way the scenarios were set up (e.g. focusing on social groups and social group members) caused the respondents to see themselves as part of the immoral situation or violation. The respondent may have identified the transgressor with the self (e.g. we are bad), thus attaching negative affect to the self rather than to the act (e.g. we did a bad thing), which would produce more shame feelings over guilt.

With respect to degree of violation, paired t tests were conducted to determine if there were significant differences in the means for degree of violation by scenario. Results suggest that between all scenarios the means for degree of violation were statistically significant. The differences were most apparent when comparing degree of violation in scenarios one and four ($t(337) = -25.03, p < .01$). In these cases, the mean of violation for scenario one was 4.99; SD= 2.57 compared with the values for scenario four which were 9.16; SD= 1.80.

Similarly, paired t tests were conducted to see if the means for motivation to alter other's perception of self varied significantly between scenarios. Results indicated that between most scenarios the means for motivation were statistically significant. For example, results $t(337) = -12.81, p < .01$ comparing motivation between scenarios one

and two showed that the mean for motivation in scenario one was 3.70; SD=2.86 whereas for scenario two the mean was 6.03; SD=2.99. However, the means for motivation between scenario one and scenario three were not statistically significant ($t(337) = -1.84$; $p = .07$) nor were the means statistically significant between scenarios two and four ($t(337) = 1.56$; $p = .12$).

Finally, paired t tests were conducted to determine whether there is a significant difference for reflected appraisal means by scenario. Results indicate that between most scenarios the means were statistically significant. For instance, in comparing the means for reflected appraisals between scenario one and two, results $t(337) = -10.45$, $p < .01$ showed that the mean for scenario one was 4.97; SD=2.87 compared to scenario two, which was 6.98; SD=2.58. Comparisons between the means for reflected appraisals between scenario two and scenario four however, yielded statistically insignificant results with $t(337) = 1.12$, $p = .26$.

Table 4.2 presents the bivariate correlations among all the variables. There are several results that are worth noting. There is a strong positive relationship ($r = 0.73$; $p < .05$) between the ethnic identity and ethnic identity prominence. This indicates that the degree to which one sees the self as an ethnic group member is associated with the degree of importance of that identity to the self. A similar relationship exists between the classmate identity and classmate identity prominence ($r = 0.63$; $p < .05$) demonstrating a strong positive relationship between the two variables. This means that

the extent to which one sees the self as part of the classmate work group is associated with the degree of importance of that identity to the self.

There is also a moderate positive correlation between classmate prominence and interdependence ($r=.41$; $p<.05$) indicating that those who rank themselves higher as classmates also rank themselves more interdependent. Next, results indicate a strong positive relationship between shame and guilt ($r=0.54$; $p<.05$) such that as shame increases, so does guilt or vice versa in response to reading each scenario involving one's social identities. Finally, baseline shame and baseline guilt also share a strong positive relationship ($r=.70$; $p<.05$) demonstrating that as baseline shame increases so too does baseline guilt and vice versa prior to administering the hypothetical scenarios.

Table 4.2 Correlations Among Variables N = 338

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
(1)	1.00													
(2)	0.73*	1.00												
(3)	0.21*	0.18*	1.00											
(4)	0.19*	0.28*	0.63*	1.00										
(5)	-0.14	-0.06*	-0.05*	-0.07*	1.00									
(6)	-0.22*	-0.25*	0.01	-0.00	-0.04	1.00								
(7)	0.18*	0.19*	0.11*	0.11*	0.05	-0.02	1.00							
(8)	0.10*	0.13*	0.04	0.11**	-0.01	-0.05	0.29*	1.00						
(9)	0.04	0.05*	-0.01	0.08*	-0.10*	-0.03	0.16*	0.54*	1.00					
(10)	0.10*	0.12*	0.05	0.14*	-0.00	0.01	0.37*	0.44*	0.37*	1.00				
(11)	0.06*	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.37*	0.32*	0.15*	0.34*	1.00			
(12)	0.23*	0.27*	0.37*	0.41*	-0.19*	0.03	0.14*	0.13*	0.05*	0.18*	0.10*	1.00		
(13)	-0.04	-0.00	0.02	0.12*	-0.04	-0.03	-0.05	0.13*	0.18*	0.03	-0.05	-0.01	1.00	
(14)	-0.05	-0.02	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	-0.03	-0.07*	0.13*	0.22*	0.04	-0.03	-0.07*	0.70*	1.00

Note: * $\leq .05$; Ethnic Identity = 1, Ethnic Prominence = 2, Classmate Identity = 3, Classmate Prominence = 4, Age = 5, Income = 6, Reflected Appraisal = 7, Shame = 8, Guilt = 9, Motivation = 10, Violation = 11, Interdependent = 12, Baseline Shame = 13, Baseline Guilt = 14

Table 4.3 provides the results for the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression of shame on the independent variables for scenario one, which asks respondents to react to a same ethnic group member asking seemingly irrelevant questions during class. This technique accounts for multiple observations for each respondent as the unit of analysis is respondent*scenario and corrects for auto-correlation. All variables have been standardized and the beta coefficients are presented below.

Table 4.3 OLS Regression of Shame on Independent Variables for Ethnic Scenario One

N = 338

Independent Variables	β
Ethnic Identity	0.06
Ethnic ID Prominence	-0.01
Reflected Appraisal	0.12*
Violation	0.15*
Interdependence	0.14*
Interdependence*Violation	-0.17
English Language	-0.10*
Age	-0.08*
Male	-0.01
Income	-0.05
Baseline Shame	0.10*
R ²	0.12

* p < .05

Recall that the first set of hypotheses examined the relationship between ethnic identity (a proxy for a categoric social identity) and feelings of shame. Hypotheses 1a stated that the more one identifies as an ethnic group member, the more shame will be felt after the transgression is committed. This hypothesis was not supported. Next, in hypothesis

1b the more important the ethnic identity is to the self, the more shame will be felt after the transgression occurs. Again, this hypothesis was not supported. Turning now to hypothesis 1c, the more one perceives others as labeling the self as an ethnic group, the more shame will be felt after the transgression. Consistent with this hypothesis, predicted shame increases by 0.12 standard deviations with each 1 standard deviation increase in reflected appraisals. Thus hypothesis 1c was supported.

Continuing on, in hypothesis 1d the more inappropriate the respondent deems the act, the more shame will be felt after the transgression. As expected, this was indeed the case. Results show that predicted shame increased 0.15 standard deviations with each 1 standard deviation increase in violation, thus supporting this hypothesis. Next, in hypothesis 1e the more one views the self as interdependent, the more shame will be felt. Consistent with this hypothesis, shame increases 0.14 standard deviations for every 1 standard deviation increase in interdependence. In the final hypothesis (hypothesis 1f) the more interdependent one is, the stronger the effect of violation on shame will be. This finding was not supported. Finally, the R^2 for this model is 0.12 meaning 12% of the variance in shame is explained by the independent variables for scenario one.

Table 4.4 provides the results for the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) clustered regression of shame on the independent variables for scenario three involving respondent's ethnic identity. All variables have been standardized and the beta coefficients are presented below.

Table 4.4 OLS Regression of Shame on Independent Variables for Ethnic Scenario Three

N = 338	
Independent Variables	β
Ethnic Identity	0.08
Ethnic ID Prominence	-0.04
Reflected Appraisal	0.29*
Violation	0.23*
Interdependence	-0.09
Interdependence*Violation	0.15
English Language	-0.06
Age	-0.08*
Male	-0.01
Income	0.02
Baseline Shame	0.11*
R ²	0.26

* $p < .05$

The results from Table 4.4 test the same set of hypotheses with a different scenario or set of circumstances, specifically, how would respondents react to seeing a same ethnic member acting foolishly while drunk? Inconsistent with hypothesis 1a, it was not found that the more one identifies as an ethnic group member, the more shame will be felt after the transgression occurs. Thus hypothesis 1a was again not supported. Similarly, results did not confirm hypothesis 1b regarding prominence of the ethnic identity leading to more shame, thus hypothesis 1b was not supported in this scenario.

However, results did support hypothesis 1c. In this scenario predicted shame was found to increase by 0.29 standard deviations for every 1 standard deviation increase in reflected appraisals. Also supported was hypothesis 1d, which stated that

the more inappropriate the respondent deems the act, the more shame will be felt after the transgression. Results demonstrate that predicted shame increases 0.23 standard deviations for every 1 standard deviation increase in violation. Hypothesis 1e or the more one views the self as interdependent, the more shame will be felt was not supported. Similarly, hypothesis 1f stated as the more interdependent one is, the stronger the effect of violation on shame will be was also not supported.

The R^2 for this model is 0.26 meaning 26% of the variance in shame is explained by the independent variables for scenario three, more than doubling its value from scenario one. The larger coefficient of determination suggests that this model explains more of the dependent variable or shame than that of the first. A possible reason for this could be explained by the nature of the scenario. Several things are different about this ethnic identity scenario than the first. To start, the respondent and the offender are the only two individuals at the party who share the same ethnicity, which was not the case for ethnic scenario one. Secondly, in this scenario the other partygoers are laughing at the same ethnic member's behavior, again something that does not occur in the first ethnic scenario. Third, it can be argued that the act (e.g. acting foolishly while drunk) is less socially acceptable than simply asking some irrelevant questions while in class. Thus the violation itself is more severe than in scenario one.

From a theoretical perspective, these factors together imply that the meanings in the situation from the latter ethnic identity scenario were more salient to the social identity holder than the former. This also suggests that the respondent more strongly

identified with the offender and felt corresponding shame, which is primarily oriented towards meanings of self. Thus, given the level of awareness of the similarity between witness and transgressor as well as the mocking behavior of the other witnesses, and finally the connection between self and other, the disturbance in identity meanings produced in the situation should predictably produce a stronger, more intense negative emotional reaction (e.g. shame) in the witness when compared to the first scenario.

Turning now to the analyses on the pooled classmate scenarios, table 4.5 presents the panel clustered regression of guilt on the independent variables for the classmate identity related situations. There was no significant difference in effects between the two classmate scenarios, so for that reason they were combined for the analysis. Panel clustered regression was used to correct for correlated error within subjects that arise in grouped responses from single subjects. Analyses were performed to test the relationship between classmate identity (a proxy for corporate social identity) and feelings of guilt. All variables have been standardized and the beta coefficients are presented below.

**Table 4.5 Pooled OLS Regression of Guilt on Independent Variables for
Classmate Scenarios Two and Four**

N = 676	
Independent Variables	β
Classmate Identity	-0.12
Classmate ID Prominence	0.14*
Reflected Appraisal	0.14*
Violation	0.01
Interdependence	0.14
Interdependence*Violation	-0.14
English Language	-0.08
Age	-0.13*
Male	0.04
Income	-0.00
Baseline Guilt	0.23*
R ²	0.08

* $p < .05$

Results did not support hypothesis 2a that the more one identifies as a classmate; the more guilt will be felt after the transgression. However, consistent with hypothesis 2b or the more important the classmate identity is to the self, the more guilt will be felt, results showed that guilt increases 0.14 standard deviations for every 1 standard deviation increase in classmate identity prominence. Similarly, results demonstrate support for hypothesis 2c that the more one perceives others as labeling the self as a classmate, the more guilt will be felt after the transgression. Results show that predicted guilt increases 0.12 for every 1 standard deviation increase in reflected appraisals.

Unexpectedly, hypothesis 2d, which states that the more inappropriate the violation is seen by the respondent the more guilt will be felt after the transgression is committed was not supported. Last but not least, results indicate that hypotheses 2e and 2f, which examines the relationship between level of interdependence and interdependence interacted with violation respectively were also not supported meaning these variables were not found to have any effects on feelings of guilt. Of interest is the coefficient for baseline guilt. Though not specifically hypothesized, results indicate that predicted guilt increases 0.23 standard deviation units with each 1 standard deviation increase in baseline guilt. This coefficient for baseline emotion is larger than those of the ethnic identity models. A possible reason for this could be that guilt is more likely to be long lasting than compared with shame, which can be repressed. The R^2 for this model is 0.08 meaning that 8% of the variance in guilt is explained by the independent variables tested.

The final analyses as presented in Table 4.6 tests the relationship of motivation on shame and guilt. Specifically, these hypotheses were interested in testing whether feeling shame or guilt acts to motivate individuals to change the perceptions that others may have of them in the situation. All variables have been standardized and the beta coefficients are presented below.

Table 4.6 OLS Regression of Motivation on Shame and Guilt across all Scenarios

N=1352	
Independent Variables	β
Shame	0.34*
Guilt	0.18*
R ²	0.22

*p<.05

Hypothesis 3a stated that greater feelings of shame produce more motivation to alter the perceptions of others in the situation. As expected, predicted motivation increases by 0.34 standard deviations for every 1 standard deviation increase in shame, thus supporting this hypothesis. Similarly, results also demonstrate support for hypothesis 3b, which stated that greater feelings of guilt produce more motivation to alter the perceptions of others in the situation. Here, results show that predicted motivation increases by 0.18 standard deviations for every 1 standard deviation increase in guilt. Table 4.7 presents a tally of support for hypotheses below.

As a note, I also examined the effects of experience, specifically whether respondents actually experienced the event or did not experience it in each regression. Results showed that this effect was insignificant in all three models.¹³ This implies that having personally experienced the situation does not matter in predicting shame or guilt.

¹³ Results are not shown, but can be made available upon request.

Table 4.7 Tally of Support for Hypotheses

Hypotheses	Result
1a. Scenario I, III <i>Greater degree of ethnic identification → Greater shame after violation</i>	Not supported, Not supported
1b. Scenario I, III <i>Greater degree of ethnic identity prominence → Greater shame after violation</i>	Not supported, Not supported
1c. Scenario I, III <i>Greater perceptions of others labeling self as ethnic member → Greater shame after violation</i>	Supported, Supported
1d. Scenario I, III <i>More inappropriate the violation is deemed → Greater shame after violation</i>	Supported, Supported
1e. Scenario I, III <i>Greater degree of self as interdependent → Greater shame after violation</i>	Supported, Not supported
1f. Scenario I, III <i>Greater degree of Interdependence * more inappropriate the violation → Greater shame after violation</i>	Not supported, Not supported
2a. Scenario II & IV <i>Greater degree of classmate identification → Greater guilt after violation</i>	Not supported
2b. Scenario II & IV <i>Greater degree of classmate identity prominence → Greater guilt after violation</i>	Supported
2c. Scenario II & IV <i>Greater perceptions of others labeling self as class member → Greater guilt after violation</i>	Supported
2d. Scenario II & IV <i>More inappropriate the violation is deemed → Greater guilt after violation</i>	Not supported
2e. Scenario II & IV <i>Greater degree of self as interdependent → Greater guilt after violation</i>	Not supported
2f. Scenario II & IV <i>Greater degree of Interdependence * more inappropriate the violation → Greater guilt after violation</i>	Not Supported
3a. All scenarios <i>Greater feelings of shame → Greater motivation to alter other's perception of self</i>	Supported
3b. All scenarios <i>Greater feelings of guilt → Greater motivation to alter other's perception of self</i>	Supported

Summary

This chapter presented univariate and multivariate statistical analyses conducted to test three sets of research hypotheses. Overall the results showed a partial support for the hypotheses examined with respect to ethnic and classmate identities and full support for the hypotheses looking at emotions and motivation to alter perceptions of others in the situation. An interesting pattern that emerged was that the reflected appraisals measure was significant across the two ethnic identity scenario models and the pooled classmate identity scenario model. These results imply that other's perception of self predicts feelings of shame and guilt across scenarios. This is theoretically consistent as a lack of correspondence between self in situation meanings and identity meanings held in the standard produce negative affect.

Another similarity that was found was that the degree of violation mattered significantly in the ethnic identity models, but not in the classmate identity model. This suggests that the degree to which the act was seen as immoral influences feelings of shame, but not guilt. Again this could be due to the set up of the scenarios, which had respondents focus on the association of the self with the offender through a series of questions, rather than on the act itself, which was posed as a single item question. Theoretically, focusing on self-orientations and attaching negative affect to the self is said to produce feelings of shame, whereas a focus on the condemnation of the act produces feelings of guilt. In other words, if the respondent were primarily concerned with identifying with the transgressor rather than on the inappropriate act then shame

would be the expected emotional response over guilt. The final chapter of my dissertation will discuss the findings at length as well as examine the meaning of the findings and its theoretical importance. Additionally, limitations of the methodology will be examined as well as an exploration of possible future research avenues.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Introduction

This chapter discusses in some length the overall findings from the research study and the theoretical implications they have on the study of vicarious shame and guilt. First, results from the ethnic identity scenarios, classmate identity scenarios, and motivation-based hypotheses will be explained. Next, I will address the types of identities used in this study, ethnic versus classmate, and what significance these dimensions of identity have for identity theory at large. I will then move on to the limitations of the methodology used, including potential issues with using web-based surveys. I will also explore some possible avenues for future research using some of the main concepts that were studied in the present research. Finally, the chapter concludes with final remarks about the important contributions this research has on the study of group-based emotions, expanding identity theory, and shedding light on social cultural theory.

Findings from Ethnic Identity Scenarios

The findings from the ethnic identity scenarios reveal some interesting things regarding identity, social context, and emotions. To start, self-identifying as an ethnic group member and the degree of importance of ethnic group membership were not found to have significant effects on vicarious shame for either ethnic identity scenarios. These findings are inconsistent with the theory presented here as well as group based emotions research that claim that seeing someone similar to oneself commit a violation

produces feelings of shame. A possible explanation for these unexpected results may be because the present study did not measure or test the specific meanings associated with ethnic group membership, but rather it only examined self-identification or labeling oneself as a group member. As such, it is unclear whether the hypothetical scenarios in the survey tapped into any relevant ethnic identity meanings for the respondent. In other words, there is the question of: did the hypothetical transgression affect core ethnic group meanings or did the respondent simply perceive the violation as irrelevant to ethnic group meanings? The results suggest the latter may be true, which implies that the violation didn't affect the self as theorized (e.g. the offender is bad rather than we are bad), which could explain the lack of shame felt. Future research should look into specific identity meanings and examine whether relevant identity meanings, when disturbed, produce feelings of shame in the identity holder.

In contrast to this, reflected appraisals or perceptions of other on self, was found to be significant in both ethnic scenario models. This finding is consistent with the theory in the sense that individuals do not wish to be seen differently from how they see themselves, a principle that is critical in the identity verification process. In identity theory, reflected appraisals can be the source of a discrepancy in the control process. Although this study did not measure or test discrepancy, the results are consistent with what would occur if a discrepancy had happened. As expected, respondents were concerned with how others in the situation perceived them (perhaps even more so if they felt they were seen in a negative light), presumably because of their social

association with the offender in the hypothetical scenarios. This implies that knowledge that one might be judged based on the actions of their ethnic group member effectively produced feelings of shame.

Another significant finding across both ethnic scenarios was degree of violation. Specifically, the more inappropriate the act was deemed, the more shame was felt. In accordance with the theory, the greater the perceived violation is, the more inconsistent are the situational meanings from the meanings held in the identity standard associated with that social group. Thus an act that is seen as more egregious would theoretically produce a larger disruption to the identity holder, which would then produce negative affect such as shame. This finding supports identity theory at large, because it demonstrates (albeit indirectly), that greater inconsistencies between self in situation meanings and identity standard meanings lead to more intense negative emotional arousal. This relationship could be examined more clearly and with more accuracy if future research explores specific identity meanings and sources of identity discrepancy.

Being other oriented was also found to have a significant effect, but only for scenario one. This finding might be due to contextual differences. In scenario one, the respondent and the violator are both in a classroom setting along with others who are there for the purpose of learning. What the violator does (e.g. takes up the class time with irrelevant question) infringes on all the students and professor's time as well as acts as an impediment for the group's goal of education. More interdependent

individuals may feel that what their ethnic group member is doing is detrimental to the entire group, thus feeling more intense shame as a result of the act. This is different from scenario three, where the violator is only hurting him/herself by acting foolishly after having too much to drink.

Overall, support for the ethnic identity models as predicting shame are mixed. The research findings suggests that simply identifying as an ethnic group member is not enough to elicit feelings of shame when a similar group member acts immorally. This is not to say that individuals do not feel shame when similar group members behave badly, but that there is not enough evidence at this time to effectively demonstrate what aspects of identity may produce such reactions.

What is clear from the research is that individuals are able to recognize bad or immoral acts and subsequently focus on how others may perceive them as a result of the hypothetical violation. This implies that individuals are aware of the connection between self and offender and understand that the actions of a similar other have consequences for the self. This could be even more salient for interdependent individuals who are more embedded in their social groups than some others. This is not a new or rare phenomenon, as we commonly see how group members band together or distance themselves from their groups depending on the context of the act. For example, after the attacks on American soil on September 11, 2001 the media portrayed some Arab Americans as going to great lengths to demonstrate to other Americans that they were nothing like the perpetrators of the attack, by publicly speaking out against

the crimes committed as well as donning United States related clothing and flags to symbolize who their allegiance was with.

Findings from Classmate Identity Scenarios

Unlike the ethnic identity scenarios, initial tests demonstrated no significant variability between the two classmate identity scenarios on guilt, thus statistical analysis was conducted for both scenarios pooled together. Similar to the findings of the two ethnic scenario models, results show that self-identifying as a classmate to other students did not significantly predict feeling guilt after an offense was committed. A possible explanation could be that the classmate identity label might be too vague and consequently the meanings associated with this identity may be quite varied.

Specifically, this study did not examine the meanings associated with being a classmate. As such, it is unclear as to whether the respondents believed that being a classmate to another student in one's class entails any sense of responsibility or involvement with other students, which was key to the corporate social identity concept. It may well be the case that the students in this sample are detached from or not strongly connected with other students in their courses. If this is the case, then theoretically one would not expect guilty feelings to emerge from witnessing a group member's transgression because the main components of a corporate dimension: influence, control, and responsibility are simply not meanings that the respondent associates with being a classmate. Future research should then focus on these dimensions of a corporate social identity in order to test this relationship. One way to

do this would be to ask respondents to numerically rank how important these meanings are to being a classmate or alternatively a co-worker.

In contrast to the ethnic scenario results, findings from the pooled classmate scenarios indicated that the more important the classmate identity is to respondents, the more guilt is felt. This finding is consistent with the concept of prominence in identity theory where more prominent or important identities produce more intense negative emotional arousal when not verified (Burke and Stets 2009). While this study did not test non-verification directly, it may be inferred that a disruption between situational meanings and self meanings occurred via the hypothetical scenario. If we can make this assumption, then negative affect or in this case guilt as an outcome of the identity process would be expected as the results suggest. Future research should measure and test non-verification to examine this relationship with more accuracy.

Next, research findings show that reflected appraisals was also found to significantly predict guilt. Again this finding is concordant with identity theory. According to the theory, individuals strive to maintain the set of meanings they associate with any given identity. When they enter into a situation, they expect the situational meanings (be it feedback from others in the situation or the self) to correspond to the set of meanings they hold in their identity standard. When this occurs, verification of the identity has happened. However, in this case respondents' perception of how others see him/her may be different from the way the respondent perceives him/herself. This inconsistency should then produce negative affect or guilt, which was found here. While

there is not enough evidence to conclude that non-verification of an identity has occurred, the findings imply that this may be what transpired.

Two effects that were not significant in the classmate scenario model are degree of violation and interdependence. Interestingly, both of these variables produced significant effects (the latter for only one ethnic scenario) in the ethnic scenario models. With respect to the former, a possible explanation for insignificance could be that the respondent was not focused on the acts, but on the offenders in the hypothetical scenarios. Theoretically guilt is the outcome of an individual feeling that he/she did a bad thing. Thus, if the respondent does not perceive this to be the case, and instead focuses on his/her connection with the offender, then the orientation becomes about self rather than act, which would not predict guilt, but rather shame.

With respect to the latter or interdependence, an insignificant effect may be due to the nature of corporate social groups. Theoretically, interdependent oriented individuals are more group oriented and sensitive to their own group members. However, the meanings associated with corporate social groups are not based upon a general 'we' mentality. Instead, corporate social groups are task oriented and base their meanings on each individual member doing his/her part in order to help sustain the group and achieve some end or goal. As such, interdependence may be irrelevant in these types of groups for predicting emotional reactions because there is no emotional tie to the group. Rather, each person needs to be focused on doing his/her job and not on any "we" or "us" or a general group membership mentality.

Overall, the results from this set of analyses are considerably weaker than with the ethnic identity scenarios. Future research should consider examining work groups or the co-worker identity as the meanings associated with these types of identities may be clearer than what a classmate is. Additionally, one of the scope conditions in the group based emotions literature is that vicarious guilt arises when the transgressor is an individual that the witness or observer has a personal relationship with. For them, vicarious guilt occurs because the witness feels personally responsible for the actions of the other.

One of the limitations of my research was attempting to manufacture a sense of responsibility and involvement of the participant with the hypothetical other in the scenario where there probably was none. A better method would have been to ask the respondent to think about someone they've worked with to have a reference point, rather than create relationships in a survey. Moreover, the division of labor I tried to create within the group is more regimented than what might occur in real life. Specifically, each group member was equal in both their responsibility as well as their status. This is rarely the case in real life task groups. Future research could study individuals who actually work together to determine if the predicted effects are different from what was found in the present research.

Findings from Motivation Hypotheses

The final set of results tested the effect of motivation on shame and guilt. The findings indeed confirmed the hypotheses that predicted motivation to alter other's

perceptions of self increase with an increase in shame and guilt. These findings are consistent with what we'd expect to find in identity theory research. According to the theory, when non-verification occurs, individuals seek to cope with these negative emotions and the disconfirming meanings through a number of ways, for example by opting to change their behavior to make the meanings in the situation align with the meanings in the standard or by ignoring the disconfirming feedback altogether. While the study did not test the specific mechanisms by which people might choose to alter other's perceptions, it does help to demonstrate that people have the desire to change how they feel others view them if they believe those views are not in alignment with their self views. Future research could look at the specific behaviors people enact when they received disconfirming feedback in a situation to allow for a better understanding of the identity verification process.

Broader Implications

Generally speaking, this dissertation research gives us a clearer, yet somewhat limited understanding of how vicarious shame and guilt is produced using the identity control model. While group based emotions literature has demonstrated an importance in the connection between the violator and the observer, we now have a theoretical means to understand how these associations could work within the individual in a cognitive, emotive, and, possibly behavioral fashion. Specifically, these research findings demonstrate through identity processes that individuals who claim social group membership (whether a categoric or corporate dimension) seek to actively control the

meanings in the situation associated with their social group. This research suggests that when a group member commits an act that is deemed inappropriate to the group's values and standards, the observing group member feels ashamed or guilty for how he/she may be judged as a result and actually feels motivated to change the perceptions of other witnesses in the situation, presumably to alter other's perceptions of that group as a whole. One reason for this motivation may lie in the observer's desire for the other witnesses to disassociate the bad behavior of their fellow in-group member with what it means to be apart of that group more generally.

In addition to this, the present research also helped to refine and elaborate an otherwise under developed concept in identity theory: the social identity. Without the integration of Turner's (2002, 2007) categoric and corporate units, identity theory would have been ill equipped to properly elucidate the vicarious guilt and shame process, due to the fact that it lacked a proper understanding of additional social group meanings to do so. Specifically, identity theory's version of social identity simply utilized a qualitative means for linking group members together, where just being like the other in-group members was enough to activate social identity meanings. The current research argued that social group membership could also include meanings centering on involvement and responsibility, particularly in a group governed by division of labor. Though the findings are mixed it presents a new means for understanding social identity processes within the control model. To some extent, the findings show that individuals respond differently emotionally, depending on what type of social group meaning is activated

and on the context of the situation. Overall, using this expanded conception of social identities may prove useful in allowing researchers to look at different types of social group meanings, which could lead to more accurate predictions of specific emotional and behavioral consequences when that dimension of the social identity is not verified.

Finally, this research starts a dialogue as to what role culture or specifically culturally influenced views of self (interdependence) plays in the identity control model as well as for predicting feelings of shame. While this was not a central focus of the paper, the findings from ethnic identity scenario three indicates that being more other oriented, (which in some cultures is a premium value) affects feelings of shame when an in group member commits a transgression, particularly one that is likely to affect the entire group (e.g. interrupt an entire class). Future research should examine different cultural aspects to determine what effects they have on how individuals internalize and maintain meanings related to their identities.

Limitations of Methodology

One limitation of the methodology used in this research is that the survey instrument was web based. With the influx of technology, Internet surveys can be taken anywhere, at any time and there is little to no control over the environment in which it is completed. For that reason, it is difficult to know whether the respondents were able to truly imagine themselves in the scenarios and whether the emotional responses reported were in accordance to how they felt after reading the hypothetical scenarios. This is not to say that there is no merit to Internet surveys because this method is

certainly cost effective and easy to administer; rather for the current study it would seem that having some control over the environment in which the survey was taken is important due to the fact that the crux of the survey lies in a quasi experimental manipulation to change respondent's emotions. For this reason, it becomes imperative to know whether the respondent has taken enough time to carefully read each scenario, imagine him/herself in the hypothetical situation, and develop an accurate emotional response.

A second limitation of the methodology is using scenario based survey questions to examine vicarious guilt. For vicarious guilt to occur, the scope conditions specify that the witness and the transgressor must be in an involved relationship. Thus it could be possible that testing real life partners, co-workers, etc would have different results. Future research could address this by conducting a laboratory experiment in which two co-workers, two classmates, or two friends who work together react to a violation on the part of one that is witnessed by the other. This methodology might be more effective at gleaning whether individuals who feel responsible for one another do in fact feel more guilt for the actions of their partners as the theory predicts.

Future Research

Future research focusing on vicarious shame and guilt and identity processes could benefit from looking at different types of social identities beyond what was examined in this dissertation. While the present paper focused on two social identities: ethnic and classmate, the same identity processes should operate similarly across

multitudes of social groups. However, a point of interest would be to examine how social groups in different cultures react differently to a transgression by a group member. It is possible that groups formed in more collectivistic oriented cultures would have a greater proclivity for greater shame and/or guilt since the group is valued over groups in more independent oriented cultures. These effects could be explored using other types of methodology as well. For example, observational techniques, interview techniques, or experimental techniques could prove useful in these studies, particularly when studying real relationships taking place in real time.

Concluding Remarks

The main conclusion of this study is that specific emotions can be accurately predicted using identity theory. Vicarious shame and guilt emotions are unique in that they are experienced independently of the actor's own behavior; rather they are felt as a result of the actions of another. Identity theory has never before looked at such emotional consequences and linking the two areas of interest will help strengthen the predictive power of identity theory as well as shed light on another type of interruption (indirect interruption) that was previously unexamined. Further, group based emotions research benefits from this incorporation as well as it now has a theoretical framework to explain how these emotions are produced in the individual.

Another contribution of this research is that it bolsters what we already know about identity theory. While the findings speaking to this are limited, it does suggest that individuals do actively seek to maintain the meanings associated with their identity

and that negative affect is produced when individuals feel that they are being perceived differently than they perceive themselves. Moreover, the results from this study show that when this happens, individuals feel motivated to alter the perception's others have of them, which suggests that they are seeking to re-align situational and standard meanings.

Lastly, this research helps expand identity theory by offering a refined definition of social identities to include multiple dimensions, namely a categoric and corporate distinction. This new conceptualization merged identity theory with Turner's social embeddedness theory to create a broader understanding of the meanings associated with being a member of a social group. The results from this study show significant effects for each dimension, providing evidence to show that different aspects of one's social identity produces different emotional reactions when that part of the identity is not verified. While this is beyond the scope of this research, future researchers have many options as to how they can pursue these topics; from the types of social identities studied, to the methodology used to examine these identities, to even the types of emotions that may be predicted.

Appendix A

Survey Part One

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part I

Informed Consent

- You have been invited to participate in part one of a two-part web based survey. In order to receive extra credit for this course you must have completed part one in addition to part two of the survey. The purpose of this survey is to learn more about the way you view yourself, how you view your relationship with others, and how you are feeling.

- I understand I will participate in a survey, which will ask me questions about the way I view myself, how I view my relationship with others, and how I am feeling.

- I am at least 18 years of age.

- My participation is voluntary. I understand that I am free to withdraw from this study at any time. I also understand that this study poses no known risks to my health, and that my responses will not be traced back to me, thus no one will know how I responded.

- I understand that no personal, identifying information will be taken from the survey, except what is necessary for extra credit purposes.

- I understand that I have the right to stop the survey at any time.

- I understand that I have to complete both parts of the survey in order to receive extra credit.

- If you have any comments or questions regarding the conduct of this research, please contact me at ythai001@ucr.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the UCR Office of Research Integrity at (951) 827-4861 or contact them by email at irb@ucr.edu.

If you consent to participate, click on the "Next" button below.

Before you begin this survey, I would like to know how you are feeling right now. Please take a moment to consider each item and select the response that best describes you.

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part I

1. How do you feel right now?

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Happy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fearful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ashamed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sad	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Guilty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Angry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

In this portion of the survey I am interested in how you see yourself in relation to others. Please take a moment to consider each question before you respond. Select the response that best describes you.

1. To what extent do you consider yourself a member of your ethnic group?

	Not at all a member	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely a member
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2. How important is being a member of your ethnic group to you?

	Not at all important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely important
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. How often do you think of yourself as a member of your ethnic group?

	Not often at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely often
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. To what extent do you consider yourself a classmate to other students in your class?

	Not at all a classmate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely a classmate
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. How important is being a classmate to other students in your class to you?

	Not at all important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely important
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. How often do you think of yourself as a classmate to other students in your class?

	Not often at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely often
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part I

In this portion of the survey I am interested in how you view yourself. Please take a moment to consider each statement before you respond. Select the response that best describes you.

1. I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2. I'd rather say "No" directly, than risk being misunderstood

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. Speaking up during class is not a problem for me

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Having a lively imagination is important to me

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part I

9. I respect people who are modest about themselves

	Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. I am the same person at home that I am at school

	Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in

	Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

12. Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me

	Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

In this portion of the survey I am interested in how you view yourself. Please take a moment to consider each statement before you respond. Select the response that best describes you.

1. I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments

	Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2. I act the same way no matter who I am with

	Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. I should take into consideration my parent's advice when making education/career plans

	Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part I

4. I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I'm not happy with the group

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. My personal identity independent of others is very important to me

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

12. I value being in good health above everything

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strongly agree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part I

In this portion of the survey, I will be asking you questions about your background.

1. What is your race/ethnicity?

- ☐ White/Caucasian
- ☐ African American/Black
- ☐ Asian American/Asian/Pacific Islander
- ☐ Latino/Hispanic
- ☐ Native American
- ☐ Multiracial
- ☐ Other, please specify

2. What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

3. What is your age?

4. Is English your first language?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No, my first language is

5. Were you born in the United States?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No, I was born in

6. Was your mother born in the United States?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No, she was born in

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part I

7. Was your father born in the United States?

☐ Yes

☐ No, he was born in

8. What is your total family income?

☐ \$20,000 or less

☐ \$21,000 to \$40,000

☐ \$41,000 to \$60,000

☐ \$61,000 to \$80,000

☐ \$81,000 to \$100,000

☐ \$101,000 and above

In this final portion of the survey, I will be asking you for identifying information in order to send part two of the survey to you as well as for extra credit purposes. The information provided here will only be used for these purposes.

1. Please type in your full name

2. Please type in your email address (UCR account preferred)

3. Which course(s) are you enrolled in?

☐ Sociology 5 (Professor Burke)

☐ Sociology 20 (Instructor Koda)

☐ Sociology 123 (Professor Carter)

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part I

4. What is your month of birth?

- ☐ Jan
- ☐ Feb
- ☐ Mar
- ☐ Apr
- ☐ May
- ☐ Jun
- ☐ Jul
- ☐ Aug
- ☐ Sep
- ☐ Oct
- ☐ Nov
- ☐ Dec

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part I

5. What is your date of birth?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
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- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7
- ☐ 8
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- ☐ 29

Self Identity, and Emotions Part I

☐ 30

☐ 31

6. Please type in the last 4 digits of your student ID number

You have now completed part one of the two-part survey. Part two will be sent to the email addressed used to send you this survey on 2/7/11. You will have until 2/11/11 to complete it. Remember that you must complete both parts to receive extra credit. Thank you for your participation!

Appendix B

Survey Part Two

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part II

Informed Consent

- You have been invited to participate in part two of a two-part web based survey. In order to receive extra credit for this course you must have completed part one in addition to part two of the survey. The purpose of this survey is to learn more about your cognitive and emotional responses to different scenarios.
- I understand that I will participate in a survey, which will ask me to imagine myself in different scenarios and how I would respond in these situations.
- I am at least 18 years of age.
- My participation is voluntary. I understand that I am free to withdraw from this study at any time. I also understand that this study poses no known risks to my health, and that my responses will not be traced back to me, thus no one will know how I responded.
- I understand that no personal, identifying information will be taken from the survey except what is necessary for extra credit purposes.
- I understand that I have the right to stop the survey at any time.
- I understand that I have to complete both parts of the survey in order to receive extra credit.
- I understand I am only to take survey part 2 ONCE, even if I receive multiple links from being enrolled in multiple courses.
- If you have any comments or questions regarding the conduct of this research, please contact me at ythai001@ucr.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact the UCR Office of Research Integrity at (951) 827-4861 or contact them by email at irb@ucr.edu.

If you consent to participate, click on the "next" button below.

Before you begin this survey, I would like to know how you are feeling right now. Please take a moment to consider each item and select the response that best describes you.

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part II

1. How do you feel right now?

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Happy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fearful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ashamed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sad	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Guilty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Angry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Instructions for next portion of the survey

In this next portion of the survey you will first be presented with a scenario. If you have personally experienced this scenario, then respond to the following questions based on your real life experiences. If you have not experienced the scenario, please imagine yourself in the situation and respond to the following questions based on how you would react if this were to happen to you.

Scenario I

You are sitting in class listening to the professor lecture. Midway through the class, another student who is the same ethnicity as you asks the professor a question. It becomes clear to you that the individual asking the question is not familiar with the class material, but the student continues to ask additional irrelevant questions. The professor responds to each question and the student eventually stops.

1. Have you personally experienced this scenario or one similar to it?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

2. To what extent do you think the student asking the questions is being inappropriate?

	Not at all inappropriate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely inappropriate
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. To what extent do you think the professor sees you as a member of your ethnic group?

	Not at all a member	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely a member
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part II

4. To what extent do you consider yourself a member of your ethnic group?

	Not at all a member	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely a member
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. After this event, how do you feel? (Please take a moment to consider each emotion before responding)

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Happy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fearful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ashamed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sad	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Guilty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Angry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. After this event, how motivated do you feel to change how the professor perceives you?

	Not at all motivated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely motivated
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Scenario II

You are in discussion section. Your TA assigns you into groups of five. He/she announces that you have 15 minutes to produce a standing structure using only these materials: paper, scissors, tape, wooden popsicle sticks, and a pencil. Each member is to work simultaneously on a different part of the structure. After the structures have been completed, the TA goes around the room to examine each one. While inspecting your group's structure, he/she finds that there is glue holding a part of your structure together. One of your group members has used an "illegal" material.

1. Have you personally experienced this scenario or one similar to it?

☐ Yes

☐ No

2. To what extent do you think the act done by your classmate is inappropriate?

	Not at all inappropriate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely inappropriate
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part II

3. To what extent do you think the TA sees you as a classmate to this group?

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely
	a										a
	classmate										classmate
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. To what extent do you consider yourself a classmate to this group?

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely
	a										a
	classmate										classmate
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. After this event, how do you feel? (Please take a moment to consider each emotion before responding)

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
	all										
Happy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fearful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ashamed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sad	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Guilty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Angry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. After this event, how motivated do you feel to change how the TA perceives you?

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely
	motivated										motivated
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Scenario III

You are at a party with your friends. During the course of the party you notice an individual who is the same ethnicity as you acting foolishly while in a drunken state. The other partygoers who are a different ethnicity from you are whispering and laughing about this person.

1. Have you personally experienced this scenario or one similar to it?

☐ Yes

☐ No

2. To what extent do you think the acts of the drunken partygoer, who is the same ethnicity as you, are inappropriate?

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely
	inappropriate										inappropriate
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part II

3. To what extent do you think the observing partygoers see you as a member of your ethnic group?

	Not at all a member	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely a member
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. To what extent do you consider yourself a member of your ethnic group?

	Not at all a member	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely a member
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. After this event, how do you feel? (Please take a moment to consider each emotion before responding)

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Happy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fearful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ashamed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sad	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Guilty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Angry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. After witnessing this event, how motivated do you feel to change how the observing partygoers perceive you?

	Not at all motivated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely motivated
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Scenario IV

Your professor assigns you into a group with 3 other classmates. The four of you must work together on a group paper. Each person's portion requires the same amount of time and will be worth an equal amount of points. As your group is turning the paper in, the professor notices that a portion of your classmate's work is plagiarized and remarks aloud on this.

1. Have you personally experienced this scenario or one similar to it?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part II

2. To what extent do you think the act done by your classmate is inappropriate?

	Not at all inappropriate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely inappropriate
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. To what extent do you think other students in the class see you as a classmate to this group?

	Not at all a classmate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely a classmate
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. To what extent do you consider yourself a classmate to this group?

	Not at all a classmate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Definitely a classmate
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. After this event, how do you feel? (Please take a moment to consider each emotion before responding)

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Intensely
Happy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fearful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ashamed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sad	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Guilty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Angry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. After this event, how motivated do you feel to change how the other students in the class perceive you?

	Not at all motivated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely motivated
...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

This last portion will ask you for identifying information in order to confirm your participation for extra credit. The information provided here will only be used for these purposes.

1. Please type in your full name

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part II

2. Please type in the SAME email address used for survey part I (UCR account was stated as preferred)

3. Which course(s) are you enrolled in? (You may choose more than one if that is the case)

- ☐ Sociology 5 (Professor Burke)
- ☐ Sociology 20 (Instructor Koda)
- ☐ Sociology 123 (Professor Carter)

4. What is your month of birth?

- ☐ Jan
- ☐ Feb
- ☐ Mar
- ☐ Apr
- ☐ May
- ☐ Jun
- ☐ Jul
- ☐ Aug
- ☐ Sep
- ☐ Oct
- ☐ Nov
- ☐ Dec

Self, Identity, and Emotions Part II

5. What is your date of birth?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
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- ☐ 28
- ☐ 29

Self Identity, and Emotions Part II

☐ 30

☐ 31

6. Please type in the last 4 digits of your student ID number

End of Survey

You have now finished part two of the survey. This completes your participation in the study and you have now met the requirements for the extra credit. Thank you for your participation!

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