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UNDERSTANDING SHAME AND GUILT IN CHINESE CULTURE

A Thesis Presented

by

SE MIN SUH

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

September 2020

Psychology

UNDERSTANDING SHAME AND GUILT IN CHINESE CULTURE

A Thesis Presented

By

SE MIN SUH

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ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING SHAME AND GUILT IN CHINESE CULTURE

SEPTEMBER 2020

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Directed by Professor Brian Lickel

Research on shame and guilt has mainly been conducted in individualistic Western cultures. Some qualitative research, however, examined shame and guilt experiences in Chinese culture. Bedford (2004) identified 7 terms that represent emotional experiences of “shame” and “guilt.” We report 3 studies examining Mandarin Chinese speakers’ recalled experiences of negative self-conscious emotions and their related appraisals and motivations. Results reveal that instead of categorizing negative self-conscious emotion terms into 2 superordinate categories of “shame” and “guilt,” 3 clusters are more suitable based on their correlations and associated characteristics. Implications for cross-cultural studies on self-conscious emotions are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A. Overview

According to cognitive appraisal models of emotions, shame and guilt have been categorized as negative emotions defined particularly by appraisals of self-responsibility (e.g., Smith & Ellsworth, 1985). Despite their similarities, emotion scholars have distinguished shame and guilt based on the how people appraise the self as linked to the emotion-eliciting event as well as each emotion's motivational consequences (Tangney, 1991; Niedenthal, Tangney & Gavanski, 1994; Schmader & Lickel, 2006; Lickel, Kushlev, Savalei, Matta, & Schmader, 2014). This prior research, however, has been mainly conducted in individualistic cultures such as the United States, and how these patterns of appraisals and motivations apply to collectivist cultures that have more than two words to represent "shame" and "guilt" has not been fully investigated. The primary aim of the current research is to examine appraisals and motivations associated with negative self-conscious emotion terms in Mandarin Chinese, where there is potentially a broader set of emotion words for the emotional experiences that in English are labeled "shame" and "guilt" (Bedford, 2004, Li, Wang, & Fischer, 2004; Su & Hynie, 2019). The results we report extend a growing body of literature on cross-cultural examination of self-conscious emotions.

Scholars have long debated whether emotions are universal or instead largely shaped by culture (e.g., Manstead & Fischer, 2002). The universalist perspective argues that emotions are the result of basic biological evolutionary processes and are therefore largely uniform across cultures (e.g., Ekman, 1994; Scherer & Wallbott, 1994). On the other end of the spectrum, the constructivist perspective considers emotions as cultural products and focuses on variations of emotional experience and lexicon across cultures (e.g., Barrett, 2006; Kitayama & Markus,

1994). Although these two perspectives are seemingly incongruent, many scholars take an intermediate position which integrates the two perspectives to argue that both evolutionary and cultural forces shape emotional experiences (e.g., Goetz & Keltner, 2007). In the context of self-conscious emotions, this approach suggests that while all people universally experience emotions such as shame and guilt, cultural norms and values dictate how these emotional experiences are elicited and expressed.

Researchers have compared self-conscious emotions and their characteristics across cultures, and this work offers support for this intermediate perspective (e.g., Breugelmans & Poortinga, 2006). Nevertheless, researchers are often faced with cultural and linguistic barriers that impede them from applying research on shame and guilt that has been done in individualistic Western culture to other cultural contexts (Bedford, 2004; Breugelmans & Poortinga, 2006). In cultures that have multiple terms for negative self-conscious emotions, researchers do not clearly know which, if any, term corresponds to the English words "shame" and "guilt." Even if there is a one-to-one correspondence, there remains a gap in our understanding of the extent to which the terms have construct equivalence given that cultural norms and values may distinctly shape the experience of negative self-conscious emotions. One way to bypass these cultural and linguistic barriers is to investigate the patterns of event appraisals and post-event motivations related to each shame and guilt words in a given culture and then compare them to the appraisal and motivation patterns linked to the English words of "shame" and "guilt." Therefore, in the current research, we examine self-conscious emotional experiences in Chinese culture through an appraisal and motivational framework. By doing so, the current research will not only provide further evidence about how culture may shape the expression of potentially universal emotional experiences, but also bring practical benefits for researchers who wish to effectively

communicate cross-cultural comparisons of self-conscious emotions in China and the United States.

B. <u>Appraisals and Motivations Associated with Shame and Guilt</u>

Shame and guilt are both categorized as negatively valenced, self-conscious emotions that are prompted by social or moral transgressions. Despite the similarities, scholars have distinguished shame and guilt based on their antecedent appraisals, particularly by how each emotion is linked to the self (Niedenthal et al., 1994; Tangney, 1991; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996; Tracy & Robins, 2006). Broadly, shame is linked to the global self-concept and is elicited when one feels like a "bad person," whereas guilt focuses on specific behaviors and arises when one realizes that "I did something bad" (Lewis, 1971; Niedenthal et al., 1994; Tangney, 1991; Tangney et al., 1996; Tangney & Dearing, 2003; Lickel et al., 2014). Niedenthal et al. (1994) tested this distinction by instructing individuals to make counterfactual statements to hypothetical scenarios either about their self (e.g., "If only I were a better friend") or about their behavior (e.g., "If only I had not flirted with his date"). Participants reported greater shame and less guilt when they were asked to come up with counterfactual statements about the self than those of specific behaviors. Tracy & Robins (2006) further corroborated this by demonstrating that failure to an uncontrollable attribute of the self, such as ability, elicits shame but not guilt, whereas a controllable behavior, such as effort, evokes guilt but not shame. Consequently, shame has been thought to arouse a sense of worthlessness and a feeling that the self is small, making it a painful and debilitating experience. In contrast, guilt, while still a negative experience, was traditionally considered less devastating compared to shame because the experience does not directly damage the self (Niedenthal et al., 1994; Tangney, 1991; Tangney et al., 1996).

Shame and guilt have also been shown to have distinct and diverging motivations (Wicker, Payne, & Morgan, 1983; Tangney et al., 1996). Shame was traditionally thought of as evoking avoidance tendencies that motivate people to withdraw or escape from shame-eliciting situations. Guilt, on the other hand, was considered an approach-oriented emotion that prompts people to repair the situation. However, more recent scholarship has painted a more complex picture of the motivations associated with guilt and, particularly, shame. Several studies have reported that shame is associated with both constructive and distancing motivations (Scherer & Wallbott, 1994; Tangney et al., 1996; Schmader & Lickel, 2006; de Hooge, Zeelenberg, & Breugelmans, 2010; Leach & Cidam, 2015; Griffin et al., 2016). For example, de Hooge et al. (2010) found that shame leads to approach motivation as long as the situation is manageable, but when the risk of involving oneself to repair the situation becomes too high, shame is likely to elicit withdrawal from the event.

Gausel & Leach's (2011) theoretical model also proposed that depending on how people appraisal their moral failure, shame can result in both approach and avoidant response. When people attribute their moral failure to a specific defect about themselves, shame can elicit an approach response, whereas when shame is linked to global self-defect or condemnation from others, shame can motivate people to distance away from the event. In line with this theoretical model, Leach & Cidam's (2015) meta-analysis identified reparability of failure as a key factor that distinguished post-event motivations related to shame. Shame increased constructive motivations when failures were more reparable and decreased constructive motivations when failures were less reparable.

Lickel and his colleagues (2014) identified yet another distinct type of constructive motivations related to shame. In this research, they examined how negative self-conscious

emotions, including shame, guilt, and embarrassment, were related to different types of motivations. They found that shame had an adaptive component which motivated people to change certain aspects about themself as well as motivating people to distance away from shame-eliciting experiences. Guilt, on the other hand, strongly predicted motivation to repair the event, but also weakly predicted motivation to change the self. Finally, embarrassment was only predictive of motivation to distance from the event.

C. Cultural Perspectives on Self-conscious Emotions

Prior research suggests that there may be fundamental differences in how negative self-conscious emotions are experienced in a collectivist Chinese culture compared to an individualistic American culture. In Western culture, shame and guilt have been valued differently in accordance with the traditional perspective of self-conscious emotions (e.g., Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992). Although more recent research in Western context suggests an adaptive role of shame, much of the prior scholarship took a more negative view of shame. According to this traditional perspective, shame has been characterized as maladaptive and socially incompetent, often associated with lack of empathy, externalization of blame, and avoidance of responsibility (e.g., Tangney et al., 1992). Guilt, on the other hand, has been valued due to its constructive nature. Considering that shame is often thought of as debilitating the global self, it is natural that shame is considered undesirable compared to guilt.

In contrast, prior work indicates that shame may be considered a valuable and constructive emotion in Eastern culture (e.g., Li, Wang, & Fischer, 2004; Sheikh, 2014). Shame is consistent with the values and norms endorsed by collectivist Eastern culture, which emphasize self-criticism and modesty that ultimately affirm social harmony. Studies have also shown that collectivist cultures consider shame as having fewer negative impacts on self-esteem

and on relationships compared to individualistic cultures (Wallbott & Scherer, 1995). For instance, people were more positive and open to sharing shame-related experiences in Spain than in Netherlands (Fischer, 1999).

Other qualitative studies have found that Chinese not only view shame as a positive emotion, but also have a more nuanced understanding of shame itself. For instance, Shaver and his colleagues (1992) found that while English, Italian, and Indonesian speakers categorized shame and guilt along with other basic emotions (e.g. anger, fear, sadness), Chinese identified shame and guilt as a distinct category separate from the basic emotions. Similarly, Li, Wang, & Fischer (2004) found that Chinese have a highly elaborative categorization of shame terms. They identified 113 shame-related Mandarin words and had Chinese speakers group the terms based on their meaning. Chinese speakers primarily categorized the terms into two superordinate groups: 1) shame terms that relate to the state experienced by the self (self-focus) and 2) reactions to shame directed at others (other focused).

Scholars have expanded this cultural perspective by examining motivations linked to shame across cultures. Several empirical studies have shown cross-cultural differences in motivations related to shame. For instance, Bagozzi, Verbeke, & Gavino (2003) examined the relationship between shame and performance for salespersons in individualistic and collectivist cultures. When Dutch salespersons experienced shame, they reported withdrawal responses, such as physically and mentally disengaging from customers and work. Pilipino salespersons, on the other hand, engaged more with their customers after shameful experiences.

Potential mechanisms as to why we observe these differences in shame-related motivations across cultures have also been discussed. Sheikh (2014) posited that normative beliefs specific to a culture and others' reactions to shame-inducing events motivate people to

engage in either externalizing, restorative, or withdrawal behaviors. In an individualistic culture, shame may be considered maladaptive, and others may often disapprove of the shame-inducing event. Sheikh (2014) argued that these two factors may motivate people to engage in externalizing, such as blame, anger, and hostility toward others, when they experience shame. In a collectivist culture, however, shame may be evaluated as more constructive, and significant others often experience shame along with the transgressor. In this case, shame may motivate restorative behaviors, including reparation for the harm one has caused and self-improvement.

D. The Role of Language in Understanding Self-conscious Emotions

The prior discussion of cultural differences in the experience of shame and guilt reflects the existing body of scholarship on self-conscious emotions. However, it sidesteps or ignores an important problem, which is that emotion scholars often face difficulty directly comparing shame and guilt across cultures due to unequal number of words that represent negative self-conscious emotions. Mandarin Chinese, for example, has more than one term that can be translated into English term “shame” or “guilt” (Bedford, 2004; Li, Wang & Fischer, 2004), whereas the Raramuri people in Mexico have no word for guilt (Breugelmans & Poortinga, 2006).

In the face of these challenges, some scholars have focused on comparing specific emotional characteristics, such as event appraisals and motivations, to overcome this linguistic barrier. In one important study using this approach, Breugelmans & Poortinga (2006) investigated whether the indigenous Rarmuri people of Mexico differentiate shame and guilt in a similar way as people whose language has two separate words to represent shame and guilt. To do this, they first asked Javanese people from Indonesia (who use two distinct words for shame and guilt) and Raramuri to describe situations that elicited negative self-conscious emotions. Dutch and Indonesian students then rated these situations on shame and guilt characteristics,

enabling researchers to select shame- and guilt-eliciting situations as stimuli. Researchers then presented these scenarios to the Raramuri and the Javanese, who rated these situations on emotion characteristics, including appraisals, action tendencies, and bodily sensations. This method allowed the researchers to examine whether the Raramuri and the Javanese distinguished shame and guilt in a similar manner as the student samples did by comparing the characteristics associated with shame- and guilt-eliciting situations across different cultural samples. While not a complete overlap, the Raramuri and the Javanese differentiated shame and guilt similarly compared to the international student sample (76% and 64% emotion overlap for each group). Hence, Bruegelmans & Poortinga (2006) demonstrated that cross-cultural comparisons of negative self-conscious emotions are possible even in cases (i.e., the Raramuri) in which there is not a correspondence in the emotion lexicon.

The current studies will apply a similar methodology used by Bruegelmans & Poortinga (2006). Instead of studying a culture in which there is no word that represents the experience of guilt, we aim to examine emotional experiences in a Chinese culture where there are multiple words that can be translated into English "shame" or "guilt" (Li, Wang & Fischer, 2004; Bedford, 2004). Critical to the current work is the study done by Bedford (2004), who interviewed 34 women in Taiwan to search for Chinese words related to shame and guilt. This qualitative study identified 3 different terms for guilt (*nei jiu*, *zui e gan*, *fan zui gan*) and 4 different terms for shame (*diu lian*, *can kui*, *xiu kui*, *xiu chi*) that vary in terms of transgression issue, target, presence of audience, and severity. Bedford (2004) explained in detail what each term for shame and guilt means and how they differ from each other.[1]

[1] Adapted definitions of the terms identified by Bedford (2004) are provided in Table 1.

According to Bedford (2004), the first of the "guilt" words, *nei jiu* (内疚) is experienced toward others when one fails to uphold one's own obligations toward others. *Nei jiu* is a mixture of feeling sorry and owing to others, regardless of whether the others hold the same standard of obligations as one does. One experiences *zui e gan* (罪恶感) when one feels that one has committed something morally wrong. Bedford (2004) argues that *zui e gan* differs from *nei jiu* as it is less about guilt toward others and more about one's own behaviors. Hence, *zui e gan* can be felt not only due to harm of others but also due to transgression against institutions or rules. *Fan zui gan* (犯罪感) can be directly translated as "a feeling of breaking a law." While *nei jiu* is internally experienced, *fan zui gan* is externally instigated by violating laws and rules created by institutions. *Fan zui gan* can vary on its severity depending on how individuals value the obligation.

Bedford (2004) also described four distinct terms that she argued represent shame. *Diu lian* (丢脸) can be directly translated as "loss of face," where each character means "to lose" (*diu,* 丢) and "face" (*lian,* 脸). *Lian* refers to the ability to live up to one's own reputation, and *diu lian* is losing this self-respect. *Diu lian* is experienced either when one believes that one can live up to the expectation but fails to do so or when one is expected to do certain things but knows that one cannot meet the standard. *Diu lian* can also be experienced by others' actions as long as one's own reputation is closely tied to them, and people who value *lian* experience more severe consequences due to *diu lian*. Bedford (2004) described *can kui* as a mixture of regret and self-conscious emotions that is more like a nagging thought than an extreme pain. *Can kui* (惭愧) comes from lack of action that might have yielded an ideal outcome. *Can kui* can be sometimes used to express modesty as it downplays the achievement that a person attained even though the person may not really feel that way. *Xiu kui* (羞愧) represents a strong feeling of self-blame that

results from recognition that one has harmed others. Self-realization of a negative aspect of the self is sufficient to elicit *xiu kui* and, therefore, no audience is required. Bedford's qualitative work argued that *xiu kui* is often associated with room for improvement and self-change in the future. *Xiu chi* (羞耻) comes from a perceived social failure, a sense that one has harmed one's own group and its values. While *Xiu kui* is elicited when the self is threatened, *xiu chi* is elicited when actions threaten the shared identity of one's group. While *xiu kui* involves recognizing that one has harmed others, *xiu chi* can be experienced by either deficiency in others whom one identifies with or self-realization of deficiencies in oneself. Bedford (2004) claimed that violating social values and norms are likely to evoke *xiu chi*, and the emotion is accompanied by fear of exclusion by one's group or self-withdrawal.

Few studies have explored Bedford's (2004) classification of Chinese shame and guilt terms from a cross-cultural perspective (Frank, Harvey & Verdun, 2000; Su & Hynie, 2019; Su & Hynie, 2019). For instance, Su & Hynie (2019) asked 39 mainland Mandarin Chinese speakers and 34 European Canadians to provide personal examples of situations that fit the type of emotions described in Bedford (2004). Researchers then qualitatively coded the responses and identified common themes and higher-order categories for both Chinese and European Canadians. They found that even though Chinese and European Canadians used 2 different languages to provide examples, there was some overlapping characteristics across the two cultural groups. Moreover, Su & Hynie (2019) used these responses to qualitatively distinguish shame and guilt on multiple dimensions, including motivations to repair the harm and motivation to distance. However, because most of their responses did not contain information regarding post-event motivations related to these terms, researchers could not definitively characterize these terms in terms of motivations for both cultural groups.

To date, few studies have qualitatively examined characteristics of various negative self-conscious emotion terms in Mandarin Chinese (Bedford, 2004; Li, Wang & Fischer, 2004; Su & Hynie, 2019). To our knowledge, no study has empirically examined how these terms are linked to various types of event appraisals and motivations, including the motivation to change the self identified by Lickel et al. (2014). The current set of studies will allow us to gain more understanding of emotion experience of negative self-conscious emotions in a collectivist culture and directly compare the observed pattern to prior research on shame and guilt that has been mainly done in individualistic Western culture.

E. Overview of the Current Research

The current work integrated the research on appraisals and motivations of negative self-conscious emotions, Bedford's (2004) qualitative study that identified different words that represent shame and guilt in Mandarin Chinese, and the appraisal-motivational methodology used by Breugelmans & Poortinga (2006). The purpose of the current research was to investigate patterns of appraisals and motivations associated with self-conscious emotion terms laid out by Bedford (2004) and examine the relationships among these terms. In all of our studies, we used a narrative recall paradigm to elicit real emotional experiences from participants (Lickel et al., 2014; Tangney et al., 1996).

In Study 1, we recruited participants using Witmart.com, a crowdsourcing platform that specifically targets native Mandarin Chinese speakers, to empirically characterize different words laid out by Bedford (2004) in terms of their associated motivations and appraisals. Study 2 extended Study 1 by identifying additional Chinese terms that are specifically related to one's motivation to apologize or make amends. In Study 3, we replicated the findings from the 2 previous studies using a more representative sample recruited through CloudResearch.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

A. Introduction

Our primary goal in Study 1 was to explore what event appraisals and post-event motivations were associated with each Chinese term by asking participants to rate characteristics of their recalled emotional experiences. We also tested how these terms were related to each other as well as to other emotion words. Because this was an exploratory study, we did not set a-priori hypotheses regarding how these words will be related to appraisal and motivation items.

B. Methods

1. Participants

One-hundred-and-fifty-two native Mandarin Chinese speakers completed a translated survey on Qualtrics through Witmart.com and were paid Chinese yuan equivalent of $1.00 for their participation. Eight responses were removed for duplicate IP address, 1 response was removed because its narrative recall response was in English, and 4 responses were additionally excluded for exceeding an hour to complete the survey. Thus, the final sample consisted of 138 participants (median age = 26, 52.2 % female, 52.9% pursuing or having a bachelor's degree).

2. Materials and Procedure

Participants completed an online survey of measures in the order listed below. All survey materials were first compiled in English by researchers. Then, two research assistants who were fluent in both Mandarin and English translated the materials into Mandarin Chinese. The phrasing of the translated items was carefully polished so that they had a natural flow to native speakers. At the same time, the researchers and Mandarin-speaking research assistants made sure that the original meaning of the items were not changed in the translation process.

a. Negative self-conscious emotions recall

Participants were first asked to recall an incident in which they felt one or more emotions that are categorized by Bedford (2004) as Chinese shame and guilt words (see Appendix A for a full list). These emotion words include 3 terms for "guilt" (*nei jiu*, *zui e gan*, *fan zui gan*) and 4 terms for "shame" (*diu lian*, *can kui*, *xiu kui*, *xiu chi*). Participants were asked to describe in detail what happened, who was involved, what emotions they felt, why they felt such emotions, and what did they do in response to the incident. There were no time or word limits, but participants were advised to write one or two paragraphs within 5 minutes.

Following the narrative recall prompt, participants were asked 4 questions about the event they described. The questions specifically asked: 1) the ease of recall, 2) the ease of remembering characteristics of experienced emotions, 3) the reparability of the event, and 4) the intensity of emotional reaction. Participants responded using a 9-point rating scales.

b. Emotions

Participants were asked to rate their emotional experiences during the recalled events from a list of emotions using a 9-point rating scale (see Appendix B). The list contained 24 different emotions, including 3 types of Chinese "guilt" words and 3 types of Chinese "shame" words identified from Bedford (2004) (*xiu chi* was omitted from the list due to experimenter error).

c. Motivations and Appraisals Inventory

Participants were asked to respond to scales that assessed their motivations regarding the recalled event used in past research (Schmader & Lickel, 2006; Lickel et al., 2014) (see Appendix C). Twelve items measured 3 types of motivations related to the recalled event, specifically the motivation to distance oneself from the event (4 items), the motivation to repair

what happened (3 items), and the motivation to change the self (4 items). Five items measured appraisals related to the recalled event. The appraisal types included responsibility, harm, seriousness, and morality.

Participants rated a set of motivation items in response to the recalled event from de Hooge and colleagues (2010) (see Appendix D). Specifically, 10 items were presented to measure motivation to restore the self-image (5 items) and motivation to protect or avoid further damage to self-image (5 items).

Participants were further asked to rate how likely they were to implement approach or avoidance self-control strategies in the future in response to the event (see Appendix E). Four items assessed participants' intention to implement self-change strategy by engaging in new activities, and 4 items measured their inclination to use self-control strategy through the means of evading situations that may elicit similar situations to the events they described.

C. Results

1. Bivariate correlations of emotion terms

We first performed bivariate correlations of all Chinese shame and guilt terms to observe how the terms relate to each other (see Table 2). In all cases, all words were positively correlated with each other, with certain terms relating stronger than the others. Notably, *can kui* had strong positive correlations with *xiu kui*, $r = .71$, and *nei jiu*, $r = .70$. *Xiu kui* and *nei jiu* were also strongly correlated with each other, $r = .55$. *Zui e gan* had strong positive correlations with *fan zui gan*, $r = .66$, and to lesser degree with *nei jiu*, $r = .53$. Finally, *diu lian* and *xiu kui* were strongly correlated with each other, $r = .53$.

We subsequently performed bivariate correlations of all Chinese shame and guilt terms with other emotional ratings. Most associations were positive, but there were some stronger

relationships that shed deeper insights into these emotion terms. For instance, humiliation was positively related to all shame and guilt terms, but more strongly with *diu lian*, $r = .57$. Moreover, *can kui*, *xiu kui*, and *nei jiu* were strongly correlated with being angry at self, feeling sorry, regretful, and remorseful (all *r*s above .51), while the associations were more moderate with other emotion terms.

2. Distinguishing motivation types

Before examining how the shame and guilt terms were associated with different motivations, we sought to distinguish motivation to repair the harm, motivation to distance oneself from the event, and motivation to change the self as distinct constructs. To address this question, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis of the 10 motivation items for the entire sample using maximum likelihood solution. As prior studies have shown that these motivations are correlated with one another (Lickel et al., 2014), we used direct oblimin rotation method that allowed the factors to correlate (Costello & Osborne, 2005).

We first examined whether factor analysis was suitable with all 10 items. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .78, and the Bartlett's test of sphericity test was significant, χ^2 (55) = 582.31, $p < .001$ (see Table 3A for all items and factor loadings). The result indicated a 3-factor solution was most suitable for the data, replicating prior findings that the three types of motivations are conceptually distinct (Lickel et al., 2014). The first, second, and third factor explained 34.62%, 21.50%, 9.77% of the variance, respectively.

All 4 items pertaining to motivation to self-change and one item regarding motivation to repair the harm ("I felt like I should apologize for what happened") loaded onto the first factor. All factor loadings for self-change motivation items exceeded .5, while the motivation to repair item loaded relatively weakly (factor loading of .48). Hence, this last item was omitted when

creating a composite score. A composite score "motivation to change the self" was created using 4 motivation to change the self items (α = .78). The remaining two motivation to repair the harm items loaded onto the third factor with both factor loadings exceeding .61. Given that the reliability of the items greatly increase if the item that loaded onto the first factor is omitted from the composite (α = .63 for all three repair items), a composite score "motivation to repair the harm" (α = .75) was created from the two items that loaded onto the third factor. All 4 motivation to distance items loaded onto the second factor. All factor loadings for motivation to distance items exceeded .57, and thus, a composite score "motivation to distance" was created (α = .81). For all three composites, higher values indicated higher motivation to change the self, distance from the event, or repair the harm one caused. Descriptive statistics of the three constructs are presented in Table 4. The skewness and kurtosis were within a tolerable range for normality assumption.

We conducted a separate exploratory factor analysis for motivation items that were previously employed by de Hooge and colleagues (2010) using maximum likelihood and direct oblimin rotation method. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .90, and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant, χ^2 (45) = 715.09, p < .001. The communalities for 10 items were all above .3, further demonstrating the adequacy of the items in doing factor analysis for these items.

The results favored a single-factor solution instead of a 2-factor solution in the original study. The first factor explained 55.27% of the variance, while the second factor only explained 9.94% of the variance. However, to keep the constructs as consistent as possible to de Hooge et al. (2010) and given that the eigenvalue for the second factor was .99, we fixed the extraction to 2-factor solution.

Most of the motivation to protect items loaded onto the first factor, and all motivation to restore items loaded onto the second factor (see Table 3B for factor loadings). One motivation to protect item ("After the event, I wanted to protect myself") loaded onto the second factor, and 1 motivation to restore item ("After the event, I wanted to improve my self-image") cross-loaded onto both factors. Hence, these 2 items were not included when creating composite scores. Composite scores were created for the remaining 4 "motivation to protect" items ($\alpha = .85$) and the 4 "motivation to restore" items ($\alpha = .81$). Descriptive statistics for these two composites can be found in Table 3. The tendency for these items to be loaded onto a single factor were also reflected by high correlation between the two factors, $r = .65$.

A third set of exploratory factor analysis was conducted for 4 self-change and 4 self-control strategies items using maximum likelihood and direct oblimin rotation. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was .79, and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant, χ^2 (28) = 366.68, $p < .001$. The communalities for items were all above .3 except 1 item.

The results clearly indicated a 2-factor solution that largely corresponded with the distinction of self-change and self-control strategies. The first factor explained 44.37% of the variance, and the second factor explained 14.79% of the variance. Three out of 4 self-change strategy items loaded onto the first factor, and all self-control strategy items loaded onto the second factor (see Table 3C for factor loadings). One self-change strategy item ("do my best to show others I am a good person") loaded onto the second factor, and one self-control strategy item ("avoid situations that make me act in ways I did before") cross loaded. These items were omitted when constructing composite scores. Composite scores were created using 3 "self-

change strategy" items (α = .82) and 3 "self-control strategy" items (α = .63). The two composite scores were moderately correlated with each other, r = .41.

3. Examining the relationship between different types of motivation

Having established the motivation items as distinct constructs, we conducted bivariate correlations of different types of motivations to examine their associations to each other (see Table 2). Motivation to change the self was strongly correlated with motivation to repair, r = .51, and was weakly associated with motivation to distance, r = .26. The correlation between motivations to distance and repair the harm was not significant, r = .04, p = .63.

The 3 types of motivations were also correlated with motivation to protect and restore self-image (de Hooge et al., 2010). While all associations were positive, constructive motivations, such as motivations to change the self and repair the harm, were more strongly related to motivation to restore self-image than to protect the self. For example, motivation to change the self was moderately related to both motivations to protect the self, r = .44., and to restore self-image, r = .51, On the other hand, motivations to distance had a moderate association with motivation to protect, r = .39, and a smaller association with motivation to restore self-image, r = .28.

Similar patterns were observed between the 3 types of motivations (motivations to change the self, distance, and repair the harm) with strategies of self-change and self-control. Constructive motivations had stronger relationships with self-change strategy compared to self-control strategy. This pattern was more pronounced for motivation to repair, as it was moderately related to the approach oriented self-change strategy, r = .48, but weakly related to the avoidance self-control strategy, r = .21. Distancing motivation, on the other hand, was only positively

correlated with the avoidance self-control strategy, $r = .43$, but not with approach self-change strategy, $r = .06$.

4. Relationships between Chinese shame and guilt words and motivation types

We next performed bivariate correlations to examine how different motivations are related to 6 Chinese shame and guilt terms (see Table 2). *Diu lian* was positively associated with all 3 types of motivations, but the magnitude of association was stronger with motivation to distance, $r = .43$, than other two motivation types, rs < .32. *Can kui*, *xiu kui*, and *nei jiu*, which were strongly correlated among themselves, were strongly related to motivation to change the self (rs > .42), but weakly or not related to distancing motivation. The three emotion terms also had weak associations with motivation to repair (rs ranging from .24 to .32). *Zui e gan* had weak positive associations with motivation to change the self, $r = .27$, and motivation to distance, $r = .19$, but no significant association with motivation to repair, $r = .04$. Finally, *fan zui gan* was not significantly related to all three types of motivations although marginally associated with motivation to distance, $r = .16$.

When we repeated this process with motivation to protect the self and restore self-image, we found a somewhat similar pattern. The general pattern of association was similar such that motivation to protect and restore self-image corresponded with distancing and repair motivations, respectively. For example, *diu lian* had a strong association with motivation to protect, $r = .42$, but much weaker association with motivation to restore self-image, $r = .28$. *Can kui* and *nei jiu* were positively associated with motivation to restore the self (rs = .23 and .24), but less so with motivation to protect the self (rs = .19 and .15, latter only marginally

significant). *Fan zui gan* was only significantly associated with motivation to protect the self, $r = .18$, and not with motivation to restore the self, $r = .07$.[2]

We also conducted bivariate correlations of different Chinese shame and guilt terms with self-change and self-control strategies. *Can kui*, *xiu kui*, and *nei jiu* had positive moderate correlations with both self-change and self-control strategies (all *r*s > .32 except correlation between *nei jiu* and self-change strategy, which was .21). *Diu lian, zui e gan,* and *fan zui gan* had positive moderate correlations with self-control strategy (all *r*s > .37), but not with self-change strategy.

In order to determine the unique relationships of Chinese shame and guilt terms with each of the three types of motivations (motivation to change the self, motivation to distance, and motivation to repair the harm) while controlling for the others, partial correlations were performed. Overall, the patterns of the partial correlations between the Chinese words and three types of motivations while controlling each other were largely similar to the zero-order correlations. The magnitudes of the partial correlations were slightly weaker than zero-order correlations, and this was most true for associations between Chinese terms and motivation to repair. Specifically, all associations between repair and each emotion became non-significant after controlling for motivation to change the self, accounting for the large correlation between the two types of motivations (see Table 5).

5. Relationships of Chinese shame and guilt words with event appraisals

We further examined the association of different Chinese shame and guilt terms with event appraisals, such as harmfulness, morality, and responsibility. While most shame and guilt

[2] Given how the 3 types of motivations (change the self, distance, and repair the harm) and the 2 types of motivations from de Hooge et al. (2010) show similar patterns of associations with the Chinese shame and guilt terms identified by Bedford (2004), we only reported the associations of the terms with the 3 types of motivations (change the self, distance, and repair the harm) for subsequent studies.

terms were positively related to appraisal items, some associations were particularly strong. *Zui e gan* and *fan zui gan* had strong positive associations with the perception that the event was very harmful to others (rs > .42). Guilt terms (*nei jiu*, *zui e gan*, and *fan zui gan*) and *xiu kui* were moderately correlated with the perception that one has committed something morally bad (rs > .42). *Can kui*, *xiu kui*, and *nei jiu* were particularly strongly correlated with a sense of responsibility for the event (rs > .49).

6. Relationships between demographic variables, Chinese terms, and motivation types

We examined whether there were any associations between demographic variables, such as gender and education, with participants' ratings of the Chinese terms. No emotion words identified by Bedford (2004) were significantly correlated with participants' education level (rs < .17). Point-biserial correlations also revealed that there were no significant correlations between gender and the emotion terms (rs < .14).

We subsequently assessed whether different motivation types were associated with these demographic variables. Bivariate correlations were also run to examine the relationships between different types of motivations and education. Education was not significantly associated with motivation to change the self, $r = .07$, $p = .44$, and motivation to repair the harm, $r = .08$, $p = .33$. Motivation to distance, however, had weak negative association with education, $r = -.17$, $p = .04$. Point-biserial correlations were also run to determine the relationships between different types of motivations and gender. There were no significant correlations between gender and motivation to change the self, $r = -.10$, $p = .25$, motivation to distance, $r = -.02$, $p = .79$, and motivation to repair the harm, $r = -.07$, $p = .39$.

7. Distinguishing Chinese shame and guilt terms

Although correlational analyses performed above informed us of how the terms are associated with each other and post-event motivations, no formal test has been conducted to identify how the Chinese shame and guilt terms identified by Bedford (2004) cluster together. In order to systematically distinguish the Chinese shame and guilt terms, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted for the 6 emotion terms using maximum likelihood and direct oblimin rotation. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was .75, and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant, χ^2 (15) = 346.02, $p < .001$. All communalities were above .47 except one item.

Based on eigenvalue greater than 1 as the cutoff, the results yielded a 2-factor solution. *Can kui*, *xiu kui*, *nei jiu*, and *diu lian* loaded onto the first factor, while *zui e gan* and *fan zui gan* loaded onto the second factor (see Table 6A for all factor loadings). The items did not load onto the two factors based on how Bedford (2004) distinguished "shame" and "guilt" terms.

Next, we set the items to load onto 3 distinct factors based on the correlational results above and the scree plot.[3] The three factors explained 54.49%, 16.84%, and 13.76% of the variance, respectively. *Diu lian* loaded onto the first factor on its own, and *zui e gan* and *fan zui gan* loaded onto the second factor. *Can kui*, *nei jiu*, and *xiu kui* loaded onto the third factor. All factor loadings were above .63 and no terms were cross loaded (see Table 6B for all factor loadings.

D. <u>Discussion</u>

Study 1 provided an initial evidence of how different Mandarin Chinese words that Bedford argued represent the emotional experiences of shame (*diu lian*, *can kui*, and *xiu kui*) and guilt (*nei jiu*, *zui e gan*, and *fan zui gan*) are related to each other and to different types of

[3] EFA using eigenvalue greater than 1 yielded 2 factors. However, based on the scree plot and eigenvalues (the eigen value of 3rd factor was .83), we decided to fix the loadings onto 3 distinct factors.

motivations linked to self-conscious emotions in research conducted in North American and European cultures. However, in contrast to Bedford's qualitative analysis, the Chinese terms were not clearly distinguishable into two superordinate categories of "shame" and "guilt" based on correlational and factor analysis results.

Instead, we found that the terms may potentially be better categorized into three clusters. Among the "shame" terms (as defined by Bedford), the experience of *diu lian* was distinct on its own, while c*an kui* and *xiu kui* were strongly correlated among themselves and also with the "guilt" term *nei jiu,* forming the second cluster. The third group included *zui e gan* and *fan zui gan,* which also had a strong association with each other. This distinction was further corroborated when we observed the associations of these terms with different types of motivation. *Can kui, xiu kui,* and *nei jiu* were strongly related to motivation to change the self rather than motivation to distance, whereas *diu lian* and *fan zui gan* were more related to distancing than the two constructive motivations (change the self and repair the harm). Although arguably distinct, there were considerable overlap among the three clusters (e.g. *diu lian* was strongly related to *xiu kui*, and *zui e gan* was strongly related to *nei jiu*), showing that (as in English) descriptions of self-conscious emotional experiences in Mandarin are often characterized by a blend of emotions.

Despite the novel findings, Study 1 sparked some additional questions. The most intriguing finding from Study 1 was that all the terms identified by Bedford (2004) were weakly correlated with motivation to repair the harm. Results from partial correlations showed that after controlling for motivation to change the self, none of the terms were significantly related to motivation to repair the harm. This finding differs from the existing research on self-conscious emotions and motivations in Western cultures, where guilt was primarily conceived as an

adaptive emotion related to apology and making amends (Tangney et al., 1992; Lickel et al., 2014). Given the abundance of terms that relate to experiences of shame and guilt in Mandarin Chinese (Li, Wang, & Fischer, 2004), we sought to identify other shame or guilt terms not identified by Bedford (2004) that were more related to motivation to repair the harm.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2

A. Introduction

In Study 2, our main objective was to identify Mandarin Chinese terms that relate to motivation to repair the harm. To do this, we designed the instructions of the narrative recall task to ask participants to recall experiences that prompted them to apologize or make amends to another person for something. In addition, we specifically asked participants to list the emotion term(s) that they felt during the recalled experiences. This enabled us to see if participants listed terms other than those identified by Bedford (2004) and whether certain terms were more frequently referred to than others.

We also added *xiu chi*, yet another term identified by Bedford (2004) as one of the shame words in Mandarin, to the list of emotions rated in Study 2. Bedford (2004) characterized *xiu chi* as an intense feeling of shame that occurs when people recognize the deficiencies in themselves or those who they closely identify with. Bedford (2004) suggested that *xiu chi* is likely to be elicited by perceived social failure and motivate self-exclusion. *Gan ga* (尴尬), which can be translated into embarrassment, was another emotion term that was added to the emotion list. Past research in the United States showed that embarrassment that may be experienced in some situations related to both shame and guilt, although the strengths of their associations have varied by studies (Tangney et al., 1996; Lickel et al., 2014).

An additional goal of Study 2 was to further investigate how event appraisals are associated with the experiences of different Chinese shame and guilt words. To do this, we expanded the list of event appraisal items to measure participants' perceptions of self-control and

threat to self-image of the event and see how these were related to the self-conscious emotion words.

B. Methods

1. Participants

We recruited 157 participants through Witmart, the same participant-recruiting platform that we utilized as Study 1. Participants were paid Chinese yuan equivalent of $1.00 for their participation. Of the 157, twenty responses were removed for having duplicate IP addresses (N = 2), dropping out of the survey before completion (N = 6), taking less than 3 minutes or more than 1 hour to complete the study (N = 8), and failing to respond to the narrative recall task (N = 17). The final sample was 124 (median age = 27.00, 34.3% female, 46% attained or attaining bachelor's degree).

2. Materials and Procedure

The procedure was largely the same as Study 1 with a small set of changes to the recall instructions, list of emotions, and appraisal measures. All additional items or changes to existing items were translated using the same process as in Study 1.

a. Narrative recall task

Participants were asked to recall an incident in which they felt like they should apologize for something or believed they should make amends to another person for something (see Appendix A). Similar to the Study 1 recall instructions, participants were asked to describe in detail what happened, who was involved, what emotions they felt, why they felt such emotions, and what did they do in response to the incident. Following the narrative recall prompt, participants were asked to list all emotions that made them feel like they should apologize or make amends in the situation.

b. Emotions

Three terms were added to the list of emotions from Study 1. *Xiu chi* (perceived social failure), *gan ga* (embarrassment), and *chi ru* (disgrace) were added to the original list of 24 words (see Appendix B).

c. Motivations and Appraisals Inventory

In addition to motivation and appraisal items used in Study 1, nine items that measure the extent to which participants felt control over the event and threat to their self-image were added to the list of antecedent appraisals (see Appendix C).

C. Results

1. Emotion terms related to motivation to repair the harm

In Study 2, we asked participants to list all emotion terms that they experienced during the event they described in the narrative recall to identify specific emotion terms related to having to apologize or amend the situation. Here, we report the number of times different emotion terms were mentioned by participants. It should be noted that most participants wrote more than one emotion term to describe what they felt during the recalled event, so the proportions listed below are not mutually exclusive.

The most frequently cited term was *kui jiu* ($N = 44$), and 35% of all participants referred to this term as an emotion they felt in the events they described. *Hou hui* (regret; $N = 24$) and *zi ze* (self-blame; $N = 18$) were subsequently cited the most as approximately 19% and 15% of all participants referred to these terms. Participants also used some of the terms that Bedford (2004) identified, such as *nei jiu* ($N = 14$), *xiu kui* ($N = 3$), and *can kui* ($N = 2$), to describe their experiences. *Nan guo*, which represents a more generalized experience of feeling bad, was seldomly mentioned ($N = 5$). Other terms that participants referred to represented emotions that

they directly felt during the event that eventually prompted them to apologize or make amends. These terms included *fen nu* (anger; *N* = 9), *hai pa* (fear, N = 9), and *ao nao* (angry and regretful; *N* = 7).

2. Bivariate correlations of emotion terms

Bivariate correlations of all Chinese shame and guilt terms largely replicated the results from Study 1 (see Table 7). Notably, *can kui* was strongly correlated with both *xiu kui*, *r* = .61, and *nei jiu*, *r* = .55. *Zui e gan* and *fan zui gan* were also highly correlated, *r* = .65. *Diu lian* was positively correlated with *xiu kui*, *r* = .52, which was consistent with Study 1, but was also strongly associated with *xiu chi* (perceived social failure), *r* = .67, which was newly added in Study 2.

Bivariate correlations of all Chinese shame and guilt terms with other emotional ratings found similar pattern of results as in Study 1. For instance, *Diu lian* and *xiu chi* were positively associated with humiliation (*r*s = .59 and .69). Moreover, *can kui* and *nei jiu* were strongly related to being angry at self, feeling sorry, regretful, and remorseful (*r*s > .46); *xiu kui* showed similar relationships with these terms but with slightly weaker associations (*r*s > .37). Embarrassment (*gan ga*) was strongly related to *diu lian* and *xiu chi* (*r*s > .50), moderately related to *can kui* and *xiu kui*, *nei jiu* and weakly related to *zui e gan*. Feeling of disgrace (*chi ru*) was strongly related to *diu lian* and *xiu chi* (*r*s > .65), was moderately related to *xiu kui*, *zui e gan*, and *fan zui gan*, and weakly related to *can kui* and *nei jiu*. Interestingly, *nei jiu* was negatively related to feeling offended, *r* = -.28, and feeling good, *r* = -.33, a finding that was not observed in Study 1.

3. Comparisons of emotions, motivations, and appraisals based on the reference of *kui jiu*

We indirectly examined how *kui jiu* was related to emotions terms laid out by Bedford (2004) by comparing participants whose recalled narrative responses listed *kui jiu* as an emotion they felt during the events they described and those that did not list *kui jiu*. Hence, we coded each response based on whether the response included the term *kui jiu*. We then compared mean differences of emotion ratings based on this categorization by performing a series of independent samples t-tests. The results indicated that participants who listed *kui jiu* significantly differed compared to those who did not list *kui jiu* in their ratings of *nei jiu*, $t(122) = 3.28$, $p = .001$, and *can kui*, $t(122) = 2.12$, $p = .04$. The mean rating of *nei jiu* was higher for those who listed *kui jiu* ($M = 8.15$) than those who did not ($M = 6.87$). Similarly, people who mentioned *kui jiu* rated *can kui* higher ($M = 7.37$) than those who did not list *kui jiu* ($M = 6.42$).

We then compared the two groups (those who mentioned *kui jiu* vs. those who did not) on different types of motivations and appraisals. The two groups did not significantly differ in their ratings of motivation to distance, $t(122) = .30$, $p = .76$, motivation to repair the harm, $t(122) = .31$, $p = .76$, and motivation to change the self, $t(122) = 1.58$, $p = .12$. There was a significant difference between the groups on appraisal of event control, $t(122) = 2.59$, $p = .01$, such that those who mentioned *kui jiu* (M = 7.04) had stronger sense of control over the event compared to those who did not mention *kui jiu* (M = 6.11). The two groups did not differ on appraisal of image threat, $t(122) = .39$, $p = .69$.

4. Relationships between Chinese shame and guilt words and motivation types

The three motivation types (i.e. motivation to change the self, distance, and repair the harm) were composited using the same procedure performed in Study 1. An exploratory factor analysis with maximum likelihood extraction and direct oblimin rotation yielded largely consistent results (see Table 7 for all factor loadings). All motivation to change the self items and

motivation to distance items distinctly loaded onto second and third factors (explained 19.76 and 11.87% of total variance, respectively) and were used to compute motivation to change the self ($\alpha = .82$) and motivation to distance ($\alpha = .80$).

Two of the 3 repair items loaded onto the first factor, explaining 35.19% of the total variance. The item that did not load onto the first factor, loaded together with self-change motivation items.[4] A composite score for motivation to repair the harm was created using the 2 items that loaded onto the first factor, based on the reliability analysis ($\alpha = .66$, if the third item was deleted, and $\alpha = .61$ if the third item was included).

Bivariate correlations of different motivation types and Chinese shame and guilt terms were performed (see Table 7). Following the same pattern observed in Study 1, *diu lian* was moderately related to motivation to distance, $r = .42$, but weakly with other 2 types of motivations (rs < .29). *Xiu chi* showed a similar pattern with moderate correlation with motivation to distance, $r = .41$, but weaker associations with other two motivation types. *Can kui*, *xiu kui*, and *nei jiu* were most strongly associated with motivation to change the self (rs = .42, .47, and .34, respectively), but had weak or non-significant relationships with motivation to distance or repair the harm (all but one association were non-significant). *Zui e gan* was moderately correlated with motivation to change the self, $r = .38$, weakly with motivation to distance and repair the harm, rs = .28 and .16, respectively. *Fan zui gan* was significantly correlated with motivation to distance, $r = .29$, and very weakly associated with motivation to change, $r = .18$.

[4] The item that loaded together with self-change motivation items was different in Study 1 and 2. In Study 1, the item "I felt like I should apologize for what happened" loaded separately from other 2 repair motivation items, whereas in Study 2, "I felt like I should do something after the event to make it better" loaded separately. Hence, the composite scores for motivation to repair the harm were calculated differently across 2 studies.

All emotion term identified by Bedford (2004) had non-significant associations with motivation to repair. This directly replicated the findings from Study 1 and justified the need to identify Mandarin Chinese shame or guilt terms specifically related to motivation to repair the harm.

5. Relationships of Chinese shame and guilt words with event appraisals

We further examined the association of different Chinese shame and guilt terms with two types of event appraisals, perception of self-control and threat to self-image. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted for 4 items pertaining to perception of self-control and 5 items assessing sense of threat to self-image using maximum likelihood extraction and direct oblimin rotation. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was .74, and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant, χ^2 (36) = 329.12, $p < .001$.

The results clearly indicated a 2-factors solution, where the first factor explained 36.15% of the variance, and the second factor explained 19.15% of the variance. All items that assessed self-image threat loaded onto the first factor, and all items pertaining to self-control loaded onto the second factor. Thus, composite scores were created using 5 "image threat" items ($\alpha = .79$) and 4 "event control" items ($\alpha = .70$).

Bivariate correlations of Chinese shame and guilt terms and event appraisals were performed (see Table 7). Image threat appraisal had positive associations with most terms, but the associations were stronger for *diu lian*, *xiu chi*, and *zui e gan* (rs > .42). Appraisal of image threat was not significantly related to *nei jiu*, $r = .16$. Appraisal of event control was moderately related to *can kui*, $r = .36$, and *nei jiu*, $r = .42$, but had weaker or non-significant associations with other terms.

We subsequently conducted bivariate correlations of event appraisals and post-event motivations. Motivation to distance was strongly related to image threat, $r = .70$, but much weaker association with event control, $r = .20$. Conversely, motivation to change the self had a strong association with event control, $r = .59$, but a moderate association with image threat, $r = .40$. Motivation to repair the harm was also moderately related to perception of self-control, $r = .33$, but weakly related to image threat, $r = .18$.

6. Relationships between demographic variables, Chinese terms, and different types of motivations and appraisals

Similar to Study 1, we performed bivariate correlations and point-biserial correlations to see if one's education level and gender were associated with ratings of emotion terms laid out by Bedford (2004) and different types of motivations and appraisals. Point-biserial correlations between gender and emotion ratings revealed that only *diu lian* had a weak negative association with gender such that women felt less *diu lian* compared to men. Bivariate correlations between education and emotion ratings were all non-significant except *diu lian*, in which there was a small negative correlation, $r = -.20$, $p = .03$.

We subsequently performed point-biserial correlations between gender and different types of motivations and appraisals. There were no significant associations between gender and different motivations (rs < .08) and appraisals (rs < .08). Moreover, bivariate correlations between education level and different motivations and appraisals were also all non-significant (rs < .10).

7. Distinguishing Chinese shame and guilt terms

As in Study 1, we performed an exploratory factor analysis for the 7 emotion terms to formally distinguish the Chinese shame and guilt terms identified by Bedford (2004). The

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was .80, and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant, χ^2 (21) = 355.54, $p < .001$.

When we used the eigenvalue greater than 1 as a cutoff, the items loaded onto 2 factors, each explaining 51.85% and 16.20%, respectively. *Xiu chi*, *diu lian*, *fan zui gan*, and *zui e gan* loaded onto the first factor, while *can kui* and *nei jiu* loaded onto the second factor. *Xiu kui* cross-loaded onto both first and second factors (see Table 9A for all factor loadings).

To be consistent with Study 1 and based on the correlational results, we then set the items to load onto 3 distinct factors (see Table 9B for all factor loadings). The third factor explained 11.18% of the variance. *Zui e gan* and *fan zui gan* loaded onto the first factor, *can kui* and *nei jiu*, loaded onto the second factor, and *diu lian* and *xiu chi* loaded onto the third factor. *Xiu kui* loaded onto both second and third factor.

D. Discussion

In Study 2, we specifically asked participants to recall events in which they had to make amends. All terms identified by Bedford (2004) were not significantly related to motivation to repair the harm, which is consistent to what we found in Study 1 and a further justification for the identification of terms specifically related to motivation to repair the harm. Based on participants' responses, we identified 4 recurring terms related to self-conscious emotional experiences: *kui jiu* (愧疚), *zi ze* (自责, self-blame), *hou hui* (后悔, regret), *nan guo* (难过, feeling bad). Out of the 4 recurring terms identified, *kui jiu* was most frequently mentioned by our participants.

We also found that *xiu chi* and *diu lian*, two terms classified by Bedford (2004) as "shame" terms, were particularly strongly related to each other. Participants who reported they felt a lot of *diu lian* and *xiu chi* also appraised high image threat to the self and were motivated to

distance away from the event. Participants who reported they felt a lot of *can kui and xiu kui* another two terms categorized by Bedford (2004) as “shame” also reported strong intensity of *nei jiu*, which was categorized as a “guilt” term. These emotion terms were characterized by its moderate relations to motivation to change the self. *Zui e gan* and *fan zui gan*, two “guilt” words, showed more complicated picture in terms of their associated motivations despite the strong correlations with each other. But in terms of event appraisals, both terms were more related to threat to self-image than perception that one had control of the event.

It should also be noted that despite the conceptual distinctions made above, these so-called “clusters” are not mutually exclusive. For example, while *zui e gan* was most strongly related with *fan zui gan*, it had moderate to strong relationships to the rest of the terms identified by Bedford (2004). But similar to what we found in Study 1, bivariate associations as well as exploratory factor analyses of the “shame” and “guilt” terms identified by Bedford (2004) suggest that the two superordinate categories applied in English language may not be fully appropriate for Mandarin Chinese terms that represent negative self-conscious emotions.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 3

A. Introduction

In Study 3, our objective was to directly replicate the first study using a larger representative sample after incorporating the findings from Study 2. Similar to the first two studies, we sought to examine the association patterns among different Chinese shame and guilt terms and also with different types of appraisals and motivations.

In Study 1, we found that the terms identified by Bedford were not strongly related to motivation to repair. Through Study 2, we identified additional Mandarin words that we hypothesize are associated with motivation to repair the harm. Thus, in Study 3, we ran a preregistered study that incorporated the findings from Study 2 that aimed to replicate and extend the two previous studies. In order to do this, we added *kui jiu*, which was the most frequently referred emotion term related to making amends or apology, into our design.

B. Methods

1. Participants

Mandarin speaking native Chinese were recruited through CloudResearch, a participant-sourcing platform that has access to international samples. Four hundred and ninety-three responses were recorded. Of the 493, responses were excluded from further analysis due to duplicate IP address ($N = 65$), taking less than 3 minutes or more than 1 hour to respond ($N = 15$), and providing inadequate responses (e.g. empty response, English response, copy pasted stories from online sources) to the narrative recall paradigm ($N = 127$). The final sample consisted 286 participants. The sample characteristics were 45.5% female with median age of 30.

A high percentage of the sample attained bachelor's degree or higher (91.2%), indicating that the sample was highly educated.

2. Materials and Procedure

The procedure was largely consistent with Study 1 and 2 with few changes to the measures described below.

a. Negative self-conscious emotions recall

The instructions for the narrative recall task was identical to that of Study 1 with one caveat. From the narrative recall task in Study 2, we identified *kui jiu* as the emotion term related to having to apologize or make amends that participants most frequently referred to. Hence, we added *kui jiu* to the 7 terms identified by Bedford (2004). Hence, participants were asked to recall an incident in which they felt one or more emotions using the list of 8 negative self-conscious emotions.

b. Emotions

Three terms that were identified as emotion terms related to participants' experiences of having to apologize from Study 2 were added to the list of emotions. *Kui jiu, zi ze* (self-blame), and *nan guo* (feeling bad) were added[5].

c. Motivations and Appraisals Inventory

In order to keep the study brief and replicate the main findings of the study, items that measured 3 types of motivations (motivation to change the self, motivation to distance, and motivation to repair the harm) and 2 types of appraisals (event control and image threat) were included in the study. All motivation items from de Hooge et al. (2010) and items regarding self-change and self-control strategies were excluded for the brevity of the study.

[5] *Hou hui* (regret) was also identified as an emotion term related to experiences of making amends, but the term was already on the list.

C. Results

1. Bivariate correlations of emotion terms

We first examined bivariate correlations of the 8 negative self-conscious emotion terms identified by Bedford (2004) and Study 2 (see Table 10). As observed in Study 2, *diu lian* was strongly correlated *xiu chi*, $r = .57$. *Xiu kui* was strongly associated *diu lian* and *xiu chi*, $r > .53$, replicating what we found in 2 studies. *Can kui* had strong positive associations *nei jiu*, $r = .45$, and the newly added term *kui jiu* had strong correlations with both *can kui*, $r = .59$, and *nei jiu*, $r = .76$. Replicating the results from previous 2 studies, *zui e gan* and *fan zui gan* were strongly associated with each other, $r = .71$. We observed greater overlap between the terms in this study. For example, *xiu kui* was moderately associated with all the terms except with *nei jiu*, and *zui e gan* had moderate to strong associations will all the terms except *diu lian*.

Next, we observed bivariate correlations of these 8 terms with other emotional terms. Results were largely consistent with prior 2 studies. *Diu lian* and *xiu chi* were strongly associated with humiliation and disgrace (rs > .53). Interestingly, embarrassment was only highly correlated with *diu lian*, $r = .61$, but less so with *xiu chi*, $r = .36$. *Xiu kui* largely resembled the pattern observed with *xiu chi* such that it was strongly related to feeling disgraced, humiliated, and to lesser degree, embarrassed.

Can kui, *nei jiu*, and newly added *kui jiu* had strong correlations with feeling sorry (rs > .59), and to lesser degree with regret and anger at self. *Kui jiu* and its related terms (*can kui* and *nei jiu*) were also positively related to *zi ze* (self-blame), rs > .55. The patterns of associations of *zui e gan* and *fan zui gan* with other emotion terms were less distinct but overall were positive.

2. Relationships between Chinese shame and guilt words and motivation types

We examined how Chinese shame and guilt terms were related to the three motivation types to further distinguish them in terms of clusters. Based on results from reliability analysis[6], we created composite scores for motivation to change using all 4 items (α = .82), motivation to repair the harm using 2 items (α = .77)[7], and motivation to distance using all 4 items (α = .85). Bivariate correlations between motivation to change the self and motivation to repair the harm was highly correlated, r = .78, while motivation to distance was moderately correlated with motivations to change the self, r = .42, and motivation to repair the harm, r = .39.

Bivariate correlations of Chinese shame and guilt terms with different motivation terms were conducted (see Table 10). While the distinctiveness of the pattern was less clear, the overall pattern of associations was consistent to that of Study 1. *Diu lian* and *xiu chi* were moderately correlated with motivation to distance (*r*s = .32 and .48), whereas weakly correlated with other two types of motivations (*r*s < .23). *Can kui* and *nei jiu* were moderately related to motivations to change the self (rs = .50) and repair the harm (*r*s > .41) but the strength of associations was weaker for motivation to distance (e.g. *nei jiu* and motivation to distance was correlated .14). *Zui e gan* was moderately related to motivation to change the self, r = .42, and to repair the harm, r = .37, and weakly related to motivation to distance, r = .29. The patterns for *xiu kui* and *fan zui gan* were less clear, with two terms having small to moderate correlations with all 3 motivation types. As hypothesized, *kui jiu* had stronger relationships with motivation to repair the harm, r

[6] Exploratory factor analysis revealed 2-factors solution instead of 3-factors solution. Motivation to repair the harm and change the self items loaded onto the first factor while motivation to distance items loaded onto the second factor. We have decided to composite scores based on three distinct motivation types despite the results from exploratory factor analysis because 1) prior research and the two previous studies have shown conceptual distinctiveness between these motivation types, and 2) reliability for items of each motivation types were acceptable.
[7] The item "I felt like I should apologize for what happened" was excluded from creating composite score as it lowered reliability of the subscale. The relatively low reliability for this item is consistent with what we found in Study 1.

= .49 than with motivation to distance, $r = .20$. The term was also strongly correlated with motivation to change the self, $r = .56$.

Given the strong correlation between motivation to change the self and motivation to repair the harm, we conducted partial correlations to determine the unique relationships of the terms with the two types of motivations while controlling for the other. *Can kui* and *fan zui gan* were weakly related to motivation to repair after controlling for motivation to change the self. *Can kui, xiu kui, nei jiu*, and *kui jiu* had weak to moderate associations with motivation to change after controlling for motivation to repair (see Table 11).

3. Relationships of Chinese shame and guilt words with event appraisals

We subsequently conducted bivariate correlations of emotion terms with two distinct types of emotion appraisals: perception of self-control (event control) and threat to self-image (image threat). Consistent with what we found in Study 2, *diu lian*, *xiu chi,* and *xiu kui* had stronger associations with image threat compared to event control. Conversely, *nei jiu* and *kui jiu* showed a reverse pattern, such that the terms were more strongly associated with perception of self-control compared to image threat. *Can kui* was both moderately correlated with perceived control of the event and threat to self-image, which is another consistent finding from Study 2. *Zui e gan* and *fan zui gan* did not show a distinct pattern in terms of their associations with the two types of appraisals.

The relationship between the shame and guilt terms and other individual appraisal items were explored. In particular, participants' perception of harmfulness of the event to others and perceived responsibility for the event were moderately related with *can kui*, *nei jiu*, and *kui jiu*, but only weakly related with *diu lian* and *xiu chi*. Similarly, participants' perception that they

had a lot of ability to repair the impact of described event had moderate correlations with *nei jiu* and *kui jiu* but had non-significant relationships with *diu lian* and *xiu chi*.

4. Relationships between demographic variables, Chinese terms, and different types of motivations and appraisals

As in the two previous studies, we examined the relationships between demographic variables (gender and education), Chinese terms, and different types of motivations and appraisals. Point-biserial correlations revealed that gender was weakly associated with *zui e gan*, $r = .14$, $p = .02$, and *fan zui gan*, $r = .13$, $p = .02$. That is, female participants reported higher levels of these two emotions compared to male participants. There were no other significant associations between gender and other emotion terms or different motivations and appraisals.

We further looked at how education level was related to the emotion terms and different motivations and appraisals. It should be noted that the sample in this study was highly educated, with 91.2% having or currently attaining a bachelor's degree. We found that education level had weak positive correlations with *can kui, xiu kui, nei jiu, zui e gan*, and *fan zui gan* (*r*s between .14 and .16). Education level was also positively correlated with motivation to change the self, $r = .15$, $p = .01$, motivation to repair the harm, $r = .14$, $p = .02$, and motivation to distance, $r = .15$, $p = .01$. Further, education was positively correlated with an appraisal of event control, $r = .18$, $p = .002$.

5. Distinguishing Chinese shame and guilt terms

We performed an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) for the eight emotion shame and guilt terms. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy was .78, and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant, χ^2 (28) = 1168.44, $p < .001$.

As with previous two studies, we set the items to load onto 3 factors (see Table 12 for all factor loadings). The three factors explained 46.93%, 21.81%, and 11.74% of the total variance, respectively. *Kui jiu* and *nei jiu* loaded onto the first factor, *diu lian* and *xiu kui* loaded onto the second factor, and *fan zui gan* and *zui e gan* loaded onto the third factor. *Can kui* cross-loaded onto first and second factors, while *xiu chi* cross-loaded onto second and third factors.

6. Categorizing Chinese shame and guilt terms using confirmatory factor analysis

We conducted 2 confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) with varying latent factor structures using the Chinese shame and guilt terms. For the first CFA, we let the terms load onto 2 latent factors such that all the "shame" terms (*diu lian, can kui, xiu kui,* and *xiu chi*) load onto the first factor and all the "guilt" terms (*nei jiu, zui e gan, fan zui gan,* and *kui jiu*) load onto the second factor. For the second CFA, we used the results from bivariate correlations and EFA to guide the structuring of latent factors. Specifically, *diu lian, xiu kui*, and *xiu chi* were loaded onto the first factor, *can kui, nei jiu,* and *kui jiu* were loaded onto the second factor, and *zui e gan* and *fan zui gan* were loaded onto the third factor. Standardized estimate of factor loadings for both models can be found in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

Model comparison comparing the two models were conducted using absolute model fit indices (see Table 13). To evaluate the absolute model fit, we used recommended fit indices and guidelines suggested by Kline (2016). Models with RMSEA values <.10 (<.5 = a good fit, <.8 = an adequate fit), SRMR < .10, and CFI > .90 were considered a close fit to the data, and non-significant model χ^2 statistics were considered a perfect fit to the data (Kline, 2016).

All model fit indices suggest that the 3-factor model was a better fit to the data compared to the 2-factor model. For both models, χ^2 test of model fit was significant, indicating that the model did not fit the data perfectly. However, when we compared the 3-factors model and 2-

factors model, $\Delta\chi^2$ value was significant, $\Delta\chi^2$ (2) = 189.24, p <.001, therefore rejecting the null hypothesis that the two models fit the data equally. The model with lower χ^2 value, which is the 3-factors model, was a better fit to the data.

Other absolute model fit indices also suggest that the 3-factors model fits the data better than the 2-factors model. Both models' RMSEA and SRMR indicated a decent fit, but in terms of magnitude the values of the 3-factor model were slightly smaller than the 2-factor model. CFI values of both models were not above the goodness of fit threshold of .9, but the magnitude of the 3-factors model value (.86) was closer to the threshold than the 2-factors model (.70).

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION

A. Discussion

The goal of the present research was to better understand negative self-conscious emotions represented by different Mandarin Chinese terms. Past research has classified these terms by referring to them as different forms of English words “shame” and “guilt” (Bedford, 2004; Frank et al., 2000; Su & Hynie, 2019). Bedford’s (2004) qualitative study identified 4 “shame” words (*diu lian*, *can kui*, *xiu kui*, and *xiu chi*) and 3 “guilt” words (*nei jiu*, *zui e gan*, and *fan zui gan*). The current research, however, suggests that this distinction based on English words may not be suitable when we look at how these terms are associated with each other and related to different types of event appraisals and post-event motivations. Instead, our results indicate that these Mandarin Chinese terms form three-interrelated clusters.

The first cluster includes “shame” terms that represent a loss of social reputation (*diu lian*) and perceived social failure (*xiu chi*). Bedford (2004) emphasized that both *diu lian*, which is directly translated as a loss of face, and *xiu chi*, the feeling of having a stain on one’s face, are heavily concerned with how others evaluate the self. This characteristic of the two terms resonates with our results that showed stronger associations of the two terms with appraisal of image threat than with appraisal of event control. Moreover, Bedford (2004) found that a person experiencing *xiu chi* “wants to avoid all contact with others, preferring to hide at home.” This was corroborated in our studies where *xiu chi* and *diu lian* were more strongly related to motivation to distance oneself from the event rather than motivations to change the self or repair the harm.

Emotion terms that are elicited due to lack of action form the second cluster. Bedford (2004) claimed that these emotion terms were primarily related to one's perceived failure to attain personal ideal (*can kui*) or to uphold one's obligation (*nei jiu*). In our studies, this sense of perceived failure due to one's inaction was reflected by the moderate relationships the two terms had with appraisal of event control. Participants who reported strong intensity of *can kui* and/or *nei jiu* may have had the capacity to prevent the event they described in the narrative task. Nevertheless, their lack of action could have eventually caused the event to happen, creating a sense of personal failure. Bedford (2004) also related *nei jiu* with feeling sorry and a sense of owing to others and described *can kiu* as "a sort of regret and shame mixed together." Not surprisingly, these two terms were highly correlated with feeling sorry, regret, and remorseful in our studies. We also identified *kui jiu* as another self-conscious emotion term that participants felt during the events in which they had to apologize. This emotion term fell into the second cluster along with *can kui* and *nei jiu*. All three terms (*can kui*, *nei jiu*, and *kui jiu*) had moderate to strong associations with motivation to repair in Study 3. Considering that these terms were highly correlated with regret, this seems consistent with prior research that showed regret predicted motivation to repair the harm (Lickel et al., 2014). Interestingly, *can kui*, *nei jiu*, and *kui jiu* were also highly associated with motivation to change the self across three studies, whereas in English-speaking context, shame was primarily predictive of motivation to change the self (Lickel et al., 2014). Given that this cluster consists both "shame" and "guilt" terms, this further adds to our argument that the distinction based on English "shame" and "guilt" is not suitable in correctly characterizing these terms.

The third cluster includes two "guilt" words that were specifically related to transgressions of personal morality (*zui e gan*) or of societal rules or laws (*fan zui gan*). Contrary

to the second cluster which is characterized by lack of action, the third cluster is bounded by a feeling of having done something morally bad or something that is against social rules (Bedford, 2004). Bedford (2004) also explained that the two terms can co-occur as many social rules are based on general social morality, which accounts for the strong correlations between the two terms in all three studies. While the two terms were closely related to each other, they depicted more complex patterns in terms of associated appraisals and motivations. *Zui e gan* was consistently related to motivation to change the self, whereas *fan zui gan* was more related to distancing motivation. Violation of social rules or laws, as opposed to personal morality, may perhaps cause people to worry about immediate consequences of their actions and therefore limit them to consider ways they could change the self or repair the situation.

While these clusters were relatively stable across studies, the term *xiu kui* ("shame" term defined as perceived personal failure resulting in harm to others) showed somewhat inconsistent pattern of results across three studies. In Study 1, the term *xiu kui* had strong associations with the terms in the second cluster (*can kui* and *nei jiu*), whereas in Study 2 and 3, it was strongly associated with the terms in the first cluster (*diu lian* and *xiu chi*). And across all three studies, *xiu kui* was moderately related to the terms in the third cluster (*zui e gan* and *fan zui gan*). These results, however, are not completely at odds with Bedford's (2004) description of these terms. Bedford (2004) stated that *xiu kui* and *xiu chi* (first cluster) are similar in that they both concern identification of deficiencies in oneself. However, Bedford (2004) also described the central feature of *xiu kui* as one's perception that one has harmed others, which was also a defining characteristic of *zui e gan* (third cluster). Hence, these results may be pointing to the conceptual overlaps among these clusters, and how much *xiu kui* is associated with different clusters depends on which feature of the event is more salient when recalling the experience. Similarly,

xiu kui was related to motivation to change the self in all three studies, but in Study 3, the term was also equally associated with motivation to distance. These results correspond with Bedford's (2004) explanation that events that elicited *xiu kui* comes with a desire to hide the event but can also evoke thoughts of improvement and a desire to change for better future.

An interesting inconsistency between Study 1 and 3 is the magnitude of the associations of the shame and guilt terms with motivation to repair. In Study 1, the associations were mostly non-significant, whereas in Study 3, we saw that most of the terms were moderately related with motivation to repair. It is noteworthy that in Study 3, we added *kui jiu*, the term that was identified as closely related to motivation to repair, to the instruction for the narrative recall task. Adding *kui jiu* into our design may have induced more participants to recall experiences that tap into this emotional construct, which was directly derived from events that people felt like apologizing or making amends.

Moreover, the addition of the term *kui jiu* may have slightly altered how participants engage with the existing terms, especially with *nei jiu* and *can kui*. Su & Hynie (2019) explained that the meaning of the term *nei jiu* encompasses two distinguishable components. The first component, which Frank et al. (2000) termed as *shang hai ta ren* (harm to others), can be characterized as a perception of failure to uphold an obligation, feeling sorry, and sense of owing to another person. The second component, labeled *wei bei xin ren* (trust violation), is more related to a sense of failure to uphold others' trust. Consequently, different facets of the terms may have been distinctly elicited depending on the presence of the term *kui jiu* in the list of emotions.

The current research has an important implication for conducting cultural research on self-conscious emotions. Our results confirm many of the defining features of the seven terms

that Bedford (2004) identified through intensive interviews with Taiwanese women. But more importantly, the current research presents a compelling case to not simply categorize these terms based on the "shame" and "guilt," which is driven by English language. Instead, the results suggest categorizing the terms into 3 clusters may be more appropriate based on their concurrence and associated characteristics.

B. Limitations and Future Directions

Several limitations of the present research are worthy of consideration. First, the reported results are correlational, and in order to finely distinguish these emotional experiences, a carefully designed experiment is needed. This could be pursued through presenting a subset of emotion terms using the same narrative recall design or presenting scenarios that are best characterizes emotions as done in prior research (Frank et al., 2000).

Second, our studies do not account for all Mandarin terms related to negative self-conscious emotions. For instance, *bu hao yi si* (不好意思), which is often translated as "embarrassment," refers to embarrassment in response to socially awkward situations (Frank et al., 2000). While this term was not included in the current study because of the substantial difference in its meaning relative to the terms identified by Bedford (2004) [8], embarrassment is yet another self-conscious emotion that can be mapped onto more than one term in Mandarin Chinese.

The current research is one of the first empirical studies to closely investigate experiences of self-conscious emotions in a collectivist culture. Future work should examine self-conscious emotional experiences in other cultures with different cultural values. For instance, Latinx

[8] In our studies, we used *gan ga* (尴尬) to refer to embarrassment, which has more implication with how the self is viewed in public (similar to 丢脸).

culture would be an interesting comparison as while it is generally conceptualized as a collectivist culture, the valuation of emotions varies greatly compared to East Asian cultures. Ruby, Falk, Heine, Villa & Silberstein (2012) found that Latinx valued high activation positive affect (HAP; e.g., excitement, elation) than low activation positive affect (LAP; e.g., calmness, tranquility), while East Asians valued LAP over HAP. Latinx cultures also endorse the cultural value termed *simpatía,* which promotes group harmony through high expression of positive emotions and deemphasis of negative emotions (Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling & Pennebaker, 2008). This is in contrast with values endorsed in Eastern cultures, where emotion control and restraint are encouraged to promote group harmony (Soto, Levenson, & Ebling, 2005). Hence, the experience of negative self-conscious emotions, which have a function of maintaining social harmony, may differ between Latinx and East Asian cultures considering these differences in cultural values.

The complexity of "shame" and "guilt" experiences in Chinese culture may also provide valuable insights into how shame and guilt are experienced in cultures that primarily use English. Specifically, the question of whether English speakers can distinguish negative self-conscious emotional experiences similar to how Chinese distinguish these terms despite only having a word for shame and guilt has only been partially explored (Frank et al., 2000; Su & Hynie, 2019; Su & Hynie, 2019). Integrating this past research with the current research to explore if English speakers display similar patterns of appraisals and motivations to these emotional experiences is another potential area of research.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Together, the findings from current research suggest an important implication for future cross-cultural research on self-conscious emotions. As discussed in the introduction, an integrative approach on emotions combines both evolutionary and cultural perspectives, suggesting that while emotions are universally experienced, how they are elicited and expressed is determined by cultural values and norms (Goetz & Keltner, 2007; Sheikh, 2014). As witnessed in the current research, cross-cultural comparisons may prove to be difficult due to the asymmetry of number of words that represent the emotional experiences. Simplistically applying what we know about shame and guilt in English-speaking cultures may also confine our perspectives on how self-conscious emotions are experienced in cultures that do not speak English. Hence, researchers should utilize innovative ways to overcome this linguistic barrier to better understand how self-conscious emotions are experienced in a particular culture and how much of those experiences overlap with what we already know about shame and guilt.

Table 1. Adapted definitions of Chinese shame and guilt terms identified by Bedford (2004).

Term	Bedford's classification	Adapted definition
Diu lian, 丢脸	Shame	Loss of face or failure to live up to expectation
Can kui, 惭愧	Shame	Failure to attain personal ideal
Xiu kui, 羞愧	Shame	Perceived personal failure resulting in harm to others
Xiu chi, 羞耻	Shame	Perceived social failure or feeling that one has damaged social values or customs
Nei jiu, 内疚	Guilt	Sense of failure to uphold internal obligation toward others
Zui e gan, 罪恶感	Guilt	Feeling that comes from violating personal morality
Fan zui gan, 犯罪感	Guilt	Feeling that comes from violating societal law or rule

Table 2. Summary of bivariate correlations of different types of motivations and Chinese shame and guilt words in Study 1.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Diu lian (1)	-												
Can kui (2)	.37**	-											
Xiu kui (3)	.53**	.71**	-										
Nei jiu (4)	.26**	.70**	.55**	-									
Zui e gan (5)	.24*	.46**	.45**	.53**	-								
Fan zui gan (6)	.28**	.30**	.32**	.33**	.66**	-							
Change the self (7)	.31**	.52**	.44**	.43**	.27**	.14	-						
Distance (8)	.43**	.10	.24**	.16	.19*	.16	.26**	-					
Repair the harm (9)	.21*	.32**	.27**	.24**	.04	-.03	.51**	.04	-				
Protect the self (10)	.42**	.19*	.26**	.15	.16	.18*	.44**	.39**	.30*	-			
Restore the self (11)	.28**	.24**	.24**	.22*	.12	.08	.51**	.28**	.35**	.65**	-		
Self-change strategy (12)	.25**	.33**	.33**	.21*	.13	.04	.52**	.06	.48**	.48**	.58**	-	
Self-control strategy (13)	.41**	.39**	.39**	.40**	.38**	.38**	.44**	.43**	.21*	.45**	.40**	.41**	-

Note. ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level.
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

Table 3. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) results in Study 1.

A. Factor loadings using a maximum likelihood analysis with direct oblimin rotation for 11 items from 3 motivation types in Study 1 ($N = 138$)

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
I felt there are things about myself that I need to change.	.92		
I felt the need to change myself after the event	.72		
I felt the urge to be a better person	.51		
I felt I should change certain aspects of my personality so that this wouldn't happen again	.50		
I felt like I should apologize for what happened	.48		
I wanted to be completely unassociated with the event		.87	
I wanted to distance myself as much as possible from the event		.81	
I felt like I wanted to disappear from the situation		.64	
At the time, I remember wishing that I could hide or remove my association to what happened		.57	
I felt like I should do something after the event to make it better			.87
I tried to do something after the event to make it better			.62

Note. Factor loadings <.3 are suppressed.

B. Factor loadings using a maximum likelihood analysis with direct oblimin rotation for 10 motivation items from de Hooge et al. (2010) in Study 1 ($N = 138$)

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
Did not want to get a worse image of myself	.85	
Avoid another bad scenario	.79	
Avoid making a fool of myself again	.75	
Avoid more damage to my self-image	.62	
Improve my self image	.42	.40
Make myself appear in a more favorable light		.88
Show myself I am a good person		.75
Ensure myself I am competent	.33	.53
Protect myself		.52
Show myself I can act differently		.46

Note. Factor loadings <.3 are suppressed.

C. Factor loadings using a maximum likelihood analysis with direct oblimin rotation for 8 self-change and self-control strategies items in Study 1 ($N = 138$)

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
Learn new things to make myself a better person	.96	
Join in on activities to make myself a better person	.81	
Try challenging new activities	.52	
Keep clear of tempting situations		.80
Evade situations that may pressure me to make tough decisions about how I should act		.53
Do my best to show others I am a good person		.52
Stay clear of situations where I act in ways I do not want to act		.51
Avoid situations that make me act in ways I did before	.31	.33

Note. Factor loadings <.3 are suppressed.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics for composite scores in Study 1.

	Number of items	Mean (SD)	Skewness	Kurtosis	Cronbach's α
Motivation to change the self	4	6.91 (1.74)	-.87	.43	.78
Motivation to distance	4	5.50 (2.23)	-.16	-.90	.81
Motivation to repair the harm	2	6.59 (2.15)	-.78	-.20	.75
Motivation to protect	4	5.44 (1.39)	-1.03	.93	.85
Motivation to restore	4	5.30 (1.32)	-.93	.72	.81
Self-approach strategy	3	7.92 (2.50)	-.85	.15	.82
Self-control strategy	3	6.72 (2.34)	-.18	-.53	.63

Table 5. Partial correlations of different Chinese shame and guilt words with the 3 types of motivation.

	Change the self (controlling for distance and repair)	Distance (controlling for change the self and repair)	Repair the harm (controlling for change the self and distance)
Diu lian	.14	.38**	.11
Can kui	.44**	-.06	.08
Xiu kui	.33**	.15	.05
Nei jiu	.34**	.06	.04
Zui e gan	.25**	.12*	-.10
Fan zui gan	.14	.12*	-.11

Note. ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level.
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

Table 6. EFA Factor loadings for 6 terms identified by Bedford (2004) in Study 1.

A. Using Eigenvalue greater than 1 as a cutoff

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
Can kui	.96	
Xiu kui	.78	
Nei jiu	.67	
Diu lian	.44	
Zui e gan		-.94
Fan zui gan		-.69

Note. Factor loadings <.3 are suppressed.
Maximum likelihood analysis with direct oblimin rotation was used (*N* = 137)

B. Setting items to load onto 3 factors

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Diu lian	.98		
Zui e gan		.97	
Fan zui gan		.67	
Can kui			1.02
Nei jiu			.68
Xiu kui			.63

Note. Factor loadings <.3 are suppressed.

Table 7. Summary of bivariate correlations of different types of motivations and appraisals with Chinese shame and guilt words in Study 2.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Diu lian (1)	-											
Can kui (2)	.39**	-										
Xiu kui (3)	.52**	.61**	-									
Xiu chi (4)	.67**	.39**	.51**	-								
Nei jiu (5)	.21*	.55**	.36**	.22*	-							
Zui e gan (6)	.47**	.48**	.46**	.54**	.37**	-						
Fan zui gan (7)	.41**	.29**	.35**	.46**	.12	.65**	-					
Change the self (8)	.29**	.42**	.47**	.35**	.34**	.38**	.18*	-				
Distance (9)	.42**	.15	.24*	.41**	.04	.28**	.29**	.24*	-			
Repair the harm (10)	.12	.12	.04	.13	.15	.16	.10	.27**	.13	-		
Event control (11)	.13	.33**	.26**	.14	.40**	.20*	.08	.59**	.20*	.32**	-	
Image threat (12)	.43**	.38**	.41**	.50**	.21*	.43**	.32**	.40**	.69**	.18*	.30**	-

Note. ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level.
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

Table 8. EFA Factor loadings for 3 motivation types in Study 2

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
I felt like I should apologize for what happened	1.04		
I tried to do something after the event to make it better	.48		
I felt there are things about myself that I need to change.		.88	
I felt the need to change myself after the event		.79	
I felt like I should do something after the event to make it better		.77	
I felt the urge to be a better person		.72	
I felt I should change certain aspects of my personality so that this wouldn't happen again		.57	
I felt like I wanted to disappear from the situation			.86
I wanted to distance myself as much as possible from the event			.74
At the time, I remember wishing that I could hide or remove my association to what happened			.71
I wanted to be completely unassociated with the event			.53

Note. Factor loadings <.3 are suppressed.
A maximum likelihood analysis with direct oblimin rotation was used (*N* =124)

Table 9. EFA Factor loadings for 7 terms identified by Bedford (2004) in Study 2

A. Using Eigenvalue greater than 1 as a cutoff

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
Xiu chi	.87	
Diu lian	.78	
Fan zui gan	.62	
Zui e gan	.59	
Can kui		-.90
Nei jiu		-.63
Xiu kui	.41	-.42

Note. Factor loadings <.3 are suppressed
A maximum likelihood analysis with direct oblimin rotation was used (*N* =124)

B. Setting items to load onto 3 factors

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Zui e gan	.97		
Fan zui gan	.58		
Can kui		.87	
Nei jiu		.64	
Xiu kui		.53	.39
Xiu chi			.78
Diu lian			.73

Note. Factor loadings <.3 are suppressed.

Table 10. Summary of bivariate correlations of different types of motivations and appraisals with Chinese shame and guilt words in Study 3.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Diu lian (1)	-												
Can kui (2)	.32**	-											
Xiu kui (3)	.53**	.55**	-										
Xiu chi (4)	.57**	.33**	.61**	-									
Nei jiu (5)	-.08	.45**	.25**	.05	-								
Zui e gan (6)	.17**	.40**	.44**	.44**	.50**	-							
Fan zui gan (7)	.28**	.30**	.40**	.52**	.31**	.71**	-						
Kui jiu (8)	-.03	.59**	.34**	.16**	.76**	.54**	.36**	-					
Change the self (9)	.21**	.50**	.41**	.23**	.49**	.42**	.29**	.56**	-				
Distance (10)	.32**	.32**	.41**	.48**	.14*	.29**	.33**	.20**	.41**	-			
Repair the harm (11)	.21**	.50**	.37**	.22**	.41**	.37**	.30**	.49**	.77**	.40**	-		
Event control (12)	.24**	.45**	.38**	.23**	.42**	.34**	.25**	.41**	.62**	.41**	.57**	-	
Image threat (13)	.41**	.41**	.46**	.48**	.23**	.36**	.32**	.32**	.48**	.70*	.45**	.46**	-

Note. ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level.
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

Table 11. Partial correlations of different Chinese terms with the 2 types of constructive motivation in Study 2

	Change the self (controlling for repair)	Repair the harm (controlling for change the self)
Diu lian	.08	.07
Can kui	.21**	.20**
Xiu kui	.21**	.10
Xiu chi	.10	.07
Nei jiu	.30**	.06
Zui e gan	.22**	.09
Fan zui gan	.10	.12*
Kui jiu	.33**	.11

Note. ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level.
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

Table 12. EFA Factor loadings for 8 shame and guilt terms in Study 3.

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Kui jiu	.87		
Nei jiu	.78		
Can kui	.62	.44	
Diu lian		.77	
Xiu kui		.70	
Xiu chi		.63	-.36
Fan zui gan			-.84
Zui e gan			-.73

Note. Factor loadings <.3 are suppressed.
A maximum likelihood analysis with direct oblimin rotation was used (N =286)

Table 13. Model comparison with absolute fit indices.

	2-factors Model	**3-factors Model**
χ^2 **test of model fit**	368.27 (19), p <.001	179.03 (17), p < .001
RMSEA	.25	.18
CFI	.70	.86
SRMR	.13	.11
$\Delta\chi^2$		189.24 (2), p <.001

Figure 1. Path diagrams of confirmatory factor analysis for two oblique factors model of Chinese shame and guilt terms.

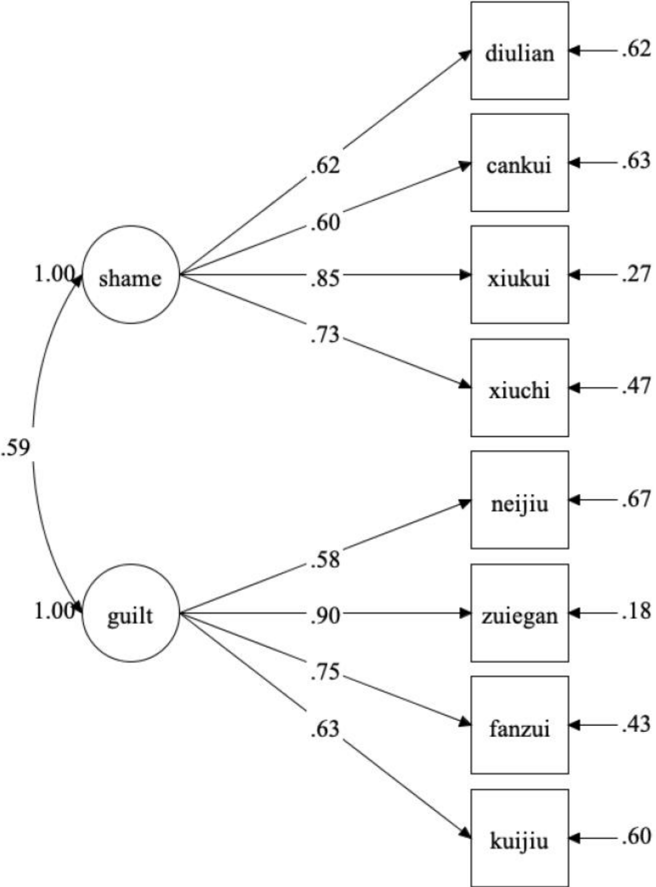
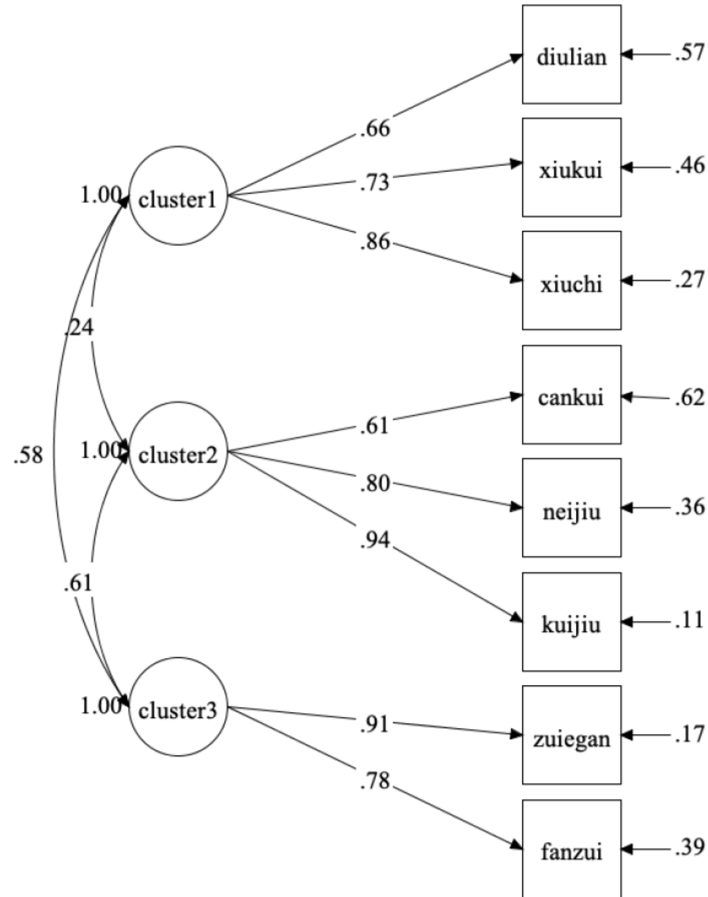


Figure 2. Path diagrams of confirmatory factor analysis for three oblique factors model of Chinese shame and guilt terms.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
NARRATIVE RECALL PARADIGM

In our research, we are interested in how people experience different emotions. We always experience some type of emotions, sometimes multiple emotions at the same time. Specifically, we are interested in learning about a time when you felt one or more of the emotions listed below. [1]

丢脸, 惭愧, 羞愧, 羞耻, 内疚, 罪恶感, 犯罪感, 愧疚 [2]

For the story, please write a paragraph or two, but please take no more than five minutes to write your story. In your story, please address the following points:

What happened? Who did what to whom?
How did you feel about the incident? What emotions did you feel?
Why did you feel the emotions you felt?
What, if anything, did you do about the incident?

Please note that the 'next' button to advance will appear after 1 minutes.

Note. 1. Prompt in Study 2 was as follows: "We are interested in learning about a time when you felt like you should apologize for something or believed you should make amends to another person for something. This could be an event that you caused yourself, or it might be an event that you did not cause directly. The important thing is that you felt the need to apologize or make amends to another person for something." 2. The term *kui jiu* (愧疚) was added to the prompt only for Study 3.

APPENDIX B
LIST OF EMOTIONS

Prompt: In response to the event, how much did you feel each of the following emotions?

1. *Diu lian*
2. *Can kui*
3. *Xiu kui*
4. *Xiu chi*[1]
5. *Nei jiu*
6. *Zui e gan*
7. *Fan zui gan*
8. *Kui jiu*[2]
9. *Zi ze*[2]
10. *Nan guo*[2]
11. Embarrassed (尴尬)[1]
12. Proud
13. Angry at another person
14. Disgraced (耻辱)[1]
15. Nervous
16. Good
17. Hurt
18. Depressed
19. Sorry
20. Happy
21. Angry at myself
22. Regret
23. Humiliated
24. Anxious
25. Sad
26. Offended
27. Upset
28. Disappointed
29. Calm
30. Remorseful

Note. Scale of 1 to 9, anchored by "not at all" and "very intensely."

[1] Items added in Study 2

[2] Items added in Study 3

APPENDIX C
LIST OF APPRAISALS AND MOTIVATIONS

Prompt: Next, we would like you to rate the event in several different ways. In each case, write the number that best represents your opinion. Use the following scale:

1. I felt the urge to be a better person.[1]
2. I felt the need to change myself after the event.[1]
3. I felt I should change certain aspects of my personality so that this wouldn't happen again.[1]
4. I felt there are things about myself that I need to change.[1]
5. I felt like I should apologize for what happened.[2]
6. I felt like I should do something after the event to make it better.[2]
7. I tried to do something after the event to make it better.[2]
8. I wanted to be completely unassociated with the event.[3]
9. At the time, I remember wishing that I could hide or remove my association to what happened.[3]
10. I felt like I wanted to disappear from the situation.[3]
11. I wanted to distance myself as much as possible from the event.[3]
12. I felt very responsible for the event occurring. (*responsibility*)
13. The outcome of this event was very harmful to others. (*harm*)
14. The event made me feel like a bad person. (morality)
15. I felt like I did something that was morally wrong. (morality)
16. This event was very serious. (*seriousness*)
17. I had a lot of ability to repair the impact of the event after it occurred. (*repair ability*)
18. I could have prevented this event from occurring. (*EC*)
19. I felt like I should have foreseen the event and prevented it from occurring. (*EC*)
20. I was the cause of the event. (*EC*)
21. I felt I should have said or done more to prevent the event. (*EC*)
22. I felt that the event reflected poorly on me as a person. (*IT*)
23. I felt that people would make judgments about the type of person I am based on the event. (*IT*)
24. I felt like the event was public and I was on display for everyone to see. (*IT*)
25. I didn't want people to think that I was the person who caused the event. (*IT*)
26. I was afraid that the event would be viewed as indicating something about the type of person I am. (*IT*)

Note. Scale of 1 to 9, anchored by "Strongly disagree" and "Strongly Agree"
EC: Event Control
IT: Image Threat
[1] Motivation to change the self
[2] Motivation to repair the harm
[3] Motivation to distance from the event
EC and IT were added in Study 2 and 3.

APPENDIX D
MOTIVATION SCALE FROM DE HOOGE ET AL. (2010)

Prompt: Please rate the degree to which each of the following statements corresponds with your motives, actions, or decisions after the event you wrote about.

After the event I wanted to:

1. Improve my self image[1]
2. Show myself I can act differently[1]
3. Show myself I am a good person[1]
4. Make myself appear in a more favorable light[1]
5. Ensure myself I am competent[1]
6. Avoid more damage to my self-image[2]
7. Protect myself [2]
8. Avoid another bad scenario[2]
9. Avoid making a fool of myself again[2]
10. Did not want to get a worse image of myself[2]

Note. Scale of 1 to 7, anchored by "Not at all" and "Very Strongly"
[1] Motivation to restore self-image
[2] Motivation to protect the self

APPENDIX E
STRATEGIES FOR SELF-CONTROL OR SELF-CHANGE IN THE FUTURE

Prompt: The following phrases represent several motivations you may have felt after the experience you wrote about. You may have felt motivations to do specific things that might make you a better person, or you may have felt to avoid things that you think make you act in negative ways.

Please rate the degree to which each phase reflects actual motivations you felt after the event.

1. Try challenging new activities
2. Learn new things to make myself a better person
3. Join in on activities to make myself a better person
4. Do my best to show others I am a good person
5. Avoid situations that make me act in ways I did before
6. Evade situations that may pressure me to make tough decisions about how I should act
7. Stay clear of situations where I act in ways I do not want to act
8. Keep clear of tempting situations

Note. Scale of 1 to 11, anchored by “Very unlikely” and “Very likely”
Items 1-4: approach strategies for self-change
Items 5-8: avoidance strategies for self-control

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