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Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation

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Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation

Bahi Ashraf, Israa Ibrahim, May El-Ghety, & Nada AlNaggar[1]

Abstract

This research aimed to study the effects of 'anti-sexist' shaming on men and how they would, as a result, regulate their behavior in future cross-sex interactions. The research hypothesized that each of the behaviors listed in the literature on shame (hostility, pro-sociality, and passing) is linked to different sexist attitudes, as per Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Theory. More specifically, it was hypothesized that hostile sexists would likely select aggressive responses in the questionnaire, benevolent sexists would likely employ passing, and non-sexists would be the most likely to engage in prosocial behavior. In this research, a double-blind, post-test only control group experimental design in the form of a survey-experiment was employed. The questionnaire was handed out via a random recruitment of an all-male sample on The American University in Cairo's (AUC) New Cairo campus. Independent T-tests, reliability, correlational, and linear regression analyses were performed on the collected data. The hypotheses could not be accepted within the context of the data collected. This research managed to introduce a causal link between passing and shame in the literature as a viable response to shame, and secondly to bolster Gausel et al.'s (2012) conceptualization and differentiation of shame from felt inferiority. Adjusting the methodological flaws of this study and expanding it might prove to bridge the gaps and mend some of the contradictions in the psychological literature on shame.

Keywords

Shame; Behavioral Regulation; Identity threat; Sexism; Emotional Regulation.

Introduction

The dynamics encompassed by self-conscious emotions, such as shame, extends beyond what can be summed up by current literature on the matter. For as much as shame has historically been understood to indicate a primal recognition of vulnerability (Blum, 2008), it can only be meaningfully understood within the more extensive network of its correlations with other psychic phenomena, such as felt inferiority, perceptions of body boundaries, or even as it relates to survival instincts. Shame thus occupies a vital role in the regulation of interpersonal and social relations. It is for this that it can be traced within group struggles that seek recognition and equivalency, as well as in moderating interpersonal relationships. However, the different modalities occupied by these roles remain incomplete and in need of further explorations utilizing a cohesive network

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Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

approach to the understanding of shame as a social phenomenon. In this paper, we aim to analyze the influence of shame in one of these modalities, namely the regulation of social behaviors specifically as they pertain to practices perceived as sexist, using a network approach that connects the various fragments that construct the holistic form of shame as an object of analysis. We aim to explore how feelings of shame over one's behavior regulate future instances of this behavior in cross-sex interactions; additionally, of importance, this process of behavioral regulation is hypothesized as being modulated by the social stigmatization of sexism

Shame, in and of itself, is a nebulous emotion, difficult to quantify, operate, or even conceptualize, and the literature that attempts to do so is at best un-complementary and often contradictory. The basic definition agreed upon; however, explains shame as a negative emotion stemming from one's self-awareness of personal inadequacy and dishonor (Blum, 2008). The notion of dishonor here may be further broken down and understood as a loss of social status, an increase in the risk of social exclusion, which evolutionarily is a threat to survival (Shen, 2018). It can also be conceptualized as a perceived attack against one's self or even one's social identity (Hooge et al., 2011; Vliet, 2008). The primary motif spanning the expansive gap of research that covers shame and shame-induced behavior posits shame's primary function as a regulatory mechanism that preserves social status, identity, and the self's integrity (Hejdenberg & Andrews, 2011; Hooge et al., 2011; Vliet, 2008). Despite the enigmatic role that shame maintains in modern psychological research literature, it is regarded universally as one of the most potent emotions in relation to behavioral regulation, emotional regulation, and decision making.

While in folk psychology, shame is maintained as an inherently destructive emotion to be avoided and eliminated, the scientific literature on shame, however, acknowledges its complex influence in sustaining human survival, development, and communal harmony. Erikson (1950 as qtd. in Blum, 2008) stated that healthy psychological development is dependent on a child's capacity to overcome shame. As a social tool, it manifests as a potent sanctioning override that reasserts established norms and moral ideals (Crowder & Kemmelmeier, 2017). Shame's social functionality, however, extends far beyond it being a mere tool of social sanctioning; in fact, it serves as an active moderator of social behavior and interaction (Blum, 2008). Gausel, Vignoles, & Leach (2015) observed the pragmatic functionality of shame in social behavior. The authors assert that shame may emerge as an aversive motivator, functioning to protect a person's core self and distance it from practices and identities that distort ones social image. The result of such would, in turn, culminate in communal alienation, debilitating feelings of inferiority, and vulnerability, all of which impact a person's well-being and survivability within a social system.

In order to conceptualize the breadth of shame's influence on social behavior it must be understood in the collective, rather than merely the individual level. Individuals experience and are subject to degradation not only in terms of their subjective vulnerabilities but also for those attributed to their social in-groups as well. In their research on in-group shame response to moral failure, Gausel, Vignoles, & Leach (2012) demonstrated that individuals might experience feelings of shame and guilt vicariously through their membership in an in-group. Iyer and Leach (2008), in the same line of research, positively correlated the impact/salience of shame experienced vicariously through in-group membership as experienced on a personal/ individual level. A person then may feel shame as a result of their membership in a group, which is undoubtedly an integral part of an individual's social identity. A stereotyped identity inflicts upon its bearer's feelings of shame congruent to that of the associated stereotyped group (Quinn, 2015). In response to vicarious group shame associated with sexist behavior and violence towards women, men

2

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

confronted with anti-sexist shaming would resort to, as we hypothesize, suitable, socially-acceptable coping mechanisms.

The processes through which emotions translate into behavior or attitude is a complicated, employing multiple system-wide mechanisms that utilize their various functionalities. Even before behavioral expression takes place, emotional and cognitive processing give meaning to the perceived stimuli, creating in the process a lengthy chain of socio-emotional and cognitive connections. Within this network, cognitive appraisal, emotional regulation, and behavioral responses function as an adaptive feedback loop in which experience guides the proliferation of the modes of regulation, whether emotional or behavioral. These responses are necessarily elicited by varying contexts and are primarily influenced by how the context itself is evaluated and afterward its emotion is regulated. In the context of shame, emotional regulation strategies dictate how emotions are dealt with and translated into behaviors or subsequently mitigated (Moyal, Henik, & Anholt, 2014). Differences in how people deal with emotional input effects, to a considerable extent, their behavioral output.

The mechanisms of shame are widely contested, albeit being predominantly confined to three primary manifestations. The first mechanism recognizes shame as a defense against an attack against ones self (internal or external antagonism) or one that drives towards the protection of the self as avoidance of future conflict. A third mechanism that is mainly undiscussed in the literature posits shame as an attempt to restore ones social viability countering the degradations experienced prior, which could manifest in the form of aggression or prosocial behavior in the form of reparations. While the literature supporting the link between aggression and shame is plentifully abundant (Hejdenberg & Andrews, 2011; Schoenleber & Berenbaum, 2012; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992), Gausel et al. (2012) offer a different conceptualization of shame that helps to explain the conflicting research findings on the subject. The authors define shame as an awareness of an alterable moral/personal shortcoming that must be amended, thus motivating a prosocial response to failure. It is seen as a retributive tool that restores a positive self-image to the individual and amends social wrongs (Gausel et al., 2012). The authors, however, termed the debilitating feelings of defection and inferiority that caused the incessant self-defensiveness previously linked to shame as felt inferiority. This re-conceptualization helps to explain why prosocial trends in shame-induced behavior exist while much of the previous literature identified shame as a primarily aggressive or avoidant emotion. There still exists a significant gap in the literature, void of a unified understanding of the contrasting multiplicities of behavior stemming from a singular emotion. We utilize Emotional Regulation Theory to bridge this void in the literature.

Emotional Regulation Theory allows for an understanding of how emotions are dealt with and ultimately transformed into novel perspectives and behavior. Velotti et al. (2016) found significant correlations between shame-responses and emotional regulation strategies, aggression, and well-being. The authors clarified the existence of a link between shame and aggressive tendencies, explained by Gausel et al. 's (2012) re-conceptualization. They also highlighted the difficulty of shame to be subjected to any expansive modes of emotional regulation. Aggression in response to shame has been successfully linked to emotional dysregulation, or the failure to regulate emotions (Roberton, Daffern, & Bucks, 2012). Pro-sociality, however, in response to shame, has been linked to cognitive reappraisal, the act of rethinking the meaning of a situation after its occurrence (Laghi et al., 2018; Lockwood et al., 2014; Velotti et al., 2016). A third behavioral response, however, is unexplored in the shame literature, the act of passing. The social phenomenon of passing was first observed by Goffman, who defined it as "the management of

3

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

undisclosed discrediting information about self" (1963 as qtd. In Kanuha, 1999). From the infancy of this theory to this day, the notion of passing is utilized as it pertains to the social dynamics embalming closeted homosexuality and the trans community. However, sexism is discreditable and concealed; a person may choose to reveal an internal sexist ideology at their discretion. The literature on shame and passing does not refer to the stigmatized sexist identity as a context viable for observing passing coping behaviors. One could hypothesize that a person in fear of revealing their actual inner environment in the face of threat (social identity stigmatization) might utilize external suppression as an emotional regulatory mechanism to deflect an attack to the self.

The understanding of the different causations or moderating factors at play in the process of behavioral regulation is key to understanding the diversity and seeming incongruency of behavioral reactions in response to perceived shaming (Gausel, Vignoles, & Leach, 2012). Given the research reviewed so far, we present our integrated model analyzing how shame induces different behavioral coping mechanisms in the context of sexist behavior and identities (see Figure 1).
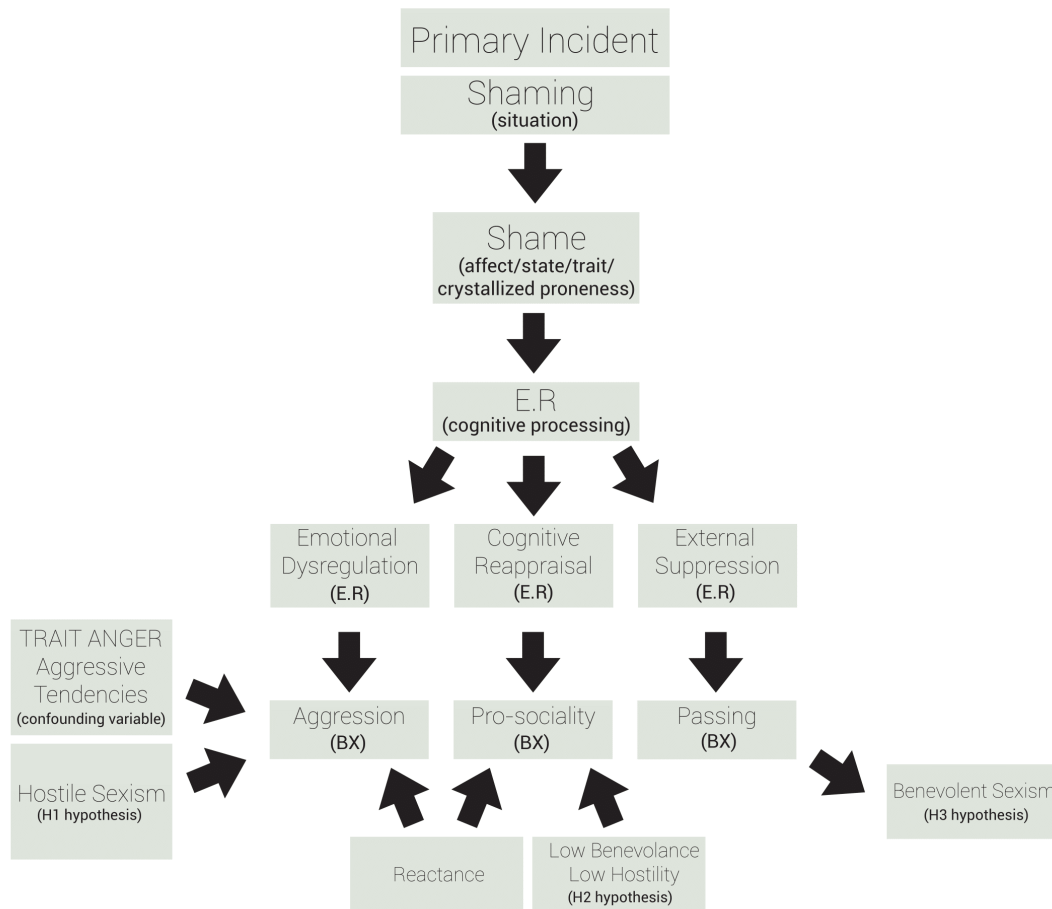

Figure 1. From shame to behavioral response, the chain leading from exposure to shaming to behavioral regulation.

4

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

In this study, we look at the effects of anti-sexist shaming on male behavioral regulation occurring in cross-sex interactions within male undergraduate students at The American University in Cairo (AUC). A critical facet of this research is the actual sexist attitudes of male participants, as their inclinations provide a base for their choice of action. According to Glick and Fiske's (1996) ambivalent sexism inventory, males could be high scoring on *Hostile Sexism* (HS), high scoring on *Benevolent Sexism* (BS), high scoring on both (*Ambivalent Sexism)*, or low on both, i.e., not sexist. The authors defined Benevolent Sexism as "as a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but are subjectively positive in tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy seeking (e.g., self-disclosure)" (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 491). Hostile Sexism, on the other hand, was defined as acts of prejudice according to Allport's criteria of prejudice (1954, as cited in Glick & Fiske, 1996.)

Using Glick & Fiske's (1996) definitions of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism and our model of shaming coping responses, three distinct hypotheses emerged to be tested within the socio-cultural context of male undergraduates studying at the American University in Cairo (AUC): (H1) Men ranking higher on Hostile Sexism would be more likely to adopt in aggressive responses to shame. The response is constructed of a negatively/aggressively charged appraisal that defies the perceived concession and views it as an act of hostility or transgression. (H2) Individuals low on both Benevolent and Hostile Sexism would be more likely to engage in prosocial behavior. Moreover, pro-sociality is linked positively with high empathy, a trait that suitably would fit non-sexist perceptions of women. Pro-sociality embodies as a reaction that attempts to amend as well as repent for perceived self-discrepancies or self-defect, i.e., a non-sexist may thus view accusations of sexism as self-discrepancy or defect. (H3) Benevolent sexists would be more likely to utilize passing, explained by their outward compliance with a female's request only to maintain internal dismissiveness of her demands. Benevolent sexists are typically patriarchal and dismiss women as inferior in an over-arching paternal fashion. Passing would allow benevolent sexists to give off the appearance of compliance and atonement to an offended woman while maintaining internally the belief that her reaction is unjustified, undeserved, or wholly trivial. Passing allows benevolent sexists to deal with conflict in a seemingly compliant manner that does not disturb their (benevolent sexists) outwardly expressed patriarchal image.

Method

This study aimed to discover the effects on male behavior in cross-sex interactions of exposure to sexist shaming. A survey experiment was conducted for this purpose, a post-test only control group, a double-blind experimental design was utilized via a 33-item, self-report questionnaire. This design was optimal, given the nature of our research and the logistical restraints present.

Participants

This study explored the effects of shame on behavior-regulation in cross-sex interactions by men; therefore, the targeted population was specifically Egyptian males enrolled as undergraduates at The American University in Cairo (AUC). The study used a non-probabilistic purposive sampling technique; the sample was limited to 81 male undergraduate students enrolled in AUC. The students were selected from each of the four main schools at AUC: Business and Economics (BEC) (n = 26), Sciences and Engineering (SSE) (n = 34), Humanities and Social

5

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

Sciences (HUSS) (n = 11), and Global Affairs and Public Policy (GAPP) (n = 5). Six participants were earning their degrees from two schools at AUC.

Measures

Measures assessing levels of felt shame are sparse and highly specialized, and for this research, few were relevant. For the needs of this research, an original module was constructed that attempted to simulate responses of shame via vicarious in-group empathy. Following a single item inquiring about the school the participant belongs to, a hypothetical scenario was described to the participants from both experimental and control conditions. The plot consisted of a sequence of events in which a male (preferably of the participant's same general properties; age, class, education, etc.) at AUC who is having a conversation with a woman. One of his female friends then goes on to either point out and criticize a remark that she deems sexist and accuses him of being sexist (experimental condition) or explains to him why she thinks he behaved improperly more generally without any specific status-oriented criticism (control condition). The situation changes according to condition to induce in the participants shame brought on by accusations of sexism in the experimental condition. A manipulation check that measures the effect (or lack) of the manipulation in the previous item, follows. The manipulation check is a single, face-valid, self-reported item that asked participants to rate their conjectured levels of shame in the hypothetical situation on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (Very Unlikely) to 5 (Very Likely) (Weingarden, Renshaw, Tangney, & Wilhelm, 2016).

The questionnaire relied upon a composition of our own assessment items meant to operationalize each of our hypotheses. Three items investigated the likelihood of each behavioral response to be engaged, in continuation of the narrative, phrased as: "How likely is it that you would react to the situation above in each of the following ways?" Each of the items represents one of the three primary behavioral responses to shame as indicated in our literature review: an aggressive/frustrated response "*Angrily disagree with her that I was being sexist*," a prosocial response "*I apologize and attempt to understand in what ways I could have behaved better*," and a response in which passing is employed "*I would agree with her only to avoid being shamed*." These items are also self-reported measures in the form of a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Very Likely*) to 5 (*Very Likely*). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) by Glick & Fiske (1996) was utilized to assess the actual Hostile (HS) or Benevolent Sexism (BS) levels of each participant and evaluate it as a second predictor variable for the behavioral responses. The items in the ASI were measured on a 6-point interval scale, ranging from 0 (*Disagree Strongly*) to 5 (*Agree Strongly*). We used in this research a shortened, 18-item version of the ASI, selected with similar items measuring both HS and BS. This decrease was done to avoid the survey-experiment from being overly toilsome and thus receiving a lower number of volunteers and a higher dropout rate. The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (1960) was added to control for response-set answers, likely in the case of this research, which asks about sexism and prejudiced beliefs towards women. This particular confounding variable could influence the results.

Procedure

The data collection period spanned about four weeks, and the participants were recruited at random. The investigators, having gone around campus, asked random males from different locations in the AUC New Cairo campus that met the criteria if they were willing to participate in

6

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

this research. A consent form was provided to all participants prior to them receiving the questionnaire in which they were informed of the purpose of the study, their autonomy to quit at any given moment, and what is to be expected of them in the questionnaire. The survey was administered on AUC's campus to enrolled undergraduate males with the indirect supervision of the investigators to clarify any unclear items, answer questions the participants had, or any technical issues that may have emerged. After participants completed the survey-experiment, they were then debriefed thoroughly on the exact details of the research and were given space to voice out any possible concessions or discomforts experienced during the procedure. Only a single participant was given the questionnaire under the supervision of the same investigator at any given time. All investigators worked individually on recruiting randomly selected male volunteers from the AUC campus. After the data collection period was completed, the appropriate statistical tests and data analyses were then applied to assess whether our hypotheses had any support from our sample.

Results

Our sample consisted of 81 undergraduate male students at AUC, all of which represent the major schools at AUC (BEC (n = 26)/ HUSS-PVA (n = 11)/ GAPP (n = 5)/ SSE (n = 36)).

Reliability analyses of the two scales used showed poor internal reliability in our 10-item shortened version of Marlowe and Crowne's SDS (Marlowe & Crowne, 1960) (α=.27). However, our 18-item shortened version of Glick and Fiske's Ambivalent Sexism Scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996) proved to be highly internally reliable (α=.85).

The mean for shame across the entire sample was intermediate ($M = 3.172$, $SD = 1.212$). In terms of the behavioral responses, the descriptives for the entire population are as follows: Hostile response showed relatively low average support from participants ($M = 2.4744$, $SD = 1.170$), the prosocial response was on average the most preferred form of behavioral response ($M = 3.567$, $SD = 1.234$), and participants did not support a passing behavioral response, with the least average support ($M = 1.846$, $SD = 1.057$). Hostile sexism ($M = 2.520$, $SD = 1.037$) (with a dispersion of 0-1 = 9.87&, 1-2 = 12.34%, 2-3 = 45.67%, 3-4 = 24.69%, 4-5 = 7.4%) and benevolent sexism ($M = 2.613$, $SD = 0.882$) (with a dispersion of 0-1 = 1.2%, 1-2 = 24.69%, 2-3 = 35.8%, 3-4 = 32%, 4-5 = 6.17%) levels were around the same and relatively low on the response scale.

A bivariate correlation was run between all variables to see the nature of the variables' relationship with each other. Shame showed a statistically non-significant, weak negative correlation with hostile behavior ($r = -1.67$, $p = 0.145$). A statistically significant, moderate, positive correlation existed between shame and support for the pro-social behavioral response ($r = 0.376$, $p = 0.001$). In the case of passing, a weak but reliable positive correlation was found between it and shame ($r = 0.258$, $p = 0.023$). There was no significant correlation between shame and BS. However, a moderate, negative correlation existed between shame and HS at ($r = -0.352$, $p = 0.001$). Between the three behavioral responses, the only significant correlation was a reliable moderate, negative correlation between hostility and pro-sociality ($r = -0.417$, $p = 0.000$). HS and BS were positively correlated at a moderate and significant level ($r = 0.424$, $p = 0.000$).

In the control condition, shame and HS were moderately, yet reliably, negatively correlated ($r = -0.321$, $p = 0.40$). Hostility and pro-sociality had a moderate, reliable, negative correlation ($r = -0.355$, $p = 0.027$). HS and BS were significantly correlated at a moderate positive level ($r = 0.534$, $p = 0.000$). Moreover, in the experimental condition, correlations for shame with hostile behavior, pro-sociality, and HS were significant. Shame and hostile behavior had a moderate, negative correlation ($r = -0.534$, $p = 0.000$), while shame and pro-sociality had a moderate, positive

7

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

relationship at ($r = 0.516$, $p = 0.001$). On the other hand, shame and HS had a weak, negative relationship ($r = -0.384$, $p = 0.014$). Hostile behavior and pro-sociality were negatively correlated ($r = -0.476$, $p = 0.002$) at a moderate and significant level. HS and BS were once more, weakly correlated at a significant level ($M = 0.334$, $p = 0.35$).

The male participants were randomly assigned into either the control or the experimental condition, with 41 males assigned to control condition and 40 to the experimental. Men in the control group reported higher average levels of shame *($M = 3.463$, $SD = 1.185$)* than that of the experimental group *($M = 2.875$, $SD = 1.180$)* (Figure 2). An independent samples t-test determined this difference to be statistically significant (t (79) = 2.238, p < 0.05).
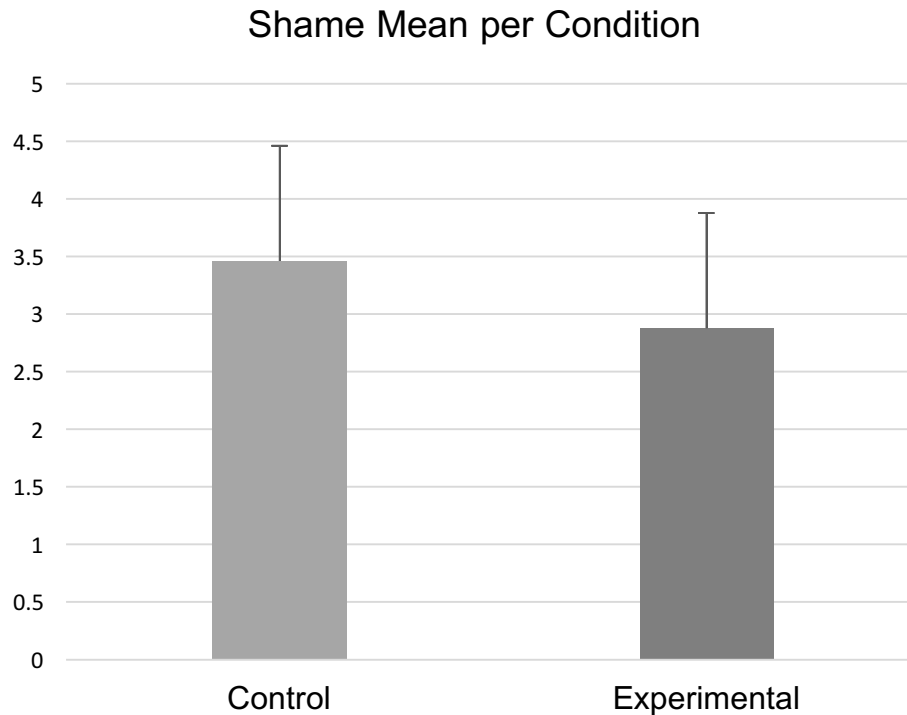
Shame Mean per Condition

*Figure **2***. Shame Means per Condition. Shows the average mean of shame per control or experimental condition.

Another t-test analysis asserted that the averages for hostile behavior were not significantly different between the experimental ($M = 2.564$, $SD = 1.119$) than in the control condition ($M = 2.384$, $SD = 1.227$), t (79) = -0.675, P > 0.05. Among the behavioral responses, participants had the highest mean levels across condition on pro-social behavior, with the control group ($M = 3.658$, $SD = 1.153$) slightly higher than the experimental group at ($M = 3.475$, $SD = 1.320$), the difference between conditions was not significant (t (79) = 0.667, p > 0.05). There was, however, a significant difference between participants in passing, with the control group reporting a higher mean ($M = 2.102$, $SD = 1.187$) than the experimental group ($M = 1.589$, $SD = 0.849$) (t (76) = 2.193, p < 0.05). The figures can be found below represented in (Figure 3).

8

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*
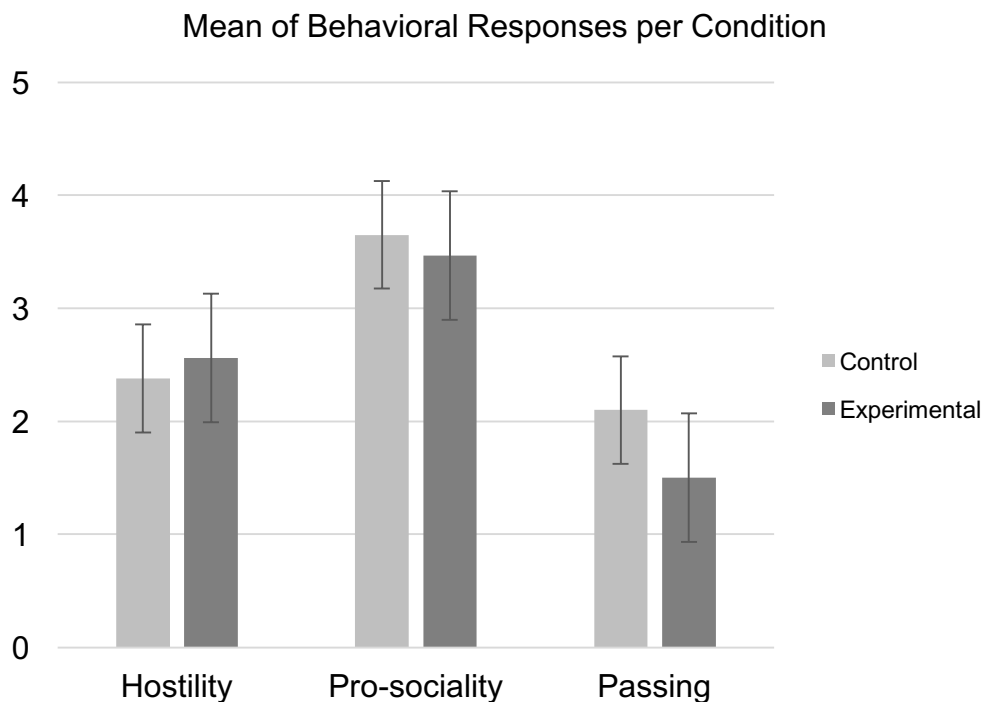

Figure 3. Mean of Behavioral Responses per Condition. The average for each behavioral response according to the experimental or control condition.

As for sexism, the two conditions had very similar means and standard deviations for both HS and BS. The experimental condition ($M = 2.561$, $SD = 0.921$) was slightly lower than the control ($M = 2.727$, $SD = 0.838$) for HS. For BS, the scores in the control group were ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 1.154$) and ($M = 2.5$, $SD = 0.92$) for the experimental group. The scores for social desirability were around the same for both groups, scoring ($M = 0.6$, $SD = 0.13$) for the control group and ($M = 0.576$, $SD = 0.124$) in the experimental group. The variability in scores between the two conditions was around the same for the three variables (HS, BS, & SDS). There were no significant differences between any of the variables according to the condition.

A linear regression analysis was performed to assess the predictive capacity of shame on each of the behavioral responses, respectively. In the three models, shame, condition, school, BS & HS (added as control variables) were added as the independent or predictor variables, and each of the behaviors was added respectively as the DVs. From this point onwards, the models are to be referred to as LR_1 (Hostility), LR_2 (Pro-sociality), and LR_3 (Passing). In LR_1, the R-coefficient (0.194) displayed a weakly-positive, predictive relationship between shame and hostility; no significant correlations were found in this model. While, for LR_2, the R-coefficient (0.431) was almost twice as large, showing a stronger predictive relationship for this model than in LR_1, a moderately-positive, significant relationship was found between shame and pro-sociality ($b= 0.379$, t (3.139), $p < .01$). As for LR_3, no significant correlations were found; however, shame came out as a trending predictor for passing ($b= 0.192$, t (1.763), $p = .082$), the entire model had an R-coefficient of (0.293) (a weak positive relationship) (Refer to Appendices D, E, & F for SPSS linear regression outcomes).

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

Discussion

Our primary purpose in this paper was to explore how anti-sexist shaming might influence men's' behavioral adjustment cognitive schemes in future cross-sex interactions. There were limitations with the methodology and research design that would need to be addressed if significant confidence is to be lent to the data findings. Our data analysis revealed that the collected data corroborated none of our three hypotheses.

There were a lot of different limitations that influenced and altered this study, and its results very profoundly. One potential impact on the internal validity of the study is that three out of four of the researchers were female, which could have elicited participant bias in the form of compliance to a hypothesized experimenter demand. Also, the manipulation, manipulation check, and the measures for the behavioral responses may have even adversely affected the participants' responses. A better tool than our single, face-valid item must be developed to assess felt shame. An elaborate, reliable, valid tool must be designed to induce state shame in an experimental setting to render it accessible for research; through the presence of such a tool, it might as well be possible to reduce state shame (which would offer a tremendous clinical application and value). Our abridged version of Marlowe and Crowne's (1960) SDS was highly unreliable as well, which prevented us from utilizing it reliably as a control variable for our linear regression analysis.

The applicability of this study to other university campuses could be impacted by the study's sample population. The participants constituting our sample share a similar SES (socio-economic status), the average SES across campus would probably yield a superficial level of variance. This makes it difficult to generalize and apply the results to a public university campus, as there could be a moderating effect between SES and shame coping, as inverse relation exists in the literature between SES and successful emotional regulation, which moderates the prominence and impact of shame (Gross, 2015). Some methodological issues ultimately compromised the reliability of the results.

The nature of shame (as a social and interpersonal phenomenon) necessarily creates tension in data collection surrounding the subject. Evidently, within our descriptive statistics, shame was found to be higher in the control group than in the experimental group. This seemingly irrational statistic might be evidence that upon their subjection to shame, the participants in the experimental condition entered a state of psychological reactance, driving them to improve and bolster their presented image, and thus underrepresented their actual levels of shame. Psychological reactance is defined as a motivational state induced by a perceived threat, such as "threats to the freedom to act as desired," more accurately described as "an unpleasant motivational arousal that emerges when people experience a threat to or loss of their free behaviors" (Steindl, Jones, Sittenthaler, Traut-Mattausch & Greenberg, 2015).

Furthermore, it could be that the control questionnaire encouraged an indication of a higher shame score. Unfortunately, our abridged SDS was by no means reliable, which prevented us from asserting the previous claim. We suspected that our experimental questionnaire could have induced a manifested sense of identity threat in participants through exposure to the value-laden critical response of the friend in the experimental scenario. To that extent we conjecture that some form of passing was employed by the participants to avoid a perceived social devaluation by concealing actual feelings of shame to avoid the possibility of being 'outed' as sexist individuals, thus inhibiting the actual scores of felt shame in the experimental group (Ellemers & Haslam, 2012). This obscures the data from any sort of valid or reliable analysis as to the actual mechanisms and correlations that exist between shame, sexism, and emotional-behavioral regulation. This issue

10

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

needs to be addressed in future research through the development of a more rigorous shame measurement tool.

Contrary to our hypotheses, the trends in correlations and the linear regression analysis support Gausel, Leach, Vignoles, & Brown's (2012) re-conceptualization of shame as primarily an awareness of moral or personal deficiencies that are alterable, thus inducing pro-sociality. This can be observed in our data in multiple different points, mainly in the linear regression analysis, which showed that shame is a significant, positive predictor of pro-sociality. In our correlation analysis as well, shame and pro-sociality maintained a moderate positive relationship across conditions and in the sample as a whole. This data further reinforces Gausel et al. 's (2012) conceptualization of shame, as it was used as a guiding rubric in the construction of our manipulation. Another notable point of interest in our data is the relationship between shame and passing. This relationship is mostly ignored in the shame literature, and our data supports passing as a significant, possible response to shame. Shame and passing have a positive correlation, as well as a positive causal relationship defined in LR_3. Shame appears to be the favored response to sexist shaming through our data. Passing, however, trended as a response to shame due to sexism's nature of being concealable; a sexist individual can conceal their sexist ideals. This concealability is central to the operation of passing (Goffman, 1963 as qtd. In Kanuha, 1999).

From our results, we can extrapolate that shame and pro-sociality are the most causally linked in our data. Meaning that shame primarily elicits a prosocial response in individuals as indicated through our t-test and regression analysis. Despite the prominence of hostility in the shame literature, in our findings, there was not much support in the utilization of hostility as a response to shame. The passing response was higher in the control condition than in the experimental, bolstering our conjecture that it is evidence of psychological reactance. Another possible explanation is that sexist shaming is less effective at inducing shame than other accusations of moral deficiencies or defects. Our results negate our model; we could not find any significant relationships between sexism and behavioral responses to shame. What our results indicate is that, when subjected to shame, males in our sample were more likely to employ a prosocial behavioral response in dealing overall with perceptions of moral/ethical deficiencies. They felt more shame when their transgressions were not criticized explicitly as sexist.

For future research, we recommend the following: first, the development of appropriate measures of felt shame that controls for reactance and passing in questionnaire-taking. Second, increase and diversify the sample to include men of different ages and SES groups. Third, integrate research findings into clinical applications that moderate shame's effect in the therapeutic setting, and develop tools of mitigating state and felt shame as a therapeutic technique. This has the potential for community-wide intervention programs that target the specific devices through which gender-specific violence is perpetrated.

In conclusion, we managed to support a novel conceptualization of shame offered by Gausel et al. (2012), introduce passing into the shame literature as a viable behavioral response, and provide a solution for the incongruency and contradiction of behavioral reactions to shame through the utilization of emotional regulation theory. Despite having not been able to accept our hypotheses in this sample, much can be done in future research to expand on this research and prepare it for the integration of the clinical and therapeutic processes.

11

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

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13

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

Appendix A (Control Condition Questionnaire)

Possible responses to hypothetical scenarios.

*What school do you belong to at The American University in Cairo (AUC)?

        a) School of Business and Economics (BEC)
        b) School of Humanities and Social Sciences (HUSS/PVA)
        c) School of Global Affairs and Public Policy (GAPP)
        d) School of Sciences and Engineering (SSE)

*The following narrative describes a hypothetical situation, please read carefully and respond to the following question:

        Imagine that one day, as you are spending time at university with a group of friends, you are having a conversation with a woman. One of your female friends interrupts and says: What you just said to her was impolite, Never say that to someone ever again.

   1- If this really happened to you, how likely is it that you would feel ashamed?
      (1) Very unlikely (2) somewhat unlikely (3) Neutral (4) Somewhat likely (5) Very likely

*How likely is it that you would react to the situation above in each of the following ways?

   2- Angrily disagree with her that I was being sexist:
      (1) Very unlikely (2) somewhat unlikely (3) Neutral (4) Somewhat likely (5) Very likely

   3- I apologize and attempt to understand in what ways I could have behaved better:
      (1) Very unlikely (2) somewhat unlikely (3) Neutral (4) Somewhat likely (5) Very likely

   4- I would agree with her only to avoid being shamed:
      (1) Very unlikely (2) somewhat unlikely (3) Neutral (4) Somewhat likely (5) Very likely

*Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in

contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale: 0 = disagree strongly; 1 = disagree somewhat; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = agree slightly; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = agree strongly.

14

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

__ 5. No matter how accomplished be is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

__ 6. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

__ 7. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

__ 8. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

__ 9. Women are too easily offended.

__ 10. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

__ 11. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

__ 12. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

__ 13. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

__ 14. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

__ 15. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

__ 16. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

__ 17. Men are complete without women.

__ 18. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

__ 19. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

__ 20. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

__ 21. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

__ 22. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility

*Listed below are several statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally:

15

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

23. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates. (T/F)

24. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble. (T/F)

25. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged. (T/F)

26. I have never intensely disliked anyone. (T/F)

27. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life. (T/F)

28. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way. (T/F)

29. I am always careful about my manner of dress. (T/F)

30. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant. (T/F)

31. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it. (T/F)

32. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability. (T/F)

Thank you

16

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

Appendix B (Experimental Condition Questionnaire)

Possible responses to hypothetical scenarios.

*What school do you belong to at The American University in Cairo (AUC)?
      a) School of Business and Economics (BEC)
      b) School of Humanities and Social Sciences (HUSS/PVA)
      c) School of Global Affairs and Public Policy (GAPP)
      d) School of Sciences and Engineering (SSE)

*The following narrative describes a hypothetical situation, please read carefully and respond to the following question:

      Imagine that one day, as you are spending time at university with a group of friends, you are having a conversation with a woman. One of your female friends interrupts and says: What you just said to her was sexist, you should be very ashamed of yourself! Never say anything like that to a woman again.

  5- If this really happened to you, how likely is it that you would feel ashamed?
      (1) Very unlikely (2) somewhat unlikely (3) Neutral (4) Somewhat likely (5) Very likely

*How likely is it that you would react to the situation above in each of the following ways?

  6-   Angrily disagree with her that I was being sexist:
      (1) Very unlikely (2) somewhat unlikely (3) Neutral (4) Somewhat likely (5) Very likely

  7- I apologize and attempt to understand in what ways I could have behaved better:
      (1) Very unlikely (2) somewhat unlikely (3) Neutral (4) Somewhat likely (5) Very likely

  8- I would agree with her only to avoid being shamed:
      (1) Very unlikely (2) somewhat unlikely (3) Neutral (4) Somewhat likely (5) Very likely

*Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale: 0 = disagree strongly; 1 = disagree somewhat; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = agree slightly; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = agree strongly.

__ 5. No matter how accomplished be is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
__ 6. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

__ 7. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

__ 8. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

__ 9. Women are too easily offended.

17

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

__ 10. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

__ 11. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

__ 12. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

__ 13. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

__ 14. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

__ 15. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

__ 16. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

__ 17. Men are complete without women.

__ 18. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

__ 19. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

__ 20. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

__ 21. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

__ 22. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility

*Listed below are several statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally:

23. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates. (T/F)
24. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble. (T/F)
25. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged. (T/F)
26. I have never intensely disliked anyone. (T/F)
27. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life. (T/F)
28. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way. (T/F)
29. I am always careful about my manner of dress. (T/F)
30. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant. (T/F)
31. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it. (T/F)
32. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability. (T/F)

Thank you

18

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

Appendix C (Linear Regression 1 Outcome)

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.194[a]	.038	-.032	1.19708

a. Predictors: (Constant), BS, School, Shame, Condition, HS

Coefficients [a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.075	.768		4.002	.000
	Condition	.125	.297	.053	.421	.675
	School	-.061	.109	-.069	-.558	.578
	Shame	-.139	.127	-.143	-1.098	.276
	HS	-.003	.154	-.003	-.021	.983
	BS	-.012	.175	-.009	-.071	.944

a. Dependent Variable: Hostile

19

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

Appendix D (Linear Regression 2 Outcome)

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.431[a]	.186	.129	1.16028

a. Predictors: (Constant), BS, School, Shame, Condition, HS

Coefficients [a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.091	.725		4.263	.000
	Condition	.124	.282	.050	.441	.661
	School	-.004	.104	-.004	-.034	.973
	Shame	.379	.121	.370	3.139	.002
	HS	-.104	.149	-.085	-.699	.487
	BS	-.183	.168	-.127	-1.090	.279

a. Dependent Variable: Prosocial

20

Ashraf, Ibrahim, El-Ghety, AlNaggar: *Shame, Identity, and Socio-Emotional Behavioral Regulation*

Appendix E (Linear Regression 3 Outcome)

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.296[a]	.088	.022	1.02895

a. Predictors: (Constant), BS, School, Shame, Condition, HS

Coefficients [a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1.104	.660		1.671	.099
	Condition	-.309	.255	-.150	-1.211	.230
	School	.013	.094	.017	.141	.888
	Shame	.192	.109	.224	1.763	.082
	HS	.104	.133	.103	.781	.437
	BS	-.007	.150	-.006	-.050	.960

a. Dependent Variable: Passing

21